

Tuesday, January 5, 1999

8

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION



S. DAVID FREEMAN, General Manager

December 21, 1998

President Bill Clinton
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

*Agony
for
cc: ccs (w/ Maerka's note)*

Dear Mr. President:

For my money, your performance on Saturday was a profile in courage. I don't know anyone else in the world that could have stood up to the unfairness and mean-spirited abuse to which you have been subjected with the calm dignity and determination to serve that you have exhibited in recent months.

It is clear to me and the American people that the House Republicans have deliberately failed to distinguish between the personal mistakes, for which you have accepted responsibility and apologized, and the criminal charges, which they have not proved. But what is really frightening is that they have violated the fundamentals of the rule of law – that any American, even the President, is innocent of a crime until proven guilty, and even if guilty, is entitled to a punishment that fits the "crime", a point that was not even discussed by the "lynch mob" that voted impeachment.

Take heart my friend. To be sure you did wrong but that was personal. As President, you are doing right and I urge you to continue so that history will record this sorry episode as a profile in courage by a President who cared enough about the American people to hang in there and stay the course.

Sincerely,

David

S. DAVID FREEMAN

*cap. & cl
Smith
Podesta
Berkhardt (for
reply)*

Water and Power Conservation... a way of life



MARSHA SCOTT

Dave is an old friend
of POTUS - former
head of TVA from
Texas. His wife
Suzanne was our
co-ordinator in Sacramento
in '92 & was ^{on} Coombs
staff in NY. good
Folks -

S/-

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

1-5-99

1-5-99

After you have seen,
we will send original
to Burkhardt.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
1-5-99

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99
1-5-98

After you have seen,
we will send to

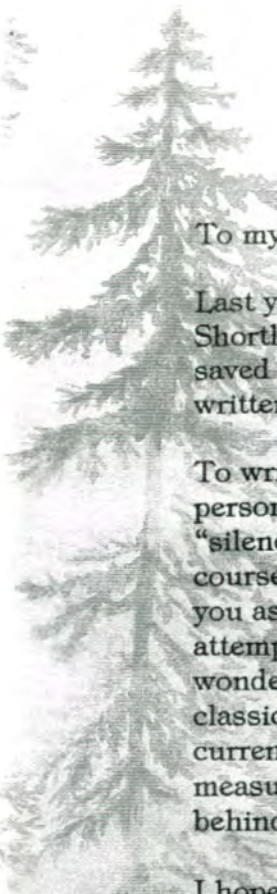
Barkhardt.
Eugene

NINETEEN HUNDRED NINETY NINE

NOTES

1. I use words, music and drawings to evoke emotion and sensation and multiple levels of meaning. For example, while the 'vase' of words in the poem "Magnolia" is symbolic, I attempt to remain true to its authentic inner and outer nature. The recordings are not spoken literally from the written version, I vocalize extemporaneously for rhythm and inflection which I felt at the time. There is no title on the poem "Magnolia" but the traced design of the flower speaks for itself.
2. All the poems are original with the exception of one which is, as we say in golf architecture, a strongly 'remodeled' rendering. In order to speak to our times, it is a rewritten version based on the classic John Keats' poem. I contrast the medieval code of ethics which includes the game I love, golf, and the inherent respect and ethics of playing by the rules for half a millenium with my Welsh Celtic heritage. I have always been interested in the mystical little people. The Keats' poem was a 19th century romantic vision of women, and mine is a 20th century vision, which could be, as one of my friends said, "chilling" in the way the Celtic woman seems to manipulate her liberation. It is up to you to see what meaning you might enjoy from this poem. I had the pleasure of rewriting it in "the Var" of Southern France from my experiences there.
3. I have used onomatopoetic phrases such as *cold cobalt ceiling* to evoke the sound of wind and *bees on a drowsy day* to evoke the buzz sounds of bees.
4. The other poems include experiences with some of my friends in a forest at the Bohemian Grove, of my feelings of revisiting my friends at the Wild Coast of South Africa and Transvaal in May of this year, of my delight in seeing the young people of mainland China getting so involved with our new golf course at Trans Strait in Fu Zhou and discovering, enjoying and delighting in the game of my lifetime - golf.
5. As a golfer, I think of the individual quests we all make within our self-imposed integrity of the game. The poem "St. Andrews" is about a place of enormous spiritual importance to me; thus I write as a golf architect and golfer and comment on the spirituality of the Town itself, related to the Common Green of the Old Course, for example, the courses are closed on Sundays for other recreation like people walking with their dogs. Each time I return to play the Old Course, the memories that remain with me are always vivid. So many times things just happen at St. Andrews, not only on the Old Course and in the Royal and Ancient clubhouse but also within the graveyards, the town, the countryside.

My love of that place and the game itself is embodied there, and it is always a privilege for me to go to St. Andrews.



December 1998

To my friends,

Last year, during the holidays, I had an experience in the ocean of Hanalei Bay, Kauai. Shortly before sunset, while swimming after a game of golf, I was caught in a riptide and saved by a surfer who came off the beach on his board and brought me ashore. I haven't written a poem about that experience but it opened a part of me to share with others.

To write and give poetry or display any art form is to be open with people and thus take personal risk. In poetry we are transparent in our words and, unlike business, where "silence is golden" and, as the military saying goes "loose lips sink ships," there is, of course, a possibility of being misunderstood. So at this season of sharing, I open myself to you as I have to my other friends who have found these works worthwhile. They are an attempt to speak universally about our times, our concerns, our friends, my love of nature's wonders and philosophies. For example, in the "Binar" poem, I have chosen to use a classic Slavic measurement of "puds" rather than bushels to give an overall sense of our current millenium of the Christian spiritual meaning of God. Contrasting this ancient measure of produce with today's binary mathematical system shows a deeper meaning behind our daily work.

I hope you enjoy all the poems. I've included some comments as notes which I suggest you read after you have listened to and read the poems. They may give you further interpretation and insights. For now, just listen, read and enjoy them.

I give great thanks to my friend, Jim Salestrom who is a wonderful professional performing artist. He encouraged this work last summer. His live guitar accompaniment in the studio with me and other work made this a truly joyful experience. To Owen Davis, whose drumming background rhythms have always inspired me to feel the pulses of life, was particularly helpful on the poem "Africa." He also speaks the voice of "Tane," the god of creation of the Maoris [he enjoyed his brief moment of immortality!] which contrasts our Western linear sense of time with the Maori's cyclical sense of time.

Also, I especially want to thank my friends everywhere who helped me with suggestions -- a word here and there, sometimes in their language, such as "Le Tremblement" suggested by Henri Lavanchy, meaning quaking aspens or poplar trees, helping to better the original draft.

The poems are unfinished works in a sense and they could always be better but Christmas is upon us and I must share them with you now in the hopes that you all will also share, your dreams, your hopes and your emotions among your friends to enrich our computer age with the human spirit of our shared humanity.

Love to you all and have a wonderful New Year.

Bob

Robert Trent Jones, Jr.

1-3-99

PRINCETON METRO CENTER
SUITE 115
5 VAUGHN DRIVE
PRINCETON, NJ 08540-6313
(609) 520-0400
FAX (609) 520-1450

150 BROADWAY
SUITE 1212
NEW YORK, NY 10038
(212) 791-0340
FAX (212) 791-0347

Came in interoffice
mail -

Send to ?

~~Prokhorov~~

for
Kly

and

PNC BANK CENTER
222 DELAWARE AVENUE
SUITE 1110, BOX 2206
WILMINGTON, DE 19899
(302) 656-3301
FAX (302) 656-0643

Podesta
cc Ricchetti
Sasnik
Greg Craig

January 4, 1999

The Honorable William J. Clinton
President of the United States
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

'99 JAN 5 PM 3:59

Dear President Clinton:

You are about to face the trial of your life. In my view -- as a trial strategist -- I am concerned that your top legal and political handlers are failing to prepare for an event that can improve -- rather than tarnish -- your image in world history.

The problem is simply this: Your people are going into a trial with an assumption: William Jefferson Clinton loses. Additional attempts to negotiate, to float trial balloons, serve only to weaken your position. Instead of strategizing on how to divert, avoid or shorten combat, may I suggest that your people start working as if they are preparing to enter a lion's den: a full-blown, no-holds barred war? If they execute such a strategy, take it from this Philadelphia attorney: Bill Clinton will survive and he'll also win.

Here's the strategy I propose:

1. Appoint a trial attorney as team leader
2. Establish the trial theme (these alleged offenses shouldn't have been impeachable let alone grounds for removal)
3. Develop examination and cross-examination of witnesses that will establish this theme
4. Subpoena witnesses (including Monica Lewinsky if need be) to support the proposition that there was no attempt to obstruct justice, etc.
5. Develop and present expert testimony on the appropriateness of a perjury charge arising from a civil deposition (If this is perjury worthy of prosecution every plaintiff in a personal injury action should be prosecuted.)
6. Stop acquiescing to trial balloons. Issue a statement through your trial lawyer: "We are here to fight, to defend, to win " If and only if there is a final decision on an expediting procedure such as those utilized in some federal districts, should your lawyers respond.

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(212) 791-0340
FAX (212) 791-0347

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SUITE 1110, BOX 2206
WILMINGTON, DE 19899
(302) 656-3301
FAX (302) 656-0643

*Podasta
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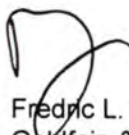
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Need I say that this gets down to the Republicans against you and the American people? This is not the GOP against you alone. Your representatives should never miss the opportunity to point to your strength: the American people love you. Your approval ratings are higher than ever. Make it clear that it is not just you but the voice of the people as expressed in the last two elections that is being challenged.

Don't even consider postponing the State of the Union. If there is discomfort among your detractors -- let them surrender. Why help your adversaries? Ultimately, your enemies won't allow this matter to proceed to full trial. Those who depend on re-election cannot be accused of having brought to trial a case doomed to failure from the beginning.

Remember this, Mr. President: Defend yourself from strength! Start developing a trial program which will set the tone for this trial and even further solidify your support. You know that your adversaries will never let this case go to trial. They will do something to avoid it. You, however, should be associating yourself with a defense team which projects one image and one image alone - we are going to trial and we are going to win.

Strong trial attorneys with strong trial strategies intimidate opponents who -- as in this case -- have a lot more to lose. Confidence, preparation and trial skills are proven winners.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'Fredric L. Goldfein', written in a cursive style.

Fredric L. Goldfein
Goldfein & Joseph
Philadelphia, PA

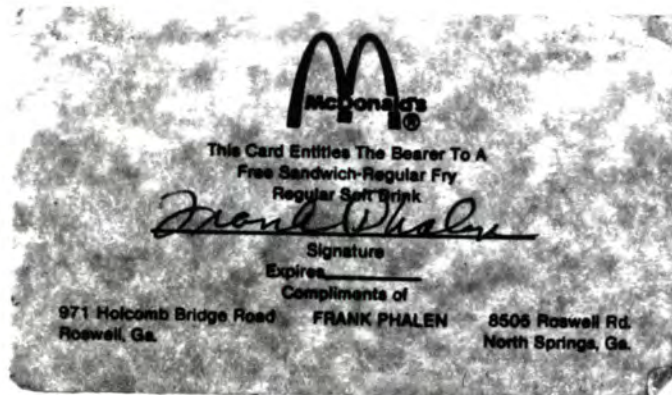
1-5-99

7
Do try for just one
serving of food - as

Frank Phalen
President

McDonald's
9335 Chandler Bluff
Alpharetta, Georgia 30202

Office: (404) 751-9362
Voice Mail: (404) 333-5060



1-5-9899

After you have
seen, we will send
to Burkhardt



DALE PARKER

DOCTOR OF SCIENCE
POLITICAL CONSULTANT AND WHITE HOUSE VETERAN
P.O. Box 246 • BOONE, NC 28607
(828) 264-1052 • FAX (828) 264-1229

99 JAN 5 PM 2:04

President and Mrs. Bill Clinton
Office of the President
White House
1600 Penn. Avenue NW
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Friends,

Please don't let the republicans run you out of town and please don't give them 1¢ for their Districts for the next two years. They are like a bunch of thieves. You have not committed an impeachable offense. The American people know it, young people in College know it and I know it.

The republicans may make it rough on you now but after the Senate debate, you will still be there if you don't quit, that is when the fun begins. There is no way you can lose unless you quit.

My new book, "Your Personal Angel" will be completed this week, before Christmas. Would you like a copy?

Don't believe the Media or a minority that tell you you should resign because that is propaganda. Believe in yourself! I wish there was something I could do to help make you feel better and to change some of the minds there but I have written some scathing words to no avail. They are like a bunch of evil men rushing to follow an evil hypocrite with no mind of their own.

YOU DON'T LOSE UNTIL YOU QUIT ! There are more people behind you than you can see but they are supporting you the only way they know how. We don't have access to the media as do your enemies. Supporting you doesn't make news.

1-5-98 99

My fondest regards,

Send to Bushchardt?

Yes ☒
No ☐

Dr. W. Dale Parker, D.Sc.
12-19-98

EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT



DIRECTORATE FOR PRESS AND AUDIOVISUAL

99 JAN 5 PM 2:04

Mailing address:
Directorate General III
Room LEO 04 C 69
Rue Wiertz
B - 1050 BRUSSELS, BELGIUM

Strasbourg, December 16, 1998

For the attention of Ms. Betty W. Currie
Personal Secretary to the President
President Bill Clinton's Private Office
The White House
Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500
U.S.A.

1-5-99
Send to Burkhardt?
Yes ☒
No ☐
C

Dear Ms. Currie:

I am writing to you personally in conjunction with a special project I am carrying out and I hope you will be kind enough to assist me.

I am an Italian national, working at the European Parliament in Brussels and I am in the process of creating a special photographic library on the theme of Pan-European political and commercial relations.

In this context, I am gathering together original signed photographs of prominent political leaders, with a particular emphasis on Heads of States and Governments and foreign Permanent Representatives to the European Union.

I also collect autographs and memorabilia and therefore I wonder whether President Clinton would be kind enough to sign an original photograph which I would include in the new library and, if possible, to inscribe one to me personally. I would be extremely proud and honoured to possess such original autographs and would treasure them immensely.

/.

I realize how difficult it is to obtain original signed items from Heads of States and I am also conscious of the trying times that President Clinton has been compelled to endure lately and which he has brilliantly overcome with his faith, humanity, sense of dignity and poise.

However, I wish that my special request be considered as a true, genuine and heartfelt token of admiration, respect and affection.

Thank you very much for your assistance.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'Claude Perna'.

Claude-Pascal PERNA

Courtesy copy to:
The White House
Office of correspondence
OEOB, Room 94
Washington, D.C. 20500
USA

CG Begala

1-4-99

Copied
Begala
Podesta



cstaley @ nifl.gov
01/27/98 05:56:00 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Rebecca A. Cameron

cc:

Subject: FW: Country Music Humor (fwd)

>
>> >
>> > :Great Country music titles - (Yes,these are *REAL*!)

>> > :
>> > : 1) Drop Kick Me, Jesus, Through The Goalposts Of Life
>> > : 2) Get Your Biscuits In The Oven And Your Buns In The Bed
>> > : 3) Get Your Tongue Outta My Mouth 'Cause I'm Kissing You Goodbye
>> > : 4) Her Teeth Were Stained, But Her Heart Was Pure
>> > : 5) How Can I Miss You If You Won't Go Away?
>> > : 6) How Can You Believe Me When I Say I Love You When You Know I've
>> > : Been A Liar All My Life?
>> > : 7) I Been Roped And Thrown By Jesus In The Holy Ghost Corral
>> > : 8) I Changed Her Oil, She Changed My Life
>> > : 9) I Don't Know Whether To Kill Myself Or Go Bowling
>> > :10) I Fell In A Pile Of You And Got Love All Over Me
>> > :11) I Flushed You From The Toilets Of My Heart.
>> > :12) I Keep Forgettin' I Forgot About You
>> > :13) I Wanna Whip Your Cow
>> > :14) I Would Have Wrote You A Letter, But I Could Spell Yuck!
>> > :15) I Wouldn't Take Her To A Dawg Fight, Cause I'm Afraid She'd Win
>> > :16) I'd Rather Have A Bottle In Front Of Me Than A Frontal Lobotomy
>> > :17) I'm Just A Bug On The Windshield Of Life
>> > :18) I'm The Only Hell Mama Ever Raised
>> > :19) I've Been Flushed From The Bathroom Of Your Heart
>> > :20) I've Got The Hungries For Your Love And I'm Waiting In Your
>> > : Welfare Line
>> > :21) If I Can't Be Number One In Your Life, Then Number Two On You
>> > :22) If Love Were Oil, I'd Be A Quart Low
>> > :23) If My Nose Were Full of Nickels, I'd Blow It All On You
>> > :24) If You Don't Leave Me Alone, I'll Go And Find Someone Else Who
>> > : Will
>> > :25) If You Leave Me, Can I Come Too?
>> > :26) Mama Get The Hammer (There's A Fly On Papa's Head)
>> > :27) My Every Day Silver Is Plastic
>> > :28) My Head Hurts, My Feet Stink, And I Don't Love Jesus
>> > :29) My John Deere Was Breaking Your Field, While Your Dear John Was
>> > : Breaking My Heart
>> > :30) My Wife Ran Off With My Best Friend, And I Sure Do Miss Him
>> > :31) Oh, I've Got Hair Oil On My Ears And My Glasses Are Slipping
>> > : Down, But Baby I Can See Through You
>> > :32) Pardon Me, I've Got Someone To Kill
>> > :38) She Got The Gold Mine And I Got The Shaft

[illegible]

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: January 5, 1999

NOTE FOR: Vernon Jordan, Esq.

The President has reviewed the attached, and it is forwarded to you
for your:

Information ☒

Action ☐

Thank you.

Staff Secretary
(x6-2702)

cc:

- Do try to get
- cc this letter to Vernon (+ motion back attached)



1-5-99

456 McGill Place
Atlanta, GA 30312-1070
December 20, 1998

John Podesta, Chief of Staff to
President William Jefferson Clinton
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. Podesta,

Will you please see that my book, Ted Poston, Pioneer American Journalist, goes to where Mrs. Clinton and President Clinton may see it?

Ted Poston was a member of FDR's "Black Cabinet," worked in the White House as a trouble-shooter after racist southerners canceled his Negro News Desk at the Office of War Information. He was a friend of Eleanor Roosevelt.

Another sidelight is that Poston's childhood sweetheart, Mary Duncan Wilson, was surrogate mother to the President's friend Vernon Jordan when Jordan was in college at DePauw. Poston's story is a truly American story; Kirkus Reviews calls this "a gem of a book"--smile.

Thank you.

1-5-99

After you have seen,
we will send original
to Burkhardt-

Sincerely,

Kathleen A. Hauke
Kathleen A. Hauke

Ted Poston

Pioneer American Journalist

Kathleen A. Hauke

"Ted Poston's life as a pathfinding black journalist in a white-dominated profession is a rich and colorful story."

—John Egerton, author of *Speak Now against the Day*

Ted Poston: Pioneer American Journalist is the life story of the first African American reporter to spend his career at a mainstream daily. After college Ted Poston (1906–1974) worked as a railroad porter but soon found his calling in journalism, first as a columnist for the black weekly *Pittsburgh Courier* and later as city editor of Harlem's premier black newspaper, the *Amsterdam News*. In 1932 he traveled to Russia with Langston Hughes to make a film on American racism, and in 1935 he helped Heywood Brown create the American Newspaper Guild and was fired for unionizing the *Amsterdam*. That same year, wielding only words and a typewriter, he finally broke the color barrier in journalism by integrating the *New York Post*.

During World War II Poston became a member of Franklin D. Roosevelt's "Black Cabinet" when he headed the Negro News Desk of the Office of War Information in Washington. After the war, he returned to the *Post*, and in its heyday under editor James Wechsler and publisher Dorothy Schiff, he provided an insider's viewpoint on segregation and the civil rights movement. His incisive, usually upbeat, sometimes acerbic reports on everyday racism were eye-openers for the paper's mostly white readership; often, he leavened bitter medicine with humor.

Poston's tragicomic tales of his Kentucky youth were published posthumously as *The Dark Side of Hopkinsville*, but he never wrote about his groundbreaking career. Kathleen A. Hauke is the first to tell the full story of his remarkable life, using exclusive interviews with his family, friends, and colleagues to create an inspiring portrait of an African American journalist.

Kathleen A. Hauke is an independent scholar living in Atlanta.

6 x 9 = 352 pgs. • 24 b&w illus. • ISBN 0-8203-2020-X (cl.) • \$29.95†

JANUARY

Biography/African American/Journalism

Also of interest

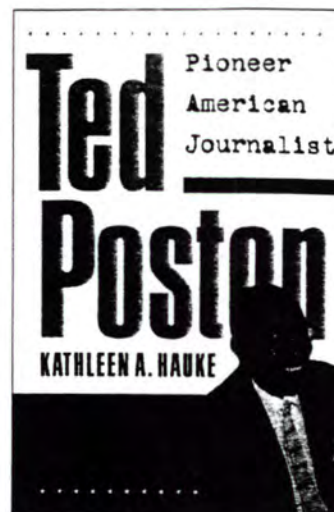
The Dark Side of Hopkinsville

Ted Poston

Edited by Kathleen A. Hauke

Autobiographical stories of Ted Poston's childhood in Kentucky.

ISBN 0-8203-1303-3 (pa.) • \$14.95†



"Ted Poston's story illuminates, in a personalized way, both the depth and breadth of exclusion of black Americans and their perspective from mainstream journalism. Kathleen Hauke has succeeded in presenting, credibly, a journalistic account of Poston's life."

—A. Stephen Montiel, President,
Maynard Institute for
Journalism Education

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Both/All ☐

First Lady ☐

Chelsea ☐

DONOR INFORMATION

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Address: 4512 McGill Place Atlanta, GA 30312-1070

Phone: _____

PRESENTATION

Date: 12/20/98 Event: _____

Handed to President ☐ Other Method ☒ mail

Gift Description: Book: Ted Poston Pioneer American Journalist

Send Gift and Register to OEOB, Room 457 x7133

Potus has gift

1-59

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

1/4/99

Chris Jennings
St Street

I promised
Alan Solomon a
meeting w/ Musing House
representative.
Set it up.

BZ

Copied
Jennings
Street
Podesta

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

15-99

Sunday cc Bob MASH

Catherine O'Neill, a woman
I know from Renaissance
Weekend, told me she's in
the morning at State for
Asst. Sec. for Internat'l Organization
Is she? I'm impressed with
Advice —

Copied
Bergen
Nash
Podesta

BZ

1-4-98

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

1-5-99

Bob Nash — 4/4/99

Who are our candidates
for Bermuda Now?

Simon Farrow
Tim Dwyer
Sheel Friedman
?

copied
Nash
Podesta

Be

Copied
Lindsey
Podesta

- Geo Dilworth 67, Sigs
Bentley TX (SIL)
applied for planning
down -> Gen Faling, BoRay
Gen BoRay

BL

per our
Discussion

Boz

PRESIDENT - W. G. B. L.
1-5-98



1-98



Melissa G. Green
01/04/99 04:28:01 PM

copied
Street
Spelling
Podesta

Record Type: Record

To: Betty W. Currie/WHO/EOP
cc:
Subject: Steel Meeting Request

----- Forwarded by Melissa G. Green/OPD/EOP on 01/04/99 04:28 PM -----

Cheryl M. Carter 01/04/99
04:22:38 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Melissa G. Green/OPD/EOP
cc:
Subject: Steel Meeting Request

----- Forwarded by Cheryl M. Carter/WHO/EOP on 01/04/99 04:23 PM -----

01:47:10 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Elisa Millsap/WHO/EOP, Christa Robinson/OPD/EOP, Timothy W. Emrich/WHO/EOP
cc: Kris M Balderston/WHO/EOP, Cheryl M. Carter/WHO/EOP
Subject: Steel Meeting Request

Call to have
Meeting
OK

I just got a call from John Correnti, the CEO of NUCOR. He said he received a letter from the President re: Steel issues (?) where the President wrote at the bottom "John, we should schedule a meeting on this." He was calling to do just that. Apparently, he said that Rep. Marion Berry and Senator-elect Lincoln had written in support of this meeting. He said that Sec. Rubin and Sec. Daley should definitely be in the meeting. He can be reached at (704)366-7000.

Elisa/Tim: I seem to remember seeing a letter from Rep Berry requesting a meeting to discuss a steel issue. Have either of you seen it?

Christa: Can you or someone from DPC call him back and see what the issues are? We should then decide who should submit the Scheduling Proposal (if this needs to happen).

Thanks. Chip.

2/11/00
C. G. Green
P. W. Currie
M. G. Green
K. M. Balderston
C. M. Carter
T. W. Emrich
E. Millsap
C. Robinson
J. Correnti

2/11/00
C. G. Green
P. W. Currie
M. G. Green
K. M. Balderston
C. M. Carter
T. W. Emrich
E. Millsap
C. Robinson
J. Correnti

To: Phil Caplan

99 JAN 5 AM 10:29

From: Courtland Willman

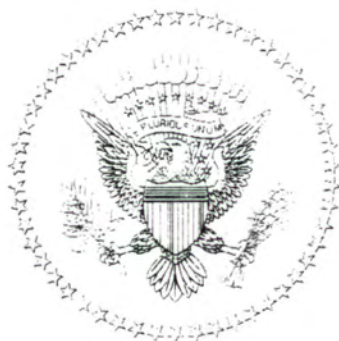
Re: SOTU Cover

Date: January 4, 1999

Please select ONE of the attached samples as your final consideration for the 1999 State of the Union booklet cover. Please return all materials to Courtland Willman, White House Operations, Room 1. Thank you.

Assuming 1996
was green as you said,
I vote for the dark blue
border

Phil



STATE OF THE UNION

ADDRESS TO THE 106th CONGRESS



FIRST SESSION

President William J. Clinton

JANUARY 19, 1999 • WASHINGTON, D.C.



STATE OF THE UNION

ADDRESS TO THE 106th CONGRESS



FIRST SESSION

President William J. Clinton

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Marge -

It's a little
hard for me to answer
this question without some
context. Is this the "message"
we've been talking about?

Phil
is

99 JAN 5 AM 8:59
66594

The unsung heroes of America's long march to racial reconciliation have always been ordinary citizens working together to make a difference. The programs described here are the latest offspring of their legacy. We have much to learn from them. They offer us tangible proof that our vision of one indivisible Nation can indeed be realized. They show us that when people of goodwill join hearts and hands, we can free ourselves from the destructive grips of prejudice and discrimination. They illuminate new pathways of hope as we dedicate ourselves to building One America in the 21st century.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 19, 1998

MR. PRESIDENT:

Attached are two draft sections of your race book: (i) the Introduction section, and (ii) the education portion of the Workplan chapter. They were written by Chris Edley.

These sections are being circulated for comment among your senior staff working on these issues. Maria wanted you to see the sections concurrently for your review and comment.

Phil Caplan

Phil

~~Chris/Maria~~
L
Coolidge
See p. 2
BC

Copied
Edley
Echeverste
Podesta

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 17, 1998

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

From: Christopher Edley

Through: Maria Echaveste

cc: John Podesta
Bruce Reed
Gene Sperling
Minyon Moore
Ann Lewis
Melanne Verveer
Paul Begala
Sidney Blumenthal
Michael Waldman
Elena Kagan

RE: Race Book

Attached for your review and comment is a draft of the *Introduction* section as well as the education portion of the workplan chapter of the Race Book.

BOOK SUMMARY OUTLINE

Introduction

Part I: The America We See

- Getting the facts straight: Demographic trends. What the best social science evidence is about disparities, discrimination, intergroup relations and attitudes. The overt and subtle influence of race on lives, and on our political and policy struggles.
- Is the glass half full, or half empty?

Part II: The America We Want

- A vision of what racial and ethnic justice mean for the 21st Century, including: *Opportunity* so broadly and deeply shared that there is no visible evidence of a legacy of slavery, colonialism or conquest; *community* so deeply felt that we celebrate our diversity and draw social and economic strength from our interactions and relationships; *hearts* healed of hatred and fears and prejudices, so that we are connected with one another across lines of class and color, caring about our neighbors, and living by the great commandment.
- Some of the vexing questions — the seeming clashes in values and perceptions that make progress on race so difficult. Modeling how to respectfully engage each other, searching for a way to pursue a common vision of a just community. (Examples: English-only; racial profiling; self-segregation by college students; etc.)

Part III: The Community We Must Build

- Promising practices from communities and organizations around the nation. (A few examples drawn from the hundreds collected by the Advisory Board and PIR staff.)
- How these projects can help us advance the *community* and *heart* elements of our vision for One America.

Part IV: The Opportunity We Deserve — A Workplan for the Nation

- Education
- Jobs and Economic Development
- Community Security and Crime
- Civil Rights Law Enforcement
- Strengthening Democracy and Civic Engagement

Part V: The Leadership We Need for the Road Forward

- Creating Partnerships in Communities and Organizations
- Leadership and Action in Key Sectors (faith community, higher education, etc.)
- Leadership and Action in the Federal Government (reinvigorating the Civil Rights Commission, etc.)

Conclusion

OUT OF MANY, ONE:

RACIAL AND ETHNIC JUSTICE IN 21ST CENTURY AMERICA

*Grandfather
Look at our brokenness.*

*We know that in all creation
Only the human family
Has strayed from the Sacred Way*

*We know that we are the ones
Who are divided
And we are the ones
Who must come back together
To walk in the Sacred Way*

*Grandfather,
Sacred One,
Teach us love, compassion, and honor
That we may heal the earth
And heal each other.*

--Ojibway Prayer

America's greatest promise in the 21st century lies in our ability to harness the strength of our racial diversity. The greatest challenge facing Americans is to accept and take pride in defining ourselves as a multi-racial democracy. At the end of the 20th century, America has emerged as the worldwide symbol of opportunity and freedom through leadership that constantly strives to give meaning to democracy's fundamental principles. These principles--justice, opportunity, equality, and racial inclusion--must continue to guide the planning for our future.

--Report of The President's Advisory Board, President's Initiative on Race¹

¹ The Advisory Board's Report to the president, President's Initiative on Race, *One America in the 21st Century: Forging a New Future* p.1 (GPO, 1998).

INTRODUCTION

At century's end, color in America remains a vexing paradox of ideals and ordeals, of hopes and fears. We must embark on the new century recommitted to right the wrongs. To do so, we must set a course that leaves behind our tainted legacy, leading us to strengthen opportunity, unite in a new spirit of community, and to redeem the purity of our individual hearts.

We are rightfully upheld in the eyes of the world as the most successful multi-racial democracy in human history. Emerging democracies and nations in the throes of horrific, often bloody ancient ethnic conflicts look to America as a model of peaceful co-existence. But, in our best moments we have always aspired to a higher standard -- one in which we not only tolerate difference, but actually celebrate the many races and cultures that make America. After more than 200 years, we still struggle to live by our Nation's founding creed, "that all men are created equal."

Each year, nearly a million people come legally to America. Today, nearly one in ten people in the United States was born in another country; one in five schoolchildren are from immigrant families. Today, largely because of immigrants, there is no majority race in Hawaii or Houston or New York City. In nine of our ten largest public school systems, over 75 percent of the students are minorities. Within five years there will be no majority race in our largest state, California. In a little more than 50 years there will be no majority race in the United States.

All of this is happening against a backdrop of unparalleled peace and prosperity. Our economy has never been stronger. Our people have never been more confident in the future. And in the absence of a compelling racial crisis like the riots of the 1960s, many of our citizens have been lulled into thinking that America's racial problems are a thing of the past. That is simply not true.

An old enemy still lurks in the shadows. It continues to poison our perceptions, undermine our progress and threaten our future. Racism has been America's constant curse, predating the nation's founding by a century and a half. And race has also been our constant struggle. Many lives have been lost, many dreams deferred while we have grappled with this demon. And truth has too often also been a casualty, caught in the crossfire of our contradictions.

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

squarely as a critical step, not only to healing the wounds of our past, but also of unleashing the power and promise of our future. We must become One America in the 21st century.

It is my hope that this report will help lay the foundation for a renewed national commitment to racial healing in America. At the beginning of this century, the great African American scholar and civil rights leader W.E.B. Dubois said that "The problem of the 20th century will be the problem of the color line." He was right. America's color line started centuries ago and stretches into our lives today. It was right there, plain as day, throughout my childhood in the segregated south.

As a boy growing up in the '50s ~~in Little Rock, Arkansas~~ ^{tiny boy in segregated}, I was perplexed by the stark lines drawn in black and white that separated neighbor from neighbor. The black children went to different schools, ate at different restaurants. The rough gravel streets they walked and played on stood in bleak contrast to the smooth paved roadways on the white side of town.

But these disparities were mostly background music to me until 1957, when the high stakes drama of the Little Rock Nine shook me and the nation out of our indifference. I was only 11 years old at the time. ~~I had moved to Hot Springs to live with my grandparents.~~ Like most southerners then, I never attended school with a person of another race until I went to college. But the reality of unequal treatment based on race had always gnawed at my soul. ~~It wasn't until~~ ^{when} I saw the courage and sacrifice of those nine black children who endured constant attacks, both physical and emotional, to integrate Little Rock's Central High School ~~that~~ I realized ~~I could no longer be a spectator in the struggle for equality.~~ ^{that I could no longer be a spectator in the struggle for equality.} ~~It was at that moment I decided I must join ranks with the forces of change.~~ ^{It was at that moment I decided I must join ranks with the forces of change.} ~~It was Little Rock that made racial equality a driving obsession in my life.~~ ^{and I have done all I could to make it a reality}

~~When I joined the National Aeronautics Administration in 1997,~~
The crisis in Little Rock occurred more than 40 years ago. People ~~have~~ asked me, why, in the absence of any similar great national crisis, should the American people focus anew on the challenge of racial reconciliation. That is a good question, and it has a good answer. I believe there is no more critical mission for our nation than to ensure that our diversity is not the great problem, but the great promise of the 21st century. This effort is especially important right now because, as we grow more diverse, our ability to deal with the new challenges this presents will determine whether we really bind ourselves together or tear ourselves apart. And even more importantly, our ability to exercise world leadership for peace, freedom and prosperity in a world gripped with tense, often bloody racial and ethnic and religious conflicts depends in large part on our ability to be a model for the world.

Consider also the great untapped potential of our expanding diversity. In the global economy of the 21st century, where free trade and open markets will link nations in new partnerships for mutual progress, it will be to our advantage that America looks like the world. It is already happening. Andrew Young -- former mayor, Congressman and U.N. Ambassador -- credits the diversity of his marketing team for landing the Olympics in Atlanta. When members of our Armed Forces join with soldiers of nations from every continent to preserve peace or provide

humanitarian aid in far flung regions of the globe, America's diversity is a strength. Our shuttle missions and space explorations are increasingly conducted by multi-national teams, working side by side in space and in the process building bridges of trust and understanding right here on earth.

To those who say, why now, I say because our work is not yet done. It is true that we have moved out of the epicenter of racism that rocked our nation from the time of the Indian conquest and slavery until the great breakthroughs of the civil rights era. But we are still experiencing the aftershocks. Though people of color have more opportunities than ever today, we still see evidence of unequal treatment. It is borne out most strikingly in the litany of disparities in jobs and wealth, in education, in criminal justice that so often still break down along the color line.

If we are ever going to truly overcome, we must begin to see our diversity as a source of solidarity and strength, not division and weakness. And we must begin by first, getting the facts right and then daring to be honest with ourselves and each other. That was one of the most potent reasons I launched the nation's first presidential initiative on race in 1998. And that is one of the core goals of this report.

In these pages, I will offer a rough blueprint and a bold challenge that calls every citizen to action in a renewed commitment to racial reconciliation. I will lay out three pathways for our journey: the pathway of opportunity, taking steps to make sure everyone benefits from America's growing prosperity by closing the opportunity gap; the pathway of community, building stronger bridges to connect people across lines of class and color by challenging them to unite around a common agenda; and the pathway of the heart, coming to grips with the conscious and unconscious ways our obsession with race has distorted our views of ourselves and each other.

In part one, *The America We See*, I will present the facts about race in America today, including demographic trends, evidence of disparities, and evidence of progress. In part two, *The America We Want*, I will outline my vision for the future by challenging us to think outside the box about a set of vexing questions surrounding our growing diversity. In part three, *The Community We Must Build*, I will explore the ways in which groups and communities are connecting people and toppling racial barriers. In part four, *The Opportunity We Deserve*, I will present workplans designed to ensure equal opportunity in education, criminal justice, jobs and economic development and civil rights enforcement. And finally, in part five, *The Leadership We Need: The Road Forward*, I will issue a call for the leaders in every community and every sector of American life and commerce to develop their own workplans for racial reconciliation.

*

What will the America we want look like? What vision should guide our work? To begin with,

opportunity will be shared so deeply and broadly that an observer will see no evidence of a past with slavery or conquest or nativist discrimination. Whatever forms of misery remain, they will not be the special burden of any racial or ethnic group. Second, the sense of *community* must be so powerful a force that our social and economic lives pull us out of ethnic enclaves. Rather than merely tolerate our differences, we will celebrate and draw strength from them. And finally, our *hearts* will be healed of the crippling influences of prejudice and fear, free to appreciate the common humanity we share as the gift of our Creator. And lest we backslide into racial rivalries and distrust, we will be steeled against it because we will study history and never repeat it.

Each of these elements -- opportunity, community, heart -- is necessary, and each is possible only in combination with the others. For example, we will never have a broad consensus on a bold opportunity agenda unless we care about each other as one community. Moreover, our laws and policies will only take us so far. It is true that, through law, we have torn down many of the barriers that have for generations kept so many from getting a fair shot at the American dream solely because of their race or color. But while more of this work remains, I believe at this juncture our most fundamental challenge is to make a journey of the heart.

*

Undergirding all the facts and plans presented here are a set of ethical precepts that I believe must guide us on this journey. The first is a spiritual law common to every major world religion. We hear its echo in our call for One America. It is the law of oneness. *E pluribus unum*: Out of many, one. We must stop living under the delusion of separation. We are all born of the same creative source. There is no "other." In Christianity it is expressed as loving thy neighbor as thyself. In Islam we are instructed to "Do unto all men as you wish to have done to you and reject for others what you would reject for yourself." The Talmud teaches us, "Should anyone turn aside the right of the stranger, it is as though he were to turn aside the right of the most high God." As a nation that takes pride in both the depth and diversity of religious expression, we must embrace racial reconciliation as a way to honor our highest spiritual values.

The second underlying ethical precept is my belief that we should approach this issue with proper humility. After all, if any one of us had all the answers we would have settled this problem a long time ago. We must not lock ourselves into old arguments and rigid beliefs. We must always search for the kernel of truth in what the other side is saying. With open minds and hearts, we can find common ground.

And third, we must recognize the ways we have allowed our racial differences to get inside our heads, causing many whites, for instance, to deny the existence of white privilege and many people of color to see themselves as perpetual victims, attributing every setback to racism.

*

I want to thank The Advisory Board to the President's Initiative on Race for all they did during 1998 to re-engage the American people in the hard work of improving race relations. Led by the eminent scholar and historian, John Hope Franklin, the Advisory Board spent the year criss-crossing America, examining race, racism and the potential for racial reconciliation using a process of study, constructive dialogue and action. The other members of the Board were Linda Chavez-Thompson, Reverend Dr. Suzan D. Johnson Cook, Thomas H. Kean, Angela E. Oh, Bob Thomas and William Winter. The Board presented its final report to me in September, 1998 and many of their findings are reflected in this book.

No President or Advisory Board could be expected to resolve America's vexing racial problems in one year. We believe we have made a good start. Now, we must all continue to work together to find a way to cherish and celebrate what is unique about our distinctive racial and cultural identities, while uniting around a common vision of what it means to be One America.

*I dream a world where man
No other man will scorn,
Where love will bless the earth
And peace its paths adorn.
I dream a world where all
Will know sweet freedom's way,
Where greed no longer saps the soul
Nor avarice blights our day.
A world I dream where black or white
Whatever race you be,
Will share the bounties of the earth
And every man is free,
Where wretchedness will hang its head
And joy, like a pearl,
Attends the needs of all mankind-
Of such I dream, my world!*

Langston Hughes

PART IV: THE OPPORTUNITY WE DESERVE

[Introduction to Part IV]

...

1. A HIGH QUALITY EDUCATION FOR ALL

INTRODUCTION

On September 25, 1957, nine black students walked through the doors of all-white Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas. It had been three years since the Supreme Court's historic decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* declared racial segregation in America's schools to be unconstitutional, and the conflict at Central High would become the first major confrontation over court-ordered school desegregation. I was 11 years old at the time, living 50 miles away in Hot Springs, but I vividly remember the "breaking news" television coverage and countless discussions about those brave young Americans approaching Central High School escorted by Federal troops as a mob of white protesters glared, shouted and spat at them. The courageous efforts of the Little Rock Nine served as a catalyst for the integration of thousands of segregated schools around the nation and, over a period of years, produced great strides in opportunity and understanding. One of many lessons from those struggles is that our schools and our nation are stronger when persons of all races learn together. I believe this in my own heart. I have seen it with own my eyes.

On November 6, 1998, I had the privilege as President of hosting the Little Rock Nine at the White House and announcing that each of them would be receiving the Congressional Gold Medal for their courage and contribution to our nation. At the ceremony, my friend Ernest Green spoke on behalf of the nine honorees and said something of great significance. He explained that while they understood in 1957 the importance of their effort to end racial segregation in Little Rock schools, more than anything else, the Little Rock Nine were simply seeking the highest quality education they could find. "We simply thought we were doing the right thing," Ernie said, "and that it was our duty as students in Little Rock to try to advance and receive the best education available."

For generations, and even more so today, education has been the cornerstone of opportunity in America. The foundation of our modern democracy and free enterprise economy is our belief in the great capacity of all citizens to lift up America while lifting up themselves. This in turn requires that each person have the educational opportunity to develop to his or her full potential. Excellence

in education is the right of every American. This is true whether your forebears came here on the deck of the Mayflower or in the hull of a slave ship; whether they were natives in America before the first Europeans arrived, or came as immigrants from Asia or Latin America less than a generation ago. We have not always lived up to that ideal. Today, at last, we must recognize that we do not have a person to waste.

The denial of full and fair educational opportunity -- whether through malice, indifference or inadvertence -- threatens the very foundation of our nation. In the knowledge economy of the 21st century, education will play an even greater role in determining America's future prosperity and our place in the world. And as our nation grows more diverse, our strength will depend more and more on whether we provide educational opportunity to those children of color who today receive the least.

Education is also the most powerful arena for strengthening our American community. When young people learn together and serve together across racial and ethnic lines they begin to break down stereotypes and the walls that have kept us apart. I have seen this work across our nation. Our diversity is a great asset in education, but one that we exploit too little. Thurgood Marshall, who led the fight for school integration a generation ago, put it best when he said, "Unless our children begin to learn together, there is little hope our people will ever learn to live together."

In sum, excellence and integration in education are not just individual rights, they are also our fundamental responsibilities. And I consider them vital to our national strength and security.

*

The question before us today is how do we guarantee the finest education in the world for all our children as we confront the very real challenges of our expanding diversity. Consider the fact that since 1976, the percentage of minority students in public schools has increased from 24 percent to 35 percent. The number of Hispanic students has doubled and the number of Asian Pacific American students has tripled. Some schools are becoming diverse in ways we never dreamed of. The schools of Fairfax County, Virginia, for example, have students from more than 180 countries who speak more than 100 different languages. By 2035, there will likely be no majority race in our public school population. Already, 9 of the 10 largest school districts have greater than 75 percent minority enrollment, and 19 of the 20 largest districts have greater than 40 percent minority enrollment. [Insert table showing demographics of selected school systems.]

Over the last few decades, we have made important progress in educating children of all races. Though improvement has often been slow and uneven, test scores, high school graduation rates, and college participation rates have increased for all racial and ethnic groups. In some cases, these improvements have been greater for students of color than for whites, thus narrowing achievement gaps. For example, since 1976, even as the pool of students taking college entrance exams has grown dramatically, average SAT scores for students of color have increased 21 points for Mexican Americans (from 781 to 802 out of 1600), 24 points for Asian Pacific Americans (from 932 to 956), 42 points for American Indians (from 808 to 850), and 58 points for blacks (from 686 to 744), while average scores for whites have increased only 2 points (from 944 to 946). Nonetheless, as the wide disparities in SAT and other measures illustrate, substantial challenges in education remain. [Insert graphs with SAT and NAEP trends by race.]

Clearly, it is in the national interest to have more of our students performing at the highest levels. Racial gaps in achievement persist throughout the “pipeline” -- from preschool through higher education. Consider these stark examples:

- According to the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), average reading proficiency scores for 17-year-old black and Hispanic students are lower than the average score for 13-year-old white students.
- Although 93 percent of whites and 87 percent of blacks ages 25 to 29 have a high school degree, only 62 percent of Hispanics and approximately 66 percent of Native Americans are high school graduates.
- While the importance of a college degree is growing, so is the gap between whites and persons of color who have a degree: 33 percent of whites ages 25-29 have a four-year college degree or higher, compared with just 14 percent of blacks and 11 percent of Hispanics.

I believe these disparities stem in large part from continuing gaps in educational opportunity. Minority children are still less likely than white children to have access to vital educational resources, including high-quality teachers, modern school buildings, current technology, challenging coursework, and more. Many minority students confront not just one, but all of these deficiencies in their schools.

text box

Students attending predominantly minority secondary schools, for example, have only a 60 percent chance of getting a math teacher with a math degree and as little as a 50 percent chance of getting a science teacher with a degree in the subject being taught. Seventy percent of predominantly minority schools have at least one serious building deficiency, such as poor heating, lighting, or ventilation. Black and Hispanic students are 20 percent less likely than whites to use a computer at home or in school, and recent studies indicate that computers are used less effectively in predominantly minority schools. Furthermore, children for whom English is a second language often have inadequate resources to learn English and to participate fully in other subjects. In California, more than 20 percent of all students are Limited English Proficient (LEP), yet for every bilingual teacher who speaks Spanish or an Asian language, there are 81 LEP Hispanic students and 561 LEP Asian Pacific American students.

end box

In addition, while some schools are more diverse than ever before, racial segregation remains a problem both among and within our schools, and there is evidence that the situation is getting worse:

- Today, more than one-third of all black and Hispanic students attend schools with greater than 90 percent minority enrollment.
- Rates of segregation are worse for Blacks than they were 15 years ago and, for Hispanics, 25 years ago.
- Nearly 90 percent of these racially isolated schools also have a majority of children in poverty, and therefore face extra burdens typical of deeply poor communities.
- If you compare students in schools that are overwhelmingly minority (90 percent or more) with those that are overwhelmingly white, a minority student is 16 times more likely than a white student to be in a high-poverty school.

It is clear that we have not yet met our aspiration -- I consider it an obligation -- to provide all children with what Ernest Green and the Little Rock

Nine bravely sought forty years ago -- a high quality education for all students, regardless of race, and the chance for all students to learn together. To the parents of children who attend our best schools I pose this simple question: How would you feel if you had to send your child to a school with a leaky roof, outdated textbooks, no computers, and teachers teaching subjects in which they lack basic competence? Too many of our children face this reality every day. And more often than not, they are children of color.

There are many reasons for the persistence of these problems, but we must not let complexity obscure the dire consequences of inaction. Issues such as continued residential segregation by race and class as well as our system of funding schools based largely on local property taxes require our immediate and focused attention. Just a few decades ago, our laws mandated that white, black and Hispanic students attend separate schools, with black and Hispanic children relegated to inferior schools. Those laws are gone. But residential segregation remains, especially in urban centers, and it has been exacerbated by "white flight" as more and more middle class whites and others have moved to the suburbs or sent their kids to private schools.

This has left many poor, minority communities struggling to fund their schools from a limited and often shrinking tax base. These same schools have trouble attracting and keeping the best teachers and must cope with all of the challenges of life in high poverty communities. The result is that, nearly a half-century after *Brown v. Board of Education*, many black and Hispanic children still attend inferior schools. We no longer say that white and minority children must go to separate schools. But we do say that each local community bears primary responsibility for funding its schools, and if children are underserved because a community is extremely poor, and if a state declines to level the playing field, so be it. And if that perpetuates America's color divide, let some future generation balance the accounts.

These conditions are morally unacceptable. They are also socially and economically destructive. While we point fingers in every direction, individual opportunity and our national strength suffer. How much genius and creativity are we failing to harness because of continuing racial disparities in educational opportunity? What would our lives be like today if we had provided every American regardless of race or class with the educational opportunity to succeed to his or her full potential? Would we have a cure for cancer? Or AIDS? Would we have more efficient energy sources and technologies that greatly reduced pollution? Would we have a new global movement for world peace and human rights? How far would we have progressed in weaving our diversity into one great fabric of community, and in purging our hearts of stereotypes and fears?

Each of us has a responsibility to help overcome present disparities and to build in America the highest quality educational system extending from birth to college and beyond. As a former governor, I know that education is and should be primarily a state and local issue. But in our increasingly diverse, interconnected and global society, quality education is also a national priority. And it is a matter of fundamental fairness.

*

Throughout my presidency, education has been among my highest priorities, and we have made important progress. [See text box on Administration proposals and accomplishments(to come).] We have embraced the idea of high standards for all students, and we have taken some steps to close the opportunity gap in education. Our effort, for example, to help local schools hire 100,000 new teachers and reduce class size in early grades will help eliminate racial disparities in class size and have positive effects on student achievement. But, much work remains to be done. Let me discuss three primary goals for the years ahead -- not just for federal action, but for all of us.

First, as we raise the bar for everyone, we must eliminate racial gaps in primary and secondary educational achievement. Those achievement gaps mark the distance from the America we see to the America we deserve. In the America we *deserve*, every child must have a high quality education from preschool through high school, including high standards and full and fair access to the best our schools can offer. And because the stakes are so enormous, we need a revolution in accountability for public officials, administrators, teachers, parents, and students themselves. Without stronger mechanisms for accountability, tied to appropriately measured educational outcomes, the goal of high quality is a mere aspiration, not a commitment.

Second, we must close racial disparities in college participation and graduation. Over the last three decades, the importance of a college degree to economic advancement has grown dramatically. Today, a person with a college degree earns 77 percent more than a person with only a high school diploma, compared to a 57 percent advantage in earnings twenty years ago. Yet the proportion of blacks, Hispanics, and Native Americans receiving college degrees remains less than half that of whites. This must change. Improving K-12 achievement is the most important step, but, we can't stop there. We can and must make it possible for more students of color to go on and succeed in college.

Third, we must promote integration in education so that students have the opportunity to learn together in ways that enrich the learning environment, improve race relations, and prepare students to thrive in the diverse world that

awaits them. In this sense, integration must be properly understood as one important element of quality in our educational system. As the Advisory Board stated in its final report, "Simply put, high-quality, integrated schools provide a more complete educational experience for all students than high-quality, segregated schools."

With these goals in mind, in the balance of this chapter, I offer a workplan to guide us all in the struggle for equity and excellence in education over the coming decade. Let me first highlight the centerpiece for renewed federal leadership, which focuses on the problem of disparities in primary and secondary educational opportunity and achievement.

*

CENTERPIECE OF THE FEDERAL WORKPLAN: THE COMPACT FOR EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN EDUCATION

I propose a **Compact for Equal Opportunity in Education** -- quite simply, a new covenant to benefit America's children. In those states and school districts willing to enter into this covenant:

- The federal government will offer substantial new funds and greatly expanded flexibility in the use of current federal funding.
- In return, the state or school district would establish a comprehensive plan and strong system of accountability for results in closing the measurable achievement gaps between minority and non-minority and between poor and non-poor students in public schools.
- The federal government would not dictate the means used, and the state or district could even propose its own goals and timetables, with all the public scrutiny that entails. But the decision to award the federal funds and enter into a Compact would be based on a competitive, public review of the applicant's comprehensive strategy by an independent, diverse, peer review panel, including experts in successful school reform strategies.

Let me explain briefly why I think we must take this new approach. There is a tragic irony at work in American education. Too often, the children who need the most are least likely to get it. In part, this is because of long-standing inequities in educational funding formulas, especially the traditional reliance on local property taxes. Schools in a sea of poverty are too often overwhelmed, or

nearly so, by the extraordinary challenges they face. Students who live in low-income neighborhoods often bring the many burdens of their lives and their communities to school with them. Simple calculations of expenditures-per-pupil don't capture the subtleties, including: homelessness, family crises, or hunger; crime in hallways, streets and homes; and the simple, grinding pressure of poverty that may make family support harder to come by. Add to those problems the aging inner-city school buildings, disparities in teacher training, high proportions of students with special language needs -- and you have a recipe for disaster.

Up until now, we have generally tackled this problem with piecemeal, fragmented approaches, including efforts at the federal level. Over the decades, the intentions have been good, and the progress has sometimes been meaningful. Earlier in my Administration, we worked with the Congress to enact Goals 2000 and a major reform of the bedrock Federal grant program intended to help states and districts educate poor children, the so-called Title I program. Now funded at almost \$8 billion per year, the program is distributed by a formula related to the number of poor children, and the law now tells states that accept the money (all do) that they must raise standards and use tests or some kind of assessment to hold themselves accountable for making progress in improving education outcomes for poor children. I believe that these reforms are moving us in the right direction, and there are important signs of promise and progress. But the pace is too slow, and our ambitions must be still higher.

But I believe the racial disparities and underachievement we have tolerated for so long justify the burning impatience felt by many parents, civic leaders and educators alike. I share their impatience, and therefore believe we need a new approach. We can forge a new federal-state partnership to break the cycle of disadvantage and eliminate gaps in student achievement. Still more piecemeal programs -- federal or state -- will not bring about the sweeping changes needed to close the substantial racial gaps in opportunity and achievement, making public schools work for all of the public.

Let me be clear: this is not Washington encroaching on local authority. In my years as a governor, working both within my state and on national policy, I came to fully appreciate that education is primarily a state and local responsibility. But I have also seen that sometimes a child's opportunity can be limited by the resources a local community can raise with a property tax, or the accident of whether the state is wealthy or poor, generous or stingy in aid to local schools. On the other hand, I have seen that Federal education programs are often too confining, with their red tape and narrow categorical purposes. And across the board, I have seen education treated as an island, cutoff from the mainland of challenges in the surrounding community. Yes, education is primarily a state and local responsibility -- but to be successful, all public officials at all levels must

work together, across political boundaries in a metropolitan area, and across whatever agencies or departments can play a role in supporting children, families and their communities.

This Compact will provide new, greater flexibility but in return demand greater results. It springs from my belief that, given an equal chance, all our children can succeed. It is my hope that the flexibility built into this proposal will spur emulation, innovation and tailoring of approaches to fit local needs. For example, I expect *but would not require* that each Compact for Equal Opportunity in Education include such things as: (a) strategies focused on putting high-quality teachers in high-need schools, and plans to reduce disparities in other resources; (b) ways to engage families, businesses and other local institutions; (c) strategies for breaking through the red tape of various federal, state and local programs in education as well as related fields, and ways to build partnerships across jurisdictional lines of school districts and local government agencies; (d) creative responses to the needs of immigrant children with limited English skills; (e) ways to promote higher expectations for achievement and to take aggressive action when there is failure; (f) practical mechanisms to identify educationally bankrupt schools or even districts, triggering receivership; and (g) plans for accountability at all levels, so that performance is measured fairly and has consequences.

These are not mandates. I am proposing neither a formula nor a cookbook. Communities that are not interested in a new Compact to close achievement gaps can simply ignore this challenge, and leave the money on the table for others. We will continue to work with them in the basic Title I program to raise standards and performance. But for those states and communities willing to join in this bold national effort, the independent review panel will judge whether the programs proposed show a strong promise of success. And states or districts must show results over time or lose funding to others who have adopted measures that produce progress.

As the Advisory Board on Race said in its final report to me, "To a great extent, we know what to do to promote educational equity and excellence; we just have to have the courage as a nation to do it. If we are successful here, fundamental change will follow." In the long-term, if we eliminate gaps in student achievement by race, we will ensure minority access to college and to a better future, and we will promote integration by making all public schools, and therefore the communities they serve, attractive to all Americans.

* * *

A WORKPLAN FOR THE NATION

The nation's agenda in education is a broad one. To Build One America, we must:

- Close racial gaps from preschool through high school to maximize the God-given potential of every child;
- Increase college participation and graduation; and
- Promote integration in education to enrich the learning experience for all students and to strengthen our American community.

*

CLOSING RACIAL GAPS FROM PRESCHOOL THROUGH HIGH SCHOOL

The Compact for Equal Opportunity in Education, together with other efforts such as Headstart and Title I, represent an important Federal contribution to our national effort. But there are several important steps that require commitments from us all -- as we sit around the table in the Cabinet Room weighing legislative ideas, as a parent sits with a child around the kitchen table helping with arithmetic or grammar, as teachers work together on a strategy to get an alienated teenager engaged in learning. Here are some key things we must do together, focused on closing the morally unacceptable racial gaps in education achievement.

- ***Support families and promote early learning opportunities***

A child's development in the earliest years is crucial to the rest of his or her life. Children who do not reach school ready to learn will spend a significant amount of time catching up to their peers and may never fully overcome initial learning gaps. The key here is families. Parents must be every child's first teachers.

The most important thing parents can do in the early years is read to their children. We have set a national goal of having all our children read independently and well by the end of third grade. To help achieve that goal, researchers tell us that parents should read to their children at least 30 minutes per day. In just the last few years, the percentage of parents who are reading to their children on a regular basis has increased dramatically, and that increase has been greatest among parents of color. This is important progress. But we can do better. Today, parents of white children are still more likely to read to their children. One reason for this difference is the gap in literacy among adults. Approximately 40 million American adults cannot read English or read only at the lowest level, and

persons of color are overrepresented in this group. Parents who cannot read cannot teach their children to read, and may not put as much emphasis as they should on their child's school work generally. We must take action to increase adult literacy for this and other important reasons.

Beyond the parent's role, we must mobilize other aspects of the caring "village" my wife Hillary has spoken about so often. It is long past time to recognize that children of all races must have access to high-quality pre-school. Quality preschool boosts child development, which leads to higher achievement in school, better social adjustment, and even decreased involvement in crime. Head Start plays an important role here by providing quality pre-school to nearly one million children of low-income families. But we are currently serving less than 50 percent of eligible students, including only 35 percent of eligible Hispanic students. There is more to do.

Finally, families must remain involved in their children's education throughout school. A child's chances of success, regardless of race or class, are immeasurably increased when his or her family participates in the child's education. The more directly involved parents are in each child's school, the greater the return. All schools should have parent compacts that clearly define parents' role in the school. As a national goal, I believe that every parent should do some form of volunteer work in their children's schools every month (and employers should provide the flexibility to help parents do so).

- ***Overcome racial gaps in K-12 educational opportunity***

Over the last several years, we have embraced the idea of high academic standards for all students, including the use of tests to ensure that those standards are met. Half our states now have or will soon introduce high school tests that students must pass to graduate. These standards and tests can play a crucial role in ensuring the quality of teaching and learning in our schools, but only if we give all students a full and fair opportunity to meet the standards and pass the tests. If all our children are going to be held to the same high standards, and they should be, then all students must have an equal opportunity to meet those standards and succeed to their full potential.

Present racial gaps in educational opportunity are dramatic, especially in our poorest, most racially isolated communities where large percentages of minority children are struggling to learn in our lowest quality schools. Students in these communities face disadvantages in so many areas that it is impossible to adequately discuss them all. But let me mention several issues that I believe are most crucial.

Teaching. First and foremost is the lack of high-quality teachers. Study after study confirms what many of us have always known -- teachers are our most valuable educational resource. As class size decreases and teacher quality increases, all students perform better, especially poor and minority students. Yet today, poor and minority children are more likely to be taught in moderately larger classes by less-qualified, less-experienced teachers. Nearly 50 percent of teachers in poor, minority schools leave after only 3 years. Students of color are also more likely to be taught by teachers without certification, without a degree in their field, and with lower test scores -- and all of this at schools where student underachievement is commonplace. Studies show that controlling for these factors, much of the racial disparity in student achievement disappears. We have taken an important step with Federal legislation in 1998 to help schools decrease class size. Now we must ensure, through recruitment, training, and professional development, that the teachers in those classes are fully prepared in the subjects they teach and in effective pedagogical methods. More of our brightest Americans must be encouraged to become teachers; colleges must commit to better teacher education; and more of our best teachers, including teachers certified by the prestigious National Board for Professional Teaching Standards, must be inspired and given incentives to teach in our highest-need communities.

Curriculum. Educational opportunities are not equal if students do not have equal access to challenging courses. That is why it was so important to me that federal legislation early in my Administration gave a vital boost to the high-standards reform movement, including the effort to ensure that poor children are offered challenging course work. Progress, however, is too slow. Still, poor and minority children are far less likely than middle class and white students to take a solid course in algebra, rather than "math for consumers." Still, minority students are far more likely than whites to attend a high school that offers few or no Advanced Placement courses, like calculus or second-year chemistry. And, most unfairly, research suggests that too many children are put in "tracks" or so-called "ability groups" that supposedly offer extra help, but in reality can be a detour to a second-rate curriculum leading to a third-rate dream. When a student's school doesn't even have enough solid math classes to go around, taught by qualified teachers, is it any surprise that college entrance test scores suffer? If the courses most relevant to the jobs in tomorrow's economy are in the suburban schools but not the inner city 15 miles away, should we be surprised if America's economic divide widens in the years ahead? We share an obligation to face these disparities in opportunity, and end them.

Buildings. Teachers cannot teach and students cannot learn effectively in overcrowded, deteriorating, or unsafe schools. What are we saying to our young people who go to schools with leaky roofs and crumbling walls or who are forced to study in converted trailers. We are saying that school doesn't matter; education

doesn't matter; *they* don't matter. That is the wrong message, and it is harmful. These conditions are most dramatic in our inner cities, where large percentages of minority students attend outdated, dilapidated schools often just miles away from the grandest imaginable suburban schools complete with the latest technology. We cannot expect our children to raise themselves up in schools that are literally falling down. We must take action to modernize our schools and build new schools where needed.

Technology. Closely related to this is the importance of overcoming racial and class disparities in access to technology. By the year 2000, 60 percent of the new jobs in America will require advanced technological skills. To prepare all students for these jobs and to improve education more generally, every school must have a sufficient number of computers, access to the Internet, and training on how to use technology effectively. The new "E-rate" championed by Vice President Gore is providing precious technology resources for many of our schools, but state, local and private efforts are needed. If we fail at this, the color divide will be compounded by a digital divide.

English acquisition. There is strong consensus across racial and ethnic lines that all students should learn English, and we must provide the necessary resources to help all students learn English within three years. The current needs are great: In addition to a shortage of bilingual teachers, only 30 percent of teachers with Limited English Proficient (LEP) students in their classes have received any training in teaching LEP students. There are many possible models of success in teaching English, and the best approach depends on each student's needs. But whatever approach is chosen, it must be judged by its success at teaching LEP students English and helping them achieve at the same level as students for whom English is their first language.

At the same time, the ability to speak additional languages is a great asset in our increasingly diverse world and global economy. We should encourage foreign language learning, starting in early grades, so that all students are fluent in at least one language other than English. This is one important arena in which our nation's growing language diversity can be beneficial. If we want our children to know many languages, it helps that they go to school with children who speak many languages.

Safety. Most of our schools are safe, but violent crime and fear of crime are real factors in about 10 percent of schools. Moreover, while the numbers are low, black and Hispanic children are significantly more likely than whites to fear being attacked in school, to report having street gangs in school, to see a gun in school, and more. Let me be clear: Violence destroys opportunity. It shatters both limbs and dreams. It teaches that force or might is more important than learning.

That is why I have proposed a comprehensive school safety initiative that supports efforts by schools and communities to eliminate guns, drugs, and violence from our schools.

- ***Hold high expectations for everyone***

In addition to better resources, we must promote high expectations for all students. In large part this means holding all students to high academic standards and making sure that tracking does not restrict learning opportunities. Too often, students are tracked based not on their educational needs but on their skin color or accent. This is discrimination in the form of low expectations by teachers and other adults. It is wrong.

Building higher expectations often starts with simply expecting more from students. Consider this: Surveys show that African American and Hispanic students feel they can bring home lower grades than their white and Asian Pacific American peers before their parents will get upset. Other surveys show that minority students most hope to impress their teachers, not their parents, with their academic performance. These surveys suggest that if students of all races are to be inspired to succeed, parents must demand more, and teachers must expect a lot.

Peer influence is also important. Too many children of all races seem to view being a good student as “uncool.” Some research suggests that this situation is even more dramatic for minority students, for whom educational success may be perceived not only as uncool but also as “acting white.” Consider the dramatic account in Ron Suskind’s book, *A Hope in the Unseen*, of a schoolwide assembly at a poor, predominantly black high school in Washington, D.C. The assembly was one of several to honor students who received straight “A’s” with \$100 awards donated by a local radio station.

At the start, the assemblies were a success. The gymnasium was full, and honor students seemed happy to attend, flushed by the cash. But after a few such gatherings, the jeering started. It was thunderous. “Nerd!” “Geek!” “Egghead!” And the harshest, “Whitey!” Crew [gang] members, sensing a hearts-and-minds struggle, stomped on the bleachers and howled. No longer simply names on the Wall of Honor [which listed honor students], the “whiteys” now had faces. The honor students were hazed for months afterward. With each assembly, fewer show up. (p. 3)

Other honor students were even threatened with violence, including Cedric Johnson, the honor student chronicled in Suskind’s book who, I am thrilled to say, is now a student at Brown University. Cedric did not attend the assembly to pick up his \$100. “I just couldn’t take that abuse again,” Cedric explained to his

teacher. "I hate myself for not going." (p. 6).

Cedric beat the odds. But most students cannot be expected to succeed to their full potential in environments like Suskind describes. Of course, no student should ever have to fear violence because of academic success. We must also, however, convince students of all races that education is "cool," and that being smart is not acting "white," or "black," or "brown," or any other color. Role models are important here, and I urge people who succeed to reach back to their communities to show students that educational achievement is the key to success in all aspects of life.

In the end, however, the expectations of teachers are probably the safety net for kids who can't find encouragement or support from peers or parents. But, there are millions of students winning As and Bs from their teachers while scoring miserably on all kinds of standardized tests that compare them with students elsewhere. And there are social promotions that move a student along because teachers and administrators simply don't expect that certain kids can and should achieve at grade level. Well, these educators aren't living up to our expectations for *them*.

- ***Increase responsibility and accountability for everyone in education***

We are all responsible in different ways for overcoming racial gaps in educational opportunity. We must all be held accountable for the results of our efforts. For public officials and school administrators, this means attaining measurable reductions in achievement gaps and increasing educational performance. Parents and CEO's, business leaders and clergy should demand success. This also means increasing public school choice and providing detailed information on school quality so that parents can make informed choices. For teachers, this means providing substantial opportunities for professional development but requiring that teachers demonstrate competence in their subject area and excellence in the classroom. For parents, this means building partnerships between schools and families and requiring that parents be engaged in their children's education through "parent compacts". For students, this means promoting high standards and ending social promotion while giving all students the help they need to achieve.

We must set clear, ambitious goals for education, give administrators, teachers, parents, and students the resources and authority to achieve those goals, and hold them accountable for results. I strongly believe that tests, including voluntary national tests, play an important role in measuring our success at teaching and learning, along with other forms of assessment. But we must be sure to always use the right tests, for the right purpose, in the right way.

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Let me explain briefly why I believe that private school vouchers, paid for with the public's tax dollars, are a far less promising approach than the workplan I have described. [A couple of paragraphs to be inserted here, including mention of the dangers of draining resources, making the public schools more likely to fail with the "stayers"; the value of the "common school" ideal and the problem of resegregation; the incredible multi-billion cost. But also: the importance of finding alternatives to the market-driven model of vouchers to ensure that are powerful incentives for school improvement -- through testing, sharper accountability, etc.]

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INCREASING COLLEGE PARTICIPATION AND GRADUATION

While improving K-12 opportunity and achievement is the long-term solution in education, we must take additional action to increase college participation and graduation. Let me mention just three that are central to our pursuit of racial and ethnic justice.

- *Expand college enrollment and financial aid*

We must continue to expand college access and ensure that all students who want and deserve to go to college can afford it. I am proud that we have made much progress in this area. But much more can be done. Black, Hispanic, and Native American students are still less likely to go to college than white or Asian Pacific American students. In many cases, this is simply because students from disadvantaged backgrounds are less aware of college options and of how to take advantage of those options. Evidence shows that we can increase participation in college by building partnerships between colleges and high-poverty schools. These partnerships can increase college expectations and provide support services, such as mentoring and tutoring. We have taken important action to develop these partnerships through our GEAR UP program. We must build on that to ensure that every degree-granting college partners with high-poverty schools to make the dream of college a reality for more low-income and minority students.

Over the last several years, we have retooled and dramatically increased financial aid for college, including substantial increases in Pell Grants, which are received by more than half of all minority college students. Nonetheless, the high cost of college remains the major reason why many students decide not to attend

college and why too many minority students drop out. Money for college is available to all who need it, and we must get that message out. But we must also take additional action to help families that face undue hardships due to the loss of a college student's contribution to family income.

- ***Close racial disparities in graduation rates and increase minority participation in graduate and professional schools***

Getting into college is only half the battle. Colleges must take greater responsibility for ensuring that more of their students finish successfully. Graduation rates for persons of color remain far below that of whites. Of those students beginning college in 1989 and seeking a bachelor's degree, 48 percent of white students and 47 percent of Asian Pacific American students earned a degree by 1994 compared with 34 percent of blacks and 32 percent of Hispanics. Studies prove that support services such as counseling, tutoring, and mentoring in college can significantly increase graduation rates, especially for Hispanic students. We should expand these efforts. Minority-serving institutions typically go the extra mile to retain their students, and more colleges should follow their lead. For example, Xavier University of Louisiana, a small historically black university with only 3000 students, leads the nation in producing black physics, chemistry, and biology graduates and sends more black graduates to medical schools and pharmacy schools than any other college or university in the nation. Norman Francis, President of Xavier University, attributes Xavier's success to demanding hard work while providing all students with the support services they need to succeed, including advising, tutoring, and assistance in applying to graduate schools.

Community colleges play an important role in expanding educational opportunity, especially for Hispanic students. These colleges also serve as a bridge to further education. Studies show that where there are clear agreements linking 2-year and 4-year colleges, more minority and other students successfully transfer from community college and more transfer students receive bachelor's degrees. Two-year and 4-year colleges must build strong, clear relationships to enhance coordination, increase student transfer rates, and increase graduation rates.

Finally, students of color are underrepresented across the board in graduate education. This situation is especially dramatic in the science and technology arenas. Almost 94 percent of all doctorates in science and engineering are earned by whites or Asian Pacific Americans, and the number of black doctorates is smaller now than 20 years ago. This is untenable. As a simple demographic matter, if we want breadth, depth and excellence in these professions, we must be inclusive.

- ***Support minority-serving institutions and build college partnerships***

Third, we must support minority-serving institutions, including historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs), Hispanic-serving institutions (HSIs), and Tribal colleges. These institutions have played and continue to play a vital role in educating students of color. Sixteen percent of black college students attend HBCUs, but HBCUs award 28 percent of all bachelor's degrees received by blacks. And HSIs award more than 50 percent of all bachelor's degrees received by Hispanics.

In addition, we must encourage partnerships between minority-serving institutions and predominantly white research universities. These partnerships can enrich academic offerings available to students. In addition, the partnerships can increase diversity by providing opportunities for students and faculty to interact in different environments.

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PROMOTING INTEGRATION TO ENRICH THE LEARNING EXPERIENCE FOR ALL STUDENTS

Parents, students, institutions, and communities should have the right to choose a racially and ethnically diverse education. After a burst of progress in the late 1960s and early 1970s, segregation in schools is worsening because of housing and demographic trends as well as a shift away from legal actions requiring school desegregation. Furthermore, diversity in higher education, though strongly supported by the higher education community and the nation, is under attack on several fronts.

We must renew our belief in the value of integration in education. As my Advisory Board said in its final report, the goals of quality and integration in education are complementary. Diversity is not about political correctness. It has real, tangible benefits, not only for all students, but to our society. Diversity improves teaching and learning by providing a range of perspectives that enrich the learning environment. It teaches good citizenship by showing students how to interact comfortably with people different from themselves. It improves students' preparation for employment by teaching them how to function in diverse work settings. And it fosters the advancement of knowledge by spurring study in new areas of concern. The actions we must take in this area include:

- ***Reduce racial segregation among and within schools***

Today, 67 percent of black students and 74 percent of Hispanic students

attend primary and secondary schools with greater than 50 percent minority enrollment, and more than one-third of black and Hispanic students attend schools with more than 90 percent minority enrollment. We must reduce this racial segregation and isolation among schools. The single most important thing we can do to promote integration is to make all schools good schools that attract diverse student bodies. But there are also innovative ways to give more parents and children the option of an integrated education, including the expansion of interdistrict magnet and charter schools, schools located at large employers and on university campuses. We must also promote housing integration efforts designed, in part, to promote school integration.

Even in so-called integrated schools, too many students are resegregated into different classes, with students of color overrepresented in remedial and special education classes. Furthermore, students sometimes self-segregate in inappropriate ways. We must take action to ensure that tracking based on biased expectations and faulty policies does not resegregate students.

Furthermore, schools must promote opportunities for positive cross-racial interactions. Studies show that having students of different races work together toward common goals can breakdown racial stereotypes, improve race relations, and improve the academic achievement of the lower achieving students.

- ***Promote the benefits of diversity in higher education***

We must also increase integration in higher education. College and university leaders have long known that diversity in the student body is essential to providing all students with a complete educational experience. According to Neil Rudenstine, President of Harvard University, "The conception of a diverse student body as an educational resource -- comparable in importance to the faculty, library, or science laboratories -- is the most direct expression of an idea that we have seen emerging over the course of more than a century." Studies show that where the "resource" of racial diversity is used effectively, all students benefit. However, diversity in higher education is poorly understood in the public arena and is under attack on several fronts. Most dramatically, in states where affirmative action has been outlawed, data show a dramatic decrease in the numbers of students of color accepted at the most prestigious institutions. For example, in 1998, the University of California, Berkeley had to reject more than 800 highly qualified black, Hispanic, and Native American applicants each of whom had a 4.0 or higher GPA and scored 1200 or higher on the SAT.

I address elsewhere the issue of affirmative action. But here I want to make the more general point that as a nation we must recognize the great value of diversity in higher education. In their recent book *The Shape of the River*, William

G. Bowen and Derek Bok showed that students of all races want a diverse educational experience. According to surveys of black and white graduates of selective universities who began college in 1989, a majority of both blacks and whites believe that "the ability to work effectively and get along with people of different races and cultures" is "very important." A majority of both blacks and whites also believe their undergraduate experience was of "considerable value" in developing those skills based on interactions with students of different races. And the vast majority of both blacks and whites believe that their school should continue to place the same or greater emphasis on diversity. We must preserve and develop appropriate mechanisms to ensure diversity in the short- and long-term. Furthermore, colleges and universities must promote the educational benefits of diversity by creating supportive campus environments and by promoting positive cross-racial interactions among students.

* * *

CONCLUSION

Tearing down the walls of disparity and division in American education is as vital to our future as the defeat of fascism was in World War II, or the global stabilization of struggling economies is today. For too long we have professed support for equal opportunity without grappling with the glaring inequities faced by too many of our children. I know this won't be easy. We have spent years building walls and patching cracks along the color line. But we must not fail to act. The costs of delay are mounting. Our children and our nation are in danger of falling behind in a world that is forging ahead.

Remember, these are all our children. Each of them is eight years old but once. The choices we make will put them on a track to nowhere or a track toward achieving their full, God-given potential. If we do not prepare them well, they may spend a lifetime struggling to find a way in from the cold margins of the new economy. And if our children learn apart, they won't know how to live together. This requires more than passing laws against hateful conduct. It requires a passage of spirit, from the old world of racial separation, to a new world of shared hopes, common values, and unity. Education is the vessel that will get us there. It must be our number one priority. Nothing less is at stake than the strength of our economy and the soul of our nation.

How we meet the challenge remains a window on our hearts.



DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY
WASHINGTON, D.C.

99 JAN 5 AM 10:46

SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

December 31, 1998

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

Under the National Emergencies Act, the January 23, 1995 declaration of national emergency with respect to grave acts of violence committed by foreign terrorists that disrupt the Middle East peace process will terminate on January 23, 1999, unless, prior to that date, you publish in the Federal Register and transmit to the Congress a notice stating that the emergency is to continue in effect. If the emergency were allowed to lapse, the current sanctions, including the blocking of the targeted foreign terrorists' assets, would also lapse, impairing our Government's ability to deny any financial support from the United States for these groups and individuals and to discourage activities hostile to U.S. interests.

For these reasons, I recommend that you sign, transmit to the Congress, and publish in the Federal Register the necessary notice of continuation. The Department of State concurs in this recommendation.

Enclosed are the following documents:

- The proposed notice of continuation;
- A proposed message transmitting the notice to the Congress; and
- A copy of last year's continuation of the national emergency.

Sincerely,

Robert E. Rubin

Robert E. Rubin

Enclosures

Send to USC for appropriate action

Yes

No

1-5-9

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

Section 202(d) of the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1622(d)) provides for the automatic termination of a national emergency unless, prior to the anniversary date of its declaration, the President publishes in the Federal Register and transmits to the Congress a notice stating that the emergency is to continue in effect beyond the anniversary date. In accordance with this provision, I have sent the enclosed notice, stating that the emergency declared with respect to grave acts of violence committed by foreign terrorists that disrupt the Middle East peace process is to continue in effect beyond January 23, 1999, to the Federal Register for publication. The most recent notice continuing this emergency was published in the Federal Register on January 22, 1998.

The crisis with respect to the grave acts of violence committed by foreign terrorists that threaten to disrupt the Middle East peace process that led to the declaration on January 23, 1995, of a national emergency has not been resolved. Terrorist groups continue to engage in activities with the purpose or effect of threatening the Middle East peace process, and which are hostile to United States interests in the region.

Such actions threaten vital interests of the national security, foreign policy, and economy of the United States. On August 20, 1998, I identified four additional persons, including Usama bin Ladin, that threaten to disrupt the Middle East peace process. For these reasons, I have determined that it is necessary to maintain in force the broad authorities necessary to deny any financial support from the United States for foreign terrorists that threaten to disrupt the Middle East peace process.

William J. Clinton

THE WHITE HOUSE

January __, 1999

Enclosure

NOTICE

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CONTINUATION OF EMERGENCY REGARDING TERRORISTS WHO
THREATEN TO DISRUPT THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS

On January 23, 1995, by Executive Order No. 12947, I declared a national emergency to deal with the unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security, foreign policy and economy of the United States constituted by grave acts of violence committed by foreign terrorists that disrupt the Middle East peace process. By Executive Order No. 12947 of January 23, 1995, I blocked the assets in the United States, or in the control of United States persons, of foreign terrorists who threaten to disrupt the Middle East peace process. I also prohibited transactions or dealings by United States persons in such property. On August 20, 1998, by Executive Order No. 13099, I identified four additional persons, including Usama bin Ladin, that threaten to disrupt the Middle East peace process. I have annually transmitted notices of the continuation of this national emergency to the Congress and the Federal Register. Last year's notice of continuation was published in the Federal Register on January 22, 1998. Because terrorist activities continue to threaten the Middle East peace process and vital interests of the United States in the Middle East, the national emergency declared

on January 23, 1995, and the measures that took effect on January 24, 1995, to deal with that emergency must continue in effect beyond January 23, 1999. Therefore, in accordance with section 202(d) of the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1622(d)), I am continuing the national emergency with respect to foreign terrorists who threaten to disrupt the Middle East peace process.

This notice shall be published in the Federal Register and transmitted to the Congress.

THE WHITE HOUSE

January __, 1999

Presidential Documents

Title 3—

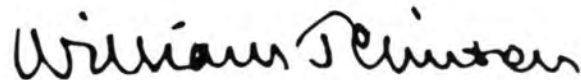
Notice of January 21, 1998

The President

Continuation of Emergency Regarding Terrorists Who Threaten To Disrupt the Middle East Peace Process

On January 23, 1995, by Executive Order 12947, I declared a national emergency to deal with the unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security, foreign policy, and economy of the United States constituted by grave acts of violence committed by foreign terrorists that disrupt the Middle East peace process. By Executive Order 12947 of January 23, 1995, I blocked the assets in the United States, or in the control of United States persons, of foreign terrorists who threaten to disrupt the Middle East peace process. I also prohibited transactions or dealings by United States persons in such property. In 1996 and 1997, I transmitted notices of the continuation of this national emergency to the Congress and the **Federal Register**. Last year's notice of continuation was published in the **Federal Register** on January 22, 1997. Because terrorist activities continue to threaten the Middle East peace process and vital interests of the United States in the Middle East, the national emergency declared on January 23, 1995, and the measures that took effect on January 24, 1995, to deal with that emergency must continue in effect beyond January 23, 1998. Therefore, in accordance with section 202(d) of the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1622(d)), I am continuing the national emergency with respect to foreign terrorists who threaten to disrupt the Middle East peace process.

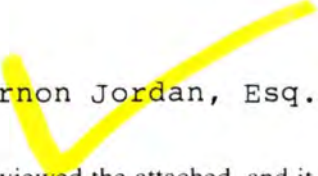
This notice shall be published in the **Federal Register** and transmitted to the Congress.



THE WHITE HOUSE,
January 21, 1998.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: January 5, 1999

NOTE FOR:  Vernon Jordan, Esq.

The President has reviewed the attached, and it is forwarded to you for your:

Information ☒

Action ☐

Thank you.

Staff Secretary
(x6-2702)

cc:

The Honorable Vernon Jordan
2940 Benton Place, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20007

- Do fly to her
- cc this letter to Vernon (+ mention each letter)



1-5-99

456 McGill Place
Atlanta, GA 30312-1070
December 20, 1998

John Podesta, Chief of Staff to
President William Jefferson Clinton
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. Podesta,

Will you please see that my book, Ted Poston, Pioneer American Journalist, goes to where Mrs. Clinton and President Clinton may see it?

Ted Poston was a member of FDR's "Black Cabinet," worked in the White House as a trouble-shooter after racist southerners canceled his Negro News Desk at the Office of War Information. He was a friend of Eleanor Roosevelt.

Another sidelight is that Poston's childhood sweetheart, Mary Duncan Wilson, was surrogate mother to the President's friend Vernon Jordan when Jordan was in college at DePauw. Poston's story is a truly American story; Kirkus Reviews calls this "a gem of a book"--smile.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Kathleen A. Hauke
Kathleen A. Hauke

Ted Poston

Pioneer American Journalist

Kathleen A. Hauke

"Ted Poston's life as a pathfinding black journalist in a white-dominated profession is a rich and colorful story."

—John Egerton, author of *Speak Now against the Day*

Ted Poston: Pioneer American Journalist is the life story of the first African American reporter to spend his career at a mainstream daily. After college Ted Poston (1906–1974) worked as a railroad porter but soon found his calling in journalism, first as a columnist for the black weekly *Pittsburgh Courier* and later as city editor of Harlem's premier black newspaper, the *Amsterdam News*. In 1932 he traveled to Russia with Langston Hughes to make a film on American racism, and in 1935 he helped Heywood Broun create the American Newspaper Guild and was fired for unionizing the *Amsterdam*. That same year, wielding only words and a typewriter, he finally broke the color barrier in journalism by integrating the *New York Post*.

During World War II Poston became a member of Franklin D. Roosevelt's "Black Cabinet" when he headed the Negro News Desk of the Office of War Information in Washington. After the war, he returned to the *Post*, and in its heyday under editor James Wechsler and publisher Dorothy Schiff, he provided an insider's viewpoint on segregation and the civil rights movement. His incisive, usually upbeat, sometimes acerbic reports on everyday racism were eye-openers for the paper's mostly white readership; often, he leavened bitter medicine with humor.

Poston's tragicomic tales of his Kentucky youth were published posthumously as *The Dark Side of Hopkinsville*, but he never wrote about his groundbreaking career. Kathleen A. Hauke is the first to tell the full story of his remarkable life, using exclusive interviews with his family, friends, and colleagues to create an inspiring portrait of an African American journalist.

Kathleen A. Hauke is an independent scholar living in Atlanta.

6 x 9 : 352 pgs. : 24 b&w illus. : ISBN 0-8203-2020-X (cl.) : \$29.95†

JANUARY

Biography / African American / Journalism

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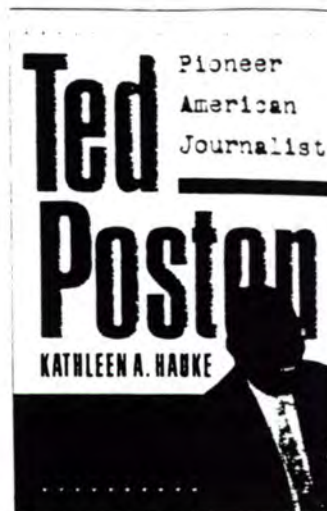
The Dark Side of Hopkinsville

Ted Poston

Edited by Kathleen A. Hauke

Autobiographical stories of Ted Poston's childhood in Kentucky.

ISBN 0-8203-1303-3 (pa.) : \$14.95†



"Ted Poston's story illuminates, in a personalized way both the depth and breadth of exclusion of black Americans and their perspective from mainstream journalism. Kathleen Hauke has succeeded in presenting credibly, a journalistic account of Poston's life."

—A. Stephen Moten, President
Maynard Institute for
Journalism Education