

83. Newsday

September 29, 1997

Uncertain Road

Clinton's right to push for integration; what he's not clear about is how to get there.

It was classic Bill Clinton: Last week the president spoke with heartfelt eloquence about race relations during ceremonies to commemorate the 40th anniversary of Little Rock Central High School's desegregation. He was at his best when he emphasized that integration must remain a national goal. But how would Clinton promote integration? Unfortunately, some parts of his address were more confusing than illuminating.

"After all the weary years and silent tears - after all the stony roads and bitter

rides - the question of race is in the end still an affair of the heart," he said. But is it? For decades New York has pushed social policies meant to nudge impoverished minorities into the middle class. The programs have been more successful than critics acknowledge. And yet, they have left way too many New Yorkers - including many people of color - behind. Hearts in the right place aren't enough.

"For the first time since the 1950s, our schools in America are resegregating," the president said. "The rollback of affirmative

action is slamming shut the doors of higher education on a new generation, while those who oppose it have not yet put forward any other alternative." But does Clinton really think dual standards for admission to some universities - with tougher hurdles for whites than for minorities - will bring races closer? At another point, Clinton said: "We must not replace the tyranny of segregation with the tragedy of low expectations." He's right, but doesn't this contradict his plea for racial dispensations in college admissions?

To cloud things more, he indicated that, when he speaks about race, he's no longer talking about "just blacks and whites ... but now people from all parts of the Earth" who immigrated here. And yet, to broaden the topic beyond blacks and whites is to

make it virtually meaningless. In New York City at the moment, there are 222 different ethnic groups. So who's in this discussion and who's out?

Maybe Clinton's new advisory commission on race will take an honest

look at the issue and break some new ground. Maybe it can refine Clinton's thinking and recommend ways to achieve greater racial harmony. At any rate, we'll keep our fingers crossed. ■

76. The New Republic

October 20, 1997

TRB FROM WASHINGTON: HONOR CODE

By John B. Judis

"American schools are resegregating," President Clinton warned at a ceremony marking the fortieth anniversary of integrating Little Rock's Central High. Clinton was referring obliquely to what Julian E. Barnes, in an article entitled "Segregation, now," argued in the September 22 U.S. News and World Report: that honors programs are reestablishing segregation within the country's public schools. Taking Little Rock's Central High as his example, Barnes approvingly quotes the charges of black leaders that these programs are racist and elitist. He notes that the U.S. Department of Education is already investigating them and is now negotiating with "civil-rights advocates" to expand its inquiry.

Barnes doesn't quote the opinion of a single parent, black or white, who has children in these honors programs. I am such a parent, and I think Clinton and Barnes would do well to hear our side of the story. In Montgomery County, Maryland, where I live, there are two archetypal schools. The first is the predominantly white, upper-class school in the tony western half of the county, whose facilities and educational objectives equal those of the fanciest private schools; the second is the integrated, majority black and Hispanic school in the grittier eastern half, whose regular classes may be only a notch above the typical inner-city school. These latter schools still manage to attract highachieving children—many of them white and Asian, but also black and Hispanic—because of their honors programs. These programs, like the one my oldest daughter attends, offer a school within a school with its own distinct educational and even moral objectives. (My daughter's program emphasizes community service as much as calculus.)

The contrast between these programs and the regular schools can be even starker than Barnes's portrayal. Barnes acknowledges that the students in the regular classes at Central High "lay their heads down on their desks as the teacher talks," but in some of these integrated schools, the specter of violence stalks the

halls. That's even the case in eastern Montgomery County, where the daughter of parents I know was threatened with sexual assault the first day she entered regular classes this fall; she refused to go back again. Sports events and dances sometimes end in fights that require scores of police to break up. Like the honors program in Little Rock, my daughter's program has a majority of whites and Asians, while the overall school is 59 percent black and Hispanic. Hence, Barnes's claim of segregation, even though neither school's program is, in fact, segregated. (Last year, Little Rock's honors program had 13 percent black participation.) Barnes tries to make a case for discrimination against black students, but he acknowledges that some African American students shun honors classes for fear of being branded an "Oreo." In my children's schools, parents of the most ambitious and talented black kids sometimes pull them out of the public school after the sixth or eighth grade and send them (frequently on scholarships) to predominantly white private schools so that they will be insulated from the disdain for academic achievement common among their African American peers.

As Barnes notes, some educators argue that if the honors programs were dissolved, and if the honors students were forced to join the regular classes, they would get just as good an education, and the other students would benefit from their presence. But anyone with the slightest experience in the public schools knows this is nonsense. Except in very rare cases—lionized in movies and television precisely because of their rarity—exactly the opposite happens: violence and indifference to education trump learning. I saw something like this happen when a large low-income home for single parents was plunked down in the middle of my children's elementary school district. Within two years, the principal wasn't thinking about the science fair, but about how to keep weapons out of the corridors.

The principal of my daughter's school has become predictably obsessed with school discipline, but I don't think she would join Barnes's civil rights leaders in

calling for the school's honors program to be shut down. If it were, most of the parents would immediately take their children out of the public schools. My daughter would be gone in a nanosecond.

Like the campaign for forced busing three decades ago, the campaign against honors programs will make a difficult situation impossible. Busing attempted to integrate urban schools by singling out working-class whites while exempting wealthy suburbanites. It precipitated two decades of white flight that created ill-financed, all-black school districts. The attack against honors programs attempts to remove educational tracking by targeting middle-income suburban schools and urban schools that are attempting to reintegrate. It singles out middle-class whites (although it equally threatens other middle-class parents) while exempting the parents and children of Potomac, Winnetka, or Shaker Heights. If this attack succeeds, it will destroy what remains of popular support for public education and turn the public schools into a branch of the welfare system.

Is there any alternative? I would move against the disruptive kids and their parents rather than against honors program kids and their parents. I would give principals and teachers the power to expel students who are violent and who display no interest in learning. In Montgomery County, for instance, principals recommended 1,090 expulsions in 1995; the superintendent and school board allowed only three! I'm not sure why. But I suspect this timidity has something to do with a protest the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People mounted several years ago against school expulsions, claiming they disproportionately affected black students.

I would make sure both the regular and honors students in the integrated schools get as much funding as those in the upper-class, predominantly white schools—which does not happen now, because the integrated schools have to spend much more of their budgets on special education. And I would try to root out incompetent principals and

teachers through market discipline — by allowing parents a choice of public schools in their county or district. Within a decade or so, you would still need

honors classes, particularly in math and the sciences, but you might not need to have separate honors programs. But what

do I know? I'm not one of the geniuses U.S. News consulted. I'm just a dumb parent. ■

77. Mother Jones

September/October 1997

The Race Course

by Jeffrey Klein

When President Clinton went to San Diego early this summer and announced a "great and unprecedented conversation about race," it was no secret that he hoped to address historians as much as the graduating college seniors seated before him. For months, Clinton had searched for a defining crusade to mark his presidency. He settled on America's most agonizing and enduring dilemma, and it was a good choice. Although many Americans have stopped rooting for this president, most of us would like him to succeed on this issue. But we're deeply skeptical. A survey taken immediately following Clinton's speech showed that almost 60 percent of Americans believe racial problems are beyond the president's control.

Why the pessimism? One trouble is that, in some sense, we converse about race enough already. But we converse dishonestly, or at least disingenuously. There is a chasm between our public and private discussions of race, between the way we talk about other people when we are in classrooms and how we talk about them in our living rooms. In public, most Americans praise the benefits of a diverse and multicultural society. But when the doors are closed, the same Americans retreat into their own ethnic and racial tribes and voice deeper and darker emotions: resentment and guilt, rage and fear.

Though American society is more diverse than ever before, a charged division persists: the line between blacks and whites. Both blacks and whites want racial comity and both believe racial discrimination still exists in America. But when the discussion turns to specific causes and solutions, the consensus fractures. Here's one reason: affirmative action.

Of course, affirmative action didn't cause America's fundamental racial problems — slavery and segregation did. But affirmative action has eroded

liberals' moral credibility as reformers and driven away many natural allies. So progressives need to reassess their commitment to affirmative action and find better alternatives that can re-establish racial healing as a national priority.

It seems safe — if not completely comforting — to say that affirmative action's political defeat is imminent. Blacks and whites have irreconcilable differences on this issue. Only 17 percent of whites believe blacks and other minorities should receive preferences in admissions to college. A majority of blacks think the opposite. According to the most recent Gallup poll, almost 60 percent of African-Americans believe the government should make every effort to improve conditions of blacks and other minorities. Only 34 percent of white Americans agree.

Like welfare reform, the dissolution of affirmative action without the proposition of real alternatives could prove shamefully destructive. Even during its dismantling, affirmative action has allowed us to talk about race euphemistically: Both its supporters and detractors could appeal to principle, each claiming to be the champions of equality. This let everyone off the hook. To date, we have avoided the emotional rawness that lies below the surface of racial civility.

Beneath their professed tolerance, many white Americans suspect that the black community carries a defective pathology that no amount of government programs or "conversation" can cure. Whites wonder why blacks continue to underachieve in comparison to other ethnic and immigrant groups, particularly Asian-Americans. And whites fear, in times of high tension, that blacks will act as a racially united and irrational mob. The first O.J. Simpson verdict horrified so many whites because it seemed to flout the mores of law and reason, in favor of some controlling racial

solidarity. That terrified whites, many of whom see themselves as potential victims of that mob.

Blacks, on the other hand, perceive white America as a persistent, quiet mob. When an all-white jury in a white enclave, Simi Valley, California, acquitted Rodney King's assailants in 1992, many blacks (and not only those in the hoods of South Central Los Angeles) saw the triumph of a self-protecting tribe that ignores documented brutality. Many blacks sympathize with claims that the CIA introduced crack cocaine into inner cities, or with the hateful cant of Louis Farrakhan, because they believe that white America harbors a primal desire to close ranks in order to preserve its power.

Certainly the desire to exploit "the other" is an old American tradition. Economic conservatives have long treated America's ethnic groups as laborers who could be bought for cheap and then integrated when an even more alien labor force was allowed in. Although American liberals derided this cold calculation, they also relied heavily upon a certain economic logic. Their greatest victories in the period following the New Deal and ending with the Vietnam War came about largely because, for three decades, the bounties of the American economy seemed limitless. The left did not anticipate that America's taste for serious social reform would contract when resources did. Instead, much of the left embraced a politics of racial consumerism. It assumed that in an infinitely prosperous America, every group and subgroup was entitled to its own share of the riches. Support for affirmative action became a virtual mantra for liberals, even though it contradicted a widely held American belief that no racial or ethnic group deserved a mandated advantage in the marketplace, and even though the central beneficiaries — middle-class blacks — commanded a limited political base.

When the sustainability of American

Associated Press: July 30, 1990

* 1) The State Board of Education has begun to take a more active role in the consolidation of school districts to promote desegregation. Do you agree or disagree with the panel's recent decision regarding Camden-Fairview and Palestine-Wheatley?

Yes, I do agree with the State Board's recent decisions on both the Camden-Fairview and Palestine-Wheatley cases. The State Board has assumed a strong leadership role in issues regarding desegregation, and I think that it is a critical role for the board to play. The state must demonstrate to the courts that it will do nothing to promote segregation and that, when given the opportunity, the state will in fact take action against segregation.

2) Should there be a strictly enforced minimum grade point requirement to participate in all scholastic activities?

Yes, I do believe that there should be minimum grade point requirements for participation in all interscholastic activities. I think the current plan of phasing in these grade point requirements is fair to the student and to the officials involved with interscholastic activities.

3) What should the minimum be?

I think it is hard to argue for anything lower than a 2.0 minimum grade point average for participation.

4) Does a minimum requirement hinder the chances of poor students to use sports as a way out of poverty?

If a grade point average is suddenly dropped on students, it could have an adverse impact on poor students, who generally need more help academically than students from affluent families. That is one reason that I favor a phase-in which allows schools to design and implement the necessary tutoring programs that give additional help to students who need it.

5) Should there be any exceptions for poor or disadvantaged students?

No, but all students should have access to tutoring or support services whether or not they participate in athletics.

6) Should the University of Arkansas play Arizona State University in Football or Basketball?

That decision should be made by the schools and their boards.

7) Do you think Arkansas should go to the SEC? Why? Why not?

I support the decision of the U. of A. to work to move to the SEC for the reasons the University gave. The competition will be stiffer, I think, but it will be beneficial financially and will bring the university and our state more positive publicity.

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An Address to the House of Representatives
on the Pulaski County School Desegregation Settlement
House Chamber
March 13, 1989

I would like to introduce Mr. Bill Allen, the attorney who represented the state in the negotiations, who can explain the settlement, and I hope can answer all of your questions. I would urge you, even though I know he's tired and he spent the morning in the Senate, to keep him here as long you need to keep him here to answer all the questions that you want to ask.

This lawsuit has been in progress for many years. Our liability in it was established long ago. It is clear that the Supreme Court has refused to hear an appeal questioning our liability in the case. Nonetheless the settlement is not without its difficulties, and I certainly don't like every point in it. There are things which will probably come up in questions today which are almost identical to questions I myself have asked of Mr. Allen and others involved in this case over the last several months.

More than anything else, my heart goes out for the children in all the other school districts in the state, many of them who are already being educated with far fewer dollars per child than is the case in the Little Rock district today. As all of you know, I had hoped that we would be able to do better by all of them, too, in this legislative session, and I still hope that we will be able to in the not too distant future.

There are only two reasons, it seems to me, for you to agree to fund this settlement and they are reasons that I think you will have to mull over in your mind as you ask these questions and listen to the answers.

The first is, would funding the settlement be less costly to the state and the taxpayers and to the other children of this state in other school districts than not funding it? I have good reason to believe that it would certainly cost more if we refuse to fund the settlement and permit the court to send us a bill year in and year out. It is my information that there are fewer people, for example, in the schools in Kansas City than there are in the three school districts in Pulaski County. This year their annual bill from the federal court in Kansas City was \$62 million -- one-year bill.

The second reason that I think you should consider funding the settlement is that it would make Arkansas the first state ever to resolve the financial issue in a case of this kind in the country. And in so doing, it would help to bring to an end a long and sad and difficult chapter in our history that started over 30 years ago now in this capital

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city. There is no question that the continuing turmoil of this lawsuit has hurt this city. It has hurt the economic development of all of central Arkansas. It has been a continuing cloud over the deliberations of this legislature. And it will continue to be so every two years from now on unless it can be settled.

I know there are problems in this district that money alone cannot solve: the problems of safety and discipline and drugs in the schools and other things that all big city-school districts face. I also know there are some great schools and great teachers and great principals in this district, and we saw a simple example of that just a few days ago when a senior at Hall High School won the national Westinghouse science prize.

It is time, I think, to go forward. The decision you have to make is -- seems to be -- even though it hurts for all the obvious reasons and even though from the perspective of all the children of Arkansas this is a difficult decision to make since we are not at this time adequately funding our other schools, is it cheaper now than it will be if we don't settle the case? IS it time to put this long, sad chapter in our state's history behind us?

I have concluded, as much as I dislike certain aspects of this settlement, that on balance it is cheaper and it is time.

And that is the decision that you must now face, each and every one of you for yourselves.

I want to say a special word of thanks as I introduce you to Bill Allen, who represented our state in these negotiations after the legislature approved the funding for his participation. When he came into the process it was fairly late, and he approached his duties with vigor and dealt with a lot of difficult issues. He dealt with, on occasion, a client who was a former governor (?) who was every bit as irate about some particular issue as some of you have been in the course of the last few days. And he has made a good faith effort to do what is best for the people of Arkansas.

I'd like to ask Mr. Allen to come out now, talk a little about the settlement, and hopefully answer all the questions that you have. Mr. Allen?

We'll make sure you can get affordable insurance you can depend on.

Fourth, and this is important, we'll preserve and strengthen Medicare. Older Americans must be able to count on Medicare and to keep their doctors. We also want to cover prescription drugs under Medicare and to give people of all ages new choices for long-term care at home or in their community. There are so many people with disabilities, so many Americans who are in their elderly years who do not need institutionalized care but who can't get anything less expensive and more helpful because it's not covered today.

Finally, we want your health benefits to be guaranteed at work. Most jobs come with health benefits, and all jobs should. Over two-thirds of the small businesses in this country provide health insurance to their employees. But 8 of 10 Americans who have no insurance are in working families. These Americans deserve better. And our health reform plan will guarantee health benefits at work. Small businesses will get these health insurance premiums at a discount. And we in the Government will help to cover the unemployed.

The defenders of the status quo are trying to confuse this issue by making it sound complicated. Well, the present system is complicated, and so there are a lot of details to deal with. But the basic principles of health reform are really pretty simple. You'll get a health security card; you'll pick any doctor you want; you'll fill out one simple form when you need care; you'll know exactly what's covered; and you'll have peace of mind for a change,

because your health security and that of your family can never be taken away.

A few weeks ago, the Wall Street Journal explained our health reform to some citizens of York, Pennsylvania, without telling them whose plan it is. The great majority of that group strongly supported our health reform principles over all the competing plans. And the headline in the Wall Street Journal reads: "Many Don't Realize It's Clinton's Plan They Like."

Next week and in the months ahead, I'm going to tell people all across America about our health reform plan and what it really means: guaranteed private insurance, a choice of doctors and health plans, outlawing unfair insurance practices, preserving Medicare, guaranteeing health benefits at work. It's that simple.

I want to cut through the complexity, the confusion, and downright distortions. This issue should be decided by informed citizens, not by special interests spending millions of dollars to prevent progress and to promote their own narrow interest.

Let's face the facts, debate our choices, and make an historic decision to build on what's best and fix what's worst in our health care system. That's democracy at its best, just like the old-fashioned American town meeting I attended in New Hampshire last week. And the lesson of history is that when the American people have the information they need, they do make the right decision.

Thanks for listening.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:06 a.m. from the Oval Office at the White House.

Remarks at a Children's Town Meeting

March 19, 1994

Peter Jennings. Good morning, everybody. Good morning, especially, boys and girls, and welcome back to the White House, really; this is the second time that President Clinton has invited us back to the White House so that he and a group of children we've invited from around the country can exchange ideas about the state of the country and the state of the world. It's a chance for him and for them to talk about their dreams. So we hope you'll stay

with us this morning.

If our timing is right, the President is just coming down from upstairs, in a house which we all know he loves very much.

Good morning, Mr. President.

The President. Good morning, Peter.

Mr. Jennings. Thank you for having us back, sir.

The President. I'm glad you're back.

Health Care Reform

Q. Do you like to be known as the President of the health care program?

The President. Be known? Yes.

Mr. Jennings. Sounds a bit like a set-up, doesn't it, sir?

The President. Yes, I do. Because I want every American family to have health care. And a lot of them don't now, and millions who have it can lose it. And every other major country in the world with a good economy like ours gives all the families health care. We don't, and it's not right.

Mr. Jennings. Has anybody else got a question about health care, because—oh goodness, lots of them.

Q. My name's Mickey. I was on welfare. And you say you encourage people to get jobs when they are on welfare. But as soon as I started working, they took away all my benefits, including my medical benefits. I was better living off welfare than I am now working, because I'm not receiving any medical benefits anymore.

The President. I talked about you and people like you in my State of the Union Address. I pointed out—you asked a health care question—if you're on welfare in America today and if you have children or if you're just yourself on welfare, you get covered by a medical program paid for by the Government. If you get off welfare and you go to work in a job that has no health insurance, you start working and paying your taxes so that someone who stayed on welfare can still get health care and you don't get it anymore. It's not fair. And you're right, the best thing we could do to end welfare as we know it is to give everybody health coverage so people would never be encouraged to stay on welfare.

Good for you. Thank you for saying that.

Public Expectations

Mr. Jennings. Mr. President, do you think the people have too high expectations of what you can really accomplish?

The President. Well, sometimes. That's why I always try to say, here's what I can do, here's what I can't do, and remind the American people that in a democracy, the people have to do a lot of things. We have to change this country from the grassroots, and a lot of the changes we have to make have to happen inside us: our attitudes about violence and our attitudes about young people, without regard to their race

and what they can do. We've got to change our whole way of thinking about things.

Mr. Jennings. Okay, here's a question right over here.

Education

Q. My name is Ebony. My major concern is education. My question to you is, why is it necessary to bus children out of their neighborhoods, to get a quote, unquote, "equal education"? Shouldn't all schools offer the same programs, since we're all being taxed?

The President. The answer is yes, all schools should offer the same programs and should achieve the same high standards of excellence. One real problem we've had in America—let me just say this real quick, I don't want to get into a long answer—but in America, our school system has usually been a local school system, run community by community, paid for by the State and local governments and a little money from us at the national level. What we're trying to do now is to move toward greater equality. The State of Michigan just voted in a historic vote to take most of the property taxes away from schools and give State taxes so everybody could get a more equal education. And it's going to be one of the great crusades of the next 10 years, giving all kids, no matter where they live, a decent education.

Q. Thank you.

Mr. Jennings. Mr. President, I'm going to follow that up, if you don't mind, because we have a young man here more than determined to ask you a question about education. Reginald, right? Reginald, we've got a piece of tape of you at your school. Before you ask the President your question, let's take a look at that.

[A videotape was shown in which Reginald described how his school building had deteriorated over the years.]

Mr. Jennings. Somebody observed, Reginald, you're at least going to make an investigative reporter when you grow up. You've got all the moves there.

The President. Didn't he do a great job? Give him a hand. He was good. [Applause] Good job.

Mr. Jennings. What's your question for the President?

Q. A lot of the students are drawing away from their education. And one thing, a lot of kids are talking about Super Nintendo and

with increased growth. And so far—I talked to Mr. Panetta yesterday—we're well within our projections on deficit reduction.

Norway

Q. Mr. President, have you ruled out the possibility of sanctions against Norway because of whaling?

The President. We are working on this whaling issue. You know, the United States has taken a position opposed to commercial whaling, and we're working through this with Norway. The Vice President and I had a conversation about it this morning. We are working through the issue, and we feel comfortable about what we're doing. We think we're doing the right thing.

Q. [Inaudible]—environmental groups say you—

The President. Some environmental groups do. The most mainstream environmental groups have not joined these rather extreme claims that have been made against our country. Give us a chance to work through this. I think we'll come out in the right place.

Q. Madam Prime Minister, do you agree with the Commerce Department's opinion that your country's resumption of whaling goes against efforts to save the whale, so to speak?

Prime Minister Brundtland. No, I certainly don't. We would never have a policy which is not in accordance with international law. We would never have a policy which is not long-term sustainable development, not on this issue, not on any other.

[At this point, one group of reporters left the room, and another group entered.]

Q. [Inaudible]—whaling, Mr. President?

The President. We are working—we'll work through that. I have confidence that we will be able to work through it.

Q. Mr. President, in that letter to Congress last October, you said that you're going to work with Norway to create an inspection regime for commercial whaling within scientific limits. Is that still the U.S. position?

The President. What were you going to say, Mr. Vice President?

The Vice President. I was going to say, we're opposed to commercial whaling. We have always been committed to good, sound science. And as the President said, we're working with Norway to work through this issue. We're opposed to commercial whaling. We hope that we'll also, incidentally, be able to establish a sanctuary in Antarctica. We hope Norway will support that. But we're just going to work through the issue.

Q. Are you going to visit Norway, Mr. President?

The President. I hope I'll be able to go back. I went to Norway once when I was a young man. I loved it. I'd love to be able to go back someday; one of the best trips I ever made in my life.

NOTE: The exchange began at 10:07 a.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this exchange.

Question-and-Answer Session on the *Brown v. Board of Education* Supreme Court Decision in Beltsville, Maryland

May 17, 1994

The President. Good morning. Do you know why we're here? Why are we here, somebody?

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

The President. That's right, we are. What was the ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education*? What did the Supreme Court say?

Q. That "separate but equal" was unjust and unconstitutional.

The President. And what were the facts in the case? What gave rise to the case? What was the case about?

Q. Unsegregating schools in the South.

The President. In the South and in Topeka, Kansas. It was about a little schoolgirl named Linda Brown whose parents thought she should not be sent to a segregated school. The United States Supreme Court made that decision in 1954, 40 years ago today. Before that, the Su-

preme Court had ruled that "separate but equal" was constitutional, right? And when the Supreme Court makes a ruling like that, it's the law of the land until they change their minds.

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

Secretary Riley. He said he heard Lincoln all night long. [Laughter]

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

Yes?

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

The President. That's right. If the facilities were equal, they could be separate without violating the 14th amendment, right? So the *Brown* decision overruled that. Now, why did they overrule that? What was the argument? Why was "separate but equal"—what's the matter with that?

Go ahead.

Q. Well, people were still being—

The President. So they—

Q. [Inaudible]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

So I wouldn't—by no means have all the problems that were dealt with in the *Brown* decision, the problems of racial inequality and income inequality and the history of discrimination, those problems have not all been overcome. And today we have some new problems, at least problems that are more severe. There's more violence. The families and communities are under greater stress. There are a lot of problems that you face that people our age 40 years ago didn't face. We know that.

But the number one lesson I want to leave with you is that this is a very much better coun-

LEVEL 1 - 34 OF 35 STORIES

The Associated Press

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December 5, 1978, Wednesday, AM cycle

ADVANCED-DATE: December 2, 1978, AM cycle

LENGTH: 531 words

BYLINE: By BILL SIMMONS, Associated Press Writer

DATELINE: LITTLE ROCK, Ark.

BODY:

Bill Clinton, at 32, becomes the country's youngest governor in 40 years when he takes office Jan. 9. Chided by foes as "just a pretty face," the blue-eyed, brown-haired Democrat is, in fact, difficult to stereotype:

He's a former employee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee; a Vietnam War protester; a McGovern organizer in Texas in 1972; a Carter leader in Arkansas in 1976; a near-miss for Congress in 1974 in his first political outing; a utility-battling attorney general in his only other elected office.

He's a Baptist choirboy with a three-octave range who will yield at times - when the music is smooth, a microphone handy and just friends about - to the temptation to croon a tune or two.

He's a Dolly Parton fan, who once left consumer advocate Ralph Nader in midsentence to say hello to the singer, whose pinup adorns his office bathroom door.

He's a Rhodes scholar; a lawyer; a bit rusty now as a saxophone player; a diet-drink drinker; a jogger who eschews cigarettes but smokes an occasional pipe or cigar.

He's a speeder, sudden-braker, lane-shifter and tailgater as he rushes from office to home for fresh clothes before catching a plane; a man who runs a breakneck race to match the hectic pace of his schedule.

He's the husband of a Yale Law School classmate - Hillary Rodham of Park Ridge, Ill. - who, as a Little Rock lawyer, has kept her own name.

"She decided to do that when she was 9, long before women's lib came along," Clinton says.

"People wouldn't mind if they knew how old-fashioned she was in every conceivable way."



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His eloquence, often offhand, captivates crowds, and the word "charisma" shows up often in news articles about him.

Friends see the U.S. Senate and maybe more in his future. He talks of a second term as governor, maybe a third. "I really want to be governnor," he says. "I believe that a governor can do more for the people than any other political official."

Clinton clobbered the field in the Democratic primary in May, then won general election last month with 63 percent of the vote.

Clinton succeeds Gov. David Pryor, who was elected to the U.S. Senate.

Trepidation at being governor at 32? "Yes," he responds at once, because his age may encourage some "to test me . . . to see if I'm easier to budge or spook" than an older, more experienced politician might be.

The test may begin with the Legislature, which goes into session the day Clinton takes office.

Clinton says he expects to take his lumps. "No governor bats 100 percent, and I won't either, but I hope my failures won't be perceived as a consequence of age," he says.

Asked how he would like his administration remembered 20 years from now, Clinton says.

"As a sort of high tide in the feeling people had for the quality of life and the services they got from their state government."

Clinton says he favors integration "of the schools and everything else," but maintains that "busing and breaking up neighborhoods" don't sit well with him.

And he says it's his impression that the Legislature is not inclined to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment, and he won't try to push it, even though he says he's "for it in principle."

GRAPHIC: Laserphoto

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH



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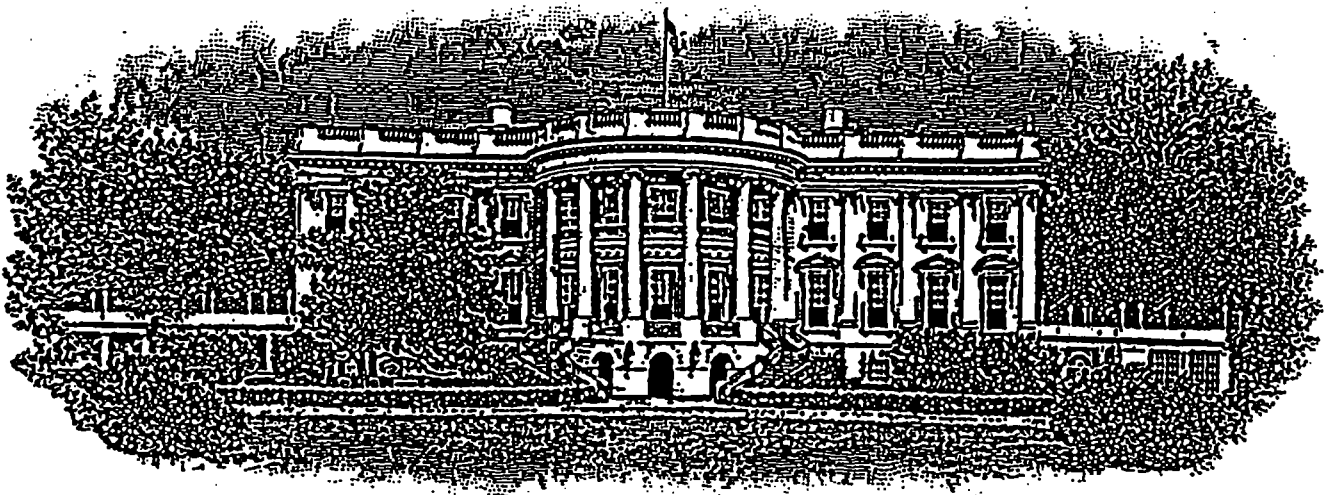


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Declining Minority Enrollments (DRAFT -- July 16, 1997)

Question: Are you concerned about reports of declining enrollments of minority students in postsecondary education, such as in California and Texas?

Answer: These trends are disturbing and completely unacceptable. Educational opportunity is the touchstone of the American dream, and these declines raise a serious concern that the doors of college education are being closed to minority students. In addition, diversity in education helps prepare all our students to be productive citizens in the 21st century, so these developments should concern every American.

Question: What is your administration doing to address this problem?

Answer: We are working on several fronts to address this issue:

- We will continue to intervene in litigation in support of appropriate affirmative action programs. The Department of Education is looking for a good opportunity to challenge the Hopwood decision, and the Department of Justice has filed a brief challenging California's Proposition 209.



- In response to a complaint, the Office for Civil Rights at the Department of Education is investigating the admissions policies at the University of California law schools.
- The Office for Civil Rights is also conducting a review of the Texas higher education system to ensure that Texas has eliminated all remnants of its former de jure segregated system.
- And, more broadly, the Administration is pressing higher education officials to maintain and expand diversity, and offering assistance to them to do so. For example, we have called on colleges and universities burdened by new legal restrictions to develop new and creative approaches to achieving diversity, such as aggressively recruiting in secondary schools with high percentages of minority students and forming educational partnerships with such schools.