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Race-Race Initiative Policy: General

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Race Initiative Policy

Tom - have you
seen this?
Elena

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CLINTON SEEKS DIALOGUE ON RACE, BUT HE MUST GO BEYOND SAME OLD TALK

BYLINE: RONALD BROWNSTEIN

BODY:

The news flash from last week's first meeting of President Clinton's advisory board on race is that America is a racist country. Deeply, broadly racist. Perhaps irredeemably racist.

Board member Angela Oh, a Los Angeles lawyer, set the tone early on when she said the panel should not waste its time documenting the extent of discrimination because it was so widespread. "I don't need the data," she said. "I don't think any of us need the data; we know it's there."

John Hope Franklin, the prominent African American historian who chairs the board, then raised the ante. Racism, he said, pervaded American life: "Our whole country, our whole practices are suffused with it," he said. "Hardly an aspect of American life has escaped the baneful touch of this awful thing called racism. . . . Wherever you go, you are going to see this."

The closest to a dissenting note came from Judith Winston, the general counsel at the Education Department who was just appointed the panel's executive director. "Most Americans are not and do not consider themselves racist," she said, before quickly adding that we have nonetheless "internalized . . . racist concepts and stereotypes."

Racism is America's original sin, the great blot on our egalitarian ideals. But it's also possible to read American history as an imperfect, contradictory, but persistent effort to overcome it.

However slowly, the trend line has been to enlarge the circle of freedom. Eventually, America did end slavery, overturn state-sponsored segregation and provide equal access to the ballot. Thirty years ago, two-parent black families earned only two-thirds as much as similar white families; today they earn 87% as much. In 1958, only 4% of whites said they approved of interracial marriage; today the figure is 61%, according to the Gallup Poll.

"It is impossible to live in America in 1997 and not recognize . . . an enormous amount of progress has taken place," said Linda Chavez, president of the neoconservative Center for Equal Opportunity.

You can argue this round or flat, but mostly you will argue this to impasse. Surely America is not a colorblind society; just as surely as it has made gains on many fronts. The real point is that this is the wrong argument. Clinton set out to open a new dialogue on race. But there's no quicker way to inflame old antagonisms than to base the dialogue on the assertion that American society is drenched in racism "wherever you go."

"That's not a dialogue," said one Democrat, "that's a monologue."

The president once understood this. When Clinton came out of a meeting with black community leaders in the home of Rep. Maxine Waters (D-Los Angeles) just days after the Los Angeles riots in 1992, he didn't talk about a society "suffused" with racism; he talked about the importance of increasing access to credit so that more people in South-Central could own their own homes and businesses. Throughout the day, his focus was on grass-roots "empowerment" through programs that linked opportunity and responsibility.

What Clinton recognized then was that the best way to attack race-related problems was to focus less on the polarizing divisions of race than on the underlying problems themselves. Candidate Clinton emphasized race-neutral programs--such as education or health care reform--that nonetheless offered tangible benefits to minorities. The aim was to move beyond a ritualized debate over racism and reparation toward practical measures that could help the needy of all races--and draw broader public support than an approach that targeted benefits solely by race.

In office, Clinton has only imperfectly implemented this idea. The left complains that he failed to guarantee universal health care or ensure public-service jobs for welfare recipients facing time limits. Conservatives carp at his increasingly reflexive defense of affirmative action. But he can also claim progress in fulfilling his original vision.

Clinton has increased access to capital for minorities through invigorated enforcement of fair-lending and community-reinvestment laws and subsidies for community development banks. He's boosted cities with billions of dollars to hire more police and launch empowerment zones. He's signed increases in the minimum wage and tax relief for the working poor, and this year's budget will provide increased health care coverage for uninsured children and tax breaks for hiring former welfare recipients.

This agenda may not be equal to the challenge, but it's the right battlefield. In the landmark Bakke affirmative action case 19 years ago, the late Supreme Court Justice Harry Blackmun memorably declared, "In order to get beyond racism, we must first take account of race." Today's imperative reverses his logic: To deal with the problems of race, we must go beyond race. At a time when society is skeptical of new government initiatives, and federal power is divided between the parties, the only plausible agenda for racial progress is one that aims to help all those already trying to help themselves--white and minority alike.

In contrast, Clinton's advisory panel appears intent on viewing all issues through the prism of race. But in an America growing ever more diverse, that's a blueprint for social division and political irrelevance. With that compass, it's not hard to imagine the panel producing conventionally liberal recommendations on issues such as crime and social spending that Clinton quietly disowns.

The best service Clinton can offer on race is to articulate an agenda that encourages Americans to emphasize their common interests and values--not their racial differences and historic grudges. His decision to focus his speech to the NAACP last week on the importance of demanding high standards from all students marks an important step in that direction.

But to truly inspire a new dialogue on race, Clinton will need to push further. Jim Sleeper, author of the provocatively titled upcoming book, "Liberal Racism," frames the larger challenge well: "Our best leaders," he writes, "are those who show their neighbors, every day, how to leave subgroup loyalties at the doors of classrooms, jury rooms, hiring halls and loan offices."

That's far better advice than anything Clinton's advisory panel has offered so far.

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• Policy

Goals:

- Develop and announce concrete policies and actions related to the race initiative, focusing on education and economic opportunity, but also including crime, health care, and civil rights enforcement.

Process:

- Hold regular meetings in areas of education, economic opportunity, health, crime, and civil rights enforcement to continue developing policy proposals, and integrate race initiative staff into these meetings.
- Ensure that cabinet agencies participate in these meetings as appropriate and that the agencies inform DPC, NEC, and race initiative staff of new ideas or announcements relating to the race initiative.
- Identify opportunities to announce policies relating to the race initiative.
- Develop a mechanism for communicating with the members of the Advisory Board to inform them of our policy proposals and work to gain their support.

Products

- See attached document for policy proposals currently under development.

Resources

- Budget commitments as noted on attached document

Education

- Teaching Initiative -- Previously announced proposal to prepare and recruit teachers for high-poverty urban and rural communities.
- Urban Education Initiative -- Select 15-20 urban school districts as Education Opportunity Zones, which would receive additional monies for implementing a program of standards-based school reform, including measures to promote public school choice, end social promotions, remove bad teachers, and reconstitute failing schools. The Department of Education has requested \$320 million for FY 99 for this program.
- School Construction Proposal -- Support our own proposal from last year; the Daschle-Gephardt bill; or an alternative approach.
- College/School Partnerships -- Propose a grant program to promote strong partnerships between colleges and high-poverty middle and high schools. Through these partnerships, colleges would encourage students to take demanding courses, while providing academic enrichment and intensive mentoring, tutoring, and other support services. The Department of Education has requested \$200 million for FY 99 for this initiative.
- Communications Strategy for Maintaining Diversity in Higher Education -- Issue departmental report and give speech or town hall on the value of diversity in higher education; identify and highlight effective outreach and recruitment efforts in report and/or speech; invite educational leaders to White House to discuss the importance of the issue. Do not become Admissions Dean-in-Chief (i.e., do not recommend or endorse particular admissions criteria or strategies).
- Attacking Racial Separation Within Schools -- Department of Education report on best practices for helping students reach across racial barriers; grants to support model projects.

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mid
short
on p. 207

Economic Empowerment

- Empowerment Zones, Round 2 -- Announce the Second Round Empowerment Zones designees. (There is some interagency dispute about the timing of this proposal, given our inability to come up with grant money to complement the tax incentives.)
- Housing Portability -- Announce package of proposals including expanding the number of Regional Opportunity Counseling sites and Homeownership Zones, encouraging the use of exception rents to open suburban housing markets, eliminating obstacles to portability of Section 8 vouchers, and reducing mortgage denial rates for minorities by working with mortgage and real estate industry.
- Fair Lending Initiative -- Announce initiative that might include an examination of certain lending practices on minorities' access to capital, measures to improve the

1st/last
then 2
initiatives

collection and analysis of data on loan denials, and increased resources for testing and enforcement (see below).

- Transportation Infrastructure Development -- Propose tax reforms to stimulate spinoff development from transit projects and aid development of urban intercity bus facilities.
- Assisting the Unbanked -- Announce the electronic funds transfer regulation, which may bring up to 10 million individuals into the banking system.

Health

- Initiative to Reduce Health Disparities -- Adopt multi-faceted program, largely focused on education and outreach, to reduce racial disparities in heart disease and stroke; breast, cervical, and other cancer; diabetes; infant mortality; AIDS; and immunizations. HHS, OMB, and Chris Jennings are in the midst of developing cost estimates for this initiative.

Crime

*Build on old
great success -
make sure who
win cases*

- Community Policing Initiative -- Target funds from the COPS program to hire new police officers and support community organizations in underprotected high-crime, largely minority neighborhoods (e.g., public housing communities); also use COPS money to promote diversity training for police and establish citizen academies to help community residents understand police procedures; promote minority recruitment in law enforcement through existing grant program.

- Community Prosecuting Initiative -- Develop an initiative to give communities an incentive to experiment with community prosecution, which applies the principles of community policing -- neighborhood involvement and a focus on problem solving and prevention -- to this aspect of the criminal justice system.

- At-Risk Youth Prevention Efforts -- Devote \$75 million currently in CJS appropriations bill, which we proposed as part of the President's juvenile crime strategy, to targeted programs for at-risk and minority youth (convince DOJ to drop plans for distributing funds by formula); launch a new fight to get crime bill prevention programs funded in next year's budget process.

*Make sure people
know is # coming
out of prison
have a chance in
real world.*

Indian Country Law Enforcement Initiative -- In line with recommendations of Departments of Justice and Interior (due on October 31), transfer law enforcement authority from BIA to Justice and seek increased law enforcement resources specifically designated for Indian Country.

Civil Rights Enforcement

Enhanced Enforcement Initiative -- Request additional funds for civil rights enforcement, tied to programmatic changes to improve coordination among federal government's civil

rights offices, speed resolution of claims, and reduce backlog of cases. This initiative probably will focus on the EEOC. DPC, OMB, and other offices are currently working on cost estimates.

- **Hate Crimes Initiative -- Announce a package of proposals at the November 10 hate crimes conference, including measures to enhance enforcement of hate crimes laws, improve collection of statistics, initiate educational activities, and amend the current federal hate crimes statute.**

LIBERAL RACISM

Blinded by Color, the Left Has Turned Its Back on Its Own Proud Legacy

BY JIM SLEEPER

"Students now enter college with their group identities intact, and they expect the institution to respond accordingly. . . . People have come to identify themselves not only according to race, gender, or ethnic identity, but also by class, sexual orientation, disability, and age."

— Edgar Beckham
Vice President
The Ford Foundation

"When I was a senior at the Bronx High School of Science, Harvard's admission materials showed up in my mailbox, unsolicited. Out came this Minority Student Information Request Card and a leaflet saying, 'Here are some of the things Hispanic students experience at Harvard.' And I thought, 'What is this? I want to know, what do students experience at Harvard? Like, what am I to them?' Well, I knew what I was. I was the fulfilling of a quota. And I have no intention of being that."

— Rafael Olmeda
Reporter
New York Daily News

Edgar Beckham's assumption that your skin color signals a "group identity" is now liberal doctrine. It drives the color-coding of American public policy and civic culture, and it is a colossal blunder. Rafael Olmeda is proud of his Puerto Rican heritage; he has known discrimination and bigotry to which the term "racist" usually applies; and he accepts limited affirmative action as a remedy for discrimination. But he feels patronized and insulted by liberal racial solicitude far more often than he feels oppressed by the conservative racism that dominates the liberal imagination. "When I face people in a newsroom or the street, I don't want them assuming they know anything important about me because of my name or my color," Olmeda says. "They have no right to do that."

Many of today's liberals assume that right. Claiming to oppose historic racism, the liberal "diversity" project defaults on America's promise by reinforcing racial



"awareness" on campuses and on the job in ways even segregationists might applaud. Today's liberalism no longer curbs discrimination; it invites it. It does not expose racism; it recapitulates and, sometimes, reinvents it. Its tortured racial etiquette begets racial epithets, as surely as hypocrisy begets hostility. And it dishonors liberals' own heroic past efforts to focus America's race lens in the 1950s and '60s, when conservative pieties about color-blindness concealed monstrous injustices.

Liberals who still challenge such injustices are right to argue that sometimes only the power of the law can block racial discrimination. They are right to insist that blacks, Native Americans, and many Hispanics have some special claims on public institutions—the very courts, legislatures, and schools that worked so long to degrade them. They are right to remind us that the rich need to be restrained occasionally and taught decency by the rest of us. But too many liberals who fought nobly to help this country rise above color have become so

From Liberal Racism by Jim Sleeper. Copyright © Jim Sleeper, 1997. Reprinted by arrangement with Viking Penguin, a division of Penguin Putnam. To order the book, please call 1-800-253-6476.

MATTERS OF PRINCIPLE

New Democrats and their liberal kin within the party are engaged in a vigorous debate over how, in the words of House Minority Leader Dick Gephardt, to “translate our values and beliefs in today’s circumstances.” We think this is a healthy development. Still, although we can’t accuse our sparring partners of trying to bite off our ears (not yet, at least), we must object to a fallacy that keeps cropping up in their speeches and op-ed columns. It is the assertion that old Democrats are defending “principles,” while President Clinton and New Democrats are motivated only by crass political calculations.

“Sure, this New Democrat stuff works politically,” the familiar rap goes. “Sure, welfare reform, fiscal discipline, fighting crime, and cutting taxes are popular. But they represent a betrayal of Democratic principles.”

There’s only one problem with this argument: It isn’t true.

Consider three issues in which the appeal to “principle” is most often made to criticize New Democrats:

Welfare Reform: Democrats are supposed to fight for upward mobility for low-income Americans. That’s why New Democrats are fighting to replace the old welfare system with an employment system that lifts welfare recipients into the private-sector economy, by making work pay and by directly linking workers to job opportunities. Some traditional liberals oppose this approach because they do not believe the jobs are there. New Democrats say we must find out by trying, instead of joining Republicans in giving up on welfare recipients. Ours is a principled position.

Entitlements: Democrats are supposed to be concerned about keeping the promise of a decent living in retirement for Americans. We’re also supposed to worry about finding the fiscal means to make public investments that contribute to economic growth and give working Americans the tools they need to succeed in the global economy. That’s why New Democrats think it’s critical to modernize Social Security and Medicare. As currently constituted, they will go bankrupt while squeezing public investments right out of the federal budget. Some traditional liberals oppose this approach because they think we can find the money to keep the entitlements intact while making public investments, by

slashing the defense budget, or soaking the rich with new taxes. New Democrats think that’s wishful—and thus irresponsible—thinking, and plays into the Republican strategy of starving public investments to death. Ours is a principled position.

Trade: On this issue, the claim that New Democrats are not principled is simply laughable. Support for open markets and hostility to protectionism is the oldest principle of the Democratic Party, uniting Democrats from the Jackson Era to the late 20th century, even when the party was deeply divided on other issues. Every Democratic president in this century has promoted freer international trade, and even the labor movement was largely pro-trade until the late 1970s.

Open trade is a defining principle for Democrats for a simple reason: Protectionism gives a small handful of industries fearing competition special privileges at the direct expense of everyone else in the country. Protectionism also inherently fosters political corruption, by inviting industries to bid for intervention to boost their profits.

Today, old Democrats argue that trade agreements undermine job stability and income levels for some workers. New Democrats respond that it is unfair and un-Democratic to elevate the interests of industries threatened by international competition above the interests of workers in exporting industries, the interests of consumers, the interests of communities that benefit from foreign investment, and the interests of every American who benefits from the current conditions of steady growth.

Fighting for fast-track trade negotiating authority for the President, and opposing efforts to cut off trade with China, represent fidelity to a principle embraced by the very Democratic icons so often cited by those opposing efforts to modernize the legacy of the New Deal and the Great Society. Ours is a principled position.

On welfare, entitlements, trade, and a host of other issues, there remain sharp and defining differences between all Democrats and all Republicans, and legitimate differences among Democrats that we should continue to debate. But New Democrats should never concede that the political vitality of our ideas somehow reduces their morality or intellectual integrity. We are fighting to keep the progressive tradition alive in a new era of American history—as a matter of principle. ♦

blinded by color that they have leapt ahead of conservatives to draw new race lines in the civic sand. Conservatives may have gotten race wrong, but that does not mean that liberals have gotten it right. We are well past the time when liberals can point fingers at racist and capitalist bogeymen across the ideological divide to justify their own abandonment of a transracial belonging and civic faith for which Americans of all colors so obviously yearn. If we could truly eliminate racism from our national life, neither conservatives nor liberals would emerge covered with glory. But I emphasize the liberal default because it has been so unexpected and—given liberalism's promise—so fateful.

"Friendly" Racism

Liberal racism has several dimensions. Sometimes, prompted by misdirected and self-congratulatory compassion, it patronizes nonwhites by expecting (and getting) less of them than they are fully capable of achieving. Intending to turn the tables on racist double standards that set the bar much higher for nonwhites, liberal racism ends up perpetuating double standards by setting the bar so much lower for its intended beneficiaries that they are denied the satisfactions of equal accomplishment and opportunity.

Liberal racism also assumes that racial differences are so profound that they are almost primordial. The fascination with racial differences that prevents many white liberals from treating any person with a nonwhite racial physiognomy as someone much like themselves only reinforces 19th century assumptions about race that are patently racist.

Yet another dimension is the visceral discomfort some white liberals feel with nonwhites. Insulated from honest give-and-take with blacks and hobbled by guilt and fear of the unknown, some white liberals seem so wary of such encounters that they construct intricate lattice-works of racial rectitude and noble stereotypes to mask their own fears. Their compensatory, fervent gestures of goodwill are sometimes amusing, often just sad. And some blacks—especially irresponsible leaders and public poseurs—have learned to "play" liberal avoidance strategies for all they're worth.

Liberals who assume that one's skin color is one's destiny sometimes condescend to blacks while projecting contempt for inferiors onto poor whites and onto blacks who chose not to be charmed by elite gestures of affection. Liberal racists are willing, even eager, to accept black criticism—as long as it is ritualized and therefore exculpatory, and somewhat entertaining.



Liberal racists have gotten their priorities and aspirations backward by insisting that more institutional "respect" for racial identity would enhance individual dignity.

One could call all this "friendly racism," but its apparent solicitude yields few friendships and little mutual respect. The "antiracist" protocols that liberal racists impose upon public school teachers, bureaucrats, and corporate chief executives have become so emptied of meaning that those who follow them trade mainly on petty or fabricated resentments, which fester as proxies for real problems that remain unaddressed. Liberals often think that they can treat any black skin as an automatic signifier of disadvantage and aggrievement; yet they are shocked when urban police officers and taxi drivers—many of them black—treat blacks as bearers of deficiency and anger who are not full citizens and legitimate customers. Liberals seem to think that they can integrate legislatures more fully by segregating voters racially. Liberal journalists sometimes compound such problems by reporting news in the language of racial groupthink, applying different standards to people of different colors—in the name, ironically, of "inclusion."

different standards to people of different colors—in the name, ironically, of "inclusion."

"What Kind of Nonsense Is This?"

As Americans' understanding of race becomes more fluid and ecumenical, such liberal strategies begin to border on the ridiculous. When an Irish-American family tried to adopt a black baby abandoned in a Brooklyn hospital, liberals saw a threat to black integrity: The family was told that state regulations imposed at the behest of the National Association of Black Social Workers mandated a "culturally consistent" (i.e., same race) environment for the child—even if that meant that the baby must languish for months in the hospital until a suitable black family could be found. At a hospital meeting for prospective parents, the father of the would-be adoptive family protested. "All of the 30 other people at the meeting were black or Latino," he recalls. "These people, not an ideologue among them, agreed with me loudly: 'What kind of nonsense is this?' The social worker was sympathetic but said the regulations came from the state." Apparently, white love is as threatening as white hate.

Like the parents of all colors who supported the would-be adoptive white family, millions of liberal racism's intended beneficiaries are disdained or distrusted when they reach "inappropriately" across color lines. Yet such open-minded people are our future, and if they now are voiceless, it is only because they are leaderless. Liberal racists have gotten their priorities and aspirations backward by insisting that more institutional "respect" for racial identity would enhance individual dignity. This is no longer simply a misconception; it is a lie. Beneath lib-

eral racists' institutional radar, a new American identity is being forged, and, with good leadership, it will spawn a rebellion that sends liberal "diversity" doctrine off into the past.

Precisely because the United States is becoming racially, ethnically, and religiously more complex than institutional color-coding can comprehend, liberals should be working overtime to nurture shared American principles and bonds that strengthen national belonging and nourish democratic habits. Alone among the nations, such as France and the Soviet Union, that have made globe-girdling, universal claims, the American nation abducted and plunged into its "white" midst millions of black people who, in consequence, had the highest possible stakes in the country's fulfilling its oft-stated creed. This gives us opportunities and challenges unprecedented in human history. By the accidents of

history and the irresponsible logic of the founders' intent, it is America's destiny to show the world how to eliminate racial differences—culturally, morally, and even physically—as factors in human striving.

Liberals should herald this truth, not shrink from it. They should champion a common civic culture that is strong enough to balance parochialism with universalism, and deep enough to sustain individual freedom with a robust sense of obligation to the common good. They should teach every American who enters a jury room, teaches a class, or reports a news story to make it a point of pride to mute and even abandon his or her racial affinities in order to stand, at least briefly, for the whole. That is possible only if American civic culture and identity are "thick" enough to live on in race-transcendent terms.

Getting Beyond Racism

Liberals should be weaving that thick social fabric. Instead, they often try to justify a fixation on color by citing Supreme Court Justice Harry Blackmun's wise dictum in the *Bakke* affirmative action case: "In order to get beyond racism, we must first take account of race. There is no other way. And in order to treat some persons equally, we must treat them differently." It was in that hopeful spirit that liberals first imposed racial remedies upon settled civic and community arrangements, from election districting to neighborhood schooling. But that is not the spirit in which they have continued to color-code our public and private lives. The new spirit is one of fatalism. They give no sign of wanting truly to "get beyond racism."

Blackmun's claim that we must "first take account of



Liberals will never sustain a governing agenda that has broad public support until they reckon more deeply with how they have gotten race wrong.

race" (he might better have written that we must *sometimes* or *temporarily* take account of it) should make us ask whether and when it is still useful to racialize civic interactions. Sometimes it is; often it is not. Liberals' refusal or inability to draw that distinction has cost them political credibility and power. The moment the conservative "revolution" of 1994 began to falter on its own hypocracies and contradictions, some liberals predicted that, reincarnated as "progressives," they would win back power in 1996. But liberals will never sustain a governing agenda that has broad public support until they reckon more deeply with how they have gotten race wrong. Unless they do, nothing will come of all their finger pointing at others' bigotry.

Liberals have lost touch with, and faith in, civil society—the web of voluntary associations in families, churches, neighborhood groups, and civil, educa-

tional, and labor organizations where democratic dispositions are nourished and given practical scope. The early civil rights movement won what most Americans recognized as justice by affirming that even a flawed civil society should be embraced and redeemed, not deconstructed and micro-managed as inherently, eternally racist.

Today's liberals have forgotten that law works best when it is introduced deftly, on the cusp of a civic consensus nourished by the politics of persuasion and not by assumptions that everyone is operating in bad faith. So deep is the liberal default that Barry Goldwater has become a better friend of racial integration than Benjamin Chavis Muhammad, the former president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People who has joined the Nation of Islam, and House Speaker Newt Gingrich is less prone to exploiting racial fears and resentments than is Democratic Rep. Maxine Waters of South-Central Los Angeles, the current leader of the Congressional Black Caucus. Liberal voting-rights activists' race-based election redistricting proposals have been backed by conservative foundations and Republican operatives. Their notions of racial "identity" are embraced and even inculcated by the nation's meanest, leanest corporations.

A Better Way

We need a better way. And there is one. It involves the American civic cultural genius for tempering the universal with the parochial, without succumbing to the tribal. Liberal constitutional democracy and the civil society that sustains it aren't perfect, but they embody historic human gains that more ambitious revolutionaries have

repealed only at great cost. As a self-conscious social experiment, the United States is the only multiracial civilization to nourish the seeds of its own transcendence. People of all colors, believing this, have watered those seeds with their blood and tears. Yet liberal educators no longer show young Americans how to think of such people as their own forebears whatever their race, and how to keep faith with their legacy.

The costs of such pedagogy are evident to the extent to which it distracts or prevents people from helping the American promise come true. They are left confused and impotent before the more brutal turns which "identity politics" often takes on urban streets and in hard-pressed rural areas. Perhaps the only thing that inner-city gangs, white militias, and the Nation of Islam have in common is thousands of young men bereft of an American civic culture that is potent enough to draw them into rites of passage that would make them all they can be—and reward them credibly for becoming it. Hence the invasion of the public square by Louis Farrakhan and Snoop Doggy Dog, by Pat Robertson and Timothy McVeigh—all disowning one another but all "united" in being marketed by political and media producers who profit handsomely from sensationalizing their assaults. "Fundamentalists rush in where liberals fear to tread," warns the political philosopher Michael Sandel. Liberal racism is no answer to these fundamentalisms; it is a capitulation to them.

The Most "American" of Us All

For hundreds of years, the very rigidity of racism in our triumphalist national procession gave blacks at least some moral footholds in their struggle to belong to the society into which they had been plunged, yet from which they were kept apart. But American blackness cannot sustain itself in "solidarity" against a whiteness that no longer knows itself, and no longer should. Black Americans who cling to fantasies of a separate racial destiny are doomed to careen in unanswered reproach and desperate flailing, from O.J. Simpson's acquittal to "Ebonics," from Farrakhan's pseudo-Islamic gewgaws and posturing to the bizarre "exoneration" of Martin Luther King Jr.'s murderer, James Earl Ray, by King's own son Dexter and other members of his family who seem bent on uncovering a much wider conspiracy.

There will be no racial justice until blacks are willing to affirm—and whites, at last, are ready to understand—that the descendants of slaves are in some ways the most "American" of us all. Precisely because this is a society which blacks didn't choose to join and cannot hope to



Our destiny hinges on whether countless individual blacks and whites can leave the old black-white embrace to create a new culture together.

dominate, yet cannot really leave, they have much more at stake in society's fulfilling its stated, oft-violated promises than most of the rest of us comprehend. Only a joint renunciation of blackness and whiteness as arbiters of our public life can lift the burdens of supremacy and a retaliatory black demagoguery.

It is one thing to defend a community that has developed a distinct identity in oppression. It is another to foresee a Sisyphean struggle against racism that will never end. "Racism is an integral, permanent, and indestructible component of this society," writes Derrick Bell. The blackness that he and others espouse is oppositional only, as if they were saying, "I am excluded; therefore, I am." Full inclusion would bring their implosion. So would full exclusion, of course; so they strike evasive, sometimes ingratiating poses of dignity-in-adversity, resisting inclusion just gently and sorrowfully enough to make white liberals

uneasy and eager to offer support. Playing this game involves finding racism under every leaf that falls while relying on reservoirs of white racial guilt and deference whose existence black racists deny even as they accept media pulpits, book royalties, academic tenure, and constitutional protections.

Our destiny hinges on whether countless individual blacks and whites can leave the old black-white embrace to create a new culture together, as we see and feel some doing every day. A lot depends on the steadiness and good sense of people who won't be corralled or stampeded in the name of race loyalty or racial guilt.

The American Civic Story

"Everybody has two heritages: ethnic and human," says the black jazz musician Wynton Marsalis. "The human aspects give art its real enduring power. . . . The racial aspect, that's a crutch so that you don't have to go out into the world. Jazz music teaches you what it is to live in a democracy, to be American." That is the astonishing story that unsung civic heroes are trying to tell and live every day. Their Americanism is no more conservative than jazz or baseball. Its ethos is what the American literary historian Daniel Aaron calls "ethical and pragmatic, disciplined and free." It confounds moralistic and ideological thinking.

When it is well told and well lived, our civic story has two levels. On one, many Americans ground their personal dignity in ethnic and religious subcultures, the best of which prompt universal aspirations even while providing for their own members along parochial lines. On a second level, many of the same Americans "gradu-

ate" into a national civic culture, some of it drawn from their subcultures yet transcendent of them. When the larger civic culture is alluring enough, ethnic enclaves become staging grounds for trans-ethnic leaders. The rural yet outward-facing Southern black Baptist subculture taught something about the promise of America not only to Martin Luther King Jr. and his followers, but, through them, to many whites as well.

"The law can open doors and knock down walls, but it cannot build bridges," Thurgood Marshall wrote. "We will only attain freedom if we learn to appreciate what is different and muster the courage to discover what is fundamentally the same." Do we violate that vision and betray its raceless promise? All the time. Mid-century liberalism's greatest achievement was to assail and stop such violations more than ever before in our history. This new liberal racism is reviving them in a sugar-

coated but poisonous form.

Full citizenship in the American republic entails a commitment to join in a race-transcendent human experiment. Our civic culture cannot be blueprinted or parceled out along race lines. We affirm individual dignity when we refuse to treat any citizen as the delegate of a subculture or race. Our best leaders are those who show their neighbors, every day, how to leave subgroup loyalties at the doors of classrooms, jury rooms, hiring halls, and loan offices. They will embrace liberalism's preeminent challenge: to dissolve the color line by ceasing to treat whiteness and blackness as vessels of hope. ♦

Jim Sleeper, a former political columnist for the New York Daily News, last wrote for The New Democrat on Dinesh D'Souza's book The End of Racism ("The Pretend of Racism," TND, November/December 1995).

BEYOND GENDER

Sexual Politics Can Advance the Women's Movement for Equality Only So Far

BY BETTY FRIEDAN

In the summer of 1994, I had lunch with a friend near her office in New York City. She happens to be the top woman there and she gets lonesome at lunchtime. The guys at her level all go out together and never have lunch with the women anymore. Is this some new kind of sex discrimination? "Oh no," she says, "It's just that there's so much talk about sexual harassment suits these days. No one knows what it is or isn't, so they figure 'Why risk it?'"

But my friend wasn't looking for feminist advice. Her husband, who was "downsized" at one of our biggest corporations three years earlier, hadn't been able to find a job and had almost stopped looking. "I'm carrying it all," she said. "It's OK, we'll make it. But it's not good at home, the way he feels now. It's as if he's given up. I could get a divorce, I suppose. But he is the father of my children, and I still love him. So that's not an option. But, ambitious as I am, I never figured it would end up like this."

That same week, I saw an item in *The New York Times* which reported that in the previous five years there had been a nearly 20 percent drop in income among college-educated white American men. Not minority, high school educated, or blue-collar men, but white management men in their 40s and early 50s, the masters of the universe. And while women on the whole still do not



earn as much money as men, the *Times* noted that college-educated women in the same age group had seen their incomes rise slightly over the same period. Meanwhile, new national studies were indicating that women were now carrying half of the income burden in half of all U.S. families.

Downsizing had not yet hit the headlines in 1994; the "angry white male" had not yet surfaced in that year's election campaign. But my inner Geiger counter had begun to click, the way it does when something foreign to definition, expectation, and accepted truth happens. I trust that click; it set me on the search that led to the

8/1 Race Meeting

1. Health -

a. Doc - racial discreps by disease

lots of ev on AAs; missing on Hispanics, Asians

list of Admin initiatives

comb calls w/ Dept - Bill Carr.

5 areas - all measurable

/ also focusing on next steps

1. Infant mortality

2. Diabetes

3. Breast + cervical cancer - screening + impact

4. Cardiovasc disease - hypertension -

5. Immun rates for all age catgs.

6. Possible: AIDS - screening

substance abuse?

Mtg on Thursday -

All together in an event? Lots of issues.

Sep event on ch + infant mortality stuff pile rest together.

Scientists validating this stuff? event w/ scientists

Initiative - goals + timetables - by end of 2000.

Back to diabetes - Rth?

2. Econ empowerment -

Roster of ags + outline of issues

as bf: want EPA # on disc side so can expand progs

E2 - round 2 - major underlining - real news. (tax incentives) (spending side here is gravy)

↳ stuff in budget - brownfields / new zones / DC / CDPA

Fannie Mae / Freddie Mac unbanked

elec funds transfer - fees housing mobility - NEC

10-way success stories

3. Crime -

victimization #s / crime stats

- (a) Issues of underprotection - define
- (b) Then - prevention - in JT bill particularly
- (c) Other stuff - of brutality, sentencing.

Initiatives now -

COPs - sitting in a lot of #.

Drugs???

4. Civil Rights -

1577 memo - ags + what they do.

- Big 7 - descriptive - what they do - #s - criticisms
- Timetable for carrying them in / making announcements

Hopwood / 209 - getting hits ready / access - focus on CAC + TX
[Must sit down w/ Ed!!]

5. Education

Make sure this is included.

(Interim / DOD)

Group will meet weekly through August

Ed has draft concept paper on urban initiatives

- acceptability + hailing schools

- charter + charter schools

- performance / mgmt

- principal training

- curricula + prep for college

- retention rate + high free schools

Some kind of grant program for mayors?

↑
by end of August.

Invite to Great City schools - October. Good venue.

Central H School in Little Rock

(let turn hall??)

(Dept has ~~mat~~'ls on race rols in schools)

Race Initiative Policy

Tom -
 Call Silverman,
 as we discussed.
 Thanks
 Elena

Race Initiative Contacts

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Treasury	Michael Froman	622-1906	622-0073
Defense	Rudy Deleon	703-697-1361	703-693-4303
Justice	David Ogden	514-2001	514-1724
Interior	David Montoya	208-7351	208-1873
USDA	Reba Evans	720-3631	697-2119
Commerce	LeeAnn Inadomi	482-4246	482-2741
Labor	Virginia Apuzzo	219-2455	219-7971
HHS	Clay Simpson	301-443-5084	301-594-0767
HUD	Mercedez Marquez	708-2467	708-3389
DOT	Jerry L. Malone	366-1103	366-3956
Energy	Liz Montoya	586-6210	586-7644
Education	Leslie Thornton	401-6143	401-0596
VA	Eugene Brickhouse	273-4901	273-4914
EPA	Rafael DeLeon	260-4575	260-4580
CEA	Sanders Korenman	395-4597	395-6853
OMB	Josh Gotbaum	395-3060	395-3174
UN	Peter Londono	735-7555	735-7551
USTR	Irving Williamson	395-3150	395-3639
ONDCP	Walt Holton	395-6780	395-6708
SBA	Irma Munoz	205-6740	205-6913
FEMA	George Haddow	646-3291	646-4215
OPM	Doug Walker	606-1800	606-2204
USIA	Henry Howard	619-4626	401-3421
GSA	Eric Dodds	501-1104	208-5430
SSA	Lisa Peoples	358-6093	358-6076

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 15, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: ERSKINE BOWLES
 SYLVIA MATHEWS
 JUDITH WINSTON

FROM: BRUCE REED
 ELENA KAGAN *ERK*

SUBJECT: RACE INITIATIVE POLICY PROCESS

This memorandum sets out the process we will use to develop policy announcements and proposals for the Race Initiative. Our goals are: (1) to help provide a status report on race relations and racial disparities to inform policy development; (2) to assess and communicate the impact of this Administration's prior initiatives -- involving economic growth, education, crime, and so forth -- on race relations and the status of racial minorities; and (3) to build on this Administration's accomplishments and agenda with new initiatives to announce in the coming year and longer-term policies to incorporate in the final Presidential Report. We have a strong base from which to work, and we will attempt to ensure that the policy measures accompanying the Race Initiative will grow out of everything this Administration has done already. Throughout, we will focus on solutions that reflect the common values of the American people (e.g., equal opportunity and shared responsibility), and respond to their common aspirations (e.g., safe streets, good schools, and affordable housing).

Research and Investigation

In close cooperation with the DPC, NEC, Judy Winston, and Chris Edley, CEA will coordinate research on the current state of race relations and the continuing disparities in critical measures of well-being among individuals of different races. CEA already has developed a draft outline for this research, based on conversations with DPC and Chris Edley. The outline, which is attached to this memo, suggests research on, among other things: (1) disparities in economic success, educational opportunity, health care, political participation, family organization, and criminal victimization; (2) racial segregation in schools, neighborhoods, and workplaces; and (3) the prevalence and consequences of racial discrimination. In addition, research will be done on the differential effects of particular kinds of public policy on racial groups. CEA will do some aspects of this research itself and will assign other aspects to the appropriate offices in Treasury, DOL, Education, HHS, and DOJ. This work will go into the final President's Report and will influence and inform the development of policy discussed below.

Interagency Policy Development Process

The DPC has established four major workgroups to develop policy for the Race Initiative. Bruce Reed, Elena Kagan, and Jose Cerda will coordinate the efforts of these groups. We anticipate developing both administrative actions and legislative proposals, and combining incremental (but important) policy advances with a few truly bold ideas. We will advance some of the policy proposals during the year-long initiative, while saving others for the President's Report at the end. (The right timeframe for policy proposals is not only the FY 1999 budget cycle, but the remaining years of this century and the start of the next.) The workgroups also will have responsibility for assessing the impact of prior Administration initiatives in their policy areas, so that we can build on our own accomplishments.

In coordinating policy development through these workgroups, we of course will work closely with Judy Winston and Chris Edley, and we will incorporate, as appropriate, advice provided to you by the Chair and Members of the Advisory Board. We also will solicit the views of outsiders -- such politically diverse people as William Julius Wilson, Glenn Loury, Henry Cisneros, Will Marshall, Doris Kearns, Richard Daley, and Nathan Glazer come to mind -- to challenge and enhance our own thinking.

1. **Economic and Community Empowerment** (co-chaired by Bruce Reed and Gene Sperling). This group will look at issues and policies relating to (1) job opportunities for unemployed and underemployed minorities, including welfare-to-work efforts and transportation initiatives to move inner city residents to suburban jobs; (2) housing for low-income residents of inner cities, including new or expanded uses of voucher plans and tax incentives to promote mixed-income, multi-racial communities; (3) metropolitan regional strategies to strengthen links between inner cities and suburbs; and (4) minority entrepreneurship, including credit programs building on CRA and CDFI.

Participating White House offices are: DPC, NEC, OVP/CEB, OPL, Intergovernmental, Legislative, CEA, CEQ, OMB.

Participating agencies are: Treasury, Labor, Commerce, Transportation, HUD, SBA, and Interior (for Native American population).

2. **Education** (chaired by Mike Cohen). This group will look at issues and policies relating to (1) failing inner city and rural schools, including issues of racial segregation and enhanced efforts to raise standards, improve teaching, provide improved infrastructure and new technology, promote charter schools, and encourage school takeovers and other accountability mechanisms; (2) education of Hispanic students, including bilingualism; and (3) expanded access to higher education and skills training. (Note that responses to Proposition 209 and Hopwood fall within the Administration of Justice Workgroup.)

Participating White House offices are: DPC, NEC, OVP, OPL, Intergovernmental, Legislative, OMB.

Participating agencies are: Education, Interior.

3. **Administration of Justice** (chaired by Elena Kagan). This group will look at issues and policies relating to (1) criminal law enforcement and prevention, including the underprotection of minority communities (including Indian reservations), police force composition and practices (including diversity issues and community policing), and after-school and other youth programs; and (2) enforcement of civil rights laws, including responses to Proposition 209 and Hopwood, reduction of the EEOC complaint backlog and other EEOC reforms, enhanced efforts on housing and lending discrimination, affirmative action issues generally, and hate crimes initiatives (for November conference).

Participating White House offices are: DPC, OVP, Counsel, OPL, Intergovernmental, Legislative, OMB, ONDCP.

Participating agencies are: Justice, Treasury, Education, DOL, HHS, HUD, USDA, Interior, EEOC.

4. **Health and Family** (chaired by Chris Jennings). This group will look at issues and policies relating to (1) special health care needs of minority populations, including the high incidence of certain health conditions and diseases and the underutilization of certain health care services, such as immunizations and mammograms; and (2) family composition, including efforts to strengthen two-parent families, ensure adoption of minority children, and provide supports to families led by grandparents.

Participating White House offices are: DPC, OVP, OPL, Intergovernmental, Legislative, OMB.

Participating agencies are: HHS, Interior.

This Week's Policy Announcement

As you know, you will be attending the NAACP convention in Chicago on Thursday. We believe this speech offers an excellent opportunity to discuss the intersection of race and education issues. First, your speech can address the value of integration in educational settings. Thurgood Marshall once wrote that "unless our children begin to learn together, there is little hope that our people will ever learn to live together"; your speech can make exactly this link between educational integration and race relations generally to members of the organization most closely identified with progress in this area. This message would echo the strong argument you made for diversity in education in your San Diego speech; it also would lead naturally into your commemoration of the integration of Little Rock Central High School in September. Minyon Moore and others are reaching out to Kweisi Mfume and others to ensure that we address this issue in a way that avoids exacerbating internal NAACP divisions on the subject.

Second and no less important, you can stress the need to improve right now

predominantly poor and minority schools in inner city and rural areas. This part of your speech can protest the neglect (financial and otherwise) of predominantly minority schools and the consignment of their students to a second-class education. Here, you should make a strong statement about the importance of national standards and tests to boost expectations and improve the quality of education. But you should make an equally strong statement about providing students with the tools and opportunities to help them meet those standards -- better teaching, improved infrastructure and new technologies, and mechanisms to take over failing schools, including by turning them into charters (Rosa Parks is now trying to establish a charter school in Detroit).

As a down payment on a broader effort to improve inner city and rural schools, you can announce a new proposal to improve teaching in these institutions. The quality of teaching in inner city and rural schools is much lower than in the rest of the nation; in particular, the teachers in these schools are far less well trained than in others. To address this situation, Title V of the Department of Education's proposed reauthorization of the Higher Education Act, which will be submitted to Congress later this summer, proposes a new initiative to recruit, prepare, and retain teachers in urban and poor rural communities. This program would provide at least \$325 million over five years (we are still working out the exact funding with OMB) for two purposes: (1) to strengthen teacher training programs that operate in partnership with -- and place large numbers of graduates in -- urban or poor rural schools; and (2) to provide scholarships to talented and diverse individuals, chosen jointly by institutions of higher education and eligible school districts, who will commit to teach in urban and poor rural areas for at least three years after graduation.

Draft CEA Research Agenda

Part I: Demography

1. Racial composition of the US population: 1990s and historical trends
2. Geographic distribution
3. Components of change: birth, death and immigration
4. Projections

Part II: Disparities in the 1990s and trends in disparities

1. Economic status

a. Income and Poverty

b. Labor markets

employment, unemployment, non-employment
hours

wages and non-wage compensation

occupation/industry

non-wage characteristics of jobs (e.g., working conditions, health risks)

disability

c. Wealth/credit

financial

business ownership

home ownership

retirement wealth

credit and credit institutions

2. Educational status

a. Enrollment

Drop out rates; college enrollment and completion rates

b. Quality of schooling

c. Achievement

d. Training

3. Health status and health care

a. Health status

Pregnancy and infancy

Child hood and young adulthood

Adulthood

Older ages

{Specific diseases or conditions}

b. Health care

Insurance

Availability of health services

Health behaviors

4. Political status

- a. Voting
- b. Holding public office
- c. Other political participation

5. Criminal justice

- a. Offenders and victims
- b. Criminal justice process (sentencing etc.)

6. Family organization

- a. Family structure
- b. Other family patterns (fostering, adoption, extension etc.)
- c. Living arrangements and family support of the older population

7. Impact of immigration

- a. Labor markets
- b. Education
- c. Other

Part III: Race relations

1. Racial attitudes and behaviors

(ACD is very good on history of black white attitudes/opinions. Needs to be expanded to other groups and updated.)

2. Racial segregation

Residences
Schools
Workplaces
Other

3. Bias crimes, etc.

4. Developments in the 1990s

Rodney King beating trials and riots
OJ Simpson trials
The Bell Curve controversy
Challenge to Affirmative Action in California

Part IV: Discrimination

1. Measurement/methods: econometric vs. audit studies

2. Links between discrimination and outcomes.

(Issue: Audit studies prove discrimination exists, but how much of the disparities documented in Part II can be attributed, directly or indirectly, to discrimination?)

3. Causes of discriminatory behavior

4. Consequences of discrimination for society

Has the nature of discrimination changed?

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7/4/97

Bounce -
I think I may
never have given this
to you.
EJ

To: John Hope Franklin
Minyon Moore
Sylvia Mathews
Elena Kagan

From: Christopher Edley, Jr.

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

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

Task 1: Outreach

- I assume that this set of tasks, which several of us discussed informally during the trip to San Diego, will be covered under the rubric of "organizational issues." I only want to add one thought: In addition to political and civic organizations and leaders, I hope that this will include consideration of how the Advisory Committee and White House staff might effectively coordinate their outreach to the policy community.
- We also had some discussion about subcommittees holding regional meetings to hear presentations and collect information and advice. It would be useful to reach some consensus on how that might best be undertaken, in both logistical and substantive terms.

Task 2: Defining and Identifying Effective Leadership

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

Race Init Policy

last 2 pages to
Race Init Policy - Administration of
Justice - Civil Rights Enhancement
CHRISTOPHER F. EDLEY, JR.
Professor of Law

- Independent of my own hypotheses, however, the more basic premise is that effective leadership on race is both researchable and teachable: we can figure out what works, and describe it in a way that others can learn and adapt to their own situations, with positive results.
- The challenge for the President and the Advisory Board has four dimensions. *First*, we must develop evaluative criteria – and do so in a manner that confers legitimacy on those criteria. *Second*, we need a process that combines investigation and nominations to create a pool of leaders, projects and programs that may be examples of success and failure. *Third*, we need a mechanism to apply the criteria to the examples, documenting the stories and separating good publicity from good results. *Fourth*, we need a way to disseminate the findings.
- For the July 14th meeting, I suggest the Advisory Board try to develop a tentative strategy with regard to the first three dimensions of this task, together with concrete instructions for the staff concerning timetable and next steps.

Task 3: Hard Questions for Community Conversations

- Based on the experience of the White House review of affirmative action, and perhaps drawn from my own disciplinary prejudices as a law professor, I think there is a great deal of promise for the “national conversation” on race in focusing on a limited set of hard questions or examples. Rather than law school hypotheticals, however, these can be questions that are on the minds of many thoughtful people, or situational problems modeled quite accurately after conflicts common in our lives. We have urged, and the President has charged, that Americans think deeply and honestly about the most vexing conflicts in perceptions and values. (My words, not his, I guess.) To do so, I recommend that the Advisory Committee frame a set of such discrete questions. If framed well, these will provoke learning, if not healing.
- I would like the Board to suggest ten questions initially, and add more later. I’d like the President to mention some of these in his speeches the week of July 14th. I’d like them to become the focus for public discussion in the coming months, in countless forums. And I’d like people to learn how to identify ways of addressing these questions, distinguishing between foolish and wise, divisive and constructive. The Board and the President can lead that effort.
- What are some possible questions? A quick list is appended.

Task 4: Assembling Research Data on Race in America

- I have recommended to White House staff an extensive effort to review literature and assemble authoritative data under four headings: *Demography*, *Disparities*, *Discrimination*, and *Race Relations*. Each of these then subdivides into subdivisions – easily the work of a career. Nevertheless, a preliminary outline of the task headings should be ready by now, and certainly could be reviewed by the Advisory Board on July 14th to ensure that all of the

information you would like compiled is in fact within the scope of work for this exercise. The President's Council of Economic Advisors is coordinating this effort, under the direction of Member Alicia Munnell, a very distinguished economist. (She did seminal work on mortgage lending discrimination, by the way.)

- There will be several areas in which the data are not authoritative because of important disagreements about methodology or purpose. For example, people disagree about the soundness of econometric methods for inferring wage discrimination from underlying data on wage rates and human capital. In race relations, people disagree about whether surveys of self-reported social beliefs provide reliable information about prejudicial attitudes. The Advisory Board might want to consider how and whether efforts might be taken to engage the academic community in consensus-building efforts in selected areas of disagreement.
- The National Academy of Sciences-National Research Council mechanism would be useful, but it needs a good lead time to get engaged. *That's why I raise it for immediate consideration.*

Task 5: Evidence, Law and Arguments Concerning "Reverse Discrimination"

- In the White House review of affirmative action we concluded based on available data that there is far more rhetoric than reality to the "reverse discrimination" problem. Nevertheless, a thorough consideration of the facts and values at stake will be taken by many to be a litmus test of the intellectual and moral integrity of the Board's work. For that reason, a discussion of how to pursue a reasoned analysis of this problem makes sense, sooner rather than later.
- I recommend a multi-pronged effort, including a review of data, a consideration of the state of the law, and an assessment of some leading ethical statements on the subject, including development of balanced critiques intended to educate the public about the dangers of simplistic thinking in this area. (See Task 3, above.)

Task 6: Evidence, Law and Arguments Concerning the "Rollback" of Affirmative Action

- Another litmus test for the effort will be a candid assessment of the "Rollback" of affirmative action, starting with the developments in Texas and California. There are several subtasks, starting with an effort to track what is known about the numbers – the actual consequences, good and bad, of the new policies.
- Another subtask involves an assessment of the policy, ethical, and legal claims made for and against the rollback. This will quickly require a dissection of the claims concerning merit, diversity, educational mission, and so forth. The Board should consider commissioning one or more analyses to provide a framework for discussing this subject.
- A third subtask is to identify and assess the kinds of claims and arguments that are made by both sides in these contentious political decisions about rolling

back affirmative action. Events in California and elsewhere might provide important case studies for the quality of discourse on race, with lessons for the future. The Board might commission such a study – a “content analysis” of the Proposition 209 campaign, for example – to identify the good, bad and ugly in public advocacy, journalism and campaign tactics.

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

Task 7: National Report Card on Race

- The Board should consider making a concrete policy recommendation at the first meeting, albeit in tentative form. Specifically, something like: *The Federal government should develop and publish a periodic national report card on racial and ethnic justice, tracking trends in discrimination, disparities, demographics, and race relations.* I suggest that any such recommendation be framed in tentative or provisional terms, with an invitation to the public and relevant agencies to comment on the idea.
- There is already some movement in this direction within the bureaucracy. The Civil Rights Commission and HUD are among those contemplating expanded efforts to measure discrimination in an ongoing manner, and a proposal of this sort was included in the President’s February budget submission to Congress. (I proposed to OMB that this item be inserted, along with some modest enhancements in civil rights enforcement budgets.)
- The premise is simple: Knowing the facts and creating an authoritative research data base should be unobjectionable to anyone concerned with racial and ethnic justice. Even those who vehemently oppose particular remedial or other measures, such as affirmative action, condemn discrimination. So, measuring it seems a reasonable undertaking. Moreover, in a climate of increasing interest in measuring program performance, tracking our progress in combating discrimination seems reasonable. (Cf., the Government Performance and Results Act [GPRA].)

HARD QUESTIONS

draft 1

- 1) **Integration:** Is racial integration an important goal? That is, to what extent, if at all, do we want to move toward a society in which racially identifiable communities and organizations are unusual? If integration is important, is it important only as a voluntary matter? Or should the goal be encouraged by public policies? When should it be required? Should we consider the "separatism" and "clan" behavior of some members of minority groups troubling in any way?
- 2) **Street crime stereotypes:** Studies indicate fear of crime linked to racial and ethnic difference. So, is it wrong to fear a group of teenagers of a different race approaching you on an otherwise deserted street late at night? Is it *unreasonable*?
- 3) **Bilingualism:** To what extent should we expect various public and private institutions to operate in languages other than English? Schools? Municipal offices? Restaurants? The gas company? The bank? For which institutions can non-English speakers reasonably insist that their language be used, or at least be an option?
- 4) **Diversity:** In what settings is it important to pursue racial and ethnic diversity? A police force in a diverse city? A college student body? The reporting staff of a newspaper? The loan officers in a bank? Supervisors in an auto parts plant?
- 5) **Vision:** How should we define racial and ethnic "justice"? How will we know when we have achieved it, and how can we measure our progress?
- 6) **Values, history, community:** How was it possible for so many avowedly religious individuals and institutions to condone and even advocate slavery and then segregation? How was it possible for entire communities to tolerate and even embrace racist violence and mob behavior? Are these pathologies permanently cured?
- 7) **Census:** How should we count ourselves? What are the appropriate racial and ethnic categories?
- 8) **Discrimination and prejudice:** How much discrimination and prejudice still exist? In what settings? How significantly do they undermine equal opportunity?

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7/7/97

To: Sylvia Mathews
Elena Kagan
Michael Waldman

From: Christopher Edley, Jr.

Re: POTUS Speeches, Week of July 14th

Just back from vacation, I have very limited information about the planned content for these speeches. I'd like to offer a few thoughts, for whatever they are worth. I apologize in advance if these comments seem hyper-critical or harsh. I'm writing quickly, on the plane back from the Caribbean. I want to be constructive, clear and concise. Not off-putting. Don't know if what follows meets that test. But I'd like to help.

1. As I communicated before I left, these speeches must advance the ball rather than restate the U.C. San Diego themes. I mean this on two distinct levels: understanding of the race issue, and policy ideas. I also think that at least one of the speeches must be perceived as a "race" speech. He can't give general domestic policy speeches that don't directly deal with color, because then he won't be advancing the ball. He'll be hiding it.
2. I also think it is imperative to give one or all of these presidential statements some moral lift, keeping them above the customary plane of political rhetoric. We must obsessively avoid resorting to the familiar devices of rehearsing achievements and restating campaign-style themes. I just can't think of any way to persuade you "insiders" that, to someone even slightly outside, every time you fall back to those themes you drag down an otherwise lofty speech. San Diego was an excellent speech that could have been even better by skipping the political rituals. (And I realize that a lot of this is POTUS himself inserting lines that have been politically effective for him.) Everyone must remember that these are speeches for history. For legacy. When a poet writes for the ages, she doesn't pen jingles and limericks, however valuable those might be as communication tools or entertainment. Think *gravitas*. But of course, it doesn't have to be tendentious to be momentous.
3. Back to content. On policy, I don't know the details of the teachers program that will be unveiled, but I assume it is some hybrid of the old National Health Service Corps and the Teacher Corps. I also assume it is cheap, funded with discretionary dollars, and has no prominent GOP supporters who are likely to guarantee appropriation support. As such, it will be a hollow authorization.

The more serious problem, which I hope will not materialize but am fairly confident in predicting, is that almost everyone in the civil rights community will dismiss this as a symbolic gesture. My guess is that serious education policy analysts will do the same – with dismissive assessments such as, “Probably won’t hurt.” Am I being too cynical? How do you know? The reason I feel so strongly about this is that if I were not part of the team, I myself would be one of the vocal critics.

I think the education challenges related to the opportunity gap are far more serious and daunting than a teacher incentive program suggests. And this little piece of it invites criticism that we don’t understand the true dimensions of the problem, or don’t have the will to address it.

4. **Alternative Education Themes:** Instead, if we want to raise hard questions about race and opportunity in the education context, the President should talk about the problem honestly – as he challenged all Americans in his San Diego speech. Here’s a list of serious education-related issues that could command serious attention and demonstrate a more compelling (and inspiring) engagement with the underlying issues:

- *Must we do something about the increasing concentrations of minority kids in failing high-poverty public schools?* The declines in racially isolated schools that were one hallmark of the civil rights struggle have turned around, and racially identifiable schools for minorities are quite often associated with concentrated poverty. These schools struggle to provide a decent education, but far too many fail. Are we committed to racial and economic integration? Should we be? What if it conflicts with traditions of local control and local finance?

- *Have minority communities been well-served by the school reform efforts of the past generation? Why not?* Something isn’t working to produce the needed changes as quickly as needed to save children and their communities. Why? If local political action hasn’t worked well enough, and market-oriented schemes are snake oil, and expert-driven bureaucratic reforms seem spotty and sluggish – how do we explain all of that failure, why is it fair to be so patient, and what is to be done?

- *Standards-based school reform, with tests and tough love, is intended to foment change. But if tests create high expectations and accountability for students, what will create high expectations and accountability for schools and educators?* The conventional response is that parents will get the test results and rise up and use their political power to effect change. But that hasn’t worked with countless other problems facing poor and minority communities, in part because state and local politics simply don’t work well for these groups. Look at the facts and stop pretending otherwise, if you are serious about helping. The “political incentive” solution, like the “market incentive” solution, will only work *some* of the time.

What's a more constructive issue to wrestle with? Secretary Riley is implementing the national voluntary test initiative, which along with other developments, moves toward national standards for student achievement. But why can't we also have an effort to develop "*opportunity to learn*" standards, so parents and voters will know when schools and politicians fail to provide the environment, resources and skill that will give all students a fair chance? Congress rejected the Administration's earlier proposal along these lines, but Congress hasn't authorized the national voluntary test program, either.

- *Diversity in higher education – how important is it for educational excellence, and for the nation?* This is an incredibly important problem for selective higher education. POTUS cares about it, and many are shocked by the catastrophic numbers that seem to be developing in California and Texas. But the nation needs a serious discussion of why diversity is important. About the relationship between this and "merit." About the wrong, mechanical, set-aside way of doing affirmative action in admissions. About the broader mission of universities in preparing leaders for all of America's communities, and citizens who will understand all of America's communities.

There are also tough questions. Like explaining why in one breath we say diversity is important for excellence, but in the next say that black and women's colleges are okay. Or, explaining why experts are correct in saying that the SAT shouldn't be used as the sole basis for measuring merit and deciding admissions. (And being ready to explain why a test should be used as a basis for deciding that a K-12 student should be retained in grade, or denied a diploma – a view the President reportedly holds (!!)) despite the strong expert consensus that such high-stakes decisions should be based on multiple factors, not a single standardized test.) Again, the purpose of this initiative is to wrestle with tough issues. Let's do it.

5. **Alternatives to Education: – Discrimination?** If you are willing to think about something outside of education, then consider *Discrimination*. What is it? How much is there? To what extent is it the full measure of our problems – social, economic, moral? What's the relationship to intolerance? Or the relationship to our simple human tendency to prefer people who are like us? Can we do a better job of combating it, not just in our courts, but in our hearts? Why are there such different perceptions of whether this is still a major problem, and what can we do about those different perceptions? How hopeful should we be? How patient should we be? What is the role of government? Here are some specifics that the Federal Government can do: (1) strengthen the safety net of law enforcement, building on the down payment in the President's budget (ask Deich at OMB); (2) commit to comprehensive, regular national report card measuring discrimination, like we measure other important social and economic indicators; (3) ask National Academy of Sciences to recommend a design for this national report card, shaping expert consensus on appropriate methodologies; (4) strengthen the U.S. Civil Rights Commission in various ways (ask chairman Mary Frances Berry for proposals); (5) provide more support to strengthen

the network of activities by state human rights commissions.

6. For the NAACP speech, I have a specific recommendation. As a grass roots membership organization with 1700 chapters (allegedly), this is the perfect audience in which to make a strong pitch for something like the following theme: *We must recruit, train and deploy Soldiers for Justice*. Soldiers for Justice are men and women in communities and organizations all across the nation who are committed to building bridges to connect communities across lines of color and class, who have the skills to do that bridge-building, and who understand that our best hope for the future we want is to take that circle of people and families and neighbors we care about, and make a bigger circle. There are examples from our history of Soldiers for Justice, such as ...; and there are examples today, such as The NAACP and similar organizations, such as ... , can help us identify today's Soldiers for Justice, and help swell their ranks with new recruits.

What I'm looking for here is a theme that combines an evangelical tone with a Battle Hymn of the Republic fervor and a civil-rights-movement passion. But the substantive dimension of this is to discuss: the elements of effective leadership on racial justice, the fact that leadership must be directed towards concrete community problem solving around issues such as education, and the need for this kind of grass roots commitment and focus from organizations like the NAACP, La Raza, American Jewish Committee, National Council of Churches, Urban League. This would be a great subject for a town meeting. *Ask the Advisory Board to figure it out.*

Good luck.

Power -
And This
E.

Race Initiative Policy

Edley
7/11/97

OUTLINE THOUGHTS ON POLICY REALM

Book

- Board
- DPC/NEC
- POTUS Speeches
- Town Hall Meetings
- Other White House Staff Roles

1. Book -

- a) **Report card: demographics, disparities, race relations, discrimination**
- b) **Policy dissection: policy implications for race; race subtext of policy**
- c) **Wrestling lessons: some of the hardest questions, and how to think about them**
- d) **Vision: defining racial and ethnic justice in the 21st century**
- e) **News You Can Use - promising leadership strategies and policy ideas from and for communities and organizations across the nation**

2. Board

- a) The board's own study, dialogue and advice
 - i) Outreach - touching all the bases; engaging sectors of the nation
 - ii) Wrestling lessons
 - iii) NYCU
 - iv) Hearings
 - v) Investigative site visits
 - vi) Commissioned papers and essays
- b) The board's work to stimulate national conversation by others
- c) Quarterly meetings with POTUS
 - i) First meeting
 - a) should provide advice to POTUS on areas his book should cover, and what the Advisory Board is doing to help
 - b) should include report on rollback in California and Texas, and consideration of higher education specifically
 - c) should include description of some Hard Questions worth POTUS deliberation
 - d) should include discussion of the vision question
 - ii) Second meeting should include preliminary report card on race in America
 - iii) Third meeting should review some interesting examples from around the country of effective leadership and promising policies

- iv) Fourth meeting should provide advice on:
 - a) action measures
 - b) dissemination
 - c) building a new generation of leadership on racial justice
 - d) next steps for the President, the Administration, the nation

3. DPC/NEC

- a) Periodic *bold idea* exercises are a must
- b) multiple tracks:
 - i) interstitial policy improvement
 - ii) incremental policy
 - iii) bold ideas
 - iv) research/investigation/consultation to support all of the above
- c) current events: is there a well-defined mechanism for handling problems as they arise – *Piscataway* brief; SDB legislative battle; California/Texas rollback

4. POTUS Speeches

- a) Must steadily advance the ball
- b) Avoid campaign style rhetoric in order to stay above politics, for history
- c) Avoid platitudes, in order to model honest dialogue
- d) Provide policy nuggets – *the installment plan*
- e) Speeches by Cabinet and other surrogates? Consistency issues
- f) Hypothesis: *preparing this series of speeches requires a different process from the custom*

5. Town Hall Meetings

- a) Thematic, to help get the book written
- b) Other goals too, of course

6. Other White House staff activities

- a) Public Liaison
- b) Press/Communications
- c) Legislative Affairs
- d) Intergovernmental
- e) OMB

Race Policy

EK, Jose, Tom, PJW -
 Here's our blueprint.
 We couldn't have written
 it better ourselves.
 -BR

Strange Bedfellow

Not Just Talk

A five-point program for better race relations.

By *Jacob Weisberg*

T

o the growing legion of Clinton cynics, the president's race-relations initiative, unveiled last weekend, is an exercise in cheap talk. Liberal and conservative pundits disagree about affirmative action and welfare reform, but concur that a series of town meetings, an advisory panel, and an eloquent report are sorry substitutes for decisive action.

If they were talking about Social Security reform, the critics might have a point. There, endless calls for more study postpone necessary but unpopular changes in policy. But when it comes to race, the power of words should not be so lightly dismissed. If President Clinton can use his rhetorical gifts to change attitudes on both sides of the divide, he will be accomplishing something of great significance. It's also all he can really hope to do right now. The public's current skepticism about activist government stymies new initiatives. Having screwed up his first term by misjudging the public demand for reform in the far less difficult area of health care, the president would be foolish to present a costly multipoint program on race.

But if we had the money—and the will—what would we do about race relations? A few years of peace, prosperity, and balanced budgets—and a deeper awareness of just how bad our race problem is—may create a climate where such a program could succeed. When that moment arrives, Clinton, or his successor, should have a five-point plan ready.

De facto segregation exists throughout society. But the essence of the problem is the condition of the worst-off blacks in the urban ghetto. White fears of the urban underclass are distorted into broader stereotypes about blacks as a whole, which poison relations between the races at all levels. Next week, *Dateline NBC* will air a report on the south Chicago suburb of Matteson, which is tipping from an upper-middle-class white suburb into an upper-middle-class black one. Matteson ought to be an integrationist's paradise, but whites are fleeing because of their concerns about crime and gangs, declining schools, and falling home prices. In reality, schools, safety, even the property values haven't declined. But fear that these things will happen is not purely irrational. If the whites all leave, decline may become a self-fulfilling prophecy. Thus subtle racism and a rational urge to self-preservation are bound up together. Unmaking the underclass would answer white fears while giving lower-class blacks a chance they are now largely denied: that of assimilating into the mainstream of an integrated society.

Perhaps the most important difference between people who live in the ghetto and those who live outside it is that most of the former aren't employed. Breaking down the underclass will require finding new ways to draw unemployed ghetto residents into the culture of work. The jury will remain out for some time on the effects of the welfare cutoff signed by Clinton last year. But even with the jobs provisions included in that bill, it's evident that there still aren't sufficient jobs in the inner cities, especially when you consider the prospects of unemployed men, who aren't eligible for welfare. In his latest book, *When Work Disappears*, William Julius Wilson argues that there is a "spatial mismatch" between workers in the cities and jobs in the suburbs. Wilson's answer is a transportation program to get blacks to where the jobs are, and a big WPA-style jobs program (the details of which he borrows from the journalist Mickey Kaus). These sub-minimum-wage jobs—doing basic neglected work like repairing roads and bridges—would constitute the missing bottom rung on an economic ladder.

The second step is to address the extreme isolation of the inner-city poor. This means a housing strategy that shifts more decisively in the direction it has been inching under Clinton. Instead of trying to tame inner-city housing projects with different kinds of architecture, lower density, and income mixing, the Department of Housing and Urban Development should redefine its purpose: to help its tenants *escape* the ghetto. It should take a sledgehammer to every high-rise under its control and instead provide

vouchers. But these vouchers can't be the kind conservatives prefer, which are sharply limited in value so as to forestall real integration while directing tenants toward private-sector slums. Vouchers need to be worth enough to afford real avenues of escape. They should also steer beneficiaries away from other beneficiaries, to keep pockets of concentrated poverty from re-emerging farther from the city's core. An easy way to do this would be to enforce strict limits on the percentage of voucher tenants allowed in any one building.

A less obvious factor fostering residential segregation is the boundary between city and suburb. When whites flee the central cities, they take with them most of the tax revenue, and leave behind a downward spiral of city services. As David Rusk, a former mayor of Albuquerque, argues in his book, *Cities Without Suburbs*, metro-wide governments where the suburbs and the city are joined tend to be more racially integrated, and better off in various other ways as well. Washington can't erase jurisdictional frontiers, but it can encourage metropolitan government via tax incentives and cheerleading. Such a policy would displease many black politicians, since it stands to diminish black political representation in the short run. But this is a trade-off well worth making.

All of these measures together will not cause the ghettos to disappear. Providing escape routes from the inner city may make the ghettos worse by depriving them of their most competent residents. What's needed, alongside an evacuation plan, is a realistic program to stabilize conditions for those left behind. The goal shouldn't be to make the desert bloom. It should be to create zones where people can raise children in safety even if they must travel elsewhere to work. To accomplish this, a strategy would need to focus on crime and schools.

Of course, neither law enforcement nor education is principally a federal responsibility. But in both cases, the feds can help. On crime, Clinton has had basically the right idea with his community-policing initiative. Cops walking the street create a sense of order and provide good role models for young boys. This program should be expanded, perhaps with incentives for police to live in the neighborhoods they patrol full time. Schools are a harder nut, but not an uncrackable one. There are a few good schools, even in Harlem, which have succeeded by doing end runs around the unionized bureaucracy of the central system. The federal government should do more to spur the creation of such institutions, by providing resources, and by helping to equalize the shameful disparity in funding between rich and poor districts generally.

Some of these concepts have demonstrated their success at an experimental level and are ripe for expansion. Others are just promising ideas that ought to be tried. All, unfortunately, are expensive and sure to be controversial. They can't simply be foisted on a reluctant public. To lay the groundwork for useful action on race relations, we need exactly what President Clinton is proposing as a starting point: honest talk, and lots of it.

The White House trumpets the president's initiative on race (www.whitehouse.gov/Initiatives/index2.html), offering the full text of last weekend's announcement (www.whitehouse.gov/Initiatives/announcement.html). William Julius Wilson talks about "Joblessness and the Urban Poor" (www.realaudio.com/content/npr/ne6022.html) on a 1996 NPR *Talk of the Nation*, and answers questions about the state of the inner city in a *NewsHour* online forum (www1.pbs.org/newshour/forum/november96/wilson_11-29.html). The Woodrow Wilson Center plugs *Cities Without Suburbs* (wwics.si.edu/OUTREACH/PUBS/WCP1995.HTM#CAT78), and the November/December 1996 issue of the *New Jersey Reporter* looks at race (of special note is an Ed Rollins piece [epn.org/njr/novdec96/contents.html]). Go here to get a sense of what HUD is currently doing (www.hud.gov/). As for a few race-relations-related pieces in Slate: Eric Liu explores "The Unbearable Being of Whiteness" (www.slate.com/Features/white/white.asp), a "Committee of Correspondence" discusses affirmative action (www.slate.com/CoC/96-10-07/COC.ASP), and Mickey Kaus debates welfare reform with Peter Edelman (www.slate.com/Code/DDD/DDD.asp?file=Welfare&iMsg=0).

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 15, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: ERSKINE BOWLES
 SYLVIA MATHEWS
 JUDITH WINSTON

FROM: BRUCE REED
 ELENA KAGAN *ERK*

SUBJECT: RACE INITIATIVE POLICY PROCESS

This memorandum sets out the process we will use to develop policy announcements and proposals for the Race Initiative. Our goals are: (1) to help provide a status report on race relations and racial disparities to inform policy development; (2) to assess and communicate the impact of this Administration's prior initiatives -- involving economic growth, education, crime, and so forth -- on race relations and the status of racial minorities; and (3) to build on this Administration's accomplishments and agenda with new initiatives to announce in the coming year and longer-term policies to incorporate in the final Presidential Report. We have a strong base from which to work, and we will attempt to ensure that the policy measures accompanying the Race Initiative will grow out of everything this Administration has done already.

Throughout, we will focus on solutions that reflect the common values of the American people (e.g., equal opportunity and shared responsibility), and respond to their common aspirations (e.g., safe streets, good schools, and affordable housing).

Research and Investigation

In close cooperation with the DPC, NEC, Judy Winston, and Chris Edley, CEA will coordinate research on the current state of race relations and the continuing disparities in critical measures of well-being among individuals of different races. CEA already has developed a draft outline for this research, based on conversations with DPC and Chris Edley. The outline, which is attached to this memo, suggests research on, among other things: (1) disparities in economic success, educational opportunity, health care, political participation, family organization, and criminal victimization; (2) racial segregation in schools, neighborhoods, and workplaces; and (3) the prevalence and consequences of racial discrimination. In addition, research will be done on the differential effects of particular kinds of public policy on racial groups. CEA will do some aspects of this research itself and will assign other aspects to the appropriate offices in Treasury, DOL, Education, HHS, and DOJ. This work will go into the final President's Report and will influence and inform the development of policy discussed below.

Interagency Policy Development Process

The DPC has established four major workgroups to develop policy for the Race Initiative. Bruce Reed, Elena Kagan, and Jose Cerda will coordinate the efforts of these groups. We anticipate developing both administrative actions and legislative proposals, and combining incremental (but important) policy advances with a few truly bold ideas. We will advance some of the policy proposals during the year-long initiative, while saving others for the President's Report at the end. (The right timeframe for policy proposals is not only the FY 1999 budget cycle, but the remaining years of this century and the start of the next.) The workgroups also will have responsibility for assessing the impact of prior Administration initiatives in their policy areas, so that we can build on our own accomplishments.

In coordinating policy development through these workgroups, we of course will work closely with Judy Winston and Chris Edley, and we will incorporate, as appropriate, advice provided to you by the Chair and Members of the Advisory Board. We also will solicit the views of outsiders -- such politically diverse people as William Julius Wilson, Glenn Loury, Henry Cisneros, Will Marshall, Doris Kearns, Richard Daley, and Nathan Glazer come to mind -- to challenge and enhance our own thinking.

1. **Economic and Community Empowerment** (co-chaired by Bruce Reed and Gene Sperling). This group will look at issues and policies relating to (1) job opportunities for unemployed and underemployed minorities, including welfare-to-work efforts and transportation initiatives to move inner city residents to suburban jobs; (2) housing for low-income residents of inner cities, including new or expanded uses of voucher plans and tax incentives to promote mixed-income, multi-racial communities; (3) metropolitan regional strategies to strengthen links between inner cities and suburbs; and (4) minority entrepreneurship, including credit programs building on CRA and CDFI.

Participating White House offices are: DPC, NEC, OVP/CEB, OPL, Intergovernmental, Legislative, CEA, CEQ, OMB.

Participating agencies are: Treasury, Labor, Commerce, Transportation, HUD, SBA, and Interior (for Native American population).

2. **Education** (chaired by Mike Cohen). This group will look at issues and policies relating to (1) failing inner city and rural schools, including issues of racial segregation and enhanced efforts to raise standards, improve teaching, provide improved infrastructure and new technology, promote charter schools, and encourage school takeovers and other accountability mechanisms; (2) education of Hispanic students, including bilingualism; and (3) expanded access to higher education and skills training. (Note that responses to Proposition 209 and Hopwood fall within the Administration of Justice Workgroup.)

Participating White House offices are: DPC, NEC, OVP, OPL, Intergovernmental, Legislative, OMB.

Participating agencies are: Education, Interior.

3. **Administration of Justice** (chaired by Elena Kagan). This group will look at issues and policies relating to (1) criminal law enforcement and prevention, including the underprotection of minority communities (including Indian reservations), police force composition and practices (including diversity issues and community policing), and after-school and other youth programs; and (2) enforcement of civil rights laws, including responses to Proposition 209 and Hopwood, reduction of the EEOC complaint backlog and other EEOC reforms, enhanced efforts on housing and lending discrimination, affirmative action issues generally, and hate crimes initiatives (for November conference).

Participating White House offices are: DPC, OVP, Counsel, OPL, Intergovernmental, Legislative, OMB, ONDCP.

Participating agencies are: Justice, Treasury, Education, DOL, HHS, HUD, USDA, Interior, EEOC.

4. **Health and Family** (chaired by Chris Jennings). This group will look at issues and policies relating to (1) special health care needs of minority populations, including the high incidence of certain health conditions and diseases and the underutilization of certain health care services, such as immunizations and mammograms; and (2) family composition, including efforts to strengthen two-parent families, ensure adoption of minority children, and provide supports to families led by grandparents.

Participating White House offices are: DPC, OVP, OPL, Intergovernmental, Legislative, OMB.

Participating agencies are: HHS, Interior.

This Week's Policy Announcement

As you know, you will be attending the NAACP convention in Chicago on Thursday. We believe this speech offers an excellent opportunity to discuss the intersection of race and education issues. First, your speech can address the value of integration in educational settings. Thurgood Marshall once wrote that "unless our children begin to learn together, there is little hope that our people will ever learn to live together"; your speech can make exactly this link between educational integration and race relations generally to members of the organization most closely identified with progress in this area. This message would echo the strong argument you made for diversity in education in your San Diego speech; it also would lead naturally into your commemoration of the integration of Little Rock Central High School in September. Minyon Moore and others are reaching out to Kweisi Mfume and others to ensure that we address this issue in a way that avoids exacerbating internal NAACP divisions on the subject.

Second and no less important, you can stress the need to improve right now

predominantly poor and minority schools in inner city and rural areas. This part of your speech can protest the neglect (financial and otherwise) of predominantly minority schools and the consignment of their students to a second-class education. Here, you should make a strong statement about the importance of national standards and tests to boost expectations and improve the quality of education. But you should make an equally strong statement about providing students with the tools and opportunities to help them meet those standards -- better teaching, improved infrastructure and new technologies, and mechanisms to take over failing schools, including by turning them into charters (Rosa Parks is now trying to establish a charter school in Detroit).

As a down payment on a broader effort to improve inner city and rural schools, you can announce a new proposal to improve teaching in these institutions. The quality of teaching in inner city and rural schools is much lower than in the rest of the nation; in particular, the teachers in these schools are far less well trained than in others. To address this situation, Title V of the Department of Education's proposed reauthorization of the Higher Education Act, which will be submitted to Congress later this summer, proposes a new initiative to recruit, prepare, and retain teachers in urban and poor rural communities. This program would provide at least \$325 million over five years (we are still working out the exact funding with OMB) for two purposes: (1) to strengthen teacher training programs that operate in partnership with -- and place large numbers of graduates in -- urban or poor rural schools; and (2) to provide scholarships to talented and diverse individuals, chosen jointly by institutions of higher education and eligible school districts, who will commit to teach in urban and poor rural areas for at least three years after graduation.

Race Initiative Policy

7/13/97

To: Erskine Bowles
Through: Sylvia Mathews
From: Christopher Edley, Jr.
Professor, Harvard Law School
Re: The Policy Dimension of the Race Initiative

Per your invitation, here are some of my thoughts. Most important, I urge you and the President to think *now* about what happens when the Advisory Board is finished; a sense of the endgame we want will help give shape to what is otherwise an all but hopelessly amorphous undertaking. I have discussed these points in general terms with Elena Kagan and Judith Winston.

The central questions are, What do we want the President's Report to the American people ["the book"] to be, and who must do what to produce it? The many other puzzle parts -how the Board can stimulate a national conversation, venue for town meetings, etc. - interest me less because they are largely ancillary to my policy focus on policy and the book.

The book is a concrete instrument for the President's legacy. It should crystallize they year's efforts and provide the information and inspiration to sustain continuing efforts around the nation. Pick three or four people in the book's intended audience. My choices are an urban school superintendent, a church minister, an historian, and a thoughtful state legislator. What book will make a difference to them in understanding and advancing the struggle for racial and ethnic justice?

Imagining the Book: Here is notional table of contents. *Chapter 1* should be Bill Clinton's vision of what racial and ethnic justice mean for the 21st century, and why his vision is preferable to competing visions. What role for Diversity? Integration? Colorblindness? How will we know when we have achieved racial justice, and how can we measure our progress?

What to the
refer to the
NPR rightly?
Bruce -
more from Clinton.
Elena

Chapter 2 should be a report card. Where are we, and where are we headed, in the demographics of race? In social and economic disparities? Race relations and attitudes? Discrimination? Given the vision of justice, how are we measuring up?

Chapter 3 should be some policy dissection – examining how selected areas of policy bear on the challenges identified in chapter 2. And, relatedly, it should explore how issues of color suffuse and infect our civic discourse, making it difficult to achieve moral and political consensus on a wide range of issues. We have many divisions, but race is different. For example, so long as the political face of poverty is black, brown, yellow or red, and our communities and hearts remain divided by race, then there will be too little commitment to perfecting the American dream of opportunity. Our compassion and our investments extend only to those we care about, and color gets in the way – often irrationally.

Chapter 4 should be wrestling lessons, modeling for the nation how to face some of the tough questions involving race that divide us in our perceptions and values. Hard questions, honest dialogue.

Chapter 5, action ideas, should be “News you can use.” With help from the Advisory Board, the book should describe examples of effective leadership and promising policies that will connect people across lines of color and class, helping to achieve the vision of racial justice. From senators to school teachers, and from public policies to personal practices, what are concrete things that we can do in the months and years ahead?

Meanwhile, over the next year, activities of the President, the Board, the Administration and surrogates (like me) should not only help create the information and context for the book, but should also advance the ball. San Diego provided a down payment on several of the chapters. For the balance of the year, we should write the book on the installment plan, developing examples, facts, ideas, values and policies month by month.

Getting it Done: So, the management challenge – as regards the policy objective alone – is to see that the *Board* and the White House staff follow an installment-payment plan to accumulate the information and advice needed to sustain the national conversation during the year and to provide the foundation for writing the book.

But that’s not all. The policy development and related speeches must have several features, unusual for the territory. Each of these implies certain things about the week-to-week policy and speech mechanisms. They won’t happen naturally:

- a health dose of *bold* ideas, some framed for the longer term, outside the framework of particular constraints of this year or next (cf. NPR);
- a relentless hostility to platitudes;
- timeliness – short-circuiting the customarily interminable policy process; and,
- in speeches, achieve some buoyancy with respect to campaign-style rhetoric that will ring hollow in history.

This last point is key. Imagine Abraham Lincoln interrupting the Gettysburg address with a paragraph trumpeting his awesome reforms of the War Department procurement process, or the investments in new outpatient clinics for veterans. Other efforts in the White House and throughout the Administration can attend to the problem of today and next week. In all we do within the race initiative, we must keep our eyes fixed on history, on legacy.

The attached chart is only suggestive of how the five chapters described above provide a starting point for identifying many of the tasks before us. The columns are my attempt to sort out relative responsibilities of the Board and the White House staff. The particular assignments can be adjusted, but I believe each of the tasks is necessary to the project. Again, bear in mind that I am not attempting to describe what is needed for the rest of the enterprise – how, for example, to structure the town meetings or to enlist civic leaders in adopting best practices for leadership and policy. I'm trying to find the limits of my role, and respect them.

A FRAMEWORK FOR POLICY-RELATED TASKS

draft 7/13/97

<i>CHARTER CATEGORY</i>	<i>PROCESS IDEAS FOR THE BOARD</i>	<i>PROCESS IDEAS FOR H.H. STAFF</i>
Vision	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • invite essays on the ethical and historical underpinnings of the debate 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • unusually careful development of speech themes and rhetoric – striving for literary value
Report Card	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • hearings to explore disagreements on definitions & measures of discrimination • trends in tolerance, interaction/segregation and stereotypical thinking 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Use CEA, agency policy staff to assemble authoritative data on demographics, disparities, discrimination • Policy initiative for periodic national report card
Policy Dissection	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • recommend policy areas for priority study by staff & Administration: characterize their racial justice impact • organize & assess conflicting expert views • collect essays/analyses of how race affects policy and political discourse 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • assemble internal and external expert views on what helps/hurts to close/exacerbate the opportunity gap • identify examples of policy tensions with under-explored racial dimensions – e.g., in housing, criminal justice, school reform
Wrestling Lessons – Hard Questions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • identify two dozen hard questions that pose conflicts in perceptions/values • essays, deliberation to identify good and bad ways of addressing such conflicts 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • identify two dozen hard questions that pose conflicts in perceptions/values • identify examples of public and private policies/-practices where the hard questions are at issue • find “right-way, wrong-way” contrasts
Action Recommendations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • create nomination process for examples of effective leadership on reconciliation • select evaluation methodology & process for nominations • solicit & compile reactions to selected policy ideas from public, Congress 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Bold Ideas” exercise; cf. National Performance Review Methodology • Long-range topic strategy for POTUS events, and accompanying incremental policy development process • Shadow the deliberations of the Board

File: Race Inclusion Policy

" " "

- Education *(and)*

" " "

- Admin of Justice - Civil Rts Enhancement

cc: EK, Jose
+ return ASAP

MEMORANDUM

To: President Clinton
From: Henry Cisneros
Subject: Saturday Speech in San Diego

There are huge expectations for your Saturday speech. The advance press coverage is more extensive than for any other Presidential speech I can recall. It ranges from intense hopefulness to dismissive skepticism that you will go beyond exhortation to substantive action. The speechwriters tell me the draft is short on substance now. With the build-up as big as it has been, you must offer some steps for action or unfortunately risk a very serious let-down.

The following are some ideas that can be fleshed out in the time remaining. They are intended to fall within budget constraints. If these ideas cannot be described at length in the speech, they can be part of the substantive actions you ask the advisory committee to review and recommend:

Mike - Can we do something like this? What would it mean? Ebera

1. Direct that specific parts of the massive education spending you have championed be targeted to central city schools and depressed areas. Because large sums of the increased educational budget go to middle class families, it should be possible to target other programs to underserved schools and students, which statistically are heavily black and minority.
2. Request that General Colin Powell's follow-up to the Philadelphia volunteerism summit have as a component explicit actions to address the racial divide. America's Promise is designed to address at-risk children and youth and can be a magnet to coordinate corporate funding. General Powell is very articulate on the race dimensions of the risks to children and youth.
3. Launch a public-private project to raise scholarship money for blacks and other minorities for whom scholarships and college admissions at public universities are being limited by reversals on affirmative action in states such as California and Texas. A Presidential partnership with the United Negro College Fund and with the National Hispanic Scholarship Fund could create new private resources for college-bound minorities.
4. Direct the Department of Housing and Urban Development to strengthen its efforts to combat discrimination in housing transactions. The evidence is very strong that levels of discrimination against blacks remain very high. Patterns of segregated housing intensify every other kind of segregation in schools, at the work place, and in social settings.
5. Re-emphasize the welfare-to-work connection, including new training and employment efforts with the states. Failure to integrate into the workforce the millions coming off welfare will only deepen the isolation of the minority underclass.
6. Call on corporations to incorporate in their training programs for employees explicit and firm policies concerning any kind of racial discrimination. Incidents such as those at Avis, Wendy's and Texaco are destructive far beyond their immediate effects. Companies should adopt positive rationales and programs for racial fairness and not merely defensive, legalistic self-protections.

7. Call on national church leaders to create a national coalition of youth organizations to bring minority and white youth together. A few churches have made efforts at adult multi-racial dialogue, but the real hope for the future is in creating understanding among our young people. Linking the well-intentioned, mainstream resources of the nation's white churches with the central city centers of Boys and Girls Clubs, YMCA, YWCA, athletic leagues, and schools could create opportunities for one-on-one understanding.

Underlying Themes:

- Now that the economy is so strong it is time to make it work for everyone. You have worked to create durable and unprecedented prosperity for a purpose: so that the American dream can be brought within reach of all our citizens. Aside from their poverty, the common denominator that most characterizes those for whom the American dream is denied is race and ethnicity.
- This great unresolved issue of American history -- racial hatred -- is one of the very few things that can stop us in the next century. If we fail to address it, we will be more divided and squander our energies. If we master it, the next century will be an American Century of even greater accomplishments.
- Though skeptics will say there are insufficient new laws and new money in this initiative, the fact is that what is needed at this time is to execute the laws we have and to live out our creed through the resources we have. The challenge is to make our institutions work for racial fairness and our hearts value racial justice.

Race Initiative Policy
and

Sylvia M
This is very
good
the

Race Init Policy - THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
6-25-97
Admin of Justice -
Civil Rts Enforcement
THE SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20250-0100

Lundberg/Potas

Sylvia -
we should send
a copy of this to
all cabinet
members
knowing
to do
small
Sylvia

June 11, 1997

MEMORANDUM FROM SECRETARY GLICKMAN

To: Thurgood Marshall, Jr.,
Deputy Counsel and Legislative Director to the Vice President

Subject: The President's Civil Rights Initiative

Jan Glickman
Sylvia

As the Administration prepares to embark on its Civil Rights Initiative and an ambitious effort to promote racial healing in America, I am increasingly concerned about a growing enemy from an unlikely corner that unites civil rights advocates and opponents alike. That enemy is cynicism.

Given the Department of Agriculture's recent efforts to overcome a history of insensitivity to diverse employees and customers, I thought some practical, on-the-ground advice might be of some use to you. It's not the makings of a moving speech, just some practical wisdom that might actually get the job done. Here's what I've learned from the trenches:

1) *Talk and walk at the same time.* Most leaders are quite willing to say a few uplifting words in favor of civil rights, but precious few have followed it up with concrete actions. Too often, the result has been that when America's leaders talk about improving civil rights, few people believe them, and for good reason -- they *have* heard it all before.

In wading through USDA's problems, I quickly found that there is no substitute for action. We set clear goals. We laid out an aggressive timeline, and we're sticking to it. The result is credibility. From the people who run our agencies to the people who answer the phones, folks clearly see that something real is happening, and they want to be a part of it.

2) *Commissions need clear missions.* If we swept together all the dust that's settled on the countless reports of past civil rights commissions, all of Washington would sneeze. It is useful to gather a braintrust, just make sure they have a strict deadline and clear

Sylvia -
we consider
in my dept.
we could also
demand the money
from Congress to
clear up the mess
at Civil Rights
for a deadline
to do it by -

copied
Matthews
COS

more

direction from the top that their dialogue must be constructive. Without concrete recommendations for action, it's all just talk, and we fuel the very cynicism that we're trying to root out.

I did establish a civil rights commission at USDA. It was headed by an esteemed career civil servant. They travelled the country for 3 months listening not just to the experts, but real people--farmers, rural Americans, and USDA employees. Given those perspectives, they delivered a 121-page report which was almost entirely a series of bullets recommending specific actions.

Here's a sampling of what they came up with:

-- Eliminate the years-old backlog of civil rights complaints in 120 days.

-- Freeze all foreclosures where a civil rights complaint has been filed until an independent review can be performed.

-- Make it a condition of employment at USDA that every employee treat every co-worker and customer fairly and equitably, with dignity and respect.

-- Establish a results-oriented National Commission on the Small Farm to pull together the threads of economics, civil rights, and rural conditions and weave a national strategy to stem the alarming loss of America's small farms -- many of which are minority-owned.

Taken as a whole, these recommendations form a detailed road map for how USDA can get out from under a history of discrimination and become a federal civil rights leader.

Finally, when the report gets passed up to you, be ready to run. When I received my civil rights report, there certainly were bureaucrats who recommended we form a committee to report on the committee's report and make recommendations on the recommendations. Instead, I disbanded our civil rights commission and formed an action team.

The day after I received the report, I went before my entire department and the media and announced that we would immediately get down to business. This sustained the momentum, and since the report contained a clear set of goals and deadlines, people knew that they could expect -- and hold us accountable for -- quick, concrete progress.

3) *Learn to like paper cuts.* Speeches are the fun part. But it's the dogged, day-to-day staying on top of the specific initiatives that keeps the ball moving forward.

..... more

*Any day
Civil Rights
do this*

*Just
idea*

I have a meeting every week with my top civil rights advisor. He gets whatever resources he needs. His staff files a 20-page report every week detailing the progress that's been made in each agency -- on hiring, on complaints resolution, on customer service. The results? A strong sense of accountability throughout our ranks and crystal clear progress.

4) *Report regularly to the shareholders.* If we ask the American people to set aside their doubts and come along with us in this effort, we've got to be a broken record and regularly hold ourselves accountable to them for making real progress.

Virtually every time I give a speech I talk about civil rights. Eventually, it sinks in that this really is a very big deal. I talk about the big picture of America's racial divide, but I also catalog what we're doing about it. People need to hear that we are making real progress.

5) *One small step per man is one giant leap for mankind.* History will judge our Civil Rights Initiative by the simple meter of how Americans treat one another and function as a society in the 21st century. But the Chinese have a saying, 'the journey of a thousand miles begins with a single step.' As leaders in this effort, we must plot a methodical strategy and give people concrete ways that they can help piece our people back together. We change the world by each person changing their little corner of the world -- in their homes, churches, schools, workplaces, and communities.

This is how we are finding some success in changing the culture of the Department of Agriculture. I hope that our experiences may be of some use in healing America's old wounds.

There will always be a few rotten apples in the barrel, but my belief is that the vast majority of Americans yearn to be called on in a meaningful way to be a part of the solution. Too many of us have experienced firsthand the pain of mindless divisions. But too many of us, too, have been given false hope by uplifting words from our leaders that in the end turn out to be thin air.

This President and this Administration are uniquely qualified to rise above mere talk. But if we are to give the American people hope, first and foremost we must give them action.

..... more

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 15, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: ERSKINE BOWLES
 SYLVIA MATHEWS
 JUDITH WINSTON

FROM: BRUCE REED
 ELENA KAGAN *ERK*

SUBJECT: RACE INITIATIVE POLICY PROCESS

This memorandum sets out the process we will use to develop policy announcements and proposals for the Race Initiative. Our goals are: (1) to help provide a status report on race relations and racial disparities to inform policy development; (2) to assess and communicate the impact of this Administration's prior initiatives -- involving economic growth, education, crime, and so forth -- on race relations and the status of racial minorities; and (3) to build on this Administration's accomplishments and agenda with new initiatives to announce in the coming year and longer-term policies to incorporate in the final Presidential Report. We have a strong base from which to work, and we will attempt to ensure that the policy measures accompanying the Race Initiative will grow out of everything this Administration has done already. Throughout, we will focus on solutions that reflect the common values of the American people (e.g., equal opportunity and shared responsibility), and respond to their common aspirations (e.g., safe streets, good schools, and affordable housing).

Research and Investigation

In close cooperation with the DPC, NEC, Judy Winston, and Chris Edley, CEA will coordinate research on the current state of race relations and the continuing disparities in critical measures of well-being among individuals of different races. CEA already has developed a draft outline for this research, based on conversations with DPC and Chris Edley. The outline, which is attached to this memo, suggests research on, among other things: (1) disparities in economic success, educational opportunity, health care, political participation, family organization, and criminal victimization; (2) racial segregation in schools, neighborhoods, and workplaces; and (3) the prevalence and consequences of racial discrimination. In addition, research will be done on the differential effects of particular kinds of public policy on racial groups. CEA will do some aspects of this research itself and will assign other aspects to the appropriate offices in Treasury, DOL, Education, HHS, and DOJ. This work will go into the final President's Report and will influence and inform the development of policy discussed below.

Interagency Policy Development Process

The DPC has established four major workgroups to develop policy for the Race Initiative. Bruce Reed, Elena Kagan, and Jose Cerda will coordinate the efforts of these groups. We anticipate developing both administrative actions and legislative proposals, and combining incremental (but important) policy advances with a few truly bold ideas. We will advance some of the policy proposals during the year-long initiative, while saving others for the President's Report at the end. (The right timeframe for policy proposals is not only the FY 1999 budget cycle, but the remaining years of this century and the start of the next.) The workgroups also will have responsibility for assessing the impact of prior Administration initiatives in their policy areas, so that we can build on our own accomplishments.

In coordinating policy development through these workgroups, we of course will work closely with Judy Winston and Chris Edley, and we will incorporate, as appropriate, advice provided to you by the Chair and Members of the Advisory Board. We also will solicit the views of outsiders -- such politically diverse people as William Julius Wilson, Glenn Loury, Henry Cisneros, Will Marshall, Doris Kearns, Richard Daley, and Nathan Glazer come to mind -- to challenge and enhance our own thinking.

1. **Economic and Community Empowerment** (co-chaired by Bruce Reed and Gene Sperling). This group will look at issues and policies relating to (1) job opportunities for unemployed and underemployed minorities, including welfare-to-work efforts and transportation initiatives to move inner city residents to suburban jobs; (2) housing for low-income residents of inner cities, including new or expanded uses of voucher plans and tax incentives to promote mixed-income, multi-racial communities; (3) metropolitan regional strategies to strengthen links between inner cities and suburbs; and (4) minority entrepreneurship, including credit programs building on CRA and CDFI.

Participating White House offices are: DPC, NEC, OVP/CEB, OPL, Intergovernmental, Legislative, CEA, CEQ, OMB.

Participating agencies are: Treasury, Labor, Commerce, Transportation, HUD, SBA, and Interior (for Native American population).

2. **Education** (chaired by Mike Cohen). This group will look at issues and policies relating to (1) failing inner city and rural schools, including issues of racial segregation and enhanced efforts to raise standards, improve teaching, provide improved infrastructure and new technology, promote charter schools, and encourage school takeovers and other accountability mechanisms; (2) education of Hispanic students, including bilingualism; and (3) expanded access to higher education and skills training. (Note that responses to Proposition 209 and Hopwood fall within the Administration of Justice Workgroup.)

Participating White House offices are: DPC, NEC, OVP, OPL, Intergovernmental, Legislative, OMB.

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3. **Administration of Justice** (chaired by Elena Kagan). This group will look at issues and policies relating to (1) criminal law enforcement and prevention, including the underprotection of minority communities (including Indian reservations), police force composition and practices (including diversity issues and community policing), and after-school and other youth programs; and (2) enforcement of civil rights laws, including responses to Proposition 209 and Hopwood, reduction of the EEOC complaint backlog and other EEOC reforms, enhanced efforts on housing and lending discrimination, affirmative action issues generally, and hate crimes initiatives (for November conference).

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Participating agencies are: Justice, Treasury, Education, DOL, HHS, HUD, USDA, Interior, EEOC.

4. **Health and Family** (chaired by Chris Jennings). This group will look at issues and policies relating to (1) special health care needs of minority populations, including the high incidence of certain health conditions and diseases and the underutilization of certain health care services, such as immunizations and mammograms; and (2) family composition, including efforts to strengthen two-parent families, ensure adoption of minority children, and provide supports to families led by grandparents.

Participating White House offices are: DPC, OVP, OPL, Intergovernmental, Legislative, OMB.

Participating agencies are: HHS, Interior.

This Week's Policy Announcement

As you know, you will be attending the NAACP convention in Chicago on Thursday. We believe this speech offers an excellent opportunity to discuss the intersection of race and education issues. First, your speech can address the value of integration in educational settings. Thurgood Marshall once wrote that "unless our children begin to learn together, there is little hope that our people will ever learn to live together"; your speech can make exactly this link between educational integration and race relations generally to members of the organization most closely identified with progress in this area. This message would echo the strong argument you made for diversity in education in your San Diego speech; it also would lead naturally into your commemoration of the integration of Little Rock Central High School in September. Minyon Moore and others are reaching out to Kweisi Mfume and others to ensure that we address this issue in a way that avoids exacerbating internal NAACP divisions on the subject.

Second and no less important, you can stress the need to improve right now

predominantly poor and minority schools in inner city and rural areas. This part of your speech can protest the neglect (financial and otherwise) of predominantly minority schools and the consignment of their students to a second-class education. Here, you should make a strong statement about the importance of national standards and tests to boost expectations and improve the quality of education. But you should make an equally strong statement about providing students with the tools and opportunities to help them meet those standards -- better teaching, improved infrastructure and new technologies, and mechanisms to take over failing schools, including by turning them into charters (Rosa Parks is now trying to establish a charter school in Detroit).

As a down payment on a broader effort to improve inner city and rural schools, you can announce a new proposal to improve teaching in these institutions. The quality of teaching in inner city and rural schools is much lower than in the rest of the nation; in particular, the teachers in these schools are far less well trained than in others. To address this situation, Title V of the Department of Education's proposed reauthorization of the Higher Education Act, which will be submitted to Congress later this summer, proposes a new initiative to recruit, prepare, and retain teachers in urban and poor rural communities. This program would provide at least \$325 million over five years (we are still working out the exact funding with OMB) for two purposes: (1) to strengthen teacher training programs that operate in partnership with -- and place large numbers of graduates in -- urban or poor rural schools; and (2) to provide scholarships to talented and diverse individuals, chosen jointly by institutions of higher education and eligible school districts, who will commit to teach in urban and poor rural areas for at least three years after graduation.

Draft CEA Research Agenda

Part I: Demography

1. Racial composition of the US population: 1990s and historical trends
2. Geographic distribution
3. Components of change: birth, death and immigration
4. Projections

Part II: Disparities in the 1990s and trends in disparities

1. Economic status

a. Income and Poverty

b. Labor markets

employment, unemployment, non-employment
hours

wages and non-wage compensation

occupation/industry

non-wage characteristics of jobs (e.g., working conditions, health risks)

disability

c. Wealth/credit

financial

business ownership

home ownership

retirement wealth

credit and credit institutions

2. Educational status

a. Enrollment

Drop out rates; college enrollment and completion rates

b. Quality of schooling

c. Achievement

d. Training

3. Health status and health care

a. Health status

Pregnancy and infancy

Child hood and young adulthood

Adulthood

Older ages

{Specific diseases or conditions}

b. Health care

Insurance

Availability of health services

Health behaviors

4. Political status

- a. Voting
- b. Holding public office
- c. Other political participation

5. Criminal justice

- a. Offenders and victims
- b. Criminal justice process (sentencing etc.)

6. Family organization

- a. Family structure
- b. Other family patterns (fostering, adoption, extension etc.)
- c. Living arrangements and family support of the older population

7. Impact of immigration

- a. Labor markets
- b. Education
- c. Other

Part III: Race relations

1. Racial attitudes and behaviors

(ACD is very good on history of black white attitudes/opinions. Needs to be expanded to other groups and updated.)

2. Racial segregation

Residences
Schools
Workplaces
Other

3. Bias crimes, etc.

4. Developments in the 1990s

Rodney King beating trials and riots
OJ Simpson trials
The Bell Curve controversy
Challenge to Affirmative Action in California

Part IV: Discrimination

1. Measurement/methods: econometric vs. audit studies

2. Links between discrimination and outcomes.

(Issue: Audit studies prove discrimination exists, but how much of the disparities documented in Part II can be attributed, directly or indirectly, to discrimination?)

3. Causes of discriminatory behavior

4. Consequences of discrimination for society

Has the nature of discrimination changed?

THE WHITE HOUSE

7/15/97

Erskine -

Sylvia, Judy,

If we truly want to challenge and explain our position

This has all reviewed This memo, and we have incorporated their suggestions.

Whenever you are comfortable, we can get it to The President.

SLVIA Elena I've been asking questions about the report of "Denials" - how many different from sign on or not? on page 2. The answer is that it is a mistake

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 15, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: ERSKINE BOWLES
 SYLVIA MATHEWS
 JUDITH WINSTON

FROM: BRUCE REED
 ELENA KAGAN

SUBJECT: RACE INITIATIVE POLICY PROCESS

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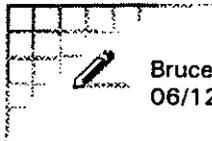
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consignment of their students to a second-class education. Here, you should make a strong statement about the importance of national standards and tests to boost expectations and improve the quality of education. But you should make an equally strong statement about providing students with the tools and opportunities to help them meet those standards -- better teaching, improved infrastructure and new technologies, and mechanisms to take over failing schools, including by turning them into charters (Rosa Parks is now trying to establish a charter school in Detroit).

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Bruce N. Reed
06/12/97 01:39:35 PM

Record Type: Record

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

cc:

Subject: Race Speech

~~I have asked the DPC staff to generate a quick summary of policy accomplishments and initiatives that can be incorporated into the race speech. Much of what we've already done, and are doing, is about providing common answers to common problems in ways that will help minorities most of all.~~

I haven't seen a draft, and don't want to give you more advice than you need. My foremost concern is that this speech be consistent with what the President asked for in last week's meeting. As he said, we should make clear that this race initiative is a logical extension of everything he has done over the last four years. It should not come across as a new departure (since he has been talking and doing a great deal on this all along) or worse, an apology (for crime, welfare, balancing the budget, etc.). The press is already playing this in part as an effort to make up for those sins and make amends with the civil rights community. We should go out of our way to show them that everything we have done has been to expand opportunity (and yes, responsibility and community) to all Americans.

The President should say again, as he said so often in 1992, that the only way for us to come together as one America is to recognize our common obligations to ourselves and one another, to stop blaming our problems on someone else and start taking responsibility for our own actions and each other. The progress we have made, we have made together:

We recognized that crime was our common enemy, and should unite, not divide us. We put more police in neighborhoods that had been deprived of protection, and used community policing so we could attack this scourge together. Poor and minorities plagued by crime have benefited most from 5 straight years of decline.

We recognized that the failed welfare system was trapping millions in dependency, and that letting fathers get away without paying child support was tearing families apart. So we're making child support and responsibility a way of life, not an option, and we've moved 3 million people off welfare, and are giving everyone child care and health care and the chance to work. (We still have more to do etc. -- welfare-to-work and immigrant changes in budget bill)

We recognized that working people weren't in competition with each other, they were in competition with the rest of the world. So we expanded trade, cut the deficit, and created more jobs, cut taxes for working families with EITC, and we're about to give everybody the chance to go to college (HOPE) -- and we've seen the greatest drop in income inequality in 20+ years.

We have more to do, and we will do it. Expand education opportunity. Reduce crime. Mend not end affirmative action. Steer more jobs and capital to the inner city. We cannot rest until every child has the chance to rise as high as her God-given talents can take her.

But as we make all these changes from the outside in, each of us must work in our own lives to make changes from the inside out. The greatest progress we have made, and have yet to make, is in the human spirit. Taking responsibility for our own actions and for one another. This

nation can't come together with families that are coming apart. When 8-year-olds sell drugs and 12-year-olds plan funerals, we're not free. If we want a world where no child sees a difference between black, white, and brown, every parent needs to teach their child the difference between right and wrong.

Sorry to go on so long -- you've heard it all before, and you can write it better. But I worry that without some of this, we will undermine some of the real progress we have made on this issue. Let me know if I can do anything to help.

Race initiative policy

Edley
7/11/97

OUTLINE THOUGHTS ON POLICY REALM

- Book
- Board
- DPC/NEC
- POTUS Speeches
- Town Hall Meetings
- Other White House Staff Roles

vision - where we want to be
 report - where we are
 why?
 where we go from here?

1. Book -

vision
 planning
 through

- a) Report card: demographics, disparities, race relations, discrimination
- b) Policy dissection: policy implications for race; race subtext of policy
- c) Wrestling lessons: some of the hardest questions, and how to think about them
- d) Vision: defining racial and ethnic justice in the 21st century
- e) News You Can Use - promising leadership strategies and policy ideas from and for communities and organizations across the nation

impacts
 affect disparities, etc.

how does
 race connect
 with policy
 discussion

following is by a bill
 e.g. civil liberties
 diversity or values
 or race / integration
 etc.

2. Board

- a) The board's own study, dialogue and advice
 - i) Outreach - touching all the bases; engaging sectors of the nation
 - ii) Wrestling lessons
 - iii) NYCU
 - iv) Hearings
 - v) Investigative site visits
 - vi) Commissioned papers and essays
- b) The board's work to stimulate national conversation by others
- c) Quarterly meetings with POTUS
 - i) First meeting
 - a) should provide advice to POTUS on areas his book should cover, and what the Advisory Board is doing to help
 - b) should include report on rollback in California and Texas, and consideration of higher education specifically
 - c) should include description of some Hard Questions worth POTUS deliberation
 - d) should include discussion of the vision question
 - ii) Second meeting should include preliminary report card on race in America
 - iii) Third meeting should review some interesting examples from around the country of effective leadership and promising policies

- iv) Fourth meeting should provide advice on:
 - a) action measures
 - b) dissemination
 - c) building a new generation of leadership on racial justice
 - d) next steps for the President, the Administration, the nation

- 3. DPC/NEC
 - a) Periodic *bold idea* exercises are a must
 - b) multiple tracks:
 - i) interstitial policy improvement
 - ii) incremental policy
 - iii) bold ideas
 - iv) research/investigation/consultation to support all of the above
 - c) current events: is there a well-defined mechanism for handling problems as they arise – *Piscataway* brief; SDB legislative battle; California/Texas rollback

- 4. POTUS Speeches
 - a) Must steadily advance the ball
 - b) Avoid campaign style rhetoric in order to stay above politics, for history
 - c) Avoid platitudes, in order to model honest dialogue
 - d) Provide policy nuggets – *the installment plan*
 - e) Speeches by Cabinet and other surrogates? Consistency issues
 - f) Hypothesis: *preparing this series of speeches requires a different process from the custom*

- 5. Town Hall Meetings
 - a) Thematic, to help get the book written
 - b) Other goals too, of course

- 6. Other White House staff activities
 - a) Public Liaison
 - b) Press/Communications
 - c) Legislative Affairs
 - d) Intergovernmental
 - e) OMB

The President's Initiative on Race

Tasks to Support the Initiative and the Advisory Board on the President's Initiative on Race[ABPIR]

1. Research Issues
 - a) Status report on race relations
 - i) How much discrimination is there?
 - ii) Tolerance and other attitudinal issues
 - iii) Integration, racial isolation and social contact
 - b) Status report on the opportunity gap: trends and projections
 - i) Economic disparities
 - ii) Social disparities
 - iii) Review of the literature on causes of disparity
 - iv) Special analysis: compare and contrast the socioeconomic condition of poor whites and poor minorities
 - c) Color-tainted dimensions of selected policy controversies
 - i) Education policy review (e.g., the implications for the color gap of standards-based school reform, testing, affirmative action in higher education)
 - ii) Criminal justice and drug policy review
 - iii) Housing and urban development policy review
 - iv) Economic development policy review
 - d) **Finding examples of effective leadership and dialogue connecting communities across lines of color and class**
 - i) Assembling panel of advisors on this specific question.
 - ii) Soliciting nominations of examples from governors, civil leaders, journalists
 - iii) Methodological issues: how do you tell if something is a success?
 - iv) Develop a plan for showcasing success stories and identifying a leadership cadre around the nation
 - e) Briefing memoranda on special topics:
 - i) Impact of rollbacks in California and Texas •
 - ii) Census racial classification controversy
 - iii) Effect of immigration on native minority and poor populations •
 - iv) Legal (court) developments regarding race and ethnicity
 - v) Near-term legislative controversies, federal and state

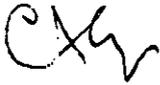
2. Communications/Outreach Issues
 - a) Generally: WH staff recommendations for ABPIR outreach and consultation plan. (One idea: letters posing specific questions on which we want help/advice)
 - i) elected officials
 - ii) religious and civic leaders, national and grass roots
 - iii) private sector executives
 - iv) leaders in target sectors: media, criminal justice, education, higher education, military
 - v) ABPIR and WH role in summer conventions and other meetings. E.g., NGA; civil rights groups; church groups
 - b) Letter to Congressional leadership ASAP
 - c) ABPIR Subcommittee meetings/hearings on targeted issues, e.g.:
 - i) lessons from the military
 - ii) minority business
 - iii) Impact of rollback in California and Texas
 - d) Soliciting thoughtful essays from leading thinkers – who?
3. Organizational Issues
 - a) acting executive director ASAP??
 - b) schedule ABPIR meeting in mid-July
 - c) schedule ABPIR conference call ASAP
 - d) press relations – coordinator and strategy (foreign press?)
 - e) take advantage of Nissan USA expertise
4. Miscellany
 - a) communications stuff
 - i) ABC Nightline; Charlie Rose; and other broadcast outlets
 - ii) Syndicated column on race talk, with special board of editors?
 - iii) Magazine articles
 - b) Finding thoughtful conservative voices
5. Near-term policy initiatives by the Administration – “Down payment”
 - a) Enforcement budget to tame the backlogs
 - b) support President’s Budget initiative on measuring discrimination
 - c) *Title VI investigations in California and Texas*
 - d) Proactive strategy on Bill Lee
 - e) Other? Congressional activity?

Re: Race Initiative Policy

Bruce -
For your files
Elena

7/15/97

To: Elena Kagan
Deputy Assistant to the President

From: Christopher Edley, Jr. 
Professor of Law

Re: Comments on Draft POTUS Memo

Great memo. Small points:

- Seems strange to make the memo "through" Judy Winston, but maybe that's the deal. Also, it is false labeling in the sense that she presumably hasn't guided your construction of this.
- I would count his San Diego statement on the EEOC enforcement budget as the "first" policy initiative, and call the teachers the second. When The President decided to make the statement about the budget, I know for a fact he did it in order to make a policy down payment. Would seem strange to him for his staff to ignore it.

I suppose part of my role is to try to pull and push in unaccustomed directions, so . . . I have two major substantive points.

First, I believe it is important to *take the long view* in this initiative, and we would do well to keep reminding ourselves of that. I'm concerned that there is so much emphasis on the Clinton record, past Clinton initiatives, Clinton themes, etc., that you are signaling a lack of interest in thinking outside the box - or indeed, the need to do so. I don't think the correct policy baseline is the past four years, but rather the past 35 years. And, similarly, the right time frame for policy proposals is not the FY 1999 budget, but the closing years of this century and the start of the next.

Frankly, I despair of getting a DPC/NEC process that would make a candid appraisal of Clinton Administration policies from a race perspective. There will be inevitable, understandable defensiveness. (You heard the discussion yesterday of testing; much less forthcoming than the reaction I got from Secretary Riley to the same points.) There are two ways to help with this problem: change the time frame so that you are assessing the broader range of 35 years of policy, not just Clinton's initiatives; and make sure that dissonant but constructive voices are part of the process. (That's me, I guess.) So a mention of the need to solicit outside voices might make sense. The Advisory Board can help, but can't do all of that work because their role is broader than policy, and because of FACA.

Your reference to "bold" is much appreciated. I think we need some frame-breaking. Not everywhere, but at least in a few places.

Second, I wonder whether it might not be useful to put in front of the President the approach the Board will take, at my urging, of asking in each of several substantive areas, such as education:

- How does policy in this area bear on racial and ethnic justice?
- Conversely, how does race affect the political and policy discourse in the field?
- How can we wrestle in an honest, constructive way with a few of the most vexing and racially contentious issues in this field? (E.g., integration, bilingual education, race-conscious admissions)

In my mind, the policy councils can play an important role in the Advisory Committee's work along the above lines, and vice versa.

I have a string of meetings and phone calls this afternoon, but Laura can page me anytime.

Edley sketch
07/08/97 5:25 PM

RECOMMENDED ADVISORY BOARD AGENDA

- I. Call to Order and Overview of the Day
- II. Administrative Details
- III. Opening Statements
- IV. Agenda-Setting Discussion: Principal Areas Proposed by Staff for Investigation and Deliberation Over the Course of the Year
 - A. Report Card: what we do and don't know about demographics, disparities, race relations and discrimination
 - B. Education
 1. Bilingualism
 2. Minority stakes in K-12 school reform debates
 3. Challenges of racial and economic concentration
 4. "Merit" and "Diversity" in Higher Education
 - ...
 - C. Administration of Justice
 1. Crime and Criminal Justice
 2. Civil Rights
 - ...
 - D. Community Empowerment
 1. Housing and community economic development
 2. Jobs and wages (including affirmative action in employment)
 3. Entrepreneurship (including affirmative action for businesses)
 - E. Other Social Policy Issues
 1. Health Care
 2. Immigration and attitudes on immigration
 - ...
 - F. Models of Effective Leadership and Constructive Dialogue
 1. How to define and assess effectiveness
 2. How to gather and disseminate examples from around the nation
 3. How to train effective leaders
 - G. Overarching Issues/Questions
 1. *Integration*

2. *Diversity*
3. *Vision: Defining "racial and ethnic justice"*
4. *Discrimination: defining it, measuring it, and assessing its importance to opportunity today*

...

V. Agenda-Setting Discussion, cont'd: Developing a Workplan

- A. Outreach Strategy (staff paper provided)
- B. Subcommittee meetings and "hearings"
- C. Specially invited submissions from experts and civic leaders

...

VI. Adjourn

POLICY DIRECTION: PROBLEM / SOLUTION

1. Education

- Inner city schools
 - Stds, reading, teachers and technology, acctability
 - Real problem -- back end/front end; every child can learn
- Access to college
 - Pell grant, HOPE
 - Mend it don't end it

2. Economic opportunity

- Outside the economic mainstream
 - CD banks, E-zones, capital, brownfields, CRA

3. Housing

- Public housing is a travesty
 - Safety (cops/gangs). Empowerment/Vouchers.
- Discrimination in housing -- segregated neighborhoods lead to segregated educ etc.
 - Part govt (HUD doing its utmost); but lots in our hearts (brother neighbor)

4. Welfare/jobs

- Ending the underclass, bring into the economic mainstream
 - Work/child care/more jobs/transportation/min wage/challenge to business
- Immigrant benefits

5. Crime

- Ravages of crime/Systematic underprotection of minorities (no segregation of safety)
 - More cops, less guns, after-school programs, gangs, drugs
 - Powell/Cisneros/at-risk kids/Summit

6. Racism

- There are places in society where this works, models of respect and progressive race relations. Military -- opportunities, policies, enormous contribution minorities make b/c of it. Every part of America should be like that -- every employer should follow it (Texaco, Dennys). Every citizen should learn from it -- duty we all owe one another. LAPD example.

Race Initiative Policy

- DRAFT -

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BRUCE REED
ELENA KAGAN

SUBJECT: POLICY DEVELOPMENT FOR THE RACE INITIATIVE

This memorandum proposes a policy development process for the Race Initiative -- and recommends an initial policy announcement to be unveiled at the NAACP's annual meeting on July 17th. Although we would have preferred to develop this process with the assistance of the Race Commission's staff director, we believe that it is of critical importance to get started right away. Thus, we recommend that DPC immediately convene three workgroups in the key areas of economic empowerment, education and administration of justice, and that a fourth issue -- health -- be addressed through DPC's ongoing relationship with HHS.

Our goal for these workgroups is three-fold: (1) to provide a statistical "snapshot" of racial and ethnic minorities and, thus, an informed starting point for policy development; (2) to assess the impact of Administration initiatives on racial and ethnic minorities; and (3) based on our analysis, to recommend policy initiatives to announce throughout the upcoming year -- as well as longer-term policies to incorporate into the Race Commission's final report.

I. WORKGROUPS

A. Economic Empowerment

Managed jointly by DPC and NEC, this group's mission will be to look for ways to promote job growth and the culture of work among disadvantaged minorities. Increasing job opportunities for unemployed and underemployed blacks and Latinos, and assimilating them into the workplace, is the way to strike right at the economic root of racism in our society. Jobs give minorities what they want most -- a chance to participate in the mainstream economy -- and help dispel majority fears about racial and ethnic minorities who are at the margins of society. Other participants in the Economic Empowerment group will include: CEA, OVP, OMB, Treasury, Labor, HUD, HHS, Agriculture, Commerce, Interior, SBA and Transportation.

We have already met with the CEA to begin compiling the economic data for this task. Some analysis was conducted during the Administration's affirmative action review, but more needs to be done. We will also specifically examine a host of Administration initiatives -- including the Welfare jobs initiative, EITC, EZs, CDFIs, changes to CRA, the minimum wage increase, One Stop Career Centers and Capital Shops, HUD's Bridges-to-Work, Home Ownership Zones, etc. -- and look at their impact on racial and ethnic minorities. We will try and build on existing economic efforts wherever possible.

NEUTRALITY

With respect to longer-term policy development, the Economic Empowerment group will also look at other topics, such as: (1) strengthening job recruitment networks; (2) matching and transporting workers to where there is worker demand; (3) promoting mixed-income, multi-racial communities; (4) affordable housing strategies; (5) housing mobility; and (5) rural economic development.

B. Education

This group, which will be managed jointly by DPC and the Department of Education, will consist of two subgroups: one specifically to look into the dramatic drop in minority enrollment at the Universities of California and Texas; and one to promote improvements in elementary and secondary education. Addressing the "jobs gap" is the most visible and immediate way to begin addressing economic disparities and racial stereotypes, than increasing levels of education among disadvantaged minorities must be our primary long-term challenge.

The experience of Latinos in many parts of our country makes clear the importance of education to climbing the economic ladder. While Latinos in some cities have been able to overcome discrimination in hiring and develop successful job recruitment networks -- often leading to coveted industrial jobs -- their average income is either stagnant or declining. A recent study by the Woodstock Institute in Chicago found that while unemployment rates for Hispanic Empowerment Zone (EZ) residents were half that of their African American counterparts, their average income was considerably lower than that of employed African Americans.

The Minority Enrollment subgroup will consist of DPC, White House Counsel, Education and Justice, and has already started to meet and collect data. In addition to DPC and Education, the broader subgroup on elementary and secondary education will include NEC, CEA, OVP, OMB and HHS. This group will look at how performance standards, teacher training, technology and infrastructure improvements can help our poorer schools. Also, we are particularly interested in reviewing what Mayor Daley of Chicago and other mayors are doing to turn their school systems around, and how such comprehensive -- and race neutral -- changes can benefit all Americans.

C. Administration of Justice

This group will also be split into two subgroups, both led by DPC: the first will focus on crime control and prevention; and the second will target government-wide enforcement of our civil rights laws. Other members of these groups will include: OVP, OMB, Treasury, DOJ, Education, Labor, HUD, HHS, Agriculture, Interior and EOC.

The primary focus of the Crime group will be to examine the under protection of racial and ethnic minorities. Although minorities, particularly in our inner cities, are the most likely victims of crime, they have been historically under protected by local law enforcement. Even now, as crime has dipped to its lowest level in 35 years, initial data indicate that minority communities have not benefitted as much from this decline as other communities. This is

especially true for Indian Country, where the homicide rate has jumped more than 80 percent since 1992.

We strongly believe that the Administration's community policing initiative is on the right track and helping to reverse the trend of under protection. It is helping thousands of communities put more police in neglected, high-crime areas -- as well as allowing police officers to work collaboratively with community residents to solve a broad spectrum of crime problems (youth violence, domestic abuse, hate crimes, etc.) With more than 40,000 new police officers to be hired, there is still much the Administration's community policing -- and other crime initiatives -- can do to address the considerable public safety needs of minority communities.

The Civil Rights Enforcement group will seek to develop a coordinated strategy and common mission for the many federal agencies involved in civil rights enforcement. In addition to reviewing how to reduce the considerable backlog of cases in some of these agencies, the Civil Rights group will tackle and troubleshoot some of the policy quandaries that arise when communities try to be innovative. For instance, the Fair Housing Act has prevented some EZs from targeting their housing monies to EZ residents. Similarly, school districts that have tried to improve by implementing initiatives such as teacher testing have come into conflict with Title VII of the Civil Rights Act.

D. Health

Instead of establishing a new work group to review health issues, we intend to build on DPC's close working relationship with HHS and existing health initiatives. HHS has already commenced an internal review to identify disparities in health needs and the provision of services. Also, we are reviewing the Administration's immunization initiative to see how it has impacted racial and ethnic minorities, and considering how we can ensure that the low-income children's health initiative meets the significant needs of certain minorities.

II. INITIAL EDUCATION ANNOUNCEMENT

We are recommending that you announce a two-part education initiative when you speak to the NAACP on July 17th. This initiative, which will be included as part of the reauthorization of the Higher Education Act, focuses on improving teacher recruitment and preparation, with a particular focus on preparing teachers to teach in urban and poor rural school systems. The teacher preparation component of the program will provide funds to partnerships involving institutions of higher education with exemplary teacher preparation programs, other institutions of higher education seeking to strengthen their teacher preparation programs, and local school systems that will employ new teachers. These partnerships will work together to implement teacher preparation programs that effectively equip new teachers to teach in urban and rural environments.

The second component funds scholarships for individuals preparing to teach; scholarship recipients will be required to teach for at least three years in an under served community. Funds will be distributed on a competitive basis to partnerships of eligible local school systems and

institutions of higher education. The partners together will define the priority local needs (e.g., teachers in particular disciplines, specialties or grade levels) and target populations (e.g., mid-career adults, paraprofessionals already in the classrooms, or more traditional teacher candidates), and will provide scholarships to individuals meeting these criteria.

By focusing on better training for teachers and improving our neglected schools, we believe that you will be in a strong position to urge the NAACP not to abandon its long history in support of integration -- and to support the Administration's education initiatives.

File: Race Intertial Policy

and

" " " - Education and

" " " - Admin of Justice - Civil Rts Enhancement

cc: Elk, Jose + return ASAP

MEMORANDUM

To: President Clinton
From: Henry Cisneros
Subject: Saturday Speech in San Diego

There are huge expectations for your Saturday speech. The advance press coverage is more extensive than for any other Presidential speech I can recall. It ranges from intense hopefulness to dismissive skepticism that you will go beyond exhortation to substantive action.

The following are some ideas that can be fleshed out in the time remaining. They are intended to fall within budget constraints. If these ideas cannot be described at length in the speech, they can be part of the substantive actions you ask the advisory committee to review and recommend:

Mike - Can we do something like this? What would it mean? Etera

- 1. Direct that specific parts of the massive education spending you have championed be targeted to central city schools and depressed areas.
2. Request that General Colin Powell's follow-up to the Philadelphia volunteerism summit have as a component explicit actions to address the racial divide.
3. Launch a public-private project to raise scholarship money for blacks and other minorities...
4. Direct the Department of Housing and Urban Development to strengthen its efforts to combat discrimination in housing transactions.
5. Re-emphasize the welfare-to-work connection, including new training and employment efforts with the states.
6. Call on corporations to incorporate in their training programs for employees explicit and firm policies concerning any kind of racial discrimination.

7. Call on national church leaders to create a national coalition of youth organizations to bring minority and white youth together. A few churches have made efforts at adult multi-racial dialogue, but the real hope for the future is in creating understanding among our young people. Linking the well-intentioned, mainstream resources of the nation's white churches with the central city centers of Boys and Girls Clubs, YMCA, YWCA, athletic leagues, and schools could create opportunities for one-on-one understanding.

Underlying Themes:

- Now that the economy is so strong it is time to make it work for everyone. You have worked to create durable and unprecedented prosperity for a purpose: so that the American dream can be brought within reach of all our citizens. Aside from their poverty, the common denominator that most characterizes those for whom the American dream is denied is race and ethnicity.
- This great unresolved issue of American history -- racial hatred -- is one of the very few things that can stop us in the next century. If we fail to address it, we will be more divided and squander our energies. If we master it, the next century will be an American Century of even greater accomplishments.
- Though skeptics will say there are insufficient new laws and new money in this initiative, the fact is that what is needed at this time is to execute the laws we have and to live out our creed through the resources we have. The challenge is to make our institutions work for racial fairness and our hearts value racial justice.

^{the} Race initiative -
policy

POLICY DIRECTION: PROBLEM / SOLUTION

1. Education

- Access to college
 - Pell grant, HOPE
 - Mend it, don't end it; criticize Hopwood, 209
 - Real problem -- what happens on the front end; every child can learn if given opportunity...
- Failing inner city schools
 - Standards as necessary first element
 - Then, giving students the tools to meet them: reading, teachers and technology, accountability for failing schools

2. Economic opportunity

- Individuals and communities outside the economic mainstream
 - CD banks, E-zones, capital, brownfields, CRA
- Continuing employment discrimination (Texaco, Denny's); EEOC backlog
 - Stepping up enforcement efforts.
 - Calling on companies to institute policies ensuring equal employment opportunities

3. Housing

- Travesty of public housing
 - Safety (cops/anti-gang measures).
 - Vouchers and other tools of empowerment.
- Discrimination in housing -- segregated neighborhoods leading to segregated schools, businesses, etc.
 - Partly government (HUD/DOJ enforcement of Fair Housing laws)
 - But lots in our hearts (accepting each other as neighbors)

4. Welfare/jobs

- Continuing underclass, living apart from world of work
 - Emphasizing value of work
 - Creating more jobs, improving access to child care and transportation
 - Guaranteeing the minimum wage
 - Challenging business to do its share
- Cutting off immigrants from safety net
 - Restore benefits

5. Crime

- Ravages of crime/systematic underprotection of minorities (segregation of safety)
 - More cops, fewer guns, anti-gang and -drug programs, prevention efforts
 - Continuation of Summit -- reaching out to at-risk kids

6. Ideals/models

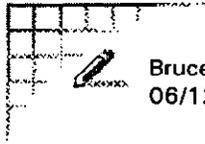
- There are places in society where race relations work -- where we at least come close to

treating people of all races with equal respect and dignity and granting them equal opportunities.

-- Refer to military: policies ensure opportunity -- enable members of minority groups to make enormous contributions to society.

-- Every part of America should be like that -- every employer should adopt this model to get the most out of its workforce; every profession should construct itself along these lines; every citizen should learn from it about the duty we all owe one another.

Race initiative policy



Bruce N. Reed
06/12/97 06:48:14 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Elena Kagan/OPD/EOP

cc:

Subject: Re: 1997-06-12 Briefing by Sylvia Mathews and Maria Echaveste

I guess she's had enough teasing for today.

One thing we should do ASAP for our own protection and the President's: We've got to change SMAT's spin to explain that this Administration has already done an enormous amount, and is already proposing an enormous amount, to expand education opportunity, combat stereotypes, and make life materially better for people of all races. We can't make it sound like we're starting from scratch.

Race initiative policy

Brown - EO on environmental racism

Cummo - Also, more enforcement - do old stuff right / then new stuff

Shalala - Need to do hard internal work 1st.

before we come to WH.

EB - There will be some \$

Signif priority

Real achievements!

Gaines - Look at all tools you have.

Spending / Reps / Hiring + procurement

Don't just look for silver bullet

We have lots of levers.

Race initiative - policy
generally

POLICY DEVELOPMENT FOR THE RACE/RECONCILIATION INITIATIVE

We have three goals for the policy component of the proposed race/reconciliation initiative. These are:

(1) Establish baselines in key issue areas. Our first step must be to establish accurate and updated baselines in the areas of economic opportunity, education, health, housing and the administration of justice. It is important for us to assess what improvements racial minorities have and have not experienced in recent years. For instance: while some African-American and Latino leaders continue to call for expensive urban policies to create jobs, promote affordable housing and prevent crime -- the Administration's policies have created millions of jobs, increased minority home ownership and dramatically cut crime. Updated baselines that allow us to show who is and who is not benefitting from these trends will allow us to promote more informed debate and develop targeted policies.

(2) Develop short-term initiatives. Our second goal must be to develop a series of policy initiatives that can be implemented throughout the year -- and used to complement the proposed events and town hall meetings. Our best opportunities here are two-fold: first, by developing policy responses to key race-related issues that we expect to arise (e.g., the impact of proposition 209 on minority enrollment in California Colleges); and second, by targeting existing Administration initiatives to address specific race-related issues (e.g., using the COPS program to crack down on hate crimes or EZ funds to promote minority job networks). ✓

(3) Develop long-term policy recommendations that go beyond Washington's left-right debate. Our most important goal must be to work with the Commission and their staff to develop long-term policy recommendations that go beyond the current polarized debate on race. These recommendations, which will be included in the President's Report to the American People, must also be achievable within the context of the budget agreement. Clearly, this will be the most challenging aspect of the race/reconciliation initiative. We strongly believe, however, that much can be accomplished without calling for new spending programs. Here are some initial ideas in each issue area:]

Economic Opportunity -- Perhaps the best opportunity here is in how we target the needs of minorities with respect to the welfare jobs initiative. However, additional opportunities exist to use the EZs, HUD CDBG funds, CDFIs, Brownfields and other ongoing Administration initiatives to promote culturally-oriented development, minority job links and recruitment networks and increased access to capital. An equally ambitious effort would be to work with the labor unions to increase the availability of apprenticeship programs -- and ultimately union scale jobs -- to minorities.

Education -- Promoting the use of standards to increase performance in some of our inner city schools.

Health. Targeting the new health initiative for low-income children to serve key minority populations.

Housing. Make HUD funds more flexible so that they can be used to actively promote the development of more diverse, mixed-income communities.

Justice. Using the COPS program to dramatically increase the number of minority police officers serving minority communities; to increase diversity training for officers that work in minority communities; and to increase police resources in traditionally under served communities.

To guide these efforts, DPC -- in conjunction with the NEC -- will convene work groups in each of these areas.