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September 1997

Divider Title: _____

**THE TRIP OF
THE PRESIDENT
TO
PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS
PASADENA / HOUSTON, TEXAS
HOT SPRINGS, ARKANSAS**

September 24-28, 1997

**Staff Copy
Part 1 (September 24-25, 1997)**

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- Accomplishments

SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT

FOR

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 24, 1997

WASHINGTON, D.C.

PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA

LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

FINAL SCHEDULE

SCHEDULING DIRECTOR:

STEPHANIE STREETT

HOME: 202-332-5651

OFFICE: 202-456-2823

WHCA PAGER: 4033

TRIP COORDINATOR:
(Pittsburgh, PA)

AVIVA STEINBERG

HOME: 202-362-1813

OFFICE: 202-456-2920

WHCA PAGER: 4022

TRIP COORDINATOR:
(Little Rock, AR)

LAURA GRAHAM

HOME: 703-212-7642

OFFICE: 202-456-2349

WHCA PAGER: 4809

PRESS DESK:

ANNE EDWARDS

HOME: 301-565-3101

OFFICE: 202-456-2921

WHCA PAGER: 4208

ADVANCE LEAD:
(Pittsburgh, PA)

BOB GAINES

CELL PHONE: 202-757-9215

SKY PAGER: 207-4772

ADVANCE LEAD:
(Little Rock, AR)

MORT ENGELBERG

CELL PHONE: 202-757-9215

WHCA PAGER: 5704

WEATHER:

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Partly cloudy. Wind northeast to east at 6 to 12 knots. Low 50 to 55. High 65 to 70.

PITTSBURGH, P.A.

Partly to mostly cloudy. Wind north at 10 to 15 knots. Low 42 to 47. High 60 to 65.

LITTLE ROCK, A.R.

Mostly cloudy with showers and thunderstorms.

Wind east-northeast at 5 to 10 knots. Low 63 to 68. High 70 to 75.

**SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT
FOR
WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 24, 1997**
WASHINGTON, D.C.
PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS
FINAL SCHEDULE

8:00 am **THE PRESIDENT** proceeds to the South Lawn

8:05 am **THE PRESIDENT** departs the White House via Marine One en route
Andrews Air Force Base
[flight time: 10 minutes]

8:15 am **THE PRESIDENT** arrives Andrews Air Force Base

8:30 am **THE PRESIDENT** departs Andrews Air Force Base via Air Force One
en route Air Force Reserve, Pittsburgh International Airport, Pittsburgh,
Pennsylvania
[flight time: 55 minutes]

9:25 am **THE PRESIDENT** arrives Air Force Reserve, Pittsburgh International
Airport, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania
CLOSED PUBLIC
OPEN PRESS

 Greeters: Mike Dawida, Allegheny County Commissioner
 David Matter

9:40 am **THE PRESIDENT** departs Pittsburgh International Airport via
motorcade en route the David L. Lawrence Convention Center
[drive time: 30 minutes]

10:10 am **THE PRESIDENT** arrives at the David L. Lawrence Convention
Center

 Greeters: Richard Trumka, Secretary General, AFL-CIO
 Linda Chavez-Thompson, Vice President, AFL-CIO
 John Sweeney, President, AFL-CIO (Backstage)

10:15 am-
11:10 am

**ADDRESS THE AFL-CIO CONVENTION
CONVENTION HALL**
David L. Lawrence Convention Center
Remarks: Lowell Weiss
Staff Contact: Craig Smith
Event Coordinator: Aviva Steinberg
OPEN PRESS

- **The President**, Richard Trumka, Linda Chavez-Thompson, and John Sweeney are off-stage announced.
- John Sweeney makes brief remarks and introduces **the President**.
- **The President** makes remarks.
- **The President** works a ropeline and departs.

11:15 am-
11:20 am

**DRIVER PHOTOS
HALLWAY**
David L. Lawrence Convention Center
Event Coordinator: Aviva Steinberg
WHITE HOUSE PHOTO ONLY

11:20 am-
11:35 am

**PHONE INTERVIEW WITH TERRY LEMMONS OF THE
ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT GAZETTE**
ROOM N-8
David L. Lawrence Convention Center
Staff Contact: Mike McCurry
Event Coordinator: Aviva Steinberg
CLOSED PRESS

11:40 am-
11:45 am

**POLICE PHOTOS
HALLWAY**
David L. Lawrence Convention Center
Event Coordinator: Aviva Steinberg
WHITE HOUSE PHOTO ONLY

11:50 am

THE PRESIDENT departs the David L. Lawrence Convention Center via motorcade en route the Duquesne Club
[drive time: 5 minutes]

11:55 am

THE PRESIDENT arrives at the Duquesne Club

Greeters: David and Susan Matter
Phil and Diann Stout
John Connelly
Andree Wirginis

12:00 pm-

PHOTO RECEIVING LINE

12:40 pm

ADAMS ROOM

The Duquesne Club

Staff Contact: Craig Smith

Event Coordinator: Aviva Steinberg

CLOSED PRESS

-- **The President** does a photo receiving line with 90 guests.

12:40 pm-

DNC LUNCH

1:20 pm

WALNUT ROOM

The Duquesne Club

Remarks: Laura Capps

Staff Contact: Craig Smith

Event Coordinator: Aviva Steinberg

POOL PRESS (Speaking Program Only)

-- **The President** enters the room.

-- Lunch is served.

-- David Matter makes welcoming remarks.

-- Mike Dawida, Allegheny County Commissioner, makes brief remarks.

-- Mayor Tom Murphy makes brief remarks.

-- **The President** makes brief remarks and departs.

1:25 pm

THE PRESIDENT departs the Duquesne Club via motorcade en route Air Force Reserve, Pittsburgh International Airport
[drive time: 25 minutes]

1:50 pm

THE PRESIDENT arrives Air Force Reserve, Pittsburgh International Airport
CLOSED PUBLIC
OPEN PRESS

Note: The Departure is open to Air Force Reserve Base Personnel and their families.

2:05 pm EST

THE PRESIDENT departs Pittsburgh International Airport, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania via Air Force One en route Little Rock, Arkansas
[flight time: 1 hour, 55 minutes]
[time change: - 1 hour]

3:00 pm CDT
(4:00 pm EST)

THE PRESIDENT arrives Adams Field, Little Rock, Arkansas
CLOSED PUBLIC
OPEN PRESS

**Note: The arrival is open to airport and base personnel.
(Approximately 40 people)**

Greeters: Lieutenant Governor Winthrop Rockefeller
Attorney General Winston Bryant
State Treasurer Jimmie Lou Fisher
State Auditor Gus Wingfield
Speaker of the House Bobby Hogue
House Majority Leader Ernest Cunningham
Senate Majority Leader Stan Russ (T)
State Representative Sandra Rodgers
State Representative Steve Faris (T)
State Senator Jim Hill
Little Rock Mayor Jim Dailey
North Little Rock Mayor Patrick Henry Hayes

3:15 pm

THE PRESIDENT departs Adams Field via motorcade en route Private Residence
[drive time: 15 minutes]

3:30 pm

THE PRESIDENT arrives at the Private Residence

Washington, D.C.
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania
Little Rock, Arkansas
Wednesday, September 24, 1997

OPTIONAL:

TBD

DROP-BY CENTRAL HIGH VISITORS CENTER

CENTRAL HIGH VISITORS CENTER

Staff Contact: Maria Echaveste, Ann Walker

CLOSED PRESS

BC AND HRC RON

PRIVATE RESIDENCE

LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT

FOR

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 25, 1997

LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

DRAFT SCHEDULE

SCHEDULING DIRECTOR:

STEPHANIE STREETT

HOME: 202-332-5651

OFFICE: 202-456-2823

WHCA PAGER: 4033

TRIP COORDINATOR:

LAURA GRAHAM

HOME: 703-212-7642

OFFICE: 202-456-2349

WHCA PAGER: 4809

PRESS DESK:

ANNE EDWARDS

HOME: 301-565-3101

OFFICE: 202-456-2921

WHCA PAGER: 4208

ADVANCE LEAD:

(Little Rock, A.R.)

MORT ENGELBERG

CELL PHONE: 202-757-9215

WHCA PAGER: 5704

WEATHER:

LITTLE ROCK, A.R.

Partly cloudy with a chance of scattered showers.

Wind north at 7 to 12 knots.

Low 59 to 64.

High 75 to 80.

**SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT
FOR
THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 25, 1997
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS**

8:45 am

THE PRESIDENT and the First Lady depart the private residence via motorcade en route Central High School
[drive time: 10 minutes]

MOTORCADE MANIFEST

8:55 am

THE PRESIDENT and First Lady arrive at Central High School

Greeters:

9:00 am-

BRIEFING/SPEECH PREP

9:45 am

ROOM TBD

Central High School

Staff Contact: Sylvia Mathews

9:50 am-

MEET AND GREET WITH THE LITTLE ROCK NINE

10:05 am

ROOM TBD

Central High School

Staff Contact: Maria Echaveste, Ann Walker

Event Coordinator: Laura Graham

STILLS ONLY

-- **The President** and First Lady greet the members of the Little Rock Nine.

10:10 am-
11:55 am

**ADDRESS TO THE 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE LITTLE
ROCK CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL DESEGREGATION
CEREMONY**

OUTSIDE GROUNDS (Rain Site: AUDITORIUM)

Central High School

Remarks: Michael Waldman, June Shih

Staff Contact: Maria Echaveste, Ann Walker

Event Coordinator: Laura Graham

OPEN PRESS

- Off stage announcement of **the President** and the First Lady, accompanied by Governor and Mrs. Mike Huckabee, Mayor and Mrs. Jim Daley, Daisy Bates, Rudolph Howard, Principal, Central High School and Fatima McKindra, Central High School Student Body Principal to "Ruffles and Flourishes" and "Hail to the Chief."
- Rudolph Howard makes welcoming remarks and introduces Mayor Jim Daley.
- Mayor Jim Daley acknowledges the family members of the Little Rock Nine and individually introduces the Little Rock Nine on to the stage.
- The Pledge of Allegiance is recited by two students tbd.
- The National Anthem is performed by students tbd
- Mayor Jim Daley makes brief remarks and introduces Governor Mike Huckabee.
- Governor Mike Huckabee makes brief remarks.
- Mayor Jim Daley introduces the First Lady.
- The First Lady makes brief remarks and introduces Ernie Green, Little Rock Nine Representative.
- Ernie Green makes brief remarks and introduces Fatima McKindra, Central High School Student Body Principal.
- Fatima McKindra makes brief remarks and introduces **the President**.
- **The President** makes remarks.

- Upon the conclusion of his remarks, **the President**, Governor Huckabee and Mayor Daley proceed up the steps and open the doors of the school for the Little Rock Nine.
- The Little Rock Nine, followed by **the President**, Governor Huckabee and Mayor Daley proceed through the doors.

Note: The First Lady will remain on the stage. The President and the First Lady will have the option to work the ropeline.

12:00 pm-
12:45 pm

PHOTO RECEIVING LINE WITH LITTLE ROCK NINE AND THEIR FAMILIES

ROOM TBD

Central High School

Staff Contact: Maria Echaveste, Ann Walker

Event Coordinator: Laura Graham

WHITE HOUSE PHOTO ONLY

- **The President** does a receiving line with 125 guests.
(9 Family Photos)

12:50 pm-
1:00 pm

MEETING WITH JOHN HOPE FRANKLIN AND GOVERNOR WINTER

ROOM TBD

Central High School

Staff Contact: Sylvia Mathews

CLOSED PRESS

1:00 pm-
7:30 pm

DOWN TIME

7:30 pm

THE PRESIDENT departs the private residence via motorcade en route Aerospace Education Center
[drive time: approximately 10 minutes]

MOTORCADE MANIFEST

7:40 pm

THE PRESIDENT arrives the Aerospace Education Center

Greeters: Governor Mike Huckabee
Secretary Hershal Gober
Mrs. Mary Lou Keener (spouse)
Paul Bucha, President, Congressional Medal of
Honor Society
Nick Bacon, Director, State Veterans Affairs

7:45 pm-
8:45 pm

CONGRESSIONAL MEDAL OF HONOR SOCIETY RECEPTION
ROOM TBD

Aerospace Education Center

Remarks: Tony Blinken

Staff Contact: Thurgood Marshall, Jr., Bob Jones

Event Coordinator: Laura Graham

OPEN PRESS

Note: There will be approximately 700 guests, including 100 Medal of Honor recipients in attendance.

- Off stage announcement of **the President**, Secretary Hershal Gober and Paul Bucha, President, Congressional Medal of Honor Society, to "Ruffles and Flourishes" and "Hail to the Chief."
- Paul Bucha makes brief remarks and introduces Secretary Gober.
- Secretary Gober makes brief remarks and introduces **the President**.
- **The President** makes remarks, works a ropeline and departs.

8:55 pm

THE PRESIDENT departs the Aerospace Education Center via motorcade en route the Private Residence
[drive time: 10 minutes]

MOTORCADE MANIFEST

DOWN FOR THE EVENING

BC AND HRC RON

**PRIVATE RESIDENCE
LITTLE ROCK, A.R.**

AFL-CIO CONVENTION

DATE: September 24, 1997
LOCATION: David H. Lawrence Convention Center
TIME: 10:15 - 11:10 a.m.
FROM: Craig T. Smith & Karen A. Tramontano

I. PURPOSE

YOU are speaking at the AFL-CIO's 22nd Bi-Annual Constitutional Convention. The convention will elect a slate of officers and an executive council for the next two years. The convention's focus is to get international unions, locals, and members more invested in organizing and political action.

II. BACKGROUND

The convention opened on Monday, September 22 under the theme, Building a Movement of America's Workers. Among other events, 100 workers were brought to the stage to applaud their efforts to organize thousands of workers. On Tuesday, September 22, the banner was "Making Government Work for Working Families," and workers were honored for their grassroots political efforts. The banner for Wednesday is "A New Voice for Workers in a Changing Global Economy," with the election of officers taking place. On Thursday, the theme is "A New Voice for Workers in our Communities."

III. PARTICIPANTS

Monday: Sen. Daschle & Sen. Specter
Tuesday: Rep. Gephardt & Sec. Herman
Wednesday: Rev. Jesse Jackson

IV. PRESS PLAN

Open.

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

- 10:10 a.m.
YOU arrive backstage Convention Center.
- 10:15 a.m.
John Sweeney, President of the AFL-CIO, introduces YOU.
YOU make remarks.
YOU work a ropeline and depart.

Draft 9/23/97 7:45pm

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
REMARKS AT THE AFL-CIO CONVENTION
PITTSBURGH, PA
September 24, 1997**

When I spoke at your last Constitutional Convention, it was two days before you elected the Dream Team of John, Rich, and Linda. Haven't they done an outstanding job? With their passionate leadership and your rejuvenated organizing efforts, you are ensuring that America works for working Americans. Once again, American labor has a strong, clear voice. Once again, you are making it heard.

You made it heard loud and proud in the boardrooms of the United Parcel Service. You have made it heard in the halls of the Capitol, standing up to a barrage of anti-worker legislation. You are making it heard in the strawberry and mushroom fields of California, in the fiery tones of Arturo Rodriguez and with the noble echoes of Cesar Chavez. You are making it heard in nursing homes in Minnesota, giving new strength to women workers. You are making it heard right here in Pittsburgh, through the Steelworkers' biggest organizing campaign in more than 60 years.

This is a very proud time for the working men and women of the AFL-CIO. As the nation can clearly see -- and hear -- American labor is back. And your strong voice has helped make America strong. Thanks in no small part to your leadership in the workplace and your involvement in the political process, America is back too.

Six years ago, when I announced my candidacy for President, I said that I had a vital mission for America in the 21st Century: to keep the American Dream alive for every person responsible enough to work for it. . . to keep America the world's strongest force for peace, freedom, and prosperity. . . and to bring our people together across all the lines that divide us, into one America. America's oldest and most incandescent ideals -- opportunity for all, responsibility from all, a community of all -- had to illuminate our path as we strode forward to address the challenges of a new time.

We put in place a bold new economic strategy to shrink the deficit, invest in our people, and lower unfair trade barriers to our goods. The philosophy was solid and simple: remove the impediments that have restrained the American people and then give them the tools and training to help them race ahead. By reducing the nation's massive deficits, we would free our people of the deadweight that has slowed their every step. By investing in their education and health, we would help enable them to run fast and strong over the long course of their lives. By reducing trade barriers, we would knock down the unfairly high hurdles they have had to leap over for far too long.

The strategy has succeeded. Nearly 13 million new jobs -- including millions of good construction, manufacturing, and health-care jobs. America is leading the world in auto production once again. Unemployment below 5%. The biggest drop in welfare rolls in history.

Dramatic drops in crime year after year. We know we have more to do, but together we have made progressive government work again.

Let's look at the three crucial elements of our economic growth strategy -- reducing the deficit, investing in our people, and expanding exports -- one at a time. First, deficit reduction. Back in 1993, when I introduced my deficit-reduction plan, we both knew how important it was to get our fiscal house in order. We did it the right way. While increasing investments in our people -- and without a single Republican vote -- we cut the deficit by 87%.

After a new majority took over Congress in 1994, they tried to cut the deficit the wrong way. They sent me a budget that made deep cuts in Medicare . . . that increased taxes on working Americans . . . that allowed corporations to raid their workers' pensions . . . that cut enforcement of worker safety laws . . . that slashed funding for education and training by \$30 billion. And I vetoed it. Later, when they pushed a balanced budget with a harmful independent-contractor provision, a misguided privatization scheme for Medicaid, and a shameful plan to deny Workfare participants the minimum wage, we stood firm. We stood firm until we achieved a balanced budget that honored our workers and our values.

The second element of our economic growth strategy is investing in our people, because in this new economy our most precious resources are the skills and security of working Americans. Here, too, we are succeeding. After decades of working harder and longer for lower wages, millions of working Americans are finally getting a raise. And it's about time. Since I took office, the yearly income of the typical family is up \$1,600 and wages are rising again. With your strong support, we increased the minimum wage and dramatically increased the Earned Income Tax Credit. And this summer I signed into law a \$500-per-child tax credit that will mean an increase of \$1,000 in take-home pay for a typical family with two children. And I did not sign that bill until we made it work for rookie police officers, teachers, and others of modest means the Republicans would have left out.

From 1945 until the mid '70s, all of us grew together. From the mid '70s to the early '90s, our economy continued to grow, but we began to grow apart. Fortunately, it now looks like our hard work is paying off and America is starting to grow together again. But we cannot rest. We must keep working until every single American can reap the rewards of a growing economy.

And that is why investing in people, above all, means giving every American the best education in the world. Our balanced budget includes the largest increase in aid to education since 1965 and the biggest increase in higher education since the G.I. Bill 50 years ago. We created a new HOPE Scholarship and tuition tax credits for college and skills training, secured the biggest increase in Pell Grants in two decades, doubled aid for dislocated workers, and provided \$1 billion more per year for Head Start. Our next great challenge must be to insist on voluntary, high national standards of academic excellence so all our children master the basics.

There are those who say No . . . those who oppose every effort to expand educational opportunity . . . those who would close down our national Department of Education, tear down our commitment to scholarships and grants, shut down innovative initiatives like America Reads. I need your help in the tough days ahead -- because with your help we will open up opportunity.

build up public education, and shake up the stodgy, status-quo crowd that fights our every effort to lift up our children.

Investing in people also means protecting the rights of workers to demand their rights.

Over the past four years, we have defeated callous attempts to repeal prevailing wage laws, bring back company unions, and weaken occupational safety laws. We cracked down on sweatshops. We fought to protect your pension funds, and made pensions more portable. I have vetoed every piece of anti-labor legislation that has crossed my desk -- and I will continue to do so. We cannot move into the 21st Century with labor policies from the 19th Century.

Let me say a word about the UPS strike. This Administration believes deeply in the collective bargaining process. And in the UPS strike, collective bargaining worked. UPS and the Teamsters reached a historic settlement that recognizes that companies must invest in their workers in order to be competitive in the 21st Century.

And investing in people means expanding access to quality health care. The Family Leave law ensures that millions of people don't have to choose between being good parents and good workers. The Kennedy-Kassebaum law helps millions to keep their health care if they take a new job. The new balanced budget expands health care to 5 million of the most vulnerable Americans -- 5 million children. That is the largest investment in health since the creation of Medicaid in 1965. And now we must pass sweeping legislation to keep tobacco out of the hands of our children.

The final component of our three-part economic strategy -- one that is just as essential for our future growth and future wages -- is our continuing work to open new markets and give American workers a fair break. I know we don't see eye to eye on this, but I think I owe it to you to explain in person why I feel so passionately about expanding markets. We simply cannot create jobs and increase wages if we do not expand trade. More than one third of the economic growth that has produced 13 million new jobs over the past 4 years came from selling more American products overseas. We have 4% of the world's population and 20% of its wealth. If you want to keep 20% of the wealth with 4% of the people, you must sell something to the other 96%.

In the next 15 years, the developing countries of Latin America and Asia will grow 3 times as fast as the United States, Europe, and Japan. We must participate in that growth. We must forge fair trade deals that allow us entry into markets where we have been at a significant disadvantage for far too long. Our markets are among the most open in the world. We must insist on the same treatment abroad. If we don't act -- and lead -- no one is going to level the playing field for us.

Last year, I had a chance to visit the Jeep Cherokee plant in Toledo. That's a UAW plant, producing tens of thousands of right-wheel drive Jeeps for export to Japan and other markets we fought hard to open up. Expanded exports have accounted for 700 jobs at this plant alone. That's 700 UAW families supported by good wages and good benefits. That is how we make global trade work for us.

Should we ask people to adhere to global standards so we can preserve the global environment? Absolutely. No Administration in history has done more to preserve and protect the environment. Should we acknowledge that global trade can pull the rug out from under some of our workers? Absolutely. No Administration in history has done more to aid displaced workers and help all Americans increase their skills. But we also must recognize that the global economy will not go away. If we do not make the global economy work for us, it will work against us -- and overwhelm us.

This debate will be tough. We both know that. But this I promise: The debate over fair trade will be a fair debate. We share far too many values and priorities to let this disagreement damage the partnership of those who stand for working America. Let us remember, there are many good members of Congress who support open trade -- and also fought for the minimum wage . . . who support open trade -- and also fought to provide health care to 5 million children . . . who support open trade -- and also fought to protect Medicare and Medicaid and to make community college free for every American. They have done so in the face of intense pressure from the majority in Congress and the special interests. They have fought for working people, and they deserve our support. America is far better off when all friends of working people stand together -- without letting one issue trump all others. I pledge to do that, and I hope you will too.

Finally, I want to ask for your leadership in an area where you have always been out front: helping to preserve the bonds of community that bind us together as Americans.

Tomorrow, in my home state of Arkansas, I will try to focus the nation on a haunting but hopeful moment in our country's struggle to make "America the nation" live up to "America the idea" -- the day nine brave African-American boys and girls, shielded from a hateful crowd by U.S. Army paratroopers, walked through the doors of Little Rock Central High School. I will honor the courage and vision of those whose eyes were fixed on the prize of integration. But I will also note how many doors we have yet to open -- not the doors of schools and lunch counters and clubs, but rather the doors of true understanding that are sometimes half-closed in the corners of our minds.

You are in a unique position to help. Thanks to the tradition of early visionaries like A. Philip Randolph and Walter Reuther, the labor movement has helped generations of African-Americans and new immigrants gain dignity and respect as they lent their skills to the ongoing work of building America. Your members have reached across racial and ethnic lines to fight for a common future. Few institutions in America have been so successful. Therefore, it is no coincidence that one of the members of my Race Advisory Commission is your dynamic Executive Vice President, Linda Chavez-Thompson. I am grateful for her help.

A century ago, the working men and women of labor imagined an America where old people had health security . . . where African-Americans enjoyed equal protection under the law . . . where working people had the right to organize and fight for a better life. Because they imagined it, and worked for it, we are living in that America today. Now it is up to us to imagine the America of the 21st Century -- an America in which every child has a world-class education, in which we lift living standards here and around the world, in which our oldest values of opportunity, responsibility, and community guide us in a new time. And if we imagine it, and build it, we can make it real. I ask for your help. Thank you and God bless you.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 23, 1997

PHONE INTERVIEW WITH *ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT GAZETTE*

DATE: September 24, 1997
LOCATION: David Lawrence Convention Center
Room, N-8
Pittsburgh, PA
TIME: 11:20 - 11:35am
FROM: Mike McCurry

I. PURPOSE

This interview will provide you with an opportunity to preview your Central High School Anniversary speech and highlight the race initiative for the people of Arkansas and those visiting Little Rock for the Central High School Anniversary.

II. BACKGROUND

Terry Lemons recently replaced Kathy Kiely as the Washington Bureau Chief for the paper. He has covered Congress for the paper for years. Jane Fullerton is the new White House correspondent for the paper. Jane and Terry are married with a child.

Your personal perspective on the Central high integration will be the focus of this interview. The subsequent article will be the centerpiece of the Arkansas Democrat Gazette's extensive coverage of the Central High Commemoration. This is an opportunity for you to share your personal experience of Central High conflict, preview your speech, and highlight your race initiative to journalists covering the commemoration, those attending the event, and the people of Arkansas.

The following is a sample of the type of questions you can expect:

- * What are your memories from Central High School integration?
- * How did this shape your view of race relations?
- * What does Central High mean to you?
- * It has been 40 years since Central High integration and we still suffer with racial unrest, what progress has your advisory board made on confronting this problem?

III. PARTICIPANTS

The President

Mike McCurry

Terry Lemons, Arkansas Democrat Gazette, via phone

Jane Fullerton, Arkansas Democrat Gazette, via phone

IV. PRESS PLAN

Interview is exclusive to Arkansas Democrat Gazette. The story will run on the front page of Thursday's paper.

V. ATTACHMENTS

Questions and Answers for Press Interviews

**DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE
PITTSBURGH LUNCHEON
HONORING PRESIDENT CLINTON**

Date: September 24, 1997

Venue: The Duquesne Club

Time: 11:45 a.m.

Fr: Paul DiNino, Finance Director

I. PURPOSE

The purpose of the luncheon is to raise funds for the Democratic National Committee.

II. BACKGROUND

The luncheon is an event to engage new and renewing members of the National Finance Council in the Pittsburgh metropolitan area. The National Finance Council is the DNC's donor program for business and community leaders from throughout the nation.

III. PARTICIPANTS

Please see the attached guest list.

IV. PRESS PLAN

This event is open to the press for remarks.

V. SEQUENCE

11:45 a.m.

- YOU arrive
- YOU greet David and Susan Matter, Event Hosts, Phil and Diann Stout, John Connelly and Audree Wirginis, Luncheon Hosts.
- YOU greet guests in a photo-receiving line.
- YOU are seated at the head table.
- PROGRAM
 - David Matter, Event Host delivers brief remarks and introduces The Honorable Mike Dawida, Allegheny County Commissioner.
 - Mike Dawida delivers brief remarks and introduces The Honorable Tom Murphy, Mayor of Pittsburgh.
 - Mayor Murphy delivers brief remarks and introduces YOU.
 - YOU deliver remarks.
- YOU depart.

VI. REMARKS

Your remarks will be provided by speechwriting.

Acknowledge: Mayor Tom Murphey;
State Sen. Robert Mellow; Allegheny Co.
Commissioners Bob Cranmer and Mike
Dawida; Judge Del Sole; State Tres.
Catherine Baker Knoll; Former Mayor
Sophie Masloff. Event Host David Matter.

• **4 yrs ago, goals: Am Dr, peace/freedom,
One Amer. Keep values alive in new time.**

Economic plan Def. ↘ 80+%. 12.9M jobs;
unemp below 5%; core inflation lowest in 30
years. Family income up 1,600. Crime,
welfare down. Kassebaum/Kennedy. FMLA

• **Now, hist. bal bud:** Up to 5 M+ insured
children (24 B); 3 B w to w jobs; secures
Medicare for a decade; 500 toxic sites; legal
immigrants.

Moment of hope - but more to do.

• **Exp. Opp. through Educ:** bggst educ.
increase since 1965, 35 B in tax cuts; \$1,500
HOPE. Now, standards, fight Gorton Amdt.

• **Expand Opp. through increased trade:**
200 trade agreements. Need fast track:
4%/96%, labor & enviro goals.

• **Demand Responsibility:** High quality
healthcare: med. records privacy, genetic
discrimination; Tobaccogoals, teen smoking
reduced 30% in 5 yrs, 50 % in 7 yrs, 60% in
10 yrs. Climate Change; CFR(McCain-Fein,
free TV); Juv. Justice, Child Care Conf.

• **Community:** One America.

September 23, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Craig Smith and Nick Baldick

SUBJECT: Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION RESULTS

1992

Clinton/Gore	45%	2,239,164
Bush/Quayle	36%	1,791,841
Perot/Stockdale	18%	902,667

1996

Clinton/Gore	49%	2,206,241
Dole/Kemp	40%	1,793,568
Perot/Choate	10%	430,082

MOST RECENT PRINCIPAL TRAVEL

YOU were in Pittsburgh on July 17, 1997, to speak to the National NAACP conference.

The Vice President was in Pittsburgh on September 20, 1997, to speak to the AFL-CIO at their annual meeting.

The Vice President was in Philadelphia on August 8, 1997, where he made remarks to the National Conference of State Legislatures, had lunch with Mayor Rendell, and attended a DLCC luncheon and reception.

The Vice President was in Pittsburgh on July 8, 1997, to speak at the University of Pittsburgh about education tax credits.

The First Lady was in Philadelphia on June 10, 1997, for a Women's Leadership Forum fundraiser.

1998 GUBERNATORIAL RACE

Governor Tom Ridge (R) is seeking reelection in 1998. He currently faces no Republican primary challengers, and has already raised more than \$5 million. However, Ridge may face a challenge from the conservative right in the general election. Peg Luksic, a right-to-lifer who ran against Ridge in '94 on a third party ticket, will likely challenge him again.

However, some observers note that while Ridge may appear invincible, his support of an increased gas tax, and a higher license plate fee may be chinks in his armor which hurt him during the election.

Unfortunately, unless the Democrats find a formidable candidate, Ridge may be a lock for reelection. Philadelphia Mayor Edward Rendell (D) has said he will not run, citing his promise

to finish his term as mayor. Former Lt. Governor, 1994 gubernatorial candidate, and current State Democratic Party Chair Mark Singel (D) has also announced he will not run. Although Singel cited family considerations, many people believe that an announcement by Philadelphia Democratic fundraiser and '94 Singel campaign co-chair, Bill Batoff, that he will support Ridge, dissuaded Singel from entering the race.

With Rendell and Singel out of the race, only a thin field of possible Democrats remain. So far, the only Democrat who has stepped forward to challenge Ridge is State House Democratic Whip Ivan Itkin. Recently political observers have speculated that Itkin might pull out of the race. Yet last week Itkin went public with a brochure which attacked Ridge and contained several pictures of himself with other influential and popular Pennsylvania Democrats. The other person seriously being mentioned as a possible candidate is former Lt. Governor Ernest Kline (D). Kline has been making the rounds visiting with powerful Democrats, but has been very coy with the media. Sources say he will announce whether or not he is running by the end of October. Tom Foley (D) the former State Labor Secretary has also been mentioned as a likely candidate. Corporate executive Betty Martin Mushin is also another potential gubernatorial candidate but Democratic leaders are trying to push her to run for the Senate seat now that Rhodes is out. It is likely that she will announce her intentions soon. Other names that have been mentioned include State Superior Court Judge Kate Ford Elliot, and former Rep. Marjorie Margolies Mezvinsky.

Singel has announced that he plans to make a list of potential 1998 candidates for governor, lieutenant governor and U. S. Senate available for the party's state committee meeting last weekend. Singel said he has been meeting with key Democrats, such as Rep. John Murtha and Philadelphia Mayor Ed Rendell.

1998 SENATE RACE

Senator Arlen Specter (R) is seeking election to a fourth term in 1998. In 1992, Specter narrowly defeated Lynn Yeakel (D), 49% to 46%, despite out spending her 2-1. Currently, Specter has about \$2.3 million on hand. After running as a moderate in the 1996 Presidential primary, the pro-choice Specter has made strong efforts to placate conservatives in order to position himself to scare off or defeat any possible primary challenges from the right wing of the Republican Party. Pennsylvania's Republican leadership--including Ridge, Sen. Rick Santorum (R), and Pennsylvania Republican Party Chair Alan Novack (R)--have all been publicly united behind Specter since the early spring.

While Specter's political well-being within the Republican party remains relatively secure, there are questions surrounding his physical well-being. Doubts continue to surround Specter's recovery from a brain tumor, and rumors abound that he is seeking continued treatment. Observers close to Specter deny these reports vehemently.

On the Democratic side, no formidable opposition exists. Former State Secretary of Aging Linda Rhodes and State Senator Allison Schwartz were seen to be the top contenders, but both recently announced they will not challenge Specter in the election.

PHILADELPHIA

HOUSE ELECTION

With the Senate scheduling confirmation hearings so swiftly for Rep. Tom Foglietta's nomination as Ambassador to Italy, Philadelphia political leaders are scrambling to seek a special election this November, before next year's primary. Former Rep. Lucien Blackwell (D), an African American, and Philadelphia Dem. Chair Bob Brady, who is White, are both considered front-runners for the seat representing the majority African American CD. Other Democrats vying for the seat include State Rep. Andrew Carn and longtime Foglietta aide and ward leader Stanley White. Republicans include PA Revenue Department clerk Linda Bateman (R), State Rep. John Taylor (R), and state athletic commissioner George Boshetto (R). Nominees will be chosen by the respective Democratic and Republican ward leaders but the constituency is overwhelmingly Democrat. According to *Roll Call* in a September 8th article, Republicans have "virtually no shot at the seat." The one problem for the Democrats would be if one of the Democratic candidates chooses to run as an independent after losing in the primary nomination.

PITTSBURGH MAYOR'S RACE

Following a hard fought Democratic Primary victory, Mayor Tom Murphy (D)--who defeated City Councilman Rob O'Connor (D) and Activist Chaston Roston (D)--should coast to an easy victory in this predominantly Democratic city come November.

Democratic Primary Results

	<u>Votes</u>	<u>Election %'s</u>
Murphy	35,557	54%
O'Connor	27,652	42%
Roston	3,104	4%

While he does face a Republican challenger in Harry Frost (R), the city's Democratic majority virtually assures Democratic candidates a win in the general election. Frost is facing financial woes and was recently asked to withdraw from the race by Republican party Chairman David Hamstead. Frost has been the target of 10 lawsuits since 1995, all alleging that he has been negligent in paying thousands of dollars in wages, taxes, and mortgage payments.

HOT ISSUES

The Vice President's reception at the AFL-CIO Meeting

The **Vice President's** trip to Pittsburgh last week to address the AFL-CIO was very well received. He was introduced as "No. 2 in the line of succession, but the No. 1 organizer in the U.S." He addressed the group in two speeches and several "private meetings with rank-and-file organizers and top union chieftains." John Sweeney, the AFL-CIO president, offered the **Vice President** "lavish praise." The *Los Angeles Times* quoted the **Vice President** as saying to "rousing applause" that "this administration has always been proudly pro-union, pro-worker, pro-strong family, and I guaran-damn-tee-you, we always will be." Additionally, AFSCME president Jerry McEntee was quoted as saying the **Vice President** "is a guy who comes through for us."

Racial Tension

The October 12, 1995, death of Johnny Gammage, an African American motorist, at the hands of five white police officers sparked racial unrest throughout Pittsburgh that continues to smolder. Gammage, the cousin of Pittsburgh Steelers defensive lineman Ray Seals, was driving Seals' luxury car in the mostly white suburb of Brentwood when police began pursuing him. Lawyers for the officers contend that Gammage was chased for driving in an unusual manner. Gammage did not stop immediately, and the Brentwood police pursued him into the Pittsburgh city limits where a struggle occurred. Gammage died shortly thereafter from injuries sustained in the struggle with the five white police officers.

There was an immediate backlash from the African American community. Reverend Jesse Jackson alluded to Gammage's death as a "lynching." African American leaders in Pittsburgh called the incident an example of police brutality.

Of the five officers involved in the incident, one was acquitted after standing trial alone, and two did not stand trial. The final two were acquitted after a second trial on April 22, 1997. Their first trial had ended in a mistrial when the coroner stated, in front of the jury, that one of the defendants should explain what happened. [Defendants are not obligated to testify during their trial.] The April 22nd trial ended in a hung jury, but the judge held that the case would not be retried because the prosecutor had engaged in selective prosecution by not bringing all five officers up on charges. David B. White, a Pittsburgh lawyer who has been representing the Gammages, filed a wrongful death suit on their behalf. The Gammages have since fired White and hired Michael Lewis, a Florida lawyer, to represent them. On July 31, the state Supreme Court decided by a 5-1 vote that it wanted to hear all the issues pending in the officers' criminal cases. The Supreme Court will meet this week to hear arguments regarding four post-trial decisions from April.

African American leaders in Pittsburgh have also asked the Attorney General's office to file charges against the officers for civil rights violations. No action has been taken by the Attorney General's office, and the NAACP protested a speech by Attorney General Janet Reno at the University of Pittsburgh Law School Commencement on May 24, 1997.

At a meeting in Washington last week, which Gammage's mother attended, civil rights lawyers urged swift passage of a bill proposed by Rep. John Coyers (D-Mich.) that would require police across the nation to record the race of drivers stopped for routine traffic violations.

Allegations of police brutality were also made by 63 people in a class action suit filed by the NAACP and the ACLU against the Pittsburgh Police Department. The Justice Department responded to these and other allegations by threatening a possible lawsuit to convince Mayor Murphy to sign a consent decree. The consent decree will allow the Justice Department to investigate the Pittsburgh Police Department and to draw up a proposal, which the city would be required to implement. The proposal would be designed to reform the police department and work on three areas: police brutality, police misconduct, and civil rights violations.

The numerous charges of police brutality have also led to a ballot referendum, which passed in May, to create a civilian review board, an independent board with subpoena powers to investigate citizen complaints against police officers. Murphy vehemently opposed the board's creation and has made it clear that he is only complying because of the public support for the board. The local Fraternal Order of Police has been fighting the creation of this board using legal and political approaches. After months of negotiations, the mayor has a list of eight potential names for the review board. He has two weeks to choose seven members, four from the list of names supplied by the council, and three others, either from that list or elsewhere. As many as two of them may have law enforcement experience. The board must be in place by October 1, and up and running by November 1.

The police department ran into further trouble this summer when, during a training exercise, they launched a canister of pepper gas into an abandoned house in an overwhelmingly African American community. Some of the neighborhood residents had to be rushed to the hospital due to reactions to the gas which apparently spread throughout the neighborhood. Although the City Council had originally agreed to hold off on taking any action until after Police Chief Robert W. McNeilly Jr. had prepared a written training policy, Councilwoman Valerie McDonald (D), who represents North Point Breeze where the incident occurred, introduced legislation addressing the incident. McDonald's legislation would prohibit the police from using pepper spray and other tactical chemicals, except in the case of an emergency. The police would also be required to inform residents two weeks in advance that a training will be taking place in their community.

Clean Air Regulations/LTV Steel Plant Closing

As reported in the Pittsburgh press, Mayor Murphy discussed clean air issues with **Vice President** on a June 30, 1997, meeting aboard Air Force Two, and with **YOU** when you were last in Pittsburgh. According to the *Pittsburgh Tribune Review*, Mayor Murphy expressed concerns to the **Vice President** that, "the pollutants that we get penalized for just do not come from our attainment area." Murphy and others contend that the toxins which pollute Pittsburgh's atmosphere originate not within the city, but in Ohio and Indiana.

Under the newly endorsed regulations, Mayor Murphy and the other local leaders believe that the presence of existing pollutants in the air over Pittsburgh will make meeting the new regulations difficult for both existing and newly formed businesses and industries. Because of this, community leaders fear that the environmental standards will drive heavy manufacturing and large industry away from Pittsburgh, toward regions of the county which will have an easier time meeting the required regulations. A study commissioned by the American Iron and Steel Institute, which found that meeting the new air standards would not be economically costly for Pittsburgh, appeared to counter these fears.

However, the findings of that study were directly contradicted by a study commissioned by LTV Steel Co. and performed by Kaiser Engineering. That study showed that LTV could not meet environmental regulations without massive expense. The fears of city leaders were confirmed

when LTV Steel announced on Monday, July 14th, that it was closing its doors. The Jones & Laughlin Steel Corp. was once a steel powerhouse in Pittsburgh, but the closing of LTV completes the exodus of Jones & Laughlin plants from Pittsburgh. LTV officials claimed that they opted to shutdown the plant rather than spend \$500 million to rebuild the factory, contending that in order to meet the new environmental regulations the plant's nearly forty year old batteries would have to be replaced. These batteries, known as coke batteries bake coal which causes the release of significant amounts of hazardous chemicals into the atmosphere. At the same time, LTV officials noted that the batteries would have had to be replaced soon anyway, regardless of what environmental regulations were in place. Further, the use of coke batteries is largely outdated because steel is increasingly being made out of old scrap as opposed to raw iron which requires more coke to be used to remove the imperfections. Some observers speculate that LTV is using the new EPA regulations as an excuse to hide the fact that the factory is closing for economic reasons.

With 750 jobs at stake, the United Steel Workers Union has vowed to fight the closing of the factory. The union claims that LTV officials told them only a few month ago that the plant met all EPA guidelines and would be able to operate until the end of the decade. According to union officials, LTV also told them that with minimal investment, the plant could operate for another 20 years. The union has charged that LTV is inflating the price tag for improving the plant, and is merely looking for an excuse to close the facility. LTV has responded by saying that making short-term, band-aid improvements to the plant for such a high cost does not make sound financial sense. Regardless of whether or not the new EPA regulations are truly the reason for the LTV closing, the elimination of jobs is clearly adding fuel to the fire

As the last remaining "big steel" plant within the city limits, the closing of LTV was a nostalgic reminder to longtime residents that the Pittsburgh steel industry is dying or dead.

It should be noted that this issue has not met with as much attention as city leaders and businessman predicted at the original announcement.

Magnetic Levitation Transportation System

A 10-mile, slow speed magnetic levitation transportation system is being planned to run through Hazelwood, Oakland, Downtown and North Shore. The "MAGLEV" would cost nearly \$530 million to install, \$374 million of which backers hope to secure from the federal government, with the rest to come from the private sector. The City Council approved the resolution supporting the MAGLEV system by an 8-0 vote, with one member storming out of the meeting before the vote. Mayor Murphy, however, is skeptical, as he feels that federal funding for the MAGLEV would use resources which are necessary for the \$1.7 billion Mon-Fayette Expressway, the \$326 million airport busway, or a \$400 million extension of the Light Rail Transit line.

Governor Ridge's Gas Tax & License Plate Fee

On April 18th, Governor Ridge signed into law legislation that increases the gasoline tax by 3.5

cents per gallon and boosts vehicle registration fees from \$24 to \$38. A majority of Republican lawmakers supported the gas tax increase while most Democrats opposed it. The gas tax will generate \$404 million to improve Pennsylvania's 40,000-mile state highway system (\$196 million for repairs and \$208 million for new construction). Mass transit agencies also hope to receive \$150 million. Many observers believe that this legislation will benefit Ridge in next year's gubernatorial election, since he will have numerous ground-breakings and ribbon-cuttings across the state during an election year which will draw free-press. At the same time, this tax increase will have a significant impact on Ridge's political base in the less urban areas because of longer driving distances. Other pundits predict Ridge will be vulnerable in the 1998 election on these two issues.

Democrats predicted all along that the state would run a budget surplus, thus making the \$400 million gas tax unnecessary. In June, soon after the Republicans pushed the tax through, Ridge announced that the state indeed had a \$575.7 million cash surplus. However, Republicans defended the tax, saying that Ridge erred as a precaution because it is better to end the year with a surplus rather than risk a deficit. This argument may be a hard sell considering all the revenue raised was designated for road improvement and new construction before the surplus was disclosed. Ridge will have the luxury of spending the money any way he likes during the upcoming election year. At this point, Ridge and the legislature have tentatively decided to put \$100 million into the rainy day fund, cut taxes for low income families and businesses by \$176 million, and put \$280 million into increased basic education funding. Critics point out that there are no breaks for the hard working middle class, and that the cost of state college tuition will still rise next year despite the money Ridge is throwing into education during this upcoming election year.

Last Thursday, September 11th, citizens' lobbying group Common Cause of Pennsylvania filed suit against the law that raised the gas tax, contending that its enactment bypassed the state constitution's requirements for passage of legislation. The suit focuses on the way HB67 was added as a last-minute amendment to another bill already on the verge of approval. The tax hike was strongly opposed by minority Democrats in the General Assembly, who criticized it in light of the state's \$500 million budget surplus for fiscal 1997.

Allegheny County Enterprise Community's significant improvements

In March 1997, HUD designated the Pittsburgh/Allegheny Enterprise Community as "among the lowest performers in the program" due to a lack of implementing Strategic Plan objectives. Since the reporting period ended June 30, 1997, the Pittsburgh EC has made significant improvements and progress towards implementing its Strategic Plan, and was therefore officially removed from the poor performance list just last Friday, September 16. Evidence of this progress includes: creation of the Pittsburgh Development Fund, which has funded 15 EC projects and over \$175 in development costs and the construction of the new McKeesport Marina which has sparked economic development.

Western Pennsylvania Ballot Issue

There is one major ballot referendum in November:

- A vote to add a seven year, ½ cent sales tax in the ten county region. 75% of the revenues of each county, except Allegheny County, would go to that county, and 25% would go to the Regional Destination Facilities Fund, which encompasses the ten county area. For Allegheny County, 75% would go to the Regional Destination Facilities Fund, and 25% would go to the county. All ten counties will be voting on this ballot issue.

The tax is expected to generate between \$700- \$800 million, with 70% targeted for regional infrastructure improvement projects. The Regional Growth Fund would be for economic development projects in the region (water and sewer facility improvements; rehabilitation of closed industrial sites; roadway improvements). The Regional Destination Facilities Fund would allocate the money for different regional development projects. The priorities would be: 1) to build a new stadium for the Pittsburgh Pirates; 2) to triple the size of, and renovate, the Convention Center; 3) to renovate or build a new stadium for the local football team, the Pittsburgh Steelers; 4) various Pittsburgh Cultural District projects (theaters, parks).

The Regional Renaissance Partnership which is a consortium of business and development interests, and their supporters, see the referendum as an opportunity to further develop each individual county as well as invest in the region's future. However, it appears the public fears that this is either just another form of corporate welfare or that it will just raise money for Allegheny County, and that the money will be wasted on the professional sports teams, and other fruitless projects in the area.

The suspicion that the money will be wasted on professional sports teams, which will not provide a good return on the investment, has been fueled by the fact that neither the Steelers or the Pirates have disclosed the amounts of money they each would be willing to contribute for a new stadium. Restrictions on the tax increase stipulate that no one project can draw more than half of its revenue from the tax increase. Therefore, it is unknown how the sports teams will fund the other half of their proposed projects.

Polls show that fewer than 30% of voters currently support the tax increase. In addition, the majority of the county commissioners oppose the proposal as well. While Mayor Murphy still supports the referendum, his public cheerleading has been overshadowed by the biting criticism coming from millionaire Dick Scaife. Scaife, who is best known for his wild allegations regarding Vince Foster's death, owns the *Pittsburgh Tribune Review*, and is the dominant contributor to the Allegheny Institute. The Allegheny Institute has been responsible for releasing studies which have attempted to prove that the tax would cause an economic apocalypse for Pittsburgh.

Allegheny County Economy

In a comparison of unemployment rates across a 25 county area of Southwestern Pennsylvania,

Ohio, and West Virginia, Allegheny County had the lowest unemployment rate at 4.7%. Allegheny's unemployment rate is equal to the U.S. average, and is lower than Pennsylvania's 5.3% rate. The unemployment rate for the city of Pittsburgh is 5.4%. A diverse economic base was cited as the key to reducing joblessness in Allegheny County and its outlying areas.

A recent example of the growth of Allegheny County's economy occurred when Phillips Service Inc. announced it was moving its U.S. Headquarters to Pittsburgh. ALCOA also announced that it was keeping its World Headquarters in Pittsburgh, and is nearly finished constructing the new building across the river from the Convention Center.

County Commission System on Spring Ballot

Allegheny County residents will vote to change the system of government from a Commissioner system to an elected County Executive with County Council system. Originally slated for the November ballot, the proposal will not be done in time and will have to wait until the spring. The three current county commissioners have spent the last 18 months bickering, and all three have poor public ratings. In fact, only 30% of the public prefers the current system of county government (possibly due to the squabbling of the commissioners).

Allegheny County's Credit Situation

In 1994, two of the three Allegheny County Commissioners lost their seats to two Republicans who promised to cut county taxes by 20%. After being elected the Republicans promptly followed through and cut taxes, but did not reduce spending. The county faces a \$25.6 million deficit at year's end. The commissioners have nearly exhausted close to \$80 million in reserves. The Fitch Investor Service, a New York bond rating agency, recently lowered Allegheny County's bond rating from AA to A. Several days later, Moody's Investors Service placed the county on a so-called "watch list," meaning the county's A1 bond rating was in jeopardy.

Allegheny County Commission Bickering

While the county is running an operating deficit, the two new commissioners, Larry Dunn (R) and Bob Cramner (R), have been feuding for months and have stopped talking to one another. On August 14th, Cramner and commissioner Mike Dawida (D) joined in a deal to unseat Dunn as chairman, due to their belief that Dunn was incapable of handling the financial difficulties of Allegheny County. Cramner will be chairman until Sept. 2, 1998, at which time Dawida will take over till the next general election is held. This will mean that a Democrat will be the Allegheny County Chairman during the 1998 general election.

The Pittsburgh Pirates

The Pittsburgh Pirates are currently 3 ½ games out of first place in the National League Central Division with a 73-79 record. Last week, 448 ticket takers and ushers of the Service Employees International Union Local 508 walked off the job 90 minutes before the game began. As long as the strike continues, management personnel from both the stadium and the Pirates will man the ticket windows, take tickets at the gate and show fans to their seats. The City Council has announced that it supports the union.

POLITICAL DATA

Governor:	Tom Ridge (R) 45% in 1994
Senate:	Arlen Specter (R) 49% in 1992 Rick Santorum (R) 49% in 1994
U.S. House	11D-10R
State Senate	21D-29R
State House	99D-104R
Electoral Votes	23

1996 STATE ELECTION RESULTS

YOU won Pennsylvania by 9% in both 1996 and 1992. In 1996, **YOU** won the state by a margin of roughly 400,000 votes and won Philadelphia by a margin of 327,000 votes. In addition to the presidential election, three statewide Constitutional offices were up in 1996. Prior to the election, the offices of Auditor General and Attorney General were held by Republicans. Cathy Baker Knoll (D) held the office of State Treasurer, but did not seek reelection. Instead her daughter, Mina Baker Knoll ran unsuccessfully against Barbara Hafer (R) for State Treasurer. Bob Casey, Jr. (D), son of former Governor Casey, defeated Bob Nyce (R) for Auditor General. Joe Kahn (D) lost the Attorney General race to D. Michael Fisher (R).

CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION

Sen. Arlen Specter (R)	Sen. Rick Santorum (R)
Rep. Thomas M. Foglietta (D-01)	Rep. Chaka Fattah (D-02)
Rep. Robert A. Borski (D-03)	Rep. Ron Klink (D-04)
Rep. John E. Peterson (R-05)	Rep. Tim Holden (D-06)
Rep. Curt Weldon (R-07)	Rep. James C. Greenwood (R-08)
Rep. Bud Shuster (R-09)	Rep. Joseph M. McDade (R-10)
Rep. Paul E. Kanjorski (D-11)	Rep. John P. Murtha (D-12)
Rep. Jon D. Fox (R-13)	Rep. William J. Coyne (D-14)
Rep. Paul McHale (D-15)	Rep. Joseph R. Pitts (R-16)
Rep. George W. Gekas (R-17)	Rep. Mike Doyle (D-18)
Rep. William F. Goodling (R-19)	Rep. Frank R. Mascara (D-20)
Rep. Philip S. English (R-21)	

STATE CONSTITUTIONAL OFFICERS

Governor:	Tom Ridge (R)
Lt. Governor:	Mark Schwieker (R)
Secretary of Commonwealth:	Yvette Kane (R)
Attorney General:	D. Michael Fisher (R)
Treasurer:	Barbara Hafer (R)
Auditor General	Bob Casey (D)
Speaker of the House:	Matthew Ryan (R)
House Minority Leader:	H. William DeWeese (D)
Senate Pro Tem:	Robert J. Jubelirer (R)

PENNSYLVANIA AT A GLANCE

- The current unemployment rate in Pennsylvania is 5.3% compared to 7.4% in 1993.
- 1995 estimated population was 12 million, making Pennsylvania the 5th largest state in the nation.
- 87% of Pennsylvanians are White; 9.1% are African-American; and 2.1% are Hispanic.
- 16% of Pennsylvania residents are 65 or older.
- 56% of Pennsylvania households are married couples, and 25% are married couples with children.
- Median household income in 1994 was \$32,066.
- Approximately 44,247 new private sector jobs have been created each year since 1993.
- 74.6% of Pennsylvania residents have a high school education while 17.9% have a college education.
- Turnout in the 1996 presidential election was 49% of the voting age population compared to 54% in 1992. Turnout in the 1994 election was 39%.

PITTSBURGH AT A GLANCE

According to the 1990 census, Pittsburgh's total population is 1,336,449. Of those, 87% are white; 11% are African American; and 1% are Asian American. 17% of Pittsburgh's population are over age 65. Currently, the unemployment rate is 5.4%. YOU won Pittsburgh 76% to 24% in 1996.

ECONOMIC PROGRESS IN PENNSYLVANIA UNDER PRESIDENT CLINTON

President Clinton's strategy to strengthen the economy is based on reducing the federal budget deficit, lowering trade barriers, and empowering workers, families, businesses and communities to succeed. Here are some of the results for Pennsylvania after the first 54 months of the Clinton Administration:

Improved Economic Conditions in Pennsylvania:

- Under President Clinton's administration, the unemployment rate has dropped from 7.3% to 5.3%.
- Under President Clinton's administration, Pennsylvania has added 323,500 new jobs or 71,889 **per year**, compared to a loss of 900 **per year** during the previous administration.
- Under President Clinton's administration, Pennsylvania has added 293,100 new private-sector jobs or 65,133 **per year**, compared to a loss of 2,650 **per year** during the previous administration.
- Under President Clinton's administration, new business incorporations have increased 4.1% **per year**, after declining 6.7% **per year** during the previous administration.
- Under President Clinton's administration, business failures have dropped 7.1% **per year**, after increasing 30.8% **per year** during the previous administration.
- Under President Clinton's administration, bankruptcy filings have dropped 6.3% **per year**, after increasing 11.8% **per year** during the previous administration.
- Under President Clinton's administration, bank lending has increased 7.2% **per year**, after declining 1.9% **per year** during the previous administration.
- Under President Clinton's administration, home sales have increased 2.8% **per year**, after declining 2.4% **per year** during the previous administration.
- Under President Clinton's administration, consumer confidence has increased 61.2%.

What President Clinton's Accomplishments Have Achieved for the People of Pennsylvania:

\$15,000 OF REDUCED FEDERAL DEBT FOR EVERY FAMILY OF FOUR IN PENNSYLVANIA: The national debt will be **more than \$1 trillion** lower over 7 years than was projected before the passage of the President's economic plan. That's about \$15,000 of reduced federal debt for each family of four in Pennsylvania.

8 TIMES MORE PENNSYLVANIA FAMILIES RECEIVE A TAX CUT THAN A TAX INCREASE: As a result of the expanded Earned Income Tax Credit, 510,127 working families in Pennsylvania will receive a tax cut. This compares to an increase in the income tax rate for only the 60,308 wealthiest taxpayers in Pennsylvania.

TAX CUT FOR 53,262 SMALL BUSINESSES IN PENNSYLVANIA: The President helped entrepreneurs, proprietors, and other small businessmen and women by expanding the annual expensing allowance from \$10,000 to \$17,500. About 53,262 small businesses in Pennsylvania are likely to benefit from the expansion of the expensing allowance this year alone *and many more will benefit over the coming years.*

2,129,000 PENNSYLVANIA WORKERS PROTECTED BY FAMILY AND MEDICAL LEAVE ACT: The Family and Medical Leave Act allows workers to take up to 12 weeks of unpaid leave for the birth of a child, to care for a sick family member, or if they become too sick to work. This law covers about 2,129,215 workers in Pennsylvania, and protects the jobs of 127,911 workers in Pennsylvania who are likely to use unpaid leave this year alone.

1.7 MILLION STUDENTS AND FORMER STUDENTS IN PENNSYLVANIA WILL BE ABLE TO BENEFIT FROM STUDENT LOAN REFORMS: Approximately 1.7 million Pennsylvania borrowers -- 1.2 million current borrowers and 500,000 new borrowers in the next few years -- can take advantage of the new direct student loan program by participating directly in the program or by consolidating guaranteed loans into direct loans. Some will benefit from lower interest rates, and all will benefit from more repayment options, including income contingent repayment.



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
COUNCIL ON ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

'97 SEP 23 PM2:21

September 23, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: KATHLEEN A. MCGINTY *WPM for KAM*

SUBJECT: PITTSBURGH ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES

Brownfields

Pittsburgh Mayor Tom Murphy has been a strong booster of the Administration's brownfields initiatives. The City of Pittsburgh was among the first recipients of EPA's regional brownfields pilot grants, which will help the city address its legacy of numerous abandoned and contaminated sites left behind by steel and related industries.

Pittsburgh is currently using its grant of \$200,000 to create an inventory of its brownfields sites and to conduct more extensive assessment at two major brownfields facilities: the Nine Mile Run site (a 238-acre landfill used by the steel industry) and the LECTROMELT site (a six acre electroplating facility along the Allegheny River). The pilot grant has successfully enabled Pittsburgh's Urban Redevelopment Authority (URA) to secure additional funding for cleanup and redevelopment at these two sites. However, the redevelopment plan at the Nine Mile Run site has generated significant local concern.

The current plans propose construction of residential housing on top of slag that was generated by the local steel industry while the Nine Mile Run site was a landfill. Residents are objecting to the plan, complaining that community participation in the land use planning process has been inadequate and that the city has not adequately or accurately assessed risks to human health presented by the site. EPA also has concerns about leaving slag fill in place and about chromium levels in the soil. EPA is currently awaiting a reply from the URA on these issues.

The state is making an effort to address these local concerns, and is undertaking a series of workshops to gather community input on its redevelopment plan. The planning process is one in which the URA has the lead, however, and EPA has only a minimal oversight role.

If asked about the site, you should emphasize that while this is largely an issue for the state and the city to decide, we consider community participation an essential component of brownfields redevelopment. We are encouraged that the state has responded to local concerns by reaching out, bringing the community into the process, and empowering them to help decide how best to return this brownfield site to environmentally healthy and productive use.

'97 SEP 23 AM 11:47

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 23, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: THURGOOD MARSHALL, JR. *TM*
JON P. JENNINGS *J.P.J.*

SUBJECT: HOT ISSUES--PITTSBURGH, PA

Bomb Threat at Federal Building: On September 19, a bomb threat was called into WTAE-TV targeting the Pittsburgh Federal Building. The building was immediately evacuated and a sweep performed. The building re-opened at 12:30 p.m. The caller allegedly identified himself as a member of a domestic militia. (DOJ and DOL)

SEIU Strike at Three Rivers Stadium: On September 16, 448 members of SEIU Local 508 walked off their part-time jobs after contract talks broke down. The previous contract expired in February. Union members are trying to preserve a system that allows veteran ushers to work in choice sections. Management wants the right to assign ushers to sections. The two sides are holding talks and a federal mediator may be brought in. Mayor Tom Murphy, who has worked actively to keep the Pirates in Pittsburgh, is openly siding with management. Every other elected city official is siding with the union. The city council passed a resolution in support of the union and accused management of negotiating in bad faith. SEIU local 585, which represents 11,000 employees in government, health care, nursing homes and schools, and the United Steelworkers have asked their members to boycott stadium events. (DOL)

Pittsburgh/Allegheny County EC: Secretary Cuomo recently praised the Pittsburgh/Allegheny County Enterprise Community (EC) for the significant progress it has made toward improving its performance. In an updated status report, Secretary Cuomo praised officials for addressing all of the concerns that were raised in the first performance review. The September 12 report means that the EC is no longer facing possible decertification from the EZ/EC Initiative. (HUD)

Pittsburgh Housing Authority: The Housing Authority of the City of Pittsburgh (HACP) was recently removed from the trouble list with a confirmed Public Housing Management Assessment score of 63.67. The HACP submitted an appeal seeking a higher score from the HUD Pittsburgh Office which was denied. The HACP further appealed its score to HUD Headquarters on September 9. The appeal is under review and a response is expected within 30 days. (HUD)

Maglev Project: Western Pennsylvania Maglev Development Corporation is proposing a 10-mile, 16 stop Maglev rail line that would partially serve downtown transit needs. They are seeking \$374 million in Federal funds and \$156 million from private sources for the \$530 million project. There are several other Maglev proposals being discussed in the Pittsburgh area. Mayor Murphy has not backed the Western Pennsylvania proposal and has expressed his concern that the proposal could conflict with other local transportation priorities. Representative Shuster toured the proposed alignment on August 22 and stated that the project needs strong city, county, and state support. (DOT)

Closure of Hazelwood Coke Works Plant: On July 14, LTV Corporation announced that it would close the Hazelwood Coke Works in Pittsburgh by the end of the year. Because of the plant's closing, 750 people will lose their jobs. The plant is closing for economic reasons due to deteriorating manufacturing equipment. Local media reports have blamed environmental regulation for the plant's closure. The plant is in violation of Clean Air Act requirements because of excessive releases of particulate matter. EPA has made clear its willingness to work with LTV on finding a cost-effective solution to this problem. (EPA)

PRESIDENT CLINTON'S ACCOMPLISHMENTS: *Pennsylvania*

EXPANDING ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL:

- **Unemployment Down to 5.2%:** The unemployment rate in Pennsylvania has declined from 7.3% to 5.2% since 1993.
- **320,700 New Jobs:** 320,700 new jobs have been created in Pennsylvania since 1993 -- an average of 74,008 jobs per year. In contrast, an average of 900 jobs were *lost* each year under the previous administration.
- **193,000 Have Received a Raise:** Approximately 193,000 Pennsylvania workers have benefited from an increase in the minimum wage -- from \$4.25 to \$4.75 -- on October 1, 1996. They, along with about 257,000 more, will receive an additional raise -- from \$4.75 to \$5.15 -- on September 1, 1997.
- **3.4 Million Protected By Family & Medical Leave:** Approximately 3.4 million Pennsylvanians are covered by the Family & Medical Leave Law, which allows workers to take up to 12 weeks unpaid leave to care for a new baby or ailing relative [1995 data].
- **Business Failures Down 7.4%:** Business failures have dropped 7.4% per year since 1993, after increasing 30.8% per year during the previous four years.

FIGHTING CRIME AND VIOLENCE:

- **Crime Falls in Pittsburgh:** Since 1992, serious crime has fallen 39% in Pittsburgh [1996 data].
- **2,313 More Police:** The President's 1994 Crime Bill has funded 2,313 new police officers to date in communities across Pennsylvania [through 6/97].
- **\$5.3 Million to Combat Domestic Violence:** Through the Violence Against Women Act, Pennsylvania will be able to use \$5.3 million in federal funds in FY97 to establish more women's shelters and bolster law enforcement, prosecution, and victims' services. Pennsylvania received \$4.7 million under VAWA in FY96.
- **\$2.1 Million in Grants for Battered Women and Children:** In 1998, Pennsylvania will receive an estimated \$2.1 million in HHS's Family Violence Prevention Program grants to assist women and children fleeing domestic abuse.
- **\$22.1 Million to Keep Drugs & Violence Out of Pennsylvania's Schools:** Pennsylvania will receive \$22.1 million in FY96 for the Safe & Drug Free Schools Program, which invests in school security and drug prevention programs.

MOVING PENNSYLVANIANS FROM WELFARE TO WORK:

- **141,271 Fewer People on Welfare:** There are 141,271 fewer people on welfare in Pennsylvania now than there were at the beginning of 1993 -- an 23% decrease [through 4/97].
- **Child Support Collections Up 25%:** Child support collections have increased by over \$196 million -- or 25% -- in Pennsylvania since FY92 [through FY96].

EXPANDING ACCESS TO EDUCATION:

- **Over \$127 Million in Head Start Funding:** In FY96, Pennsylvania received \$127.1 million in Head Start funding, benefitting about 26,200 students. This year, Pennsylvania receives \$141.4 million, an increase of \$14.3 million over 1996.
- **\$1.66 Million for Early Head Start:** In FY96, Pennsylvania received \$1.66 million in Early Head Start grants to provide basic early education, nutrition, and family development to low-income families with children under three. Early Head Start was established as a feature in the reauthorization of the Head Start Act, signed by President Clinton in 1994.

- **\$20.2 Million in Goals 2000 Funding:** This year [FY97], Pennsylvania receives \$20.2 million in Goals 2000 funding. This money is used to raise academic achievement by raising academic standards, increasing parental and community involvement in education, expanding the use of computers and technology in classrooms, and supporting high-quality teacher professional development.
- **\$8.6 Million for Technology Literacy:** This year [FY97], Pennsylvania receives \$8.6 million for the Technology Literacy Challenge Fund which helps communities and the private sector ensure that every student is equipped with the computer literacy skills needed for the 21st century.
- **\$339 Million for Students Most in Need:** Pennsylvania receives \$339 million in Title I grants providing extra help in the basics for students most in need, particularly communities and schools with high concentrations of children in low-income families [FY97].
- **\$113.2 Million for Students with Disabilities:** This year, Pennsylvania will receive \$113.2 million under the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act to help ensure high quality educational opportunities for an estimated 215,448 disabled students in Pennsylvania.
- **\$60.8 Million for Vocational and Adult Education:** This year [FY97], \$60.8 million helps Pennsylvania's students and workers prepare for the 21st Century with technical and academic training. The funding also includes the School-to-Work program, bridging high school with vocational education.
- **\$228.5 Million in Pell Grants:** Pennsylvania receives \$228.5 million this year in Pell Grant funding, which helps Pennsylvania's low-income students go to college [FY97].
- **Over 2600 Volunteers Have Served in Pennsylvania through AmeriCorps:** This year, 128 AmeriCorps participants are serving their communities while earning money for college by working in Pennsylvania's schools, hospitals, neighborhoods or parks. Since the National Service program began in 1994, over 2600 volunteers have served Pennsylvania in 252 different programs [through FY97].

INVESTING IN PENNSYLVANIA'S HEALTH:

- **Helping Pennsylvania Women and Children with WIC:** The Clinton Administration is committed to full funding in the Special Supplemental Nutrition Program for Women, Infants and Children (WIC). Today, in Pennsylvania, 847 more women and children in need are receiving health and food assistance than in 1994.
- **\$13.5 Million to Fight AIDS:** Since President Clinton took office, funding for the Ryan White CARE Act has increased by 159% nationwide. In FY97, Pennsylvania communities received \$7.1 million in Ryan White formula award funds and \$6.4 million in supplemental award funds to care for people living with AIDS and HIV.

PROTECTING THE ENVIRONMENT:

- **21 Toxic Waste Sites Cleaned Up:** Since 1993, the EPA has completed 21 Superfund toxic waste cleanups in Pennsylvania, in Clarks Summit, Ambler, Glen Rock, South Montrose, Longswamp Township, Parker, Upper Macungie Township, Hellertown, Buffalo Township, the Borough of Kimberton, Old Forge, Girard, Micado, Middletown, Seven Valleys, Hatboro, Sharpsville, Hopewell Township, Jefferson Boro, Antis and Logan Township, and Croydon & Bristol [through 6/97]. Only 12 sites were cleaned up in Pennsylvania during the previous twelve years combined (12).
- **4 Brownfields Pilots in Pennsylvania:** Since 1993, the EPA has awarded 4 Brownfields Demonstration Pilots in Pennsylvania -- regional pilots in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, and national pilots in Phoenixville and Bucks County. These projects are intended to jump-start

local clean-up efforts by providing funds over a two year period to return unproductive, abandoned, contaminated urban properties to productive use.

SPEARHEADING URBAN RENEWAL EFFORTS:

- ***\$79 Million to Philadelphia:*** Philadelphia was designated an Urban Empowerment Zone in 1994 and was awarded \$79 million to create more jobs, housing, and economic opportunity for its residents. As part of this designation, Sea Change Environmental Services, a north Philadelphia asbestos and lead removal company, was given a \$100,000 loan in July, 1996 which it will use to buy equipment and hire workers to remove lead and asbestos at city-owned homes, Independence Mall and the Philadelphia Naval Base.
- ***\$9 Million to Other Pennsylvania Communities:*** Lock Haven, Pittsburgh, and Harrisburg were awarded \$3 million each to pursue similar job creation efforts.

EXPANDING FUNDS FOR TRAVEL IMPROVEMENT:

- ***Over \$1.2 Billion to Improve Mass Transit:*** The FTA has provided over \$1.2 billion since 1993 to improve public transportation in Pennsylvania [through FY97].
- ***\$4.1 Billion in Highway Funding:*** Since 1993, Pennsylvania has received \$4.1 billion in federal highway aid. These funds have helped generate approximately 171,902 jobs [through FY97].
- ***Nearly \$227 Million in Airport Improvement Funds:*** Since 1993, Pennsylvania has received nearly \$227 million in airport improvement funds [through 6/97].

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 23, 1997

'97 SEP 23 PM8:52

Central High School Museum and Visitors Center

DATE: **OPTIONAL (Any day other than 9/25/97)**
LOCATION: **Across the Street from Central High**
TIME: **Optional**
FROM: **Ann Walker**
 Ben Johnson

I. PURPOSE

To tour the newly completed Central High Museum and Visitor Center. The Museum staff has requested you come any day other than Thursday, September 25 because they are expecting large crowds that day.

II. BACKGROUND

The Visitor Center occupies a former Mobil service station across from Central High School. The station has been restored to its 1957 appearance and features the exhibit, "All the World is Watching Us: Little Rock and the 1957 Crisis." The gift shop has a wide selection of educational materials and souvenirs.

III. PARTICIPANTS

None

IV. PRESS PLAN

Closed Press

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

YOU enter Museum for a private tour

VI. REMARKS

None

VII. ATTACHMENTS

None

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEET AND GREET WITH LITTLE ROCK NINE

DATE: Thursday, September 25, 1997 197 SEP 23 PM8:51
LOCATION: Central High School
TIME: 9:50am - 10:05am
FROM: Ann Walker
Ben Johnson

I. PURPOSE

To greet the members of the Little Rock Nine prior to the speech and have a photo opportunity with the entire group.

II. BACKGROUND

This will be the first time you will see the Little Rock Nine together during this 40th anniversary commemoration. They have been in Little Rock for most of the week attending events in their honor and as well as participating in media interviews with national and international press.

III. PARTICIPANTS

Ernie Green
Elizabeth Eckford
Terrence James Roberts
Carlotta Walls LaNier
Gloria Ray Karlmark
Thelma Mothershed Wair
Jefferson A. Thomas
Melba Patillo Beals
Minnijean Brown Trickey

IV. PRESS PLAN

Stills Only

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

Upon arrival, you will be greeted curbside by the Little Rock Nine members

You will greet each of them and then take a picture with the group.

They will then accompany you as you walk into Central High

You will then go to a private hold for Speech Briefing and the group will proceed to their hold (or stage for pre-positioning)

VI. REMARKS

None

VII. ATTACHMENTS

See short bios

SHORT BIOGRAPHY
OF
LITTLE ROCK NINE

ERNIE GREEN

Mr. Green is Central High School's first African American graduate. He was in President Carter's cabinet as a Assistant Secretary, Department of Labor. Currently, You named him as Chairman, African Development Foundation. He is a Vice President at Lehman Brothers.

ELIZABETH ECKFORD

Mrs. Eckford is returning to Little Rock after a career in the army. She raised two sons and now cares for her father.

TERRENCE JAMES ROBERTS

In 1958, Mr. Roberts moved with his family to Los Angeles, California where he finished high school. He is now a clinical psychologist in Pasadena, California.

CARLOTTA WALLS LANIER

After graduation, Ms. Walls followed Ernie Green to attend Michigan State University. She is a real estate agent in Denver, Colorado.

GLORIA RAY KARLMARK

Ms. Karlmark lives abroad in Holland.

THELMA MOTHERSHED WAIR

Ms. Mothershed Wair was the student spared the most abuse at Central High. She now has heart problems. She is a teacher in East St. Louis.

JEFFERSON A. THOMAS

After Little Rock closed its high school in 1958 - 59, he returned to graduate the next year. Now an accountant in Ohio.

MELBA PATILLO BEALS

An author and a former journalist for *People Magazine* and NBC. She is an author and is writing her next book in the Bay Area.

MINNIJEAN BROWN TRICKEY

Expelled from Central High School for yelling at her attackers, she is now a social worker in Ontario, Canada.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 23, 1997

'97 SEP 23 PM8:52

**ADDRESS TO THE 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE LITTLE ROCK CENTRAL HIGH
SCHOOL DESEGREGATION CEREMONY**

DATE: September 25, 1997
LOCATION: Outside Grounds, Central High School
TIME: 10:10am - 11:55am
FROM: Ann Lewis
Ann Walker
Ben Johnson

I. PURPOSE

To commemorate the 40th anniversary of the Central High School crisis in 1957 and to honor the Little Rock Nine, and acknowledge the families and the supportive role they played in this historic set of events. This is also an opportunity to recognize the courage and determination of these young people during very difficult times and the support that was offered to the students and their families by the local and national community. (This will set the stage for you to elaborate on the goals and objectives of your race initiative).

Because of the attention to this event, it is an important opportunity for you to speak of your own personal commitment to racial reconciliation and to address the nation on the importance of One America.

II. BACKGROUND

In September 1957, Little Rock's Central High School became a crucial battleground in the struggle for civil rights. The nation sat transfixed as nine black students attempted to enter the previously all-white school. While a hostile crowd watched, Arkansas National Guard troops blocked their entrance. Three weeks later, after negotiations between Arkansas Governor Orval Faubus and President Dwight Eisenhower failed to resolve the stalemate, Eisenhower called the U.S. Army's 101st Airborne Division to escort and protect the nine students entering the school.

Planning for this event has been done by the 40th Anniversary Little Rock Commission which consists of community leaders and students. This is an event that the students of Central High School have been integral to all aspects of the planning and decision making -- it has been designed in large part by the students for the students. They have been given the majority of reserved seating at the speech and the two student representatives on the Commission are both on the program with you.

The commission enabled us to invite 100 VIPs -- some of whom will be in the VIP section and other in a more prominent V-VIP on the rope line. While only a few of the nationals will be attending, we have invited a wide array of national organization heads.

The event will be attended by approximately 800 of the Commission's VIPs and over 1800 Central High students and faculty (the entire student body). Additionally, the Little Rock public high schools will be closed so that any student wishing to attend can do so. This event is open to the public on a first come basis.

III. PARTICIPANTS

The First Lady
Gov. and Mrs. Mike Huckabee
Mayor and Mrs. Jim Daley
Daisy Bates - seated on stage but not speaking
Rudolph Howard - Principal, Central High School
Fatima McKindra - President, Central High School Student body
Ernie Green - Little Rock Nine representative

Little Rock Nine will be seated on the stage:

Ernie Green
Elizabeth Eckford
Terrence James Roberts
Carlotta Walls LaNier
Gloria Ray Karlmark
Thelma Mothershed Wair
Jefferson A. Thomas
Melba Patillo Beals
Minnijean Brown Trickey

IV. PRESS PLAN

OPEN PRESS

(A package of some recent press coverage is attached.)

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

- Off stage announcement of you and the First Lady, accompanied by Governor and Mrs. Mike Huckabee, Mayor and Mrs. Jim Daley, Daisy Bates, Rudolph Howard, Fatima McKindra to “Ruffles and Flourishes” and “Hail to the Chief”
- Rudolph Howard makes welcoming remarks and introduces Mayor Jim Daley
- Mayor Jim Daley acknowledges the family members of the Little Rock Nine and individually introduces the Little Rock Nine on to the stage.
- The Pledge of Allegiance is performed by students TBD
- The National Anthem is recited by two students TBD
- Mayor Jim Daley makes brief remarks and introduces Governor Mike Huckabee
- Governor Mike Huckabee makes brief remarks
- Mayor Jim Daley introduces the First Lady
- The First Lady makes remarks and introduces Ernie Green, the selected Little Rock Nine representative (selected by the other members of the Little Rock Nine)
- Ernie Green makes brief remarks and introduces Fatima McKindra, Central High School Student Body President
- Fatima McKindra makes brief remarks and introduces you
- You make remarks
- Upon conclusion of remarks, you proceed to doors of Central High School with Governor Mike Huckabee and Mayor Jim Daley
- You, the Governor and the Mayor will hold the doors to the school open for the members of the Little Rock Nine
- Little Rock Nine members will walk through the doors into the school as you hold them open
- You will then proceed through the doors after all members of the Little Rock Nine have entered
- After a brief hold, you have the option to return to work the rope line

YOU will re-enter the school for a brief photo op with each of the Little Rock Nine and their families.

VI. REMARKS

To be provided by speechwriters.

VII. ATTACHMENTS

VIP Guest List

CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL VIP CONFIRMATIONS

VVIP LIST (partial listing pending review)

Secretary Alexis Herman
Secretary Rodney Slater & Wife
Attorney General Janet Reno
Secretary of U.S. Army Togo West
Governor and Mrs. Winter
Sylvia Mathews
Thurgood Marshall, Jr. & Wife
Carol Willis
John Hope Franklin
Judy Winston
Bob Nash & Wife
Mike McCurry
Bruce Lindsey
Doug Sosnik
Mark McClarty & Wife

VIP LIST

1. Daisy Bates, former Little Rock, Arkansas (Pulaski County) NAACP President during desegregation period
2. Mrs. Thurgood Marshall, Thurgood Marshall's wife
3. Reverend Rufus C.K. Young
4. Randy Jones, President, National Bar Association
5. Honorable Burnette Joshua Johnson, Chair, Judicial Council, National Bar Association, Supreme Court of Louisiana
6. Judge D'Army Bailey and wife (2), Chairman, Civil Rights Museum, Memphis, Tennessee
7. John Walker, Civil Rights Attorney, Little Rock, Arkansas
8. Rabbi Eugene Levy
9. Dr. William Keaton, President, Arkansas Baptist College
10. Dr. Myer Titus, Philander Smith College
11. Dr. Ramona Edelin, President & CEO, National Urban Coalition
12. Honorable Lois DeBerry, President and Representative, National Black Caucus State Legislators
13. Oscar Eason, Jr., President, Blacks In Government
14. Theodore Shaw, Deputy Director, NAACP Legal Defense & Educational Fund
15. Dorothy Leavell, President, National Newspaper Publishers Association
16. Reverend Howard Woods
17. Reverend Walter Fauntroy
18. Antonio Flores, President & CEO, Hispanic Association of Colleges and Universities
19. Leonard Zakim, Executive Director, Anti-Defamation League

19. Leonard Zakim, Executive Director, Anti-Defamation League
20. Reverend Elihue Gaylord (2) (Wheelchair companion)
21. Reverend O.C. Jones
22. Reverend T.A. Broomfield
23. Bishop Fredrick Talbot
24. Reverend C.D. Willis
25. Reverend Willie Benson
26. Bishop L.T. Walker
27. Bishop J. L. Burris
28. Judge George Howard
29. Judge Olly Neal
30. Richard Mays
31. P.A. Hollingsworth
32. Chris Mercer and wife (2)
33. Jerome Green and wife (2)
34. Annie Abrams
35. Lucretia McDonald
36. M.C. Jeffries
37. Calvin King
38. Senator Jerry Jewell
39. Representative Josetta Wilkins
40. Alonzo Williams
41. Dr. Jim Moore
42. George McGill
43. Dr. Robert Miller
44. Dr. Joe Hargrove
45. Dr. Carl Hyman
46. Jocelyn Elders
47. Lottie Shackelford
48. Dick Kelley
49. Dorothy Rodman
50. Harold Gist
51. Mr. and Mrs. Forrest Brown (2)
52. Mr. and Mrs. John Gardner (2)
53. Wilbur Peer
54. Calvin Rodwell
55. Mary Pinkett, President, National Black Caucus of Local Elected Officials
56. Mary Madden
- *57. Estella Thompson-Johnson
- *58. Effie Jones - Bowers
- *59. Elsie Robinson - Dodson

* These women were the first African Americans to integrate Little Rock Hall High School. They say the Little Rock Nine paved the way for them and many others.

Arkansas Democrat-Gazette

September 15, 1997, Monday

SECTION NEWS, Pg 1A

HEADLINE: Girl president in Central spotlight Student leader to introduce Clinton on 40th anniversary of integration

BYLINE: CHRIS REINOLDS, ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT-GAZETTE

BODY:

There have been several elected black student body presidents at Central High School. A story about this year's student council president at Central High in Monday's Arkansas Democrat-Gazette included information about her status.

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

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

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

Forty years after its desegregation, McKindra, 17, is the first black student council president at what has become a majority-black Central High School. The nearly 1,600 Central students elected her last spring.

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

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

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

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

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

While McKindra knows that being a black student body president during the anniversary is significant, she is also concerned with developing her leadership skills. She is a member of the National Honor Society, Beta Club, Latin Club, Black Culture Society, Accept No Boundaries, Student Council, Martin Luther King Commission and is a National Merit semifinalist.

"It's an extraordinary young person that has that much confidence and is as intelligent as she is," Principal Rudolph Howard said. "She's just a natural [The media] come at her from all angles, and she visualizes the question and has it thought out. She's really amazing to watch."

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

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

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

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

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

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

McKindra has grown up in a different era.

"They grew up in oppression, so they had to learn how to control those urges. They had to show a lot of strength and a lot of courage to do what they did."

McKindra was scared at first to attend the inner-city high school. She lives five minutes from Central but originally was assigned to J.A. Fair High School. She left Fair after four days. She was far away from friends and didn't find the classes as challenging as those she took at Mann Magnet Junior High.

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

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

The anniversary events have occupied McKindra's time, but she is looking toward her future. She wants to get into a good college and eventually attend medical school to be a surgeon.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The New York Times
September 21, 1997, Sunday

SECTION Section 1, Page 1, Column 1, National Desk
HEADLINE Civil Rights Anniversary Points to Unfinished Tasks
BYLINE By KEVIN SACK
DATELINE LITTLE ROCK, Ark., Sept. 17

BODY

Perhaps no building in America is as haunted by the legacy of racial hatred as the brown-brick fortress known as Little Rock Central High School.

Forty years ago, in the biggest challenge to the Federal Government's authority over the states since the Civil War, Gov. Orval E. Faubus of Arkansas called out the National Guard to block a Federal court order to desegregate the school. Only after a three-week standoff between Mr. Faubus and President Dwight D. Eisenhower did nine black students enter the school, protected from a hellish white mob by columns of Federal troops with fixed bayonets.

Until now, this city has never wanted to talk much about the ugliness of its past. Many here reasoned that the seemingly indelible images of 1957 would simply have to fade with the years.

But this month, with the help of an Arkansan in the White House, Little Rock has planned a grand commemoration of its school desegregation battle, a risky strategy to improve the city's image by focusing attention on the distance it has traveled.

Those planning the 40th anniversary events, which include an address by President Clinton on Sept. 25, view today's Central High School as the star of the show. They argue that Central's increasingly multiracial student body and its annual take of academic prizes and Ivy League admissions demonstrate that schools can overcome the national trend toward resegregation.

Though the size of the black majority in the Little Rock School District as a whole has grown over the last four years, Central's student body is now 40 percent white, up from 34 percent in 1993.

But by opening the school to renewed scrutiny, the commemoration has also exposed failings that reflect the shortcomings of integration efforts in hundreds of American cities and in society at large.

At Central, as at public schools across the country, white students are far more likely than black students to be enrolled in college preparatory honors classes. Only 13 percent of the seats in Advanced Placement and other honors courses were held by black students last year.

Black students, on average, score half as well as whites on standardized tests. They are twice as likely to drop out of school. They receive a disproportionate share of disciplinary sanctions. Though black students and white students seem to have settled into an amiable coexistence, they rarely socialize in any meaningful way.

Frustrated by the lack of progress in achieving any semblance of academic equity, the city's school board continues to tinker with its court-monitored desegregation plan. This week, the board approved changes to the plan that would emphasize a return to neighborhood schools, a move that would presumably sacrifice a measure of racial balance in the pursuit of educational improvements. In the past, the board has relied on magnet programs, busing, extra financing for predominantly minority schools and a liberal student transfer policy to try to integrate schools in Little Rock, a city of 175,000 people where 65 percent of the population is white.

The challenge of achieving racial balance and academic equity in public schools like Central is so daunting that many educators, here and elsewhere, now openly question whether it is even remotely realistic to pursue both goals simultaneously.

Rodolph Howard, Central's bullhorn-toting principal, said that "desegregation, superficially, has worked" in Little Rock. But he acknowledged that the prevalence of one race in many classes, among other disparities, remained an entrenched problem.

"Certainly, you will see some one-race classes here," Mr. Howard said. "But I

would ask, What is the school's role? Is it about helping kids, all kids, develop to the maximum of their potential, or is it playing these numbers games?"

Mr. Howard, who is Central's third black principal, denied that students were systematically tracked into particular classes according to race. He said that students from underprivileged families, many of them black, often arrived at Central without the family support or educational values they needed to succeed in advanced classes.

"They bring in attitudes that it's not cool to be smart, it's not cool to be out front," he said. "We try to tell them they have a responsibility to develop themselves as much as they can."

In many ways, the continuing academic disparity at schools like Central seems to betray the reasons that black students wanted to enroll there in the first place.

"Does anybody really think we wanted to go to Central High School because we wanted to sit next to white people?" asked Melba Patillo Beals, one of the school's original nine black students, now a writer in Sausalito, Calif. "We wanted to go to Central High School because they were getting Rhodes Scholarships there. We wanted equal access to opportunities."

And to some veterans of Little Rock's lengthy desegregation fight, the failure to create a more meaningful integration has only deepened the mistrust that still lingers from 40 years ago.

"Those white kids are able to come to that school, to a majority black school, because they know they will not have to associate with black kids in their classes," said Elizabeth Eckford, the only member of the Little Rock Nine still living here. "In those circumstances, they can tolerate desegregation."

White parents and students dispute that notion. They said white students were eager to attend Central because of its tradition of academic achievement, the quality of its teaching and the value of a Central High diploma in the college admissions game. Members of the class of 1997 were accepted to every Ivy League university save Dartmouth.

The daughter of Gov. Mike Huckabee is among the 1,513 students at Central. The children of the Clinton Administration officials Thomas F. McLarty 3d and Bruce R. Lindsey went there. Had her father not received a job transfer to Washington, Chelsea Clinton would probably have attended as well, friends of the Clintons said.

"You go to any inner-city high school and I guarantee you won't find one working any better than Little Rock Central High School," said Skip Ruthertford, a Little Rock public relations consultant, Clinton confidant and Central High parent. Mr. Ruthertford is white.

On Sept. 25, the actual anniversary of the day that the nine black students finally enrolled at Central High, President Clinton will return to his native state to deliver what his aides describe as a major address on race relations. He will be introduced by Fatima J. McKindra, a self-proclaimed senior who is the first black female president of the student body. In a poignant moment of symbolic stagecraft, Mr. Clinton is expected to hold open the front door to the school as the Little Rock Nine, now in their 50's, cross the threshold once again.

The Presidential visit coincides with an array of symposiums on the events of 1957 and with the opening of a Central High visitor center across the street from the school housed in an old Mobil service station.

It features exhibits about the confrontation between Governor Faubus and President Eisenhower and about the campaign of abuse waged against the black students once they entered the school. Students were regularly spat upon and body-slammed into lockers. Broken glass was left on shower floors.

The exhibit also includes a black-and-white photograph of Ernest Green, the only senior among the Nine, in his cap and gown at his graduation ceremony, where the announcement of his name was greeted with silence. It concludes with a color photograph of smiling students at last year's highly integrated commencement.

The nine former students are now spread across the world. They are writers and accountants and professors and real estate agents. Ms. Eckford is unemployed and receiving disability benefits.

Mr. Green, a managing director with Lehman Brothers in Washington and a close

friend of the President, became a Democratic fund-raiser whose ties to Chinese businessmen have caught the interest of Congressional investigators

Daisy Bates, the N A A C P leader who served as a mentor to the students, still lives in the house where the students gathered in the weeks they were prevented from going to school. Though a stroke has slurred her speech and limited her hearing, she remembers the events of 40 years ago with clarity.

"I knew by going through this that it would help the children of that time and the children of this time too," said Mrs. Bates, now in her 80's.

Because the history is still so raw, and because many of the participants are still alive, the commemoration makes many here uneasy. Some black residents fear that it may close a chapter prematurely. Some whites dread the rehashing of memories that they would like to see buried.

Craig Rains, a member of Central's Class of 1958 and now a prominent public relations consultant, left town for three days this month after The Arkansas Democrat-Gazette reprinted a page from 1957 that quoted him declaring his support for segregation. Mr. Rains underwent something of an epiphany after watching his classmates verbally abuse Ms. Eckford during the first week of the integration crisis. He now lives in a racially mixed neighborhood and serves on the commission planning the commemoration.

Joan K. Adcock, another white member of the class and now a member of the Little Rock City Board, worries about the classmates whose children and grandchildren may see them in unflattering photographs at the visitor center.

"We shouldn't have to be responsible in our 50's for things we did as teen-agers," Ms. Adcock said. "We grow up. Some of those people have come forward publicly and said how ashamed they are."

Ms. Beals, one of the Little Rock Nine, does not buy that rationale. "Their grandchildren might see who they were back then and then celebrate their growth," she said. "What would they have us do, deny that it happened?"

Today's Central High students are acutely aware of the history of their school, and many attribute its academic achievements to an intense motivation to overcome the past.

"We take the torch we got from the Little Rock Nine and we pass it from class to class," said Ms. McKindra, the student body president.

She and other students said that race relations were congenial at the school but that blacks and whites divided up in social settings. White students, for the most part, eat lunch at picnic tables outside. Black students, for the most part, eat in the cafeteria.

"There was a pep rally last week and I looked up at the seniors, and all the whites were sitting together and all the blacks were sitting together," said Derrick L. Floyd, a black senior and star basketball player. "I said to myself, 'Why aren't we all sitting together?'"

GRAPHIC Photos: Elizabeth Eckford, quoted in an exhibit on the 1957 integration of Little Rock Central High School. When she joined a group of students at Central High, above foreground (Paul Hosefros/The New York Times), her reception was a far cry from the taunts she received on Sept. 4, 1957, left (Associated Press)(pg. 1). Daisy Bates was a mentor to the first black students at the

Segregation, now

BY JULIAN E. BARNES

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

Across the hall, in Kent Moore's non-honors geometry class, the pace is slower. Several of the students are not paying attention; some even lay their heads down on their desks as the teacher talks. Moore, a thin black man with a big voice, takes half the period to get through one example. As he finishes re-explaining the formula to find the midpoint of a line segment, a concept he

Class bias.

To the immediate right, students in the Workplace Readiness class. To the far right, students challenge each other in debate class, which consists mostly of honors students. At Central High, as at many other schools around the country, the honors classes are dominated by whites, regular classes by blacks.



introduced the week before, he senses he has lost some of the students. "Talk to me now. If you don't understand, ask. I am going to try to reach you," he says. A student points to the formula Moore has just explained and asks what it is. "You are not with us," Moore says. "That's the formula to find the midpoint of the line. . . . Get on board, buddy, and stay with us." Few of the students in Moore's class will go on to elite colleges.

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

Pivotal moment. This pattern is repeated in integrated schools throughout the country, but nowhere else is the irony so stark. Next week, President Clinton will return to Little Rock to celebrate the

50th anniversary of the integration of Central High, one of the pivotal moments in the history of civil rights. In 1957, Little Rock became the site of the first major battle over desegregation after the Supreme Court's *Brown v. Board of Education* ruling. Gov. Orval Faubus called out the National Guard to block nine black children from entering the school. On Sept. 24, 1957, President Dwight Eisenhower ordered the Army to Little Rock to ensure that the black children could attend.

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

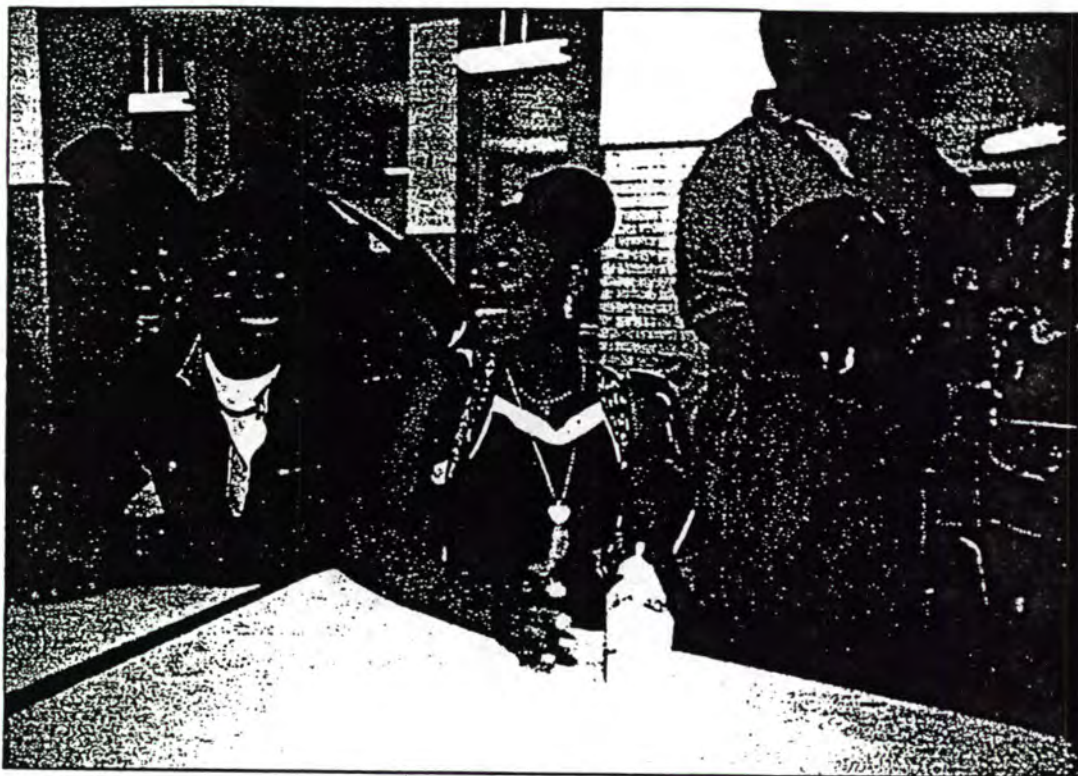
But beneath the surface, Central High reveals a more troubling modern reality: "any schools that appear integrated from the outside are highly segregated within. You can see the difference between my

class and Mr. Watson's," Moore says. "Forty years after integration have we achieved anything? Or are we still in '57?" Within Little Rock, the flow of whites into honors classes is the subject of intense, private conversation: Is it the result of deliberate racial segregation? Or a sign of poor academic preparation of incoming black students? While there is some truth to both explanations, the more important factor may be the different attitudes of parents toward what kind of education will help their kids get ahead.

The success of integration at Central

the school's front doors. Most white students drive cars and come in a side door near the parking lot. Most black students eat lunch inside, near the hot lunch line, while white students eat outside, near the concession stand. And even though most Central High students generally say they have friends of different races, they acknowledge that for the most part they hang out with friends from their neighborhood, their junior high, or their classes.

The tendency for social self-segregation is a natural habit, but one that is supposed to be weakened by integrated classes. Why



Social time. African-American students eating lunch together in the school cafeteria. Though students say they have friends of other races, most socializing is still racially divided.

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

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

The racial makeup of classrooms reinforces self-segregation in other parts of school life. Most black students walk or take the bus to school and enter through

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

In some cases, however, it is black parents themselves who steer their children away from honors classes or don't fight to

PHOTOGRAPHY BY
SCOTT GOLDSMITH FOR USN&WR

keep them enrolled. Some consider the classes racist. Last year, Marisha Hewett's honors English teacher asked her to drop the class after two weeks of school, according to Marisha's mother, Essie Hewett, who claims the teacher was motivated by race. (The teacher responds that participation in honors courses is based only on academic performance.) This year Marisha transferred to a different high school. "Basically your honors classes are Caucasian and you have teachers who are unfair. This is an opportunity for them to continue their racism,"

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

All the kids are above average. By contrast, many white students whose grades fall are kept in honors classes, against the school's recommendation, because their

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

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

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

gifted and talented classes are black.

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

Central High counselors say this is because junior high schools, which help rising 10th graders pick their classes, steer black children to less rigorous courses. Other officials say it is simply the black students' choice. But a black school administrator, who requested anonymity, charged that Central High emphasizes test scores for black children but allows white students to enroll in honors classes on teacher recommendations alone. "We are still dealing with institutional racism," this administrator says. Guidance Depart-



Friends. White students eating lunch together outside. In addition to eating and learning separately, most black and white students enter the school through different doors.

Hewett claims. "I never even considered enrolling her in honors again."

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

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

Many students see their grades drop

parents insist on it, notes Central High counselor Lynda Phillips-Johnson. "Just because these classes are mostly white doesn't mean these whites are qualified," she says. "It is a political system. If you are a parent and want your student in honors English, [the student is] there." Caruth says that this may help explain the number of honors classes taught at Central. There are now 92 honors sections taught for a school of 1,781 students. Walker says the proliferation of these honors classes proves this is a form of segregation rather than the natural result of a merit-based system. "How can 50 percent or more of white children be 'gifted'?" he asks.

Others argue that the system is susceptible to pressure from parents of either race. Ann Brown, who monitors the Little

ment Chairman Sam Blair denies such charges. While he says that the number of blacks enrolled in honors classes is a national problem, he maintains that Central does a good job of identifying those black students who can achieve in Central's most rigorous classes.

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

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

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

A tie-up in tobacco's big deal

Delays in Congress threaten negotiations

BY MARIANNE LAVELLE
AND KENT JENKINS JR.

Last week, the proposed \$368 billion settlement between the tobacco industry and 40 states got a boost when two leading public-health officials, former Surgeon General C. Everett Koop and former Food and Drug Administration chief David Kessler, lent their qualified support to the deal at a hearing on Capitol Hill. Still more important, President Clinton is expected to endorse some version of the pact later this week.

But despite the high-profile support, the much trumpeted deal, which would curb industry marketing, fund public-health programs, and end mass tobacco lawsuits, may in fact be foundering. After weeks of scrutiny, both tobacco opponents and proponents are concluding that delaying the settlement may strengthen their hands. The tobacco companies reportedly are hoping that a lawsuit brought by the state of Texas against the industry that goes to trial on September 29 will provide it with a clear legal victory after having been forced to settle suits in Mississippi and Florida. The companies also are anxiously awaiting a ruling in a federal appeals court case in Virginia challenging the FDA's authority to regulate tobacco. If the court decides in favor of industry, tobacco forces know they'll have a better shot at persuading Congress to accept the settlement, which gives the FDA control over tobacco sales to youth.

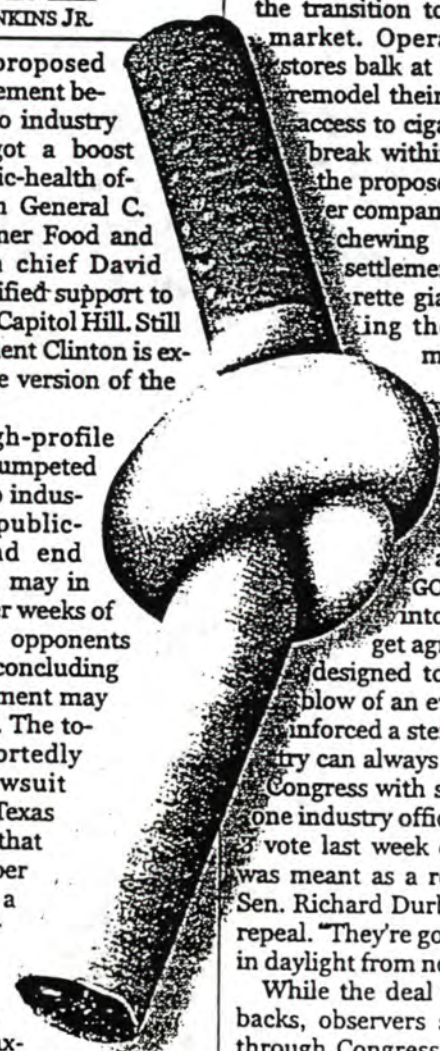
Tobacco critics have pinned their

hopes on another court case, a Minnesota suit slated to begin in January that could provide them with fresh ammunition against the tobacco lobby. In his case against the major cigarette manufacturers, Minnesota Attorney General Hubert H. "Skip" Humphrey III is promising to bring to light damaging documents showing that tobacco companies handed marketing plans directed at youth to their lawyers so that they would be able to shield the plans from the public eye by claiming attorney-client privilege.

Tobacco foes also believe the longer they stall the deal, the more the industry's small-business coalition will fall apart, weakening the tobacco firms' political leverage. Tobacco farmers say that no provisions were made to help them navigate the transition to a drastically reduced market. Operators of convenience stores balk at requirements that they remodel their shops to limit youths' access to cigarettes. And in the first break within industry ranks since the proposed national deal, smaller companies that make snuff and chewing tobacco complain the settlement brokered by the cigarette giants is aimed at reducing the smaller companies' market share.

Hidden deals. Anti-tobacco forces gained yet another reason to push for concessions after the Senate voted last week to withdraw a \$50 billion tax credit. GOP leaders had slipped into July's balanced-budget agreement. The tax break, designed to cushion the financial blow of an eventual settlement, "reinforced a stereotype" that the industry can always get what it wants from Congress with stealth maneuvers, says one industry official. The Senate's 95-to-3 vote last week defeating the tax favor was meant as a reprimand, said Illinois Sen. Richard Durbin, who sponsored the repeal. "They're going to have to negotiate in daylight from now on."

While the deal may survive these setbacks, observers say it's unlikely to get through Congress unscathed. An important industry critic, Sen. Kent Conrad of North Dakota, who heads a Senate task force on tobacco, favors a settlement but wants a bigger hike in tobacco prices. He would also like to see the industry forced to release documents like those unearthed in the Minnesota case. "I think the more the public hears," he says, "the more they'll wonder if they're getting enough." ■



SPECIAL REPORT

They were the brave kids who faced the mob at Central High. Now, 40 years later, they can finally tell their stories.

BY JOHN LELAND AND VERN E. SMITH

Echoes of Little Rock

You Can Go Home Again:

LaNier, Beals, Roberts, Karlmark, Wair, Green, Eckford, Trickey and Thomas return to Central; Eckford under siege in 1957 (inset)





PHOTOGRAPH BY GEORGE LANGE. MAKEUP BY DESIREE. HAIR BY JONI PATRICK. STYLING AGENCY. (L-R) JONAS, JONAS, JONAS, JONAS

SPECIAL REPORT



UPI-CORBIS-BETTMANN

Force of arms: After first barring the nine from Central, the Arkansas National Guard offered them porous protection

MINNIEJEAN BROWN TRICKEY LIGHTS UP JUST TO think back on it, the corners of her broad face—the eyes, the mouth that can screw down with anger—opening now as if in bloom at the memory: the Dunbar Community Center, right here in Little Rock, where Minnijean once sang “Love Is Strange” with a house band called The Thrillers. Oh, *The Thrillers!* It must have been ... well, everybody here knows exactly how long ago it was, it was 40 years. They remember, and they warm to the memory, a soft spot from a hard year. This afternoon is just the

second time they have all nine been together in all those years, and there is a lot they have never told: to each other, to their friends, even to their children. Here in the Excelsior Hotel lobby, they are unassuming—a teacher, a real-estate broker, a psychologist and so on, ordinary citizens grown up from ordinary kids. But for nine months in 1957 and 1958, as the governor of Arkansas fulminated and a mob raged, these nine black teenagers—“We were thinner then,” says Trickey—represented all that was good in the changing South, and drew out all that was not. They have come now from as far away as the Netherlands to tell *NEWSWEEK* their stories.

This week the city of Little Rock honors the nine students who integrated Central High School—one of the crowning early victories of the civil-rights movement. Forty years ago the Little Rock nine risked their lives, and President Eisenhower committed the troops of the 101st Airborne against an American governor and American rabble. White mobs had been allowed to bar Autherine Lucy from the University of Alabama the year before; Little Rock impressed the rule of law upon the nation's

racial battlegrounds. Now, in a city that has never really come to terms with this ugly and heroic chapter of its history, the nine will finally get their due. President Clinton, who was 11 at the time, will speak in their honor (box). The nine—Melba Pattillo Beals, Elizabeth Eckford, Ernest Green, Gloria Ray Karlmark, Carlotta Walls LaNier, Terrence Roberts, Jefferson Thomas, Minnijean Brown Trickey and Thelma Mothershed-Wair—will at last be welcomed in the halls from which they were once violently rebuffed.

The moment reclaims a shining victory, one free of ambiguity or quibble. Yet there are anxieties, personal and political. “Will we have to walk through the crowd?” asks Elizabeth Eckford, who still acutely resembles the sunglassed girl in the famous photograph, walking stoic and alone into a hostile mob the first day. (When she got home, she recalls, she could wring the spittle from her dress.) The state and local NAACP chapters, which feel left out of the planning, have vowed to boycott the program. “It's nothing but a charade to make people think that we've come so far from that day,” says state NAACP president Dale H. Charles.

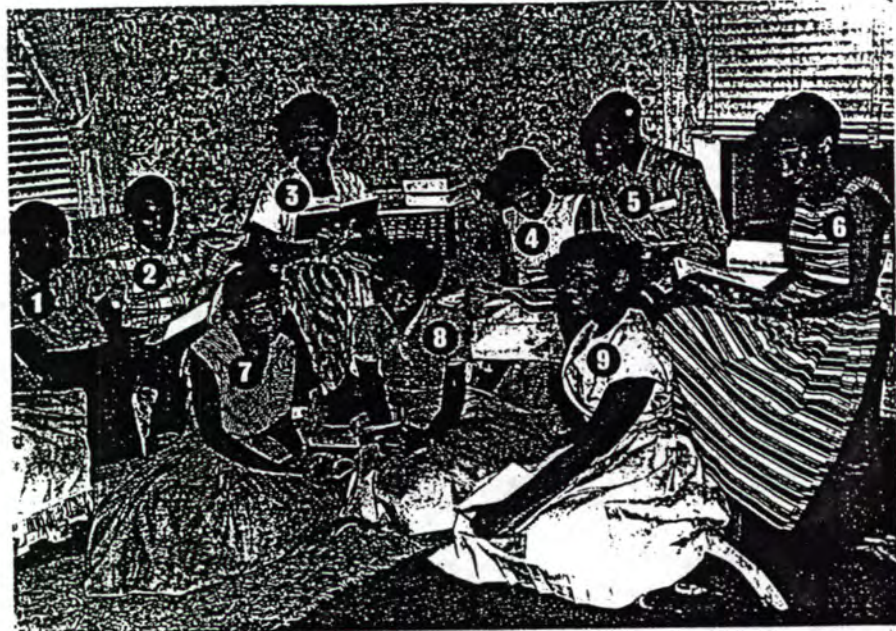
And there are difficult ironies. As Little Rock basks in the anniversary of this triumph over legal segregation, the nation's schools are again becoming increasingly segregated. Decades of white flight have created central city school systems in which there are no longer whites around to mix with. Two thirds of all black students, and nearly three fourths of all Latinos, now attend schools that are more than half minority—a higher percentage than in 1972, when courts first ordered busing to repair this imbalance. In big central cities, black students attend schools that are 83 percent minority. The U.S. Supreme Court, reversing nearly 40 years of judicial action, has been overturning desegregation orders across the country; since the appointment of Clarence Thomas in 1991, the high court has repeatedly held that trying to integrate schools in increasingly segregated communities doesn't work. It has also ruled that city school districts cannot force suburban schools to accept urban kids as a means of redressing segregation—a decision that makes school desegregation impossible, says Dr. Gary Orfield, director of the Harvard Project on School Desegregation.

Little Rock offers a chafing illustration of the new calculus. Forty years after its nine students broke the color line, the district and its two—whiter—neighbors remain under one of the still-standing federal desegregation orders, a legacy of administrations that built schools to serve white pocket communities. Since the desegregation order, much of the white population has simply moved out, or opted for private schools. Even where schools are integrated, white and minority students are often segregated into different tracks. At Central High, for example, with a 61 percent black student body last year, blacks accounted for

only 13 percent of the students in advanced placement or gifted and talented classes.

"Remedial programs," says principal Ralph Howard, who is African-American, "are predominantly one race."

The battles fought by the nine are still unresolved. "Would we have been better served had black Americans been allowed to educate black Americans?" asks Rudolph. "I don't feel that this is the case, but it is certainly worth evaluating." Blacks have long debated the merits of integration vs. nationalism or separatism, at least since the days of Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois. But this time some of the opposition to busing is coming from its former champions. "We spent \$13 million in transportation in Yonkers [N.Y.], with no appreciable gains in education," says Kenneth Jenkins, whose public doubts about busing cost him his position as president of the Yonkers NAACP. In a school district that is 75 percent minority, he saw little profit in chasing whites. Jenkins, 36, cites a "generation gap within the organization—[older] people looked at my remarks as a



'We Were Thinner Then':

"There were some mornings I did not want to go to Central because I knew I was going to be all alone," says Mother-shed-Wair. "It was just a sea of white all day long. But I thought that if I don't go, they might have to start the whole process all over again." Barred from school in 1957 (above), they held their own study group.



1 Jefferson Thomas After Little Rock closed its high schools in '58-'59, he returned to graduate the next year. Now an accountant in Ohio.



2 Ernest Green Central's first black graduate, he was in Carter's cabinet and is now a vice president at Lehman Brothers



3 Minnijean Brown Trickey Expelled from Central for yelling at her attackers, she's now a social worker in Ontario, Canada



4 Carlotta Walls LaNier After graduating with Thomas, she followed Green to Michigan State. She now sells real estate in Denver.



5 Terrence Roberts In 1958 his family moved to L.A., where he finished high school. He's now a clinical psychologist in Pasadena.



6 Gloria Ray Karlmark Keeping faith, she chose a college up North over Tuskegee, her parents' alma mater. Now retired in Holland.



7 Thelma Mother-shed-Wair Beseated by heart problems, she was spared most abuse at Central. Now teaches in East St. Louis.



8 Elizabeth Eckford Returning to Little Rock after a stint in the army, she raised two sons and now cares for her father



9 Melba Pattillo Beals An author and a former journalist for People and NBC, she's writing her next book in the Bay Area

giveback." But even the national organization is questioning its stance on busing, sort of. Before its national convention this July, chairwoman Myrlie Evers-Williams vowed that the NAACP would debate its position (it didn't, and Evers-Williams did not respond to interview requests from NEWSWEEK). While she fiddles, African-American mayors in Cleveland, Seattle, Minneapolis, Denver and St. Louis have sought to end busing programs.

Among the black middle class, there is also a rising nostalgia for the tight-knit communities it had before integration, and for the nurturing schools that were the hope of these communities. At Central, senior-class president Fatima McKindra, fresh from a summer at MIT, says she's leaning toward attending a historically black university. "I

appreciate being around all types of people at Central," she says. "But my interest in wanting a black college is more family- and church-based, wanting to have that environment my four years in college. There are times when I just want to be around people that are like me." (Still, in a 1997 Gallup poll, only 7 percent of blacks said they would prefer to live in a black neighborhood; the overwhelming majority chose a mixed one.)

All this talk of resegregation unsettles the Little Rock nine. Did they really endure nine months of threat and abuse for this? "That's bad," says Jefferson Thomas, in mild understatement, "because it was so hard to change it before." In 1957 Thomas was, by his reckoning, a very fast sprinter—a useful gift at Central. Now, after a heart attack last summer and complications from

diabetes, he is graying at the temples and slower in gait, his sense of humor embedded in his subtle inflections.

On a Sunday morning, Thomas is showing visitors the old neighborhood. Since his family moved out—his father lost his job during the integration backlash—he has rarely returned to Little Rock, and even then "as if I was slipping in and out of town." Yet he warms to the old sights: there's the weathered church where Little Stevie Wonder used to sing; there's Carlotta Walls LaNier's old house, bombed mysteriously in her senior year; there's the old Ninth Street black business (and social) hub, now paved over for the interstate; there's the field where he used to play football with white kids, up until the day blacks tried to enter Central. Asked what he's feel-

'An Affair of the Heart'

The president on how the crisis looked then—and what its lessons are now. BY BILL CLINTON

FORTY YEARS AGO, when the eyes of the world were on the crisis at Central High in Little Rock, I was an 11-year-old student 50 miles away in Hot Springs, Ark. My school system, like others in the South, was segregated and would remain so until after I graduated from high school. I had a lot of interesting and heated arguments about the Central High crisis with my friends, because I supported school integration and had been taught to do so by word and example. Fortunately, as a young boy in Hope, Ark., I spent a lot of time in my grandfather's small grocery store, where I saw him treat everyone, black and white, with equal dignity and respect. Both my grandparents had taught me that prejudice and segregation were wrong.

On Sept. 25, 1957, the brave determination of nine black children to walk through a hate-filled mob to integrate Central changed the course of history. The governor called out the National Guard to keep them out of school. Then



Tense days: *Faybus tried to block Central's integration, a defiant act that prompted Ike to send in the 101st Airborne*

President Eisenhower federalized the guard and brought in more soldiers—the first time court-ordered school integration was enforced by the federal government. Thus the crisis answered a fundamental question: whether constitutional rights, once defined by courts, would be made real through effective enforcement; and in a larger sense,

whether we would be one America under law.

Thank goodness the answer was yes. School integration has expanded opportunity for millions of African-Americans and other minorities; it has enriched the lives of white students, and it offers us a road map as we become the world's most diverse democracy.

Of course, integration has

not solved all our school problems. In too many places it doesn't exist, because of segregated living patterns. Far too many minorities still live in places without adequate educational or economic opportunity. And the failure to embrace high standards of academic excellence has hindered the education of children of all races.

Still, no one can doubt we are a better nation because of what happened in 1957. As we look back over 40 years, what are the lessons of Little Rock? First, when our fundamental values are at stake, we must act as one nation, if necessary through a national government strong enough to take effective action. Second, and more important, the work of building one America will always be at bottom an affair of the heart. Do we believe all our people are entitled to an equal opportunity to live out their dreams? Do we believe our own lives are enriched when we live and work together with people of different races and backgrounds who share our values? Do we feel better about all our lives when we lift others up rather than hold them back? We begin to answer these questions as young children. As Thurgood Marshall once said, "Unless our children begin to learn together, there is little hope our people will ever learn to live together."



White resistance: Once known as a moderate, Faubus pandered to the racist fringe

ing right now, right here, he sidesteps. "The frightening thing," he later muses, "is that they thought they were right."

At the hub of these sights is Central, a building once dubbed "the most beautiful high school in America" by the American Institute of Architects. Within its halls, it is easy to see why students would want to come here: the school produces more National Merit Scholarship semifinalists than any other in the state; the facilities are more imposing than many college campuses. For the Little Rock nine, it offered access not so much to white students as to a world withheld. The black schools offered an excellent education, says Terrence Roberts, now a clinical psychologist in Pasadena, Calif. "But as a black person I was stymied in many ways. I was primed for a change." Entering the school for a *NEWSWEEK* photo shoot, the nine are on edge; the last time they walked these halls, it was to abuse and menace. Eckford, after she catches her breath, is surprised that the hallways aren't wider. "My guard was always on this side," she says, "and I was getting slammed against the lockers on that side. It seemed so far away."

In a famous photograph, as she faces down the mob alone, Eckford seems almost preternaturally composed. But to meet her is to see the fragility behind that poise. She still lives in Little Rock, where she tends her sick father in a modest house without a phone—in part for economic reasons, in part, one suspects, so she won't have to field questions about her past. Even now, Carlotta LaNier and Melba Pattillo Beals have to persuade her to speak to *NEWSWEEK*, and they hold her hands through the interview. Eckford, who was briefly a journalist in the army, says she once tried to write about her Central High experiences but had to stop. "I felt like before I die I ought to tell my side of things," she says. "It

never got easier. I thought it would over time." Beals, who has written a moving memoir about Little Rock, "Warriors Don't Cry," consoles Eckford: "If you talked about it more it might help. I've had 12 years of therapy. I'm just now paying off the last \$20,000 of therapy bills."

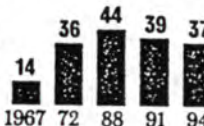
Other memories, long suppressed, come to the surface. Gloria Ray Karlmark peers into the ladies' room. "I never went in there that whole year," she says; it was too dangerous—the 101st Airborne could not follow their charges there. Karlmark, who lives in the Netherlands, is surprised by what she has seen in the United States, including the emergence of what she calls "black racism."

Rethinking the Dream

After 30 years of steady progress, especially in the South, many public schools reverted to segregation in the last decade.

Southern separation

PERCENTAGE OF BLACK STUDENTS IN WHITE-MAJORITY PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN ALA., ARK., FLA., GA., LA., MISS., N.C., S.C., TENN., TEXAS, VA.



White enrollment in central-city schools

PERCENTAGE OF WHITES IN THE 10 LARGEST CENTRAL-CITY PUBLIC-SCHOOL DISTRICTS; 1994-95 RANKING

	1968	1994-95	PCT. CHG.
Houston	53%	12%	-82%
Dallas	61	13	-81
Los Angeles	54	11	-80
Chicago	38	11	-79
Memphis	46	17	-68
Dade (Miami)	58	15	-65
New York	44	18	-64
Philadelphia	39	21	-61
San Diego	76	31	-61
Detroit	39	6	-10

SOURCE: HARVARD PROJECT ON SCHOOL DESEGREGATION, RACIAL CHANGE AND SEGREGATION IN LARGE SCHOOL DISTRICTS, 1994

In tears, she recalls the day FBI agents told her parents they needed her fingerprints, "so that they could identify my body when it was found. You don't say that to a child, do you? Imagine a 14-year-old child hearing that stuff."

After Little Rock, most of the nine sought anonymity, refuge from the battle. For years, Thomas says, he would not even attend football games or parades. "After being the recipient of mob violence, you tend to want to stay away from large groups of people." Except for Ernest Green, who was the subject of a TV movie, none became civil-rights celebrities. Says LaNier, "After Central, I just wanted to be a number." Like Holocaust survivors, many didn't even tell their children about their pasts. Karlmark told her kids about the civil-rights movement but left out her role in it. Thelma Mothershed-Wair's son Scott came home from second grade one day and asked her, "Mom, Mom, are you black history?" LaNier let her kids watch a TV movie about Little Rock. Jefferson Thomas Jr. learned about his father from a junior-high-school assignment. "He got angry that I never told him," says the elder Thomas.

The overlooked heroes of Little Rock, the nine say, are their parents. Ernest Green, the only one who graduated that year, credits them with a faith in progress now sucked from black communities. Green, a vice president at Lehman Brothers, says that the parents' generation was denied opportunity, but "they were going to make darn sure it was possible for their kids."

In the end, any rethinking of integration engages this question of faith, and the conditions that make it possible. Roberts says, of both 1957 and 1997, "It's not about separating or integrating; it's about trying to find a formula that's going to supply black children with what they need to succeed in the society." As a different, celebratory crowd plans to welcome the nine to Central, it is sobering to consider what hasn't changed in 40 years. "We thought that once the [whites] saw that black people are not devils, we don't carry knives or guns, we can read and write, they would accept us," says Thomas. "But after they knew us, they still didn't like us."

This remains the context for all debates about integration. And it makes the issue explosive, then as now. As Beals says, "The people in the NAACP today who are saying 'We don't want to integrate' have short memories. When you deny access to black people, do you seriously think they're going to go home and knit?" The Little Rock nine didn't. Yet as we remember their accomplishments, the challenge for the next generation of Americans—black, white, Latin, Asian—is more elusive. It is, however, just as critical. They are the soldiers who will have to find the faith.

And Now, Live From Little Rock

The standoff at Central was something new in American life—an epic clash that people could watch in their living rooms. BY DAVID HALBERSTAM

IN THOSE EXTRAORDINARY DAYS WHEN WHITE MOBS ASSAULTED the nine black teenagers trying to enroll at Central, Little Rock became something new in American life: it was not so much a city as an image. This, then, was a historic confrontation, important not just because of what happened on location—a Southern governor shrewdly exploiting race—but because people could sit in their homes and actually watch our racial obsessions vividly play themselves out. Little Rock was, before Vietnam, our first great television battleground. It was not that what we were seeing was new; it was the seeing itself. As the columnist Russell Baker wrote a few years later, “The difference between barbarity now and in other times is that now everyone sees it on television. Television sits in the living room corner ready to show us the absolute worst at the flick of a switch.”

As the summer of 1957 came to an end, Arkansas had seemed an unlikely place for violent racial confrontation. With its relatively small percentage of blacks, it was like a border-state city, a place where race did not appear to be a hot political issue. A number of Arkansas school districts had already integrated without incident. Orval Faubus, the governor, was a hill-country populist seemingly devoid of racial prejudice. At first he had signaled his acquiescence to Brown and his support of the quite modest local plan to integrate Central. Indeed, it appeared that the entire white establishment was on board; Virgil Blossom, the superintendent, even had dreams of running for governor himself.

But as the first day of school approached, segregationists in Arkansas and throughout the Deep South began to pressure Faubus. The governor, ever shrewd and ever ambitious, was up for a third term the following year. He had sensed earlier than most that in the three years since *Brown* the issue had grown more emotional among poor whites in his state, and he understood all too well that if he did not try to block the integration of Central, he and his alleged softness on race might well be the defining issue in 1958. More, he already faced an unusually difficult political equation—he had no personal wealth; Arkansas voters were traditionally wary of giving any politician a third term, and he was not a lawyer, which meant that he could not make an easy lateral move to comfort and wealth as a lobbyist in Little Rock. He chose defiance: it was never personal with Faubus—it was simply a career choice.

So the crisis came. The most important correspondent on location is a young NBC reporter named John Chancellor. It was the first time in American history that the signature journalist on a major story represented a TV network. Chancellor was just 30, but he viscer-

ally understood that he should keep his own narration to a minimum: what the camera was recording was far more powerful than any words he might add. One of his prime sources was Will Campbell, a white minister who was trying to aid and advise the black families. Campbell would return to his hotel room each day, turn on the set and watch Chancellor's reports. What Chancellor had become, Campbell decided, was nothing less than a prophet. Like Biblical seers before him, he was defining sin—for an audience of millions.

Though Chancellor's exact words on air were understated, Campbell realized, what he might as well have been saying as the images rolled across the screen was: “This is a sin. ... This is a sin. ... This is a sin.”

For other white Southern politicians, Little Rock's lessons were obvious. Moderates were vulnerable, and the best position was one that pre-empted the racist territory—a safe Southern pol was someone who said “Never.” Ambitious politicians, watching as Faubus went on to win four more elections, learned the benefits of the race card. Faubus would beget others like him, notably George Wallace. Running as a populist in 1958, Wallace was beaten in Alabama. He vowed he would never be outniggered again.

But as the story began to play out in what was now a wired nation, ordinary Americans were forced to take sides. Certainly that was the way Martin Luther King and the talented young men around him saw it. King, restless with the molasses-like pace of integration, wanting both the American people and the American government to make a moral judgment about themselves and their country, immediately understood the long-range benefits of confrontations like Little Rock. The key was to lure the beast of segregation out in the open. Casting was critical: King and his aides were learning that they needed to find the right venue, a place where the resistance was likely to be fierce, and the right local official to play the villain. Neither was a problem: King had no trouble finding men like Wallace and Bull Connor, who were in their own way looking for him, just as he was looking for them. In time, the national dynamic proved stronger than the regional one. Seven years after Little Rock, much moved by violent confrontation in Alabama and Mississippi, Congress passed the Civil Rights Act, and a year later, after a fateful televised clash with Sheriff Jim Clark in Selma, Ala., the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

HALBERSTAM worked as a reporter in Mississippi and Tennessee during the mid- and late 1950s. His latest book, “*The Children*,” traces the lives of eight young civil-rights activists he met in 1960. It will be published in March.



‘The flick of a switch’: As the mob hanged black students in effigy, TV crews brought the crisis to a watching nation

THE REMARKS
FOR THE ADDRESS TO THE 40th ANNIVERSARY
OF THE LITTLE ROCK CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL
DESEGREGATION CEREMONY
WILL BE FORWARDED

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

'97 SEP 23 PM9:17

September 23, 1997

Brief meeting (10 min.) with Advisory Board Members Dr. John Hope Franklin and Governor William Winter and PIR Executive Director Judy Winston

Date: Thursday, September 25, 1997
Location: Central High School
Room TBD
Time: 12:50 pm - 1:00 pm
From: Sylvia Mathews *SMAT*

I. PURPOSE:

This brief meeting will allow you to discuss the events in Little Rock and the Advisory Board's participation in related roundtable discussions.

II. BACKGROUND:

Professor Franklin, Gov. Winter and Judy Winston will be attending your commemoration speech at Central High School. On Saturday, September 27, they also will participate in a roundtable discussion in Little Rock, which will be sponsored by the National Conference (formerly known as the National Conference of Christians and Jews).

On September 26 and 27, four other Advisory Board Members also will participate in discussions on issues regarding the commemoration at events in San Francisco, Chicago and D.C., which are also sponsored by the National Conference.

III. PARTICIPANTS:

White House Staff - Sylvia Mathews
Advisory Board Member - Professor John Hope Franklin
Advisory Board Member - Governor William Winter
President's Initiative on Race - Judy Winston

IV. PRESS PLAN:

Closed press

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS:

Greet Judy Winston, Professor Franklin and Governor Winter.

VI. REMARKS:

None required

VII. ATTACHMENTS:

None required

THE EVENT MEMO
FOR THE CONGRESSIONAL MEDAL OF HONOR SOCIETY RECEPTION
WILL BE FORWARDED

THE REMARKS
FOR THE CONGRESSIONAL MEDAL OF HONOR SOCIETY RECEPTION
WILL BE FORWARDED

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT**FROM: CRAIG T. SMITH****DATE: SEPTEMBER 22, 1997****RE: ARKANSAS POLITICAL BRIEFING****1996 ELECTION OVERVIEW**

1996			1992		
Clinton	54%	475,171	Clinton	53%	505,823
Dole	37%	325,416	Bush	35%	337,324
Perot	8%	69,884	Perot	10%	99,132

Clinton/Gore had a smaller margin over Dole/Kemp (+17) than over Bush/Quayle (+18) in 1992. In addition, Perot support dropped by nearly 2% since 1992.

	1992	1996
Total Vote	950,653	871,864
Voting Age Population (VAP)	1,746,000	1,834,000
% of VAP turnout	54%	48%

1996 SENATE RACES

Congressman Tim Hutchinson (R) ran against Attorney General Winston Bryant (D) to fill the seat of retiring Senator David Pryor (D). Hutchinson narrowly defeated Bryant by four points: 52% to 48%.

1996 CONGRESSIONAL RACES

Arkansas' four member delegation breakdown remained 2(D) and 2(R). Marion Berry (D-01), Vic Snyder (D-02), and Asa Hutchinson (R-03) were newly-elected to Congress, while incumbent Jay Dickey (R-04) held on to his seat. Marion Berry soundly defeated Jonesboro attorney Warren Dupwe, winning by eight points. However, the race in the second district came down to the wire, with Snyder pulling ahead only in the last week and winning by four points. Furthermore, Asa Hutchinson, brother of now Senator Tim Hutchinson, defeated his challenger by 15 points.

Representative Marion Berry (D-01)
Representative Asa Hutchinson (R-03)

Representative Vic Snyder (D-02)
Representative Jay Dickey (R-04)

STATE ELECTED OFFICIALS

Governor Mike Huckabee (R)
Lieutenant Governor Winthrop Rockefeller (R)
Secretary of State Sharon Priest (D)
Attorney General Winston Bryant (D)
State Treasurer Jimmy Lou Fisher (D)
State Auditor Gus Wingfield (D)
Land Commissioner Charlie Daniel (D)
US Senator Dale Bumpers (D)
State Senate, 35 (28D-7R)
State House of Representatives, 100 (88D-12R)

1998 SENATE RACE

Senator Dale Bumpers (D) has announced he will not seek re-election. Former Cong. Blanche Lambert-Lincoln, and State Rep. Scott Ferguson from West Memphis have announced. Nate Coulter and Attorney General Winston Bryant have formed exploratory committees. North Little Rock Mayor Patrick Henry Hays is considering a run.

On the Republican side, State Sen. Fay Boozman (R), will enter the Republican primary. He has been endorsed by Sen. Tim Hutchinson (R), and has hired an "a-team" of consultants. In addition, Lu Hardin and former State Sen. Jim Keet are both considering a run.

1998 GOVERNOR'S RACE

Governor Mike Huckabee (R) will seek re-election. Everyone is waiting to see what State Sen. Mike Beebe (D) is going to do. Penn and Schoen will be polling for Beebe over the next several weeks.

STATE ISSUES

Presidential Library: The Presidential Library was officially announced on February 13, 1996. Skip Rutherford is presently coordinating the project. Governor Huckabee supports all efforts with the development and success of the library and the learning center in Little Rock.

ARKANSAS DATA

- 1990 estimated population was 2,350,725

- 83% of Arkansans are White; 16% are African-American; 1% are Hispanic
- 67% of Arkansans are born in the state of Arkansas
- Arkansas's per capita income is \$10,520. Median household income is \$21,147.
- 34% of Arkansans have a college education

ECONOMIC PROGRESS IN ARKANSAS UNDER PRESIDENT CLINTON

President Clinton's strategy to strengthen the economy is based on reducing the federal budget deficit, lowering trade barriers, and empowering workers, families, businesses and communities to succeed. Here are some of the results for Arkansas after the first **54 months** of the Clinton Administration:

Improved Economic Conditions in Arkansas:

- Under President Clinton's administration, the unemployment rate has dropped from 6.7% to 5.5%.
- Under President Clinton's administration, Arkansas has added 117,700 new jobs or 26,156 **per year**, compared to 24,300 **per year** during the previous administration.
- Under President Clinton's administration, Arkansas has added 105,300 private sector jobs or 23,400 **per year**, compared to 20,100 **per year** during the previous administration.
- Under President Clinton's administration, Arkansas has added 12,600 construction jobs or 2,800 **per year**, compared to 1,200 **per year** during the previous administration.
- Under President Clinton's administration, the Help Wanted Index has increased 50.2%.
- Under President Clinton's administration, home building has increased 7.3% **per year**, after increasing 2.6 % **per year** during the 12 years prior to the Clinton administration.
- Under President Clinton's administration, consumer confidence has increased 106.52%.

What President Clinton's Accomplishments Have Achieved for the People of Arkansas:

\$15,000 OF REDUCED FEDERAL DEBT FOR EVERY FAMILY OF FOUR IN ARKANSAS: The national debt will be **more than \$1 trillion** lower over 7 years than was projected before the passage of the President's economic plan. That's about \$15,000 of reduced federal debt for each family of four in Arkansas.

31 TIMES MORE ARKANSAS FAMILIES RECEIVE A TAX CUT THAN A TAX INCREASE: As a result of the expanded Earned Income Tax Credit, 202,759 working families in Arkansas will receive a tax cut. This compares to an increase in the income tax rate for only the 6,585 wealthiest taxpayers in Arkansas.

TAX CUT FOR 12,238 SMALL BUSINESSES IN ARKANSAS: The President helped entrepreneurs, proprietors, and other small businessmen and women by expanding the annual expensing allowance from \$10,000 to \$17,500. About 12,238 small businesses in Arkansas are likely to benefit from the expansion of the expensing allowance this year alone *and many more will benefit over the coming years.*

344,000 ARKANSAS WORKERS PROTECTED BY FAMILY AND MEDICAL LEAVE ACT: The Family and Medical Leave Act allows workers to take up to 12 weeks of unpaid leave for the birth of a child, to care for a sick family member, or if they become too sick to work. This law covers about 344,121 workers in Arkansas, and protects the jobs of 20,673 workers in Arkansas who are likely to use unpaid leave this year alone.

139,200 STUDENTS AND FORMER STUDENTS IN ARKANSAS WILL BE ABLE TO BENEFIT FROM STUDENT LOAN REFORMS: Approximately 139,200 Arkansas borrowers -- 97,400 current borrowers and 41,800 new borrowers in the next few years -- can take advantage of the new direct student loan program by participating directly in the program or by consolidating guaranteed loans into direct loans. Some will benefit from lower interest rates, and all will benefit from more repayment options, including income contingent repayment.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 23, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: THURGOOD MARSHALL, JR. *TM*
JON P. JENNINGS *J.P.J.*

SUBJECT: HOT ISSUES--LITTLE ROCK, AR

East Central Arkansas Economic Development Corporation: East Central Arkansas Economic Development Corporation, the lead entity for the East Arkansas Enterprise Community (EC), has severe fiscal problems that have been widely reported in the Arkansas media. Due to mismanagement, the group has run out of funds to pay staff. The East Arkansas EC is one of the rural ECs consisting of five counties in east Arkansas. Arkansas board members are considering changing the lead entity for the EC, because the current problems are directly impacting the success of the EC effort. (USDA)

Brady Act: Arkansas is the only state in the nation where no Brady background checks are being completed. Following the Supreme Court's June decision in Printz v. U.S., the background check system remains legal, although voluntary. A rough survey indicates that 94 percent of all jurisdictions in the country are continuing these checks. Until June, the Arkansas State Police (ASP) was conducting the checks. Attorney General Bryant issued a formal opinion that state law required that this policy be continued. Governor Huckabee, reportedly on advice of his Counsel, ordered the ASP to cease the checks. DOJ estimates that since Arkansas stopped conducting the checks, approximately 100 felons have been able to purchase a firearm in the state. (DOJ)

North Little Rock, AR, VA Hospital: A rumor is circulating that the North Little Rock, AR, VA Hospital will be closed. Veterans began Congressional letter-writing campaigns requesting a "Vote Against" closing the facility. There is no validity to this rumor. (VA)

Central High Street Car Project: The Central Arkansas Transit Authority is conducting a feasibility study of various rail corridors in the region. Included in this review is a proposal for a street car project connecting the Central High neighborhood with downtown. Preliminary cost estimates for this project, initially reported at \$47 million, have been scaled back, and the new amount is not known at this time. The study will be completed this fall. (DOT)

ARKids First: On August 19, Arkansas received a section 1115 demonstration waiver to implement ARKids First. Using a fee-for-service, primary care case management model that builds on the ConnectCare network currently in place, Medicaid coverage was expanded to 37,000 children 18 and under. New Medicaid beneficiaries will have to be at or below 200 percent of the Federal Poverty Level. The State is offering a modified benefit package, including coinsurance, to the expansion population. Care cannot be denied if a patient cannot afford the cost-sharing amounts. The modified benefit package, which essentially leaves the "T" out of Early and Periodic Screening, Diagnosis and Treatment (EPSDT) was debated in HHS. Arkansas implemented ARKids First on September 1, after a HCFA readiness review in late August found no major issues requiring action. (HHS)

Central Community Action Agency (ECCAA) Head Start: Following several months of newspaper stories and an on-site visit by ACF Region VI staff, HHS suspended the funding of the ECCAA HS Program in Forrest City, AR. Central Arkansas (Benton) is interim sponsor. A hearing regarding ECCAA's suspension is scheduled for September 23 in the ACF Dallas Regional Office. (HHS)

PRESIDENT CLINTON'S ACCOMPLISHMENTS:

Arkansas

EXPANDING ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL:

- **Unemployment Down to 4.6%:** The unemployment rate in Arkansas has declined from 6.7% to 4.6% since 1993.
- **121,500 New Jobs:** 121,500 new jobs have been created in Arkansas since 1993 -- an average of 28,038 per year, compared to an average of just 24,300 jobs per year in the previous administration.
- **75,000 Have Received a Raise:** Approximately 75,000 Arkansas workers benefited from an increase in the minimum wage -- from \$4.25 to \$4.75 -- on October 1, 1996. They, along with about 99,000 more, will receive an additional raise -- from \$4.75 to \$5.15 -- on September 1, 1997.
- **653,700 Protected By Family & Medical Leave:** Approximately 653,700 Arkansans are covered by the Family & Medical Leave Law, which allows workers to take up to 12 weeks unpaid leave to care for a new baby or ailing relative [1995 data].

FIGHTING CRIME AND VIOLENCE:

- **Crime Falls in Little Rock:** Since 1992, serious crime has fallen 23% in Little Rock [1996 data].
- **746 More Police:** The President's 1994 Crime Bill has funded 746 new police officers to date in communities across Arkansas [through 6/97].
- **\$1.5 Million to Combat Domestic Violence:** Through the Violence Against Women Act, Arkansas will be able to use \$1.5 million in federal funds this year [FY97] to establish more women's shelters and bolster law enforcement, prosecution, and victims' services. Arkansas received more than \$1.3 million under VAWA in FY96.
- **\$419,771 in Grants for Battered Women and Children:** In 1998, Arkansas will receive an estimated \$419,771 in HHS's Family Violence Prevention Program grants to assist women and children fleeing domestic abuse.
- **\$5.2 Million to Keep Drugs & Violence Out of Arkansas' Schools:** Arkansas receives \$5.2 million in FY97 for the Safe & Drug Free Schools Program, which invests in school security and drug prevention programs.

MOVING ARKANSANS FROM WELFARE TO WORK:

- **20,562 Fewer People on Welfare:** There are 20,562 fewer people on welfare in Arkansas now than there were at the beginning of 1993 -- a 28% decrease [through 4/97].
- **Child Support Collections Up 89%:** Child support collections have increased by \$37 million -- or 89% -- in Arkansas since FY92 [through FY96].

EXPANDING ACCESS TO EDUCATION:

- **Over \$33 Million in Head Start Funding:** In FY96, Arkansas received \$33.2 million in Head Start funding, benefitting nearly 9,200 students. This year, Arkansas receives \$37 million for Head Start, an increase of \$3.6 million over 1996.
- **\$4.8 Million in Goals 2000 Funding:** This year [FY97], Arkansas receives \$4.8 million in Goals 2000 funding. This money is used to raise academic achievement by raising academic standards, increasing parental and community involvement in education, expanding the use of computers and technology in classrooms, and supporting high-quality teacher professional

development.

- **\$2 Million for Technology Literacy:** This year [FY97], Arkansas receives \$2 million for the Technology Literacy Challenge Fund which helps communities and the private sector ensure that every student is equipped with the computer literacy skills needed for the 21st century.
- **\$80.5 Million for Students Most in Need:** Arkansas receives \$80.5 million in Title I grants providing extra help in the basics for students most in need, particularly communities and schools with high concentrations of children in low-income families [FY97].
- **\$29 Million for Students with Disabilities:** This year, Arkansas will receive \$29 million under the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act to help ensure high quality educational opportunities for an estimated 55,000 disabled students in Arkansas.
- **\$16.8 Million for Vocational and Adult Education:** This year, \$16.8 million helps Arkansas's students and workers prepare for the 21st Century with technical and academic training. The funding also includes the School-to-Work program, bridging high school with vocational education [FY97].
- **\$59 Million in Pell Grants:** Arkansas receives \$59 million this year in Pell Grant funding, which helps Arkansas's low-income students go to college [FY97].
- **Nearly 800 Volunteers Have Served in Arkansas through AmeriCorps:** This year, 98 AmeriCorps participants are serving their communities while earning money for college by working in Arkansas' schools, hospitals, neighborhoods and parks. Since the National Service program began in 1994, nearly 800 volunteers have served Arkansas in 137 different programs [through FY97].

INVESTING IN ARKANSAS'S HEALTH:

- **Helping Arkansas Women and Children with WIC:** The Clinton Administration is committed to full funding in the Special Supplemental Nutrition Program for Women, Infants and Children (WIC). Today, in Arkansas, 3,184 more women and children in need are receiving health and food assistance than in 1994.

PROTECTING THE ENVIRONMENT:

- **5 Toxic Waste Sites Cleaned Up:** Since 1993, the EPA has completed Superfund toxic waste cleanups in Omaha, Edmondson, Ola, and two in Jacksonville, Arkansas [through 6/97]. In contrast, only 3 sites were cleaned up in the previous 12 years.

SPEARHEADING URBAN AND RURAL RENEWAL EFFORTS:

- **\$9 Million to Counties Across Arkansas:** Little Rock/ Pulaski County, East Central, and Mississippi County were all designated Enterprise Communities in December, 1994 and were awarded \$3 million each to create more jobs, housing, and economic opportunity for area residents.

EXPANDING FUNDS FOR TRAVEL IMPROVEMENT:

- **Over \$39 Million to Improve Mass Transit:** The FTA has provided \$39.3 million since 1993 to improve public transportation in Arkansas [through FY97].
- **\$1.3 Billion in Highway Funding:** Since 1993, Arkansas has received \$1.3 billion in federal highway aid. These funds have helped generate 53,266 jobs [through FY97].
- **Nearly \$83 Million in Airport Improvement Funds:** Arkansas has received nearly \$83 million in airport improvement funds since 1993 [through 6/97].