

components necessary to produce tritium using a linear accelerator. The tests will seek to demonstrate that LEDA's proton-beam-power output, which set a world's record in early 1998, can be accelerated and controlled by its radio-frequency quadrupole (RFQ) which has the longest structure and highest energy of any RFQ in the world. Engineering development and preliminary design work for an APT will be completed to provide a backup technology for tritium production.

- **Gasoline Prices Up, Stocks Down:** On March 15, in New York Harbor, the spot price for conventional regular gasoline ended at 41.78 cents per gallon, up 2.93 cents from a week before. The 5.6 cent per gallon jump in the national average retail regular gasoline price was the highest since the Gulf War. The upward trend in gasoline prices, started three weeks ago, is expected to continue as crude oil prices rebound and the driving season nears. As of March 15, the national average retail regular gasoline price was 97.7, only 3.1 cents per gallon less than last year.

#### DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

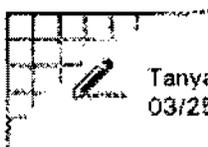
- **NCAA Stay Request:** On March 16, a Federal judge denied the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA)'s request for a stay of a district court injunction that prevents the NCAA from using its current rule to determine the eligibility of incoming student athletes. On March 8, the district court ruled that the disparate impact of the NCAA's Proposition 16 violated Title VI of the Civil Rights Act. With no NCAA rule in place, colleges must determine their own rules for student-athlete eligibility. The NCAA will appeal.
- **Charter Schools:** In April, DOEd will release a guidebook for charter school operators and developers. The guidebook will outline major federal charter schools programs.
- **Ending Social Promotion:** DOEd is preparing "Taking Responsibility for Ending Social Promotion: A Guide for Educators and State and Local Leaders." This guide highlights examples of states, districts, and schools that have taken a comprehensive approach to ending social promotion by beginning early with opportunities for preschool and early childhood learning; strengthening teaching by providing high-quality curriculum, instruction, and teacher preparation; identifying students who need extra help early; accommodating students with special needs; and providing additional learning time.

*Bruce -  
for getting  
this out and  
when?*

#### VETERANS AFFAIRS

- **Homeless Assistance Grants:** VA announced it will begin accepting applications from public and nonprofit private groups for \$12.5 million in grants to develop programs that help veterans recover from homelessness. VA's Homeless Providers Grant and Per Diem Program provides assistance to non-profit State and local government agencies to establish transitional housing and supportive services for homeless veterans.

Race Book



Tanya E. Martin  
03/25/99 07:26:21 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Bruce N. Reed/OPD/EOP, Elena Kagan/OPD/EOP  
cc: Laura Emmett/WHO/EOP  
Subject: Race Book -- Education Draft

As an overall comment, this chapter does not appear to be in its "final stages" as suggested in the cover memo. While some things will clearly be cleaned up with editing (the chapter is unduly repetitive in some places), the centerpiece -- the proposed "Compact for Equal Opportunity in Education" -- lacks a clearly thought out connection with ESEA. The compact mimics requirements in some places (e.g. report cards -- which is ok since it wouldn't be perceived as an additional burden), and in other areas I'm not sure whether it tracks at all (e.g. how does "broadest possible flexibility in federal grant programs" square with whatever Ed-Flex provision we put into ESEA).

A meeting with Mike Smith, Mike Cohen and Chris Edley to try and square the Compact with ESEA fell victim to scheduling problems and Mike's eventual departure. Should we try and make this happen?

Due to time considerations, toward the end I listed programs (e.g. Troops to teachers) that I thought should be added without more specific language). Bethany can run over some suggested language on how to reference those programs in the morning.

On to more specific comments:

p.5, second para: Should it state that President does not support "federally-funded" vouchers as opposed to just "vouchers"? President didn't come out squarely against state-funded vouchers.

p.5, last sentence: The fact that 90% of all children are in public schools does not necessarily provide support for the proposition that most Americans agree with the President's opposition to vouchers (some would argue that they may simply have no other choice). I would use the 90% enrollment figure as support for why we must continue to reform public schools -- as they are the schools that the overwhelming majority of our students attend, and will continue to be likely to attend even with vouchers.

p.16, 2nd para: We must build the highest quality educational system that will provide Americans of all backgrounds the opportunity to excel [delete: continuously learn].

p.16, last para: Need to check that data supports a racial disparity in class size. In some places - like DC, urban schools have better teacher ratios -- everyone fleeing to suburbs. Also, should probably highlight, a major step that we have already taken (in addition to one that is in its first year) to close opportunity gap is Title I -- holding students accountable to the same high standards,

getting rid of watered-down curriculum and lower expectations. Need to push this along, class size will help. Minority students especially benefit from one-on-one interaction and results last.

Chapter B -- Centerpiece: How is the accountability here the same and/or different from ESEA? We need to have thought this out - especially since the race book and ESEA will hit the public around the same time frame. Is the compact flexibility more, the same or less than that in Ed-Flex?

p.22 Mentions "shock therapy". Will districts will willingly sign up for this?

p.22 Miami FI example. A great example of turning around failing schools, but not necessarily of closing the gap in racial achievement. Data probably shows that minority students still underperforming peers at those schools. Florida has recognized this problem by establishing special reward for schools that improve while also improving across racial categories. (Should get more info from Florida Dept of ED)

P 25-27 - repeats arguments in introduction. Needs editing to use best of the arguments about the conditions of schooling for children in poor schools, mention of earlier administration reforms seem to be too far at the end of the chapter.

#### National Work plan

p.31 - Head Start discussion should mention the progress that we've made in increasing funding for this program. Discussion simply mentions the funding level.

p.32 -- We should check results from E.O. on service (POTUS asked agencies to review flex plans to provide opportunities for service) to be sure that federal employees have flexibility to volunteer at their schools every month before we suggest it as a national goal.

p.33 -- do we want to take on the local school finance system -- is that suggested by "I hope much more change of this sort is on the way."

p.34 -- Footnote 44 states that after controlling for poverty, teacher quality has the largest impact on disparities in achievement between black and white students. Should the "compact" focus on community-wide efforts to improve teacher quality? Especially since we are trying to reduce class size and phase out unqualified teachers in ESEA.

p.35 -- Need to mention our efforts to recruit teachers to high-poverty schools, Troops to Teachers, Native American teachers and other recruitment efforts.

p.35 - Footnote 46 -- need to add information on how 1994 Title I reforms moved states to align curriculums with challenging academic standards.

p.39 - Administration has secured increased funding for training teachers to work with LEP students, should reference this.

p.40 -- safety discussion should talk reiterate the principles of our Safe and Drug free reauthorization i.e. using proven practices, a comprehensive school-wide approach, report cars that include safety and drug-use data.

p.41 -- It seems that a discussion on high standards and accountability would come first in the nation's work plan. This discussion doesn't really address solutions -- be they federal (high standards in Title I) state (state standards and assessments) or other actors (teachers).

p.45 Charter schools -- New York should not be used as example of "charter" school -- they just passed their law. The schools that are profiled in NY are part of a specially-designated group of schools -- good example of choice, but not charter.

~~CLOSE HOLD~~ ms

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

March 19, 1999

MEMORANDUM FOR DISTRIBUTION

FROM: PHIL CAPLAN *phw*

SUBJECT: Race Book - Draft

Attached is a draft of the race book. I'm circulating it for your review and comment; it's important that you read it carefully and thoroughly. The President is reading it at the same time.

John and Maria have tasked Todd Stern to edit the book in its final stages. Please feed him all edits/comments so that the project may be completed in a timely fashion.

Comments are due to him by March 26.

## PART IV: THE COMMUNITY WE MUST BUILD

*The unsung heroes of America's long march to racial reconciliation have always been ordinary citizens working together to make a difference.*

— Bill Clinton, from *Pathways to One America in the 21st Century*

### A. INTRODUCTION

As President and especially during our Initiative on Race, I have had the privilege of meeting and talking with Americans from all parts of our country. Whether I am chatting with my neighbors back home in Arkansas, or listening to the concerns of urban families struggling to give their kids a decent education, or trading insights with students -- from Maine to California -- not a day goes by that I am not reminded that most Americans of all races are people of good faith who are committed to building a stronger America across racial lines. But, at the same time, most Americans do not fully understand the nature or extent of our racial challenges. Many want to do their part. They are just not sure what to do or where to begin. This has greatly limited our ability to forge a consensus for action.

In The America We See, I described the present challenges facing us on the issue of race: lingering discrimination, persistent disparities and strained race relations based on the fears and stereotypes in our hearts. In The America We Want, I put forth my vision of the America we must strive for. In The America We Deserve, I presented a number of workplans to guide what we all must do to "get to the promised land."

Separating what we "want" from what we "deserve" suggests that the America we deserve is somehow different than the one we want

But solving specific problems—in education, in law enforcement, in economic development— can be difficult for reasons that go beyond the challenges at hand. Finding solutions can be hard for reasons that are more than skin deep and are, at root, matters of the heart.

In this chapter, I want to talk about two tightly interrelated issues. The first is about developing community -- strengthening connections to others, and finding a common purpose that unites people across racial and ethnic differences. The second is about specific forms of civic engagement -- ways in which we can all participate to help strengthen our democracy and build One America.

I believe that one of the best ways to achieve these goals is the way Americans have always done it -- by stepping out beyond the boundaries of their own lives to join with others for a larger purpose. Many citizens are leading the way. They are already

working -- one person, one neighborhood, one school system, one workplace at a time -- to build, a stronger, more unified American community.

**The Empathy Gap**

→ no sure I would highlight "empathy gap" - high probability for "I feel your pain" - it's a cliche

But before I talk about the specific things we must do, I want to discuss why building One America sometimes seems so elusive. A big part of this problem is that, despite all of the progress we have made in civil rights and race relations over the past half-century, we still suffer from what I call an "empathy gap" - an acute difficulty in seeing others as part of our community or part of our lives.

For too long, we have primarily defined ourselves by the things that make us different -- color, gender, religion, class. And while diversity makes America rich, thinking only about our differences, without any feelings of empathy for others, serves only to divide us. Such thinking can cause people of privilege to view the plight of those less fortunate -- especially minorities -- as the problems of "those people." It can also cause many minorities to believe that no white person can be trusted and that people of color will never be fully accepted as mainstream Americans. This has devastating public policy consequences. It is much harder to marshal public will to empower and improve the lives of the less fortunate, or to join with people to strengthen communities and

institutions, if the wealthy see poor minorities only as people "other" than themselves. Similarly, if people of color retreat into enclaves of isolation, trusting no one but themselves, they will never form the kind of multiracial coalitions that are so necessary for change.

The reason for this empathy gap are the distances—both psychological and physical—that continue to define race relations in America. In addition to the still-fester wounds of our divisive past, we still, too often, live and work and study separated by lines of class and color. Ultimately, the inability to see others is a failure of heart that hurts us, both as individuals and as a nation.

There are two ways this problem can manifest itself. First, the empathy gap can produce personal attitudes that give rise to misunderstandings, prejudice, and even racial hostility. Second, the empathy gap can leave us disinterested in, or even blind to, the lives and struggles of others. After all, the most extreme consequence of seeing people as "other" is not seeing them at all. For example, many of us do not even know about the extraordinary levels of unemployment on Indian reservations that would cause public outrage in suburbs or even urban centers. We lament but tolerate levels of crime within urban ghettos five times what we find in even non-affluent suburbs. We also tolerate national levels of poverty for blacks and Hispanics three times that for whites. A major

reason for our collective complacency about these problems is that many of the people struggling with these conditions appear to be “other” than ourselves. Thus the empathy gap allows us to live with the racial gaps in opportunity that I outlined in the previous section of this book.

I believe that there are two ways for us to close the empathy gap. First, we need more interaction. Much of our inability to “see” others goes away when we work together to make our lives, our neighborhoods, and our communities better places. Second, we need to better understand ourselves as well as others.

Closing the empathy gap by interacting more, and by understanding ourselves more fully, is a matter of both heart and community. It requires that we look inward, that we are truthful with ourselves, and that we reconcile ourselves with our deepest feelings about race and class, about biases, and about prejudices. But it also requires that we look outward, that we remain hopeful, and that we reconcile ourselves with our neighbors and with those whom we don't yet know so that we can build stronger communities. In the rest of this chapter, I will discuss ways that we can build One America through old-fashioned civic engagement and by looking to the promising practices of thousands of Americans who are showing us the way.

## B. CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

### (I) What is Civic Engagement? Why It Matters, Especially Regarding Race

As President, I have come to learn that the most exalted title in America is

“citizen.” There is no greater honor or responsibility than to participate in the give-and-take rhythm of citizenship. That means living fully and freely as an active member of our vibrant democracy. But, civic engagement can be practiced in many ways. As Robert Fullinwider says, civil society “extends from churches and soccer leagues to reading groups to social movements. It encompasses highly organized national federations as well as informal neighborhood crime watches; it includes associations as large as the AARP and as small as the family. Its activities produce an amazing array of goods -- from community safety to companionship to medical care to spiritual guidance.”<sup>1</sup>

In this discussion of civic engagement, I am talking about informal associations like tenants' associations and parent-teacher groups. I also refer to those activities we traditionally think of as “political,” like voting and community activism. While the forms of civic engagement are virtually limitless, they have one thing in common: they all build

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<sup>1</sup> From older document, “The Work Plan for Increasing Civic Engagement.” But where is this quote from? No footnote.

Surely  
President  
has known  
this  
for a while

skills, enhance citizenship, and provide experiences which help strengthen American democracy. As we become more involved in the many ties and relationships that comprise community, we move outside the private and into the public sphere. You don't have to be involved in something called "politics" to make democracy stronger. But you do have to be involved with your neighbors to make your community stronger. And you do have to make efforts that cross lines of color and class to build One America.

Civic engagement is the cornerstone of democratic self-government. When French social theorist Alexis de Tocqueville visited the United States in the 1830s, he saw Americans' propensity to form civic associations as the key to their ability to make democracy work.<sup>2</sup> Recent scholarship has indicated that Tocqueville was right: historically, Americans have been unusually civic. And, in the words of Harvard political scientist Robert Putnam, "The norms and networks of civic engagement powerfully affect the performance of representative government."<sup>3</sup>

One important way that engagement, trust, improved race relations, and increased political commitment evolve is through the basic organizations of society -- schools, jobs,

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<sup>2</sup> Robert Putnam, "Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital," *Journal of Democracy*, 6:1, January 1995, p.65 -- but get new quote.

<sup>3</sup> Putnam, "Bowling Alone," p. 66. Putnam is referring to his study of Italian civil society, *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).

churches, clubs, and institutions founded to support social and political causes. These organizations are at the heart of local communities.

But civic engagement is also essential to our efforts to build One America. One of the reasons that race can seem like such a barrier in contemporary America is because many of us have not yet had the opportunity to interact with, or to work alongside, those whom we think are not like us. Those who have will tell you there is nothing like working with a diverse group, painting a low-income housing project or deciding on a neighborhood watch strategy or trying to register voters for an upcoming election. There you all are, doing your jobs and planning together, when suddenly, you see your community, and your self, in a whole new light.

To build One America, we must all become more involved in our communities.

Here are some of the most important reasons:

- ***Improve institutions***

Broader participation by people of different racial or ethnic backgrounds can help reduce discrimination within institutions and expand opportunity. More diverse membership and more active participation are more likely to result in outcomes that will benefit the greatest number of people.

- ***Create trust and cooperation among people***

Bringing people of different racial and ethnic backgrounds together around a shared goal gives people a chance to respect and trust each other while broadening understanding. Furthermore, it helps individuals understand the needs of a larger community and nation.

- ***Help meet community needs, with and without government partnership***

Of course, government at all levels is an important partner in, and sometimes an important leader of, voluntary activities. But strong community institutions are essential to effectively meeting local needs. Communities around the nation have successfully come together to make streets safe, reduce drop-out rates, and build gardens in neighborhoods once filled with graffiti and garbage. Churches, through volunteers from their congregations, have taught classes on child-rearing for young parents, on language acquisition for newly-arrived immigrants, on computer skills for working adults.

- **Take Charge of Your Own Future**

Civic engagement is the essence of empowerment. America works best when Americans take personal responsibility for decisions that affect them and their children. In recent years, Americans have made it clear, they want their voices heard. What better way than through civic engagement?

**(2) Civic Engagement in Practice: Ways to Become More Involved**

In the United States, there are countless ways to get involved. We can participate in formal, more traditional **politics**. Or we can **volunteer** to do public or national service that benefits us all. We can join other **community groups**, like churches or clubs, whose main purposes might be social or recreational, but which help us build community ties and relationships that are so important in a healthy democracy. Finally, we can join with others in groups that give us the opportunity to **improve race relations**.

- **Politics and Voting**

*If democracy is America's civil religion, voting is its most important sacrament.*<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>David Kusnet, "Introduction," *Voting Rights in America: Continuing the Quest for Full Participation* (Washington DC: Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, 1992), p.2.

No one can argue that an essential element of American democracy is an active government of, for and by the people. We can decide to participate in politics in many ways—by serving in local government, by working on campaigns, by running for office or by becoming part of a social movement. But, regardless of whether we choose to become political activists, all of us of voting age should participate fully in the political process by casting our ballots. America's preeminent leadership for peace, freedom, and prosperity both here at home and around the world is fueled by the simplest but most powerful act of our democracy—voting. In many ways the struggle for civil rights and racial progress in America is analogous to the struggle for voting rights. And this struggle has not been all black and white.

The 15<sup>th</sup> amendment declared "the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude." But new barriers, like poll taxes and literacy tests, were erected to prevent blacks and poor whites from casting their ballots. It was not until that historic confrontation on Selma's Edmund Pettus Bridge and the monumental Selma to Montgomery march that the Voting Rights Act of 1965, outlawing these racist impediments, was passed. Full voting rights for women were not secured until the passage of the 19<sup>th</sup> amendment in 1919. It wasn't until 1924, with the passage of the Indian Citizenship Act, that Native Americans won the right to vote. The Walter - McCarran Act of 1952 extended full citizenship and voting rights to Asian immigrants.

order of  
should be  
chronological  
ie start with  
women's vote  
Walter McCarran  
1952  
McCarran  
1952

And only after the elimination of English-only elections through the passage of the Voting Rights Act Amendments of 1975, did the final barriers to Hispanic voting rights fall.

Consider the fact that while our Declaration of Independence and Constitution proclaimed liberty and justice for all, originally this only applied to property-owning white males. Barbara Jordan <sup>needed African-American consensus,</sup> once put it in stark terms, when she said of the Preamble to the Constitution, "We the People. It is a very eloquent beginning. But when the document was completed on the 17<sup>th</sup> of September in 1787, I was not included in that "We the People." And neither were white women, Native Americans, Hispanics, or 4 Asians. America's on-going efforts to right those wrongs is marked by the blood, sweat and tears of scores of voting rights warriors -- from Frederick Douglas, Sojourner Truth and Elizabeth Cady Stanton to Martin Luther King, Willie Velasquez and Viola Liuzzo, who was one of a number of white freedom riders who lost their lives at the hands of bigots while working with blacks in the south for equal voting rights in the 1960s.

The right to vote is not only a sacred testament to the struggles of the past. It is the most powerful weapon in our current arsenal of efforts to lift up and empower those who have traditionally been left out—particularly people of color. So much progress—from the passage of civil rights laws to the increase in the numbers of minorities holding elected office—is the direct result of citizens exercising their right to vote. But, today, too many of us take our right to vote for granted. In recent presidential elections in France, for

Assumes that all readers know Barbara Jordan is A. Amer - need to add to sentence

example, nearly 85 percent of the eligible voters went to the polls on election day. In America, there aren't more than two states that ever have an 80 percent turnout, even during a presidential election when interest runs very high.

So, we must do more to encourage greater participation in the electoral process. One way to do that is to make voter registration easier. Some states are already doing this with such methods as election-day registration, registration by mail and registration by state agencies, such as the Department of Human Services in my home state of Arkansas. But there is a wide variance of practices from state to state, and some degree of consistent action would go a long way towards increasing voter participation.

While there are any number of steps we can take to accomplish this goal, let me mention just two. First, I believe we will continue to experience real frustration in our efforts to increase voter participation in traditionally underrepresented groups unless we make a concomitant effort to reduce the barriers that illiteracy imposes. Increasing adult literacy is one of the building blocks of our educational workplan for building One America. I believe it will also result in an enormous increase in voter participation throughout the nation.

Second, if we really want to go from 50 percent to 80 percent voting participation, we must make it easier for working families to get to the polls. That might mean keeping the polls open longer, voting over two days, or even voting over an entire weekend.

Whatever it takes, we must tear down the remaining barriers to voter participation. Government, at every level, must promote rather than discourage participation. But, citizens from all walks of life must do their part. Let me try an analogy here. There was a time when people carelessly threw paper or soda cans on our streets and sidewalks. We called them litterbugs. Through sustained public and private pressure, we changed that destructive behavior. Today, littering is considered unacceptable and un-American in most communities. We must bring about a similar cultural change in our attitudes toward voting. A failure to vote must be as widely rejected as throwing litter in the civic square. Voting must be seen for what it is—a patriotic duty, essential to strengthening our democracy and building One America.

- **Citizen Service**

Another way we can act in the public arena to build One America is through citizen service. Service to others is a bedrock American value that reaps tremendous benefits. First, people who serve gain immeasurably from what they give to others. Second, service achieves important goals, from tutoring children to bringing health care to rural areas. And finally, service builds and strengthens community ties across boundaries of class and race.

There are many ways to serve: from working on a neighborhood beautification project to serving on a tenants' board, from volunteering overseas in the Peace Corps to serving in the military.

The military provides a powerful example of how to build ties across boundaries of class and race. Since the armed forces were racially integrated in 1948, the U.S. military has shown that when men and women of various backgrounds work together towards a common goal, they can overcome many social and cultural divisions. In addition, a system like the Army's, which uses what sociologist Charles Moskos and John Sibley Butler call "race-savvy," and not "race-blind," principles, allows people of color to reach the highest levels of leadership.<sup>5</sup> The Army has shown that integration can work, but only if we work at it.

I believe so strongly in the great benefits of citizen service that one of the first major initiatives in my administration was to create the Corporation for National Service (CNS). CNS works with governor-appointed state commissions, nonprofit organizations, faith-based groups, schools, and other civic organizations to provide opportunities for Americans of all ages to serve their communities. AmeriCorps, a major CNS initiative,

*Emphasize AmeriCorps --*  
*even though CNS the larger umbrella organization*

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<sup>5</sup> Charles Moskos and John Sibley Butler, *All that We Can Be: Black Leadership and Racial Integration the Army Way* (NY: Basic Books, 1996). Check NY...

has engaged more than 100,000 Americans in intensive, results-driven service. At AmeriCorps, volunteers learn new skills, interests, and talents. They meet community needs by, for example, building housing, maintaining parks and other natural resources, and tutoring children. And, importantly, they build community across racial lines.

Harris Wofford, Executive Director of the Corporation, has said that through service, student volunteers "become like a family, bridging racial lines."<sup>6</sup> And I know that, whenever I talk to people who have been in AmeriCorps, I hear things like, "I like the people with whom I serve," "I met people I never would have met," "I got to know people I never would have gotten to know," and "We were all so different and yet, when we worked together, we grew together, and it made my life different and better." AmeriCorps volunteers have said things like, "With AmeriCorps, I saw beyond my neighborhood for the first time," and "I learned that change is not easy, but that it is possible."<sup>7</sup> Helping people learn lessons like these is what citizen service can do.

Many states and cities have also taken up the challenge of citizen service.

Minnesota and Florida have adopted new education standards that use service-learning; a

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<sup>6</sup> CNS document sent to Michelle Cavataio, written by Katherine Dole?, CNS

<sup>7</sup> Americorps program brochure. First quote from Josh Borus, Boston, Massachusetts. Second quote from Sanjay Garla, Chicago, Ill.

creative way of educating in which young people learn through actively participating in coordinated service experiences. Philadelphia and Chicago, two of our largest school districts, have similar policies; Detroit, Milwaukee, the District of Columbia, and the Jefferson County Public Schools in Louisville, Kentucky are following suit. Twenty-one smaller school districts award credit for community service. All are following the leadership provided by the state of Maryland which, in 1993, became the first state in the nation to require all public school students to engage in service-learning as a prerequisite for graduation.

Citizen service has, in fact, become a national movement, and young Americans are taking the lead. As some in the citizen service movement have put it, we hope that one day, the most commonly asked question of an eighteen year-old is, "Where are you going to do your service year?"<sup>8</sup>

- **Community Groups**

As I noted earlier, U.S. history is replete with examples of community groups that have made our country, and our democracy, stronger. America has always been, and is still today, a civic nation. We form and join school-service groups and sports teams, professional societies and labor unions, social movements and literary clubs. Through

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<sup>8</sup> City Year 1995-1996 Annual Report.

tenants' associations, we make our homes better places to live. Through our neighborhood watch groups, we make our streets safer. And through all civic associations, we get to know our neighbors, helping to narrow the empathy gap as we better understand our differences and learn how much we do have in common.

Some civic organizations enrich our basic public institutions. For example, parent-teacher groups are vital to improving our schools. And some of these groups are taking greater action to ease racial tensions in education. For example, schools in the Yakima Valley region of rural Washington state, where people of many different racial backgrounds now live on tribal homelands, experienced growing ethnic and political conflicts toward the end of the 1980s. In response to this, a consortium of 13 schools came together to form EMPIRE (Exemplary Multicultural Practices in Rural Education). This group sought to increase the cultural awareness of both staff and students while increasing parent involvement. The results have been astounding. Academic achievement at participating schools has gone up, discipline referrals have declined, and parent involvement in the schools has tripled.<sup>9</sup>

In Santa Ana California, Bridges is a school inter-ethnic relations program that makes a three-year commitment to schools in the region. The project works with parents,

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<sup>9</sup> Promising Practices Binder, PIR, tab K.

staff, and the entire community to improve the educational environment, particularly for many Spanish-speaking students and families. In 1996-1997, Bridges worked with 15,000 students and 2,400 teachers in 56 schools. The project makes a special effort to inform Spanish-speaking parents about the school system: how it functions, and how to ask for help from teachers and administration. Both Bridges and EMPIRE are examples of supportive, pro-active civic organizations that make American society work.

Other community groups are formed simply because they allow people who share a common passion or set of interests to come together. Take, for example, faith-based organizations. The United States has more houses of worship per capita than any other nation on Earth.<sup>10</sup> Churches, synagogues, and other faith-based organizations are crucial to our social landscape, encouraging introspection, dialogue, moral and ethical consideration, and service work. Many faith-based organizations also work hard to improve race relations and to build community across class and color.

In San Francisco, Glide Memorial Church has one of the most ethnically and racially diverse congregations in America. This church has also successfully combined worship and community service. Located in one of San Francisco's most diverse neighborhoods, Glide is active in the community, doing everything from running a full-

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<sup>10</sup> Putnam, *op. Cit.*, p.67.

time meal service for the indigent to sponsoring a multicultural gospel choir. The church lives by the creed that "no prodigal is rejected, no dogma enforced, but certain commandments beyond the traditional 10 apply." Certainly, Glide is one of the cornerstones of San Francisco's wonderful, diverse community life.<sup>11</sup>

There are other examples. In Boston, churches are playing a big part in that city's successful efforts to fight crime the right way. Faith-based involvement is ensuring that prevention and education, not just incarceration, are a part of the crime-fighting equation. Clergy and police have come together to make sure that, as law enforcement works to fight crime in high-risk neighborhoods, this does not cause greater racial polarization. African-American churches, in particular, have mobilized and are working in high-risk neighborhoods, helping troubled youth avoid violence, improve their reading, and get jobs.<sup>12</sup> These efforts have helped Boston achieve a dramatic reduction in juvenile crime over the last five years.

The fact that Americans attend so many diverse houses of worship, and have found so many fulfilling forms of religious and spiritual life, is in itself good for communities. And the fact that many of those houses of worship provide ways for their

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<sup>11</sup> Promising Practices Binder, PIR, tab N

<sup>12</sup> See *Newsweek*, June 1, 1998, "God vs. Gangs."

congregations to improve their neighborhoods and build bridges of racial reconciliation surely makes America stronger.

**(4) Programs and Practices Focused Specifically on Race**

Of course, many wonderful community groups throughout the United States are focused specifically on helping people of color obtain full and equal access to the riches this society has to offer, and on breaking down the barriers of color and class that still divide us. Some organizations are committed to empowering and educating newly arrived immigrants. Some corporations and companies work hard to increase diversity in their own organizations. They also support efforts to improve and invest in low-income, historically black, Latino, and immigrant neighborhoods. Some universities and colleges run special summer programs designed to get young students of color excited about math, science, and technology. During the course of our Race Initiative, my Advisory Board met thousands of people who spend every day making a difference. In the next section, I will discuss just a few of these promising programs. They inspire us all.

**C. LESSONS LEARNED FROM THE RACE INITIATIVE:**

**PROMISING PRACTICES FOR RACIAL RECONCILIATION AND BUILDING ONE AMERICA**

We are a country whose citizens are more united than divided. It's just that, sometimes, people of good will need to be shown the ways in which others have begun to heal the racial divides in their communities. That is why my Advisory Board put together a compendium of "Promising Practices for Racial Reconciliation," which describes more than 125 programs throughout the country that are actively working on bridging racial divisions and moving us closer to One America. While I will highlight a few of these programs in this discussion, for a more complete description, I suggest you see the publication, *Pathways to One America in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: Promising Practices for Racial Reconciliation*.

While researching and visiting these programs, we learned a lot about what works to promote racial reconciliation. I am convinced that, in order to build the community we deserve, we should build on what we know to be successful. The programs that showed the most promise focused on one or more of the following goals: raising consciousness and encouraging introspection, educating on racial issues, promoting racially inclusive collaborations, expanding opportunity and access, or promoting leadership and systemic change. Let me say a few words about each of these types of programs.

**(1) Raise Consciousness and Encourage Introspection**

One important lesson that we learned from the initial year of our Race Initiative is that we must confront, through honest dialogue, the subtle ways that race affects how we see ourselves and how we interact with others.

To some, becoming more conscious of race may sound like the opposite of what we need, given the level of discomfort that we have about this issue. But I believe the only way to get past the discomfort is to break the taboo against talking about it. In my view, too many people believe that talking about race is in fact impolite. They are uncomfortable when the issue is raised. Many of these people believe that the current racial divide is set in stone, so why even talk about the irreconcilable divisions between us.

Our common but unspoken agreement to not talk about race because it is too divisive is ironically counterproductive. In fact, our silence about the issue helps perpetuate divisiveness and the sense that people in other groups are different. The truth is that most people actually do have quite strong and well-articulated opinions and emotions about race. They just rarely have the opportunity to share them -- in a setting of respectful listening -- with those who view the issue differently. So we continue to talk to people

who hold similar opinions. This prevents us from broadening our understanding and developing the ability to engage in respectful and productive exchanges with people who hold another point of view.

We must create more settings where Americans of all colors and walks of life can talk openly and honestly about their racial attitudes. Throughout the country, the Initiative on Race found many groups and settings dedicated to fostering effective racial dialogue.

This kind of dialogue not only helps people learn more about people who are of a different color, it also

introduces the very real possibility that racial issues can someday be transcended. When people come

together in settings where they can honestly probe their anger, comfort, guilt, curiosity, frustration or other responses related to race, it becomes more possible for them to see beyond their own perspective and gain a richer understanding of how race functions in

#### What is Racial Dialogue?

I believe we need many more forums for productive conversations about how race affects us and society, be they in town hall meetings, at the kitchen table, or with a close friend on the telephone. I want to point out however, that although there are many forms of discussion about race that may have a constructive outcome, I think that racial dialogue is a specific type of conversation. Typically, racial dialogue that truly changes people involves at least three critical elements: 1) an atmosphere not oriented towards debating the respective merits of different views, but rather examining similarities and differences in perspectives to create new insights; 2) conversation formats designed to allow each participant to both speak and listen to others; and 3) a facilitator whose conscious goal is to expose and explore the underlying agreements and disagreements about race that are often unexamined or assumed to be unresolvable. Although there are never guarantees that a dialogue will go well, the existence of these elements greatly increases the likelihood of success.

our nation. Most important, such dialogues allow people who have strong but very different perspectives on race to establish the trust that can be a precursor to joint involvement in projects that combat racial disparities and/or divisions.

We need more person-to person and group dialogues about race so we can better understand other perspectives as well as our own. That is why my Initiative produced a guide to conducting racial dialogue that is designed to be used in a variety of settings: *The One America Dialogue Guide*. In addition to providing instruction about how to organize and conduct dialogues, this guide suggests a few of the many organizations that can be helpful as facilitators.

### Racial Dialogue Workshops

Racial dialogue workshops are designed to raise adults' racial awareness and to provide training methods for building a stronger community. Here is a range of examples.

Some inter-racial discussion groups don't talk about race at all. They are designed to foster fellowship and community-building with the belief that if people work together they will naturally bridge their racial divides. *The Club*, a small group of black and white residents in Kosciusko, Mississippi, meets monthly to discuss issues and problems relevant to life in the region. *The Club* started with 10 members—5 black and 5 white—and has now grown to 38. *Club* members are a truly diverse group of people, and include the Mayor, two city council members, a janitor, and several retirees. New members must join with someone else of a different race.

The *Study Circles Resource Center*, which is active in 120 communities across the country, encourages citizens of different backgrounds to meet in small discussion groups, or circles, to talk about their beliefs and hopes for the future within the context of some of the more difficult racial issues of their daily lives. This sustained, deliberate and often painful dialogue allows study circle participants to learn from one another while developing methods for positive community change. The program stresses the importance not only of racial diversity, but also of bringing together people of different genders, classes, ages and religions.

*Community-St. Louis*, sponsored by the *National Conference for Community and Justice*, has trained over 200 people to serve as racial justice change agents. The idea is that these change agents will fan out across the community to bring their unique insights and influence to decision-making tables throughout the St. Louis region. Their training program begins with a six-day residential workshop called *Dismantling Racism*. This intensive program is designed to increase participants' understanding of racism, its effect on individuals as well as society. Participants live, discuss, and study together for almost a full week, and thus examine carefully their own attitudes and behaviors, as well as receive feedback from peers. One of the participants commented, "*Dismantling Racism* forced me to engage in issues of privilege and oppression at new levels of my heart and mind. The realizations were painful. The group process was difficult, and yet I felt supported by the positive attitudes and skills of the facilitators and my fellow participants."

(2) Educate on racial issues

We must improve our understanding of the facts about the history and current state of race relations in America. Racial misunderstandings and animosities can result from a lack of knowledge. If we are to make progress on race, we must improve our understanding of the facts about America's legacy of racial struggle, filling in the blanks of history and painting a truer picture of where we stand today.

First, at the simplest level, we must do a better job of informing all Americans about the contributions of our nation's diverse racial groups. For too many of us, not just whites, the only notable people of color are stars in the sports or entertainment worlds. We are less likely to know about people of color who have made heroic contributions in science, law, the military, politics, the arts, or engineering. We are all familiar with the names Michelle Kwan, Michael Jordan and Jimmy Smits. But do you know what people like David Satcher, Maria Tallchief, or Eric Shinseki have contributed to American life? People from every group have made extraordinary sacrifices and accomplished extraordinary things. This is the essence of our thriving multi-cultural democracy. But this story is often not fully told. To rectify this problem, people can take steps to educate themselves. These steps can be as simple as reading a book, seeing a movie, watching a

We're less likely to know this about people of any color. (an entertainment focused society)

play, or visiting new areas that can expand one's understanding of the history and current lives of a group different than one's own.

Second, let's not lose sight of the institutional responsibility here. Those places that we turn to for education -- our schools, places of worship, and the media -- must do more to fill in the knowledge gaps about the contributions of different groups and the history, both good and bad, of our long march to racial reconciliation. But, a true understanding of race in America must go beyond stories of heroes and holidays. We must bring those stories and times to life by describing the dimensions of the challenges we have faced throughout history and analyzing how they have shaped our past and our present. Imagine talking about the problems of ethnic conflicts in Africa and Northern Ireland based on nothing more than a list of historical figures and treaty dates. Imagine, understanding America's own struggle for independence without understanding the depth of feeling behind such words as "taxation without representation," or "give me liberty or give me death."

Schools are obviously central. Given the tremendous demands on school systems, it may seem unrealistic to expect them to make up for past omissions with a massive new effort to provide students with a full education about race. It is my strong belief, however, that we must do a better job of giving young people the full picture of America's racial history, including the sacrifices and contributions all our citizens have made to strengthen our nation. This is not only the right thing to do. It is essential if we are to properly

prepare our young people for the national and global diversity that is the overarching reality of the 21st century. Fortunately, there are tools for helping schools do this. My Initiative highlighted a number of curricula that schools can obtain that are designed to foster greater knowledge of race issues and racial tolerance among our youth.

One of the most effective ways adults can ensure that our children grow up in a world of less racial tension is to encourage our school systems to consider using these curricula models or other youth-oriented programs designed to educate them about race.

But schools do not bear the only responsibility for educating children about race. Hillary and I have often said that parents and caregivers are a child's first teachers. Sometimes it is hard to talk to your child about race. But thankfully, across America people are learning to do so, and they are sharing lessons about how to teach children well.

#### School Curricula

*Teaching Tolerance* is a project run by the *Southern Poverty Law Center* dedicated to helping educators foster respect for diversity among their students. Their award-winning kits, "*America's Civil Rights Movement*" and "*The Shadow of Hate*," chronicle the history of intolerance in the United States and citizens' struggles to overcome prejudice. More than 50,000 kits have been distributed, free of charge, to schools and community organizations. A third kit, "*Starting Small*," is aimed at helping early childhood educators in their efforts.

*Facing History and Ourselves* is a national education and teacher training organization which asks students to make an essential connection between historical events, such as the Holocaust, and the moral choices they confront in their own lives. A parent of a *Facing History* student said that "In no other course was my daughter exposed to real dilemmas as complex and challenging. In no other course has she been inspired to use the whole of her spiritual, moral, and intellectual resources to solve a problem. In no other course has she been so sure that the task mattered seriously for her development as a responsible person."

Communities across America are also educating about race by preserving buildings, neighborhoods and monuments that are testament to the rich diversity of our history. From Angel Island in California, the point of entry to the United States for many Chinese-Americans and other Asian Pacific Islanders, to Underground Railroad safe houses which sheltered run-away African-American slaves, memorials honor the heroic struggles of our past. They remind us of how hard it has sometimes been to be a minority in this country. And they shed light on the many cultures that have always flourished in America. We should preserve them, learn from them, treasure them.

#### Family Education

Here are a few good examples of programs which assist parents in raising children in a increasingly diverse world.

*Community Cousins*, in San Diego was formed in 1992 in response to civil unrest that flared up in the aftermath of the Rodney King incident. Its founder, Diane Brock, had a simple idea: the best way to promote racial healing was to bring families together across racial lines as friends in an environment of social interaction and support to foster inter-racial understanding. Today, *Community Cousins* has been integrated into regular YMCA programming in San Diego and has paired over 200 Asian American, African American, Hispanic and white families. The "cousins" have formed extended family networks, often getting together for "game nights," or to celebrate holidays, but always with the goal of raising their children without racial stereotypes.

The Xerox Corporation, together with *California Tomorrow* and *Work-Family Direction*, has developed what they call a "Family Toolbox." This hands-on training guide is designed to help parents talk to their young children about race and diversity.

We must also make sure that other informal sources of education -- especially print media, television, and radio -- include racially diverse opinions, story ideas, analysis, and experts. People all over the country are starting to come together to exhort media outlets to eschew negative stereotypes and be more reflective of the diversity of the audiences they serve. We need more of these efforts.

There are proven community models to guide us.

#### Historical Memorials

Visitors to Angel Island in San Francisco Bay, California can tour the island's immigration station, through which many Chinese-Americans and other Asian-Americans first entered the United States. During the first half of this century, many Chinese were detained on the island for long periods and were interrogated according to the requirements of the now-infamous Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. The *Angel Island Immigration Station Foundation* is dedicated to preserving and restoring the station, as well as to sponsoring events and publications that educate the public about Pacific Rim immigration.

The *Underground Railroad Education and Preservation Initiative*—a program of the National Park Service was created to highlight the heroic efforts of people of all colors who risked their lives to help African slaves escape to freedom.

It is not my intention to single out or indict the media as a pillar of racism. People who control media imagery are no more subject to having biases against minority groups than others. However, I do think that because the media play such an important role in teaching, confirming, or countering racial stereotypes, both creators of media images and average citizens should urge these organizations to appropriately reflect different racial groups.

**Media**

"...I'd like to think that we see diversity in journalism as neither an artificial exercise in social engineering nor as a 'specialty' area. Rather, I'd like to believe we see it as central to journalistic excellence and to the democratic ideals upon which America...is based and the First Amendment was penned to protect."

— *Erna Smith Chair, Journalism  
Department, San Francisco State  
University*

Several organizations are working with the media to ensure that racially diverse opinions, story ideas and analyses are being incorporated into their reporting. For example, San Francisco State's *Newswatch Project* monitors media depictions of different racial groups to raise consciousness about stereotypes and other equity issues. The group publishes a quarterly journal, runs a website, provides tips for journalists, and comments on current media coverage of diverse people. This is a national collaboration of the major associations representing journalists of color, along with the National Lesbian and Gay Journalists Association.

**(3) Promoting racially inclusive collaborations, especially on the job**

In much of this chapter, I have said that one way to tear down racial barriers is for people to come together in service across lines of race and culture. If we serve together, if we work with each other, we will make sure that our diversity is not an instrument of our national undoing in the 21st century, but rather a rich resource to make our union more perfect.

Despite the fact that we know this, there are still unfortunate facts of life that prevent us from easily working and serving together. Most of us do not live in proximity to people of other races; few of us have close friends of other races or socialize in mixed settings. Our religious communities, where a great deal of volunteer work is done, are also, by and large, segregated. The truth is, in 1999, Americans have few opportunities other than the workplace to get to know each other as equal peers in a personal way.

While the workplace might be the strongest exception to the trend of segregation, even it has limitations. It is often not enough to tally up the numbers and announce that there is a good mix of diversity in the company. Too often, people of color are over-represented in certain levels or divisions of the company. And, as has historically been the case, these are often the lowest paying, most menial positions. Many people of color

rarely get a chance to interact with others on the job outside their group. Even in some non-profit organizations, dedicated to improved group relations, we still see the persistence of hierarchal patterns where people of color are subordinate to whites who hold most of the positions of management and authority. So, when looking at diversity in the workplace, we must do more to end the kind of job stratification that results in racial isolation, covered up by surface diversity.

In addition, concerns about the maintenance of smoothly functioning working relationships often create a disinclination to discuss difficult relationships such as race when they arise, even though relationships might be healthier if this discomfort was worked through. Furthermore, though people of different races can work together, other factors, like racial discrimination -- real and perceived -- inhibit people from forming personal connections that transcend racial barriers.

As a nation we must continue to press for reductions in workplace discrimination. But we must also seek out other opportunities for people to join forces and work interdependently as peers. At their best, such partnerships not only give people a chance to know someone of a different race, they also provide opportunities for these people to see themselves as a team, working together for the first time in a

cooperative way. This contributes to the tearing down of racial barriers and negative stereotypes. Through the course of the Initiative, my staff discovered a number of programs that pursue racial reconciliation by creating such working relationships.

**(4) Expand Opportunity and Access**

We must expand the horizons of the historically disadvantaged. In this chapter, I have argued that the task of healing the divisions in our hearts and communities is not just the work of government. Communities and individuals must lead the way. I have

**Workplace Collaboration**

"IBM views workforce diversity as the bridge between the workplace and the marketplace."

— J.T. Childs, Jr., Vice President, Global Workforce Diversity, IBM

IBM has been a leader in promoting workforce diversity. Recipient of the Ron Brown Award for Corporate Diversity Leadership, IBM hired its first disabled employee in 1914, began recruiting professional women in 1935, and wrote its first Equal Opportunity Policy in 1953. Today, IBM has eight workforce diversity task forces.

Darden Restaurants, Inc, the parent company of Olive Garden and Red Lobster Restaurants, has made diversity a main course of their daily operations. They have found that creating a workforce reflective of the diversity of its patrons, and treating both well, is not only the right thing to do, it is good for business. To achieve these goals, Darden has developed diversity tools, benchmarks and performance plans at all levels.

also maintained that narrowing these divisions is an important precursor to building the consensus for the large-scale policy changes that will expand opportunity. Certainly, it is important that government play a

major role in expanding opportunities.

And I have worked hard at that throughout my presidency. But expanding opportunity and access for those who have been left out is too big and important a job to leave to government alone. Everyone must be a healer.

There are many programs across the nation that meet the challenge of expanding access and opportunity to those who need it most. Take the case of many new immigrants, who because of poverty and language and cultural barriers, face a particularly tough time. Many

#### Immigrant Assistance

Volunteers at the *Delhi Center* of Santa Ana, CA help immigrant families—doing everything from tutoring schoolchildren to delivering meals to AIDS patients. The Center serves over 20,000 people a year, most of whom live in a multi-ethnic, primarily Hispanic community. The Center places a special emphasis on providing culturally sensitive counseling and prevention classes to clients who have tested positive for HIV/AIDS.

For 25 years, *Seattle's Asian Counseling and Referral Services (ACRS)* has been providing multi-lingual, multi-cultural health services to approximately 13,000 people annually from 13 ethnic groups. Collectively, staff members speak over 25 different languages and dialects.

The *Bridging the Gap Project, Inc.* of Atlanta works to improve the health and human services provided to Georgia's diverse immigrant community, which includes newcomers from Bosnia, Somalia, Haiti, and Southeast Asia. At the heart of the project is a telephone hotline, through which 38 staff members speaking 20 languages help recent immigrants obtain emergency assistance from police and fire departments. The project also runs programs for immigrant youth, for landlords and their immigrant tenants, and regularly convenes a Multicultural Crime Task Force. *Bridging the Gap* is based on the idea that the biggest challenge in settling immigrants in this country stems not from racial barriers but from misunderstandings related to cultural differences. So, in addition to the service it provides immigrants, the program also provides extensive diversity training for mainstream service providers.

of these immigrants need help in finding employment, health care and other resources that will give them an equal shot at the American Dream. Thankfully, the American tradition of extending a helping hand to newcomers is alive and well. Groups across the country are welcoming, educating, and serving some of our society's newest members.

Many programs throughout the country also bring hope and positive alternatives to at-risk youth. Some of these programs focus on raising awareness; others focus directly on education and helping students

#### Working with At-Risk Youth

Across the country, many programs are dedicated to expanding opportunities for young people disadvantaged by poverty and racial discrimination. Sometimes they are the outgrowth of a single person with a vision.

"We have to be the family for the young people we help. We've got to show love, because if it's not us, it'll be people on the street."

— Val Joseph, Executive Director, Inner Strength

In 1994, 21-year old Val Joseph, a student at Atlanta's Morehouse College founded a program called *Inner Strength*. Motivated by his personal encounters with homelessness, poverty and gang life, Val wanted to prevent other young black males from taking the wrong path. *Inner Strength* helps young men develop leadership and academic skills through wilderness training, health education, and tutoring. *Inner Strength's* first participants were 10 young men from area housing projects and street corners. Today the program is located in the Atlanta University Center, a network of historically black colleges and universities in Atlanta.

In 1981, Eugene Lang, pledged to give each 6th grade student at P.S. 121 in East Harlem money for college when he heard that 75% of the students there were expected to drop out before they completed high school. He offered a powerful incentive, backed up by mentoring, tutoring and other academic assistance. Today, *I Have A Dream* includes more than 60 projects in 57 cities nationwide and serves more than 10,000 students through a network of thousands of sponsors and volunteers.

*Double Discovery*, located on the campus of Columbia University, serves over 1,000 low-income and first generation college-bound youth in New York. Participants receive extensive mentoring, tutoring, and other enriching opportunities. 94% of the program's students enroll in college. The title "double discovery" refers to the two-way relationships that develop between the students, volunteers and staff.

achieve success. While policy makers contemplate large-scale initiatives to expand opportunity for all our people, there is a real need for all of us who are concerned about race relations to reach out to disadvantaged minority youth. With a little encouragement, many of these young people will discover something they love, learn to do it well, and become productive adults. My Initiative found numerous projects focused on expanding opportunity that can serve as models.

**(5) Promote Leadership and Systemic Change**

We must prepare future leaders to change our institutions and society. In addition to taking action to better understand the role of race in our society and to right the wrongs of our past, we must also focus on building leadership for the future. We need a cadre of new, enlightened leaders who will take us, not only the next step, but to the finish line in our journey to One America.

Recent research has shown that, today, American youth want to step up to that challenge. Fortunately, there are a number of programs that are giving them the tools they need to succeed.

While the Bible teaches us that a child will lead, we all must rise to the challenge of leadership in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. We can begin by becoming active and vocal citizens and consumers. We should go out of our way to support organizations that demonstrate a commitment to inclusion and we should call, write or e-mail them to let them know they are doing the right thing.

#### Youth Leadership

"We're creating a new cadre of social entrepreneurs. It started with a vision--and research showing that contrary to the myth about Generation Xers, young adults were eager to take leadership in their communities, but didn't have opportunities to do so."

-- Celeste Wroblewski, Executive Director,  
Public Allies

Public Allies is a Chicago-based program that allows young people to serve as community service allies to help improve their neighborhoods. Hugo Miranda, a 24-year-old Mexican American from the Humbolt Park section of Chicago joined the Public Allies Apprenticeship Program in 1995. He taught adult basic education classes while completing a team service project, involving nine other people of diverse backgrounds. "In our diversity, we would find amazing unexpected solutions," said Miranda. "No matter what our opinions or experiences, we all have something to offer."

*City Year* volunteers are "young enough to want to change the world and old enough to do it." Begun in Boston and now active in eight communities across America, *City Year* teams young adults of all backgrounds with public and private investors to wage a "campaign of idealism" giving young volunteers a chance to lead and succeed. *City Year* volunteers build community gardens, mentor and tutor children, teach violence prevention and operate school vacation camps.

A more daunting but perhaps more effective way to become leaders is to challenge injustice within the organizations we belong to, either as volunteers or employees. We need more people to appropriately but firmly demand that their organizations clean their own house. We must not silently sanction racial injustice in our midst. Without question, it is often uncomfortable for employees or, even volunteers, to raise such questions. Nevertheless, we must summon the courage to bring the issue of racial diversity to the table. In fact, with the tremendous demographic changes that will usher in the 21st century, every organization ought to be talking about this issue. In no small measure, our success in becoming One America, depends on the commitment our institutions have to racial reconciliation and diversity.

But many of our people and institutions need help doing this. We need help avoiding the pitfalls of defensiveness and denial. We need help assuring the organization that we do not mean to imply that everyone in the group is a racist. In fact, in most cases, the key to better organizational behavior lies not in finding and routing out hard-core bigots, but rather in changing the inadvertent behavior of people of good will who have influence over how the organization deals with people. We need help to encourage the kind of institutional introspection that will help ferret out and eliminate official policies that have the effect -- intended or not -- of discouraging diversity.

Fortunately, there are some organizations that are taking the lead in not only promoting diversity and inclusion within their ranks, but also in serving as forces for change within the larger community.

These and other promising practices are living proof that our journey to One America is not hopeless. They show us how to open our hearts, close the empathy gap and build stronger communities. But I am sure that the people behind each of these programs would tell you that racial reconciliation is not an exact science. It requires trial and error, constant assessment and evaluation and sometimes a huge dose of faith. So, as you consider starting your own efforts, be flexible, be determined and be open to new ideas.

#### Corporate Leadership

"Race relations remains a critical factor in the quality of community life. What's been missing has not been the will of many well-intentioned groups and people. What's been missing has been leadership in business and government. We've been too timid to put the R-word – racism – on our agenda for social change."

– Robert D. Haas, Chairman and CEO,  
Levi Strauss & Co.

*Project Change*, sponsored by Levi Strauss, organizes effective volunteer coalitions to fight racism in schools, banks, community boards and other local institutions. It works to dismantle community-wide policies and practices that foster racial discrimination. And it seeks to diffuse tension between majority and minority groups, and promote fair representation of the community's diversity in the leadership of important community institutions.

*The Cleveland Mortgage Credit Association* of Boston is addressing inequality in the mortgage industry. Cleveland Mortgage officials created several task forces to ensure that all people who apply to them for mortgages were treated fairly at every stage of the process. As a result of Cleveland Mortgage's efforts, the financial community called on other mortgage institutions to bolster their anti-discrimination policies, communicate more directly to the public about these policies, offer bias-reduction training to company officials, and regularly review operations for evidence of discriminatory treatment.

\*

## **D. CONCLUSION**

Americans often mark history by the grand events and heroic figures that make their way into headlines and textbooks. Surely this is true when we talk about our struggles with race. But there is another way to look at the history of racial progress in America. For every Martin Luther King there were thousands of citizens behind him willing to put their lives on the line for justice. For every Rosa Parks or Cesar Chavez, there were and are millions of unknown faces and voices committing their bodies and souls to the cause of racial reconciliation. They toil, ever day, often unseen, in storefront meeting rooms, in our many houses of worship, in the civic groups and service clubs that give outlet to America's great yearning for unity and compassionate action. These are the people who have always been in the trenches and on the front lines of America's long march to racial reconciliation. It would be a mistake to think that America's continuing progress on race must await the bold acts of the few. What is needed today is the constant commitment of the many.

There is no magic wand the government or organizations can wave to bring about lasting racial reconciliation. Democratic participation -- from exercising the sacred right to vote to engaging in citizen service -- holds the greatest power and promise in the years

ahead. It will require all of us to close the book on our past and turn a new page in history. As I have said many times, this is now primarily a journey of the heart. And there is ample reason to hope and to act. People of good will are making a difference. To a great extent, we must look ahead and within for guidance. Now, as ever before, we must be our own teachers and leaders. But that doesn't mean we walk a darkened path. There is no shortage of promising people and promising practices lighting the way.

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

RACE BOOK

Date: 2/26/99 ACTION / CONCURRENCE / COMMENT DUE BY: 3/5/99

Subject: RACE REPORT - CHAPTER 5

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	MOORE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
PODESTA	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	NASH	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
ECHAVESTE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	REED <del>_____</del>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
RICCHETTI	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RUFF	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
LEW	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SOSNIK	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BEGALA	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SPERLING	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BERGER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	STEIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BLUMENTHAL	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	STERN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CAHILL	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	STRETT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FRAMPTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	TRAMONTANO	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
IBARRA	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	VERVEER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
JOHNSON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	WALDMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
KLAIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	YELLEN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
LANE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>SYLVIA MATHEWS</u>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
LEWIS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>JOSEPH GOTBAUM</u>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
LINDSEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>SHIRLEY SAGAWA</u>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
LOCKHART	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>ELENA KAGAN</u>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
MARSHALL	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>SALLY KATZEN</u>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

COMMENTS TO CLARA SHIN

RESPONSE:

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

February 24, 1999

TO: JOHN PODESTA  
BRUCE REED  
GENE SPERLING  
BEN JOHNSON  
MINYON MOORE  
ANN LEWIS  
MELANNE VERVEER  
SHIRLEY SAGAWA  
PAUL BEGALA  
SIDNEY BLUMENTHAL  
MICHAEL WALDMAN  
ELENA KAGAN  
SALLY KATZEN  
SYLVIA MATHEWS  
JOSH GOTBAUM  
PETER RUNDLET

FROM: MARIA ECHAVESTE

SUBJECT: THE PRESIDENT'S RACE REPORT: CHAPTER 6

Attached for your review and comment is chapter 6 of the President's Race Report, *The Leadership We Need for the Road Forward*. This chapter has three primary discussion points: (1) the importance of creating partnerships in communities and organizations; (2) the need for leadership and action in key civic sectors such as the faith and higher education communities; and (3) the federal government's leadership role in achieving One America. To provide context, I am including a one-page outline of the Race Report in addition to the chapter, *The Leadership We Need for the Road Forward*. Note that this chapter precedes the Race Report's conclusion.

Please send your written comments on the attached chapter to Clara Shin by Friday, March 5. Thank you in advance.

## BOOK SUMMARY OUTLINE

### Introduction

#### Part I: The America We See

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

#### Part II: The America We Want

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

#### Part III: The Community We Must Build

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

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

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

#### Part V: The Leadership We Need for the Road Forward

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

### Conclusion

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**PART V:  
THE LEADERSHIP WE NEED**

*No social advance rolls in on the wheels of inevitability. Every step toward the goal of justice requires sacrifice, suffering, and struggle; the tireless exertions and passionate concern of dedicated individuals.*

*Martin Luther King, Jr.*

On February 4, 1968, in one of his last and most powerful sermons, this century's great champion of racial reconciliation, Martin Luther King, Jr. proclaimed his own legacy when he asked people to remember him as "a drum major for justice...peace...and righteousness." He told his rapt audience that day, "Everybody can be great because everybody can serve." In this chapter, I want to reawaken the slumbering greatness that lies in the heart of every American. As I said earlier, building One America is not just the work of government or even of committed organizations. Building One America is the job of every American.

In this report, I have offered my vision of One America with racial and ethnic justice and proposed a work plan to get us from the America we see to the America we want. I have also described some of the promising practices that committed people of good will are using around the country to make a difference in their own lives and those of their neighbors. So now, the question is how to move from a discussion that may in many respects be "preaching to the choir" and build it into a movement for renewal that engages broad numbers of our fellow citizens. How do we make this work of defining a vision and a work plan a shared undertaking for many, rather than the personal mission of a dedicated few?

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Over the years I have been privileged to get to know some of the heroes from earlier periods of our struggle for opportunity and racial justice, and can even count some as friends. More than a few have at one time or another have voiced some sadness that new waves of leadership and broad scale activism in the cause of civil rights somehow failed to materialize in the years after Martin Luther King's death. This is not to discount the continuing hard work and commitment of people like Jesse Jackson, John Lewis, Dorothy Height, Coretta Scott King, Harris Wofford, the late Cesar Chavez and my good friend John Hope Franklin among others. But, it was as if the combination of assassinations, Vietnam and riots just knocked the wind out of our idealism, or some of it, anyway. While in those intervening years we saw good and important progress in rights for women, in respect for the environment, and in concern for human rights abroad, the racial justice agenda somehow got stuck in low gear, or worse.

In a sense, my generation, mostly too young to be central participants in the civil rights

movement of the 1950s and early 60s, has yet to define its contribution to this historic struggle. In part, perhaps, we thought continuing progress was inevitable. But that was wrong. In part, perhaps, we thought it prudent to pause and digest the changes already set in motion. That was wrong, too. And perhaps some of us thought that what work remained could be taken care of by others, while we turned our attention to personal matters, or to other causes. This, too, was wrong. And the most worrisome thing of all is that we have done too little to impress upon our children the need for them to pick up the mantle and take their places in our long march to racial reconciliation.

A national work plan and the promising practices lighting our way are a start. But, to make it all work, we need leadership and citizenship defined by a patriotic zeal that insists on creating justice in our time. I want to describe three areas for concrete action in the months and years immediately ahead:

- ***Community leadership and action:*** We should work in communities around the nation to forge local partnerships of concerned citizens – from elected officials to clergy, and from corporate leaders to teachers. Each community partnership should undertake a broad-based effort to define a vision for One Community that makes sense for them, identifying the challenges and devising a work plan to meet that vision.
- ***Sectoral leadership and action:*** In addition to community-based efforts, we need to enlist the leadership of key sectors. In recent months, spurred by our efforts in the Race Initiative, three coalitions have formed and are developing exciting agendas for action within the faith community, within the legal community, and within higher education. The latter effort includes leading figures in the corporate community. Each of these groups is working to define its particular mission in building the America we want, translating that mission into concrete steps for both national and local action. I challenge additional sectors – organized labor, the news and entertainment media, teachers, and others – to follow these examples.
- ***Federal leadership and action:*** The work plan I have proposed is not primarily about federal action, but building One America will require several important continuing and new federal missions. To keep that effort in high gear and to help wherever appropriate with the work of others around the country, there are specific steps to be taken at the White House and in the federal agencies.

Let me turn to each of these.

## COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP AND ACTION

When violence and strife exploded in Los Angeles following the Rodney King incident, countless residents and community leaders responded with inspiring efforts to build bridges— that would not only heal wounds but create opportunity. When more than 190 black churches, white churches, synagogues, and mosques were burned or desecrated during 1995-96, we witnessed an awe-inspiring outpouring of concern and assistance across all lines of race and faith and party. When Jasper, Texas was shaken to its core by a hideous hate crime, residents and leaders worked tirelessly to hold together, and in doing so, taught us all that some evils can be conquered with understanding. What all these examples prove is that when communities are faced with a crisis, our better angels rise to the challenge. In those moments, America ceases to be a nation of white people and people of color. America at its best is People of All Colors united for the common good.

As in so many other areas, racial reconciliation and building opportunity simply won't happen unless there is committed engagement by people in communities and institutions around the nation. But in the absence of a crisis, we may be tempted to leave this work to so-called national leaders, such as politicians, clergy, business executives or the heads of nonprofits. Such leaders can perhaps help set a tone, point out examples, offer support, and provide critical seed resources. But it takes all of us working together to prevent the kind of devastating crisis that pulls us together only after much pain and suffering. At the end of the day, we will make the most fundamental kind of progress when we do work that is personal, and build change with our neighbors.

*Community Partnerships:* To help spur this work, I hope that in the coming years leaders of good will in individual communities will rededicate themselves to working together across racial and ethnic lines in community partnerships designed to help us build that more perfect union. It doesn't matter how these partnerships come about. In many places, there may already be a vesting place, such as an active ecumenical council of faith leaders, or a human rights commission with broad-based public legitimacy. In other places, convening a group of leaders might require a special initiative by a mayor, a tribal leader, a newspaper publisher, an archbishop, or the board of a civic organization.

But, convene people to do what? Based on the promising practices and the encouraging work around the country, I think there are a number of steps worth considering.

First, a community partnership has to ensure that it is representative of the diversity in the community. That's not to say that there aren't circumstances in which it makes sense to work on relations between a more limited set of people, or that a particular opportunity agenda can't focus on the exceptional needs of one group. That kind of focus may make sense at any given time. But, beyond the specifics of the challenge, everyone's goal should be to build a broad-based effort, both to bind the community together, and unite it in action.

Second, the partnership should make an assessment of where the community is – the problems and strengths, challenges and resources. What demographic changes are occurring? What about the state of opportunity? How well are the schools serving *all* of the children, and which neighborhoods suffer disproportionate joblessness, or face shortages of day care?

Third, there has to be some agreement on a vision for where the community hopes to be in the years ahead. Or, at least, some agreement on goals and priorities. Is it enforcement of the anti-discrimination laws, or closing the racial gap in educational achievement? Is it building community trust in the police department, or changing the transit system to get workers to distant jobs? Is it increasing the rates of voter registration and participation, or cleaning up brownfields of toxic contamination?

Fourth, the partnership should formulate a work plan to address the community's problems of division and unequal opportunity, and to protect and expand whatever positive efforts exist. The work plan should be a road map for what various actors and institutions can do to make a difference. And members of the partnership should have assignments and a way to make their efforts accountable to the larger community.

The critical ingredient in all of this is a core group of citizens who will be committed to this work. And so, the question is: Who will lead?

One of the things I most want to do in the remainder of my presidency is work with concerned citizens from around the country to form community partnerships for One America. We can learn from each other how best to do this important work, and draw to our effort people of good heart and firm will.

#### **SECTORAL LEADERSHIP AND ACTION**

The ambitious work plan for the nation also requires that the leadership of key sectors in our society make investments of their own. As part of our race initiative, members of my staff have tried to encourage such efforts by leaders in the faith sector, higher education, and the legal profession. I want to sketch some of this work and suggest other areas where similar initiatives could make an important contribution.

*Faith Leaders:* In the fall of 1998, a group of some two dozen leaders from a cross section of the faith community met for two days at the White House to wrestle with the challenge of building One America. Led by Sanford Cloud, President of the National Conference for Communities and Justice (formerly the National Conference of Christians and Jews), the participants in this "summit" have launched an effort to define a work plan for how the faith sector might deepen and broaden its contribution to the struggle for racial and ethnic justice. The question they posed for themselves was, "What special role can religious leaders and institutions take at the national level and in communities across the nation – a role that makes use of our particular strengths?"

The civil rights struggle of a generation ago drew great strength from religion and religious leaders. So many important figures in the struggle came out of the pulpit, and so many congregations emptied their pews, to march and sing and, when necessary, fill jails. Faith not only fueled the activism and hopefulness of those clergy and their followers, but also was the vehicle for some of the most compelling moral appeals to the public at large. Again the words of Dr. King ring ever true: "It may be that our generation will have to repent not only for the diabolical actions and vitriolic words of the children of darkness, but also for the crippling fears and tragic apathy of the children of light." Some have argued, indeed, that when the explicitly religious aspect of the struggle waned, so too did the moral energy of the movement. The assassination of Dr. King was a mortal blow indeed. So, now, in struggling to rekindle some measure of fervor in a broad-based commitment to One America, the question for us is how to draw strength from America's great tradition as a faith-loving and worshipful people.

**[BEGIN TEXT BOX ON FAITH LEADERS' WORK PLAN]**

**The report of the Faith Communities' Leadership Summit recommends:**

- Faith leaders must work to reconcile spiritual belief, principle and behavior.
- Faith leaders must identify and label racism as a sin (an evil that must be addressed)
- Faith leaders must name overcoming racism and classism as a top priority for the nation.
- Faith leaders need to embrace the notion that they are morally bound to engage in anti-racist activities.
- Faith leaders need to address racism within their own religious institutions.

**[END TEXT BOX]**

At a conference on this subject held in 1998 by the Harvard Civil Rights Project, several faith leaders and religious thinkers active in civil rights work discussed the importance of religion in shaping their personal commitments and work. But when pressed, they admitted that they very rarely make explicit use of their faith or spirituality when working to pull people into a commitment and action. This can't be right. If religion is the language of values most familiar to so many people, then surely we miss the mark if we try to inspire values-based reconciliation while censoring faith from our messages.

I am convinced that the contribution of religious institutions and religion to building One America, community by community, is more than battalions of committed clergy, free meeting space in church basements, and mailing lists. I am convinced that this is a struggle that God wants us to wage, and there is every reason to proclaim it so. For this reason, I can think of no more important area for sectoral leadership than this one.

**Higher Education:** There is a strong consensus within the higher education community on the importance of assuring access to under-represented minorities. Moreover, countless institutions and their leaders say that racial and ethnic diversity are central to their missions. They say that diversity enhances the quality of education for all students, and their institutions do the most good for their communities when they are inclusive. But there is a lot of public confusion surrounding this issue, and the attacks on diversity policies threaten to slam shut the doors at many selective institutions. In response to this, and to the importance of assuring a pipeline of well prepared high school graduates, the American Council on Education and several university presidents are joining hands with key business leaders to mobilize their colleagues. They intend to mount a bold campaign to raise public understanding of why inclusion in higher education is critical to quality of our universities, and to the economic future of our communities.

This effort could signal a major breakthrough. For too long, almost all of the discussion of the importance of bringing under-represented minorities into higher education has been conducted within higher education circles – on campuses, in specialized journals, at conferences. But the entire nation has a stake in this debate, and university leaders and business leaders who know first hand what educational excellence means, and what the economy requires, can and must play a greater role in that public debate.

**The Legal Profession:** In 1963, President Kennedy met with leaders of the legal profession and challenged them to create a mechanism to provide much needed legal representation to the those fighting for civil rights. This led to the creation of the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, which now has both a national office in Washington, D.C. and affiliates in 8 cities (Boston, Chicago, Denver, San Antonio, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, San Francisco, and Washington, D.C.). Over the years, the Lawyers' Committee has provided vital assistance to individuals, and to the cause of civil rights generally, by mobilizing the expertise and resources of private law firms. The question now is, what more can the legal profession do, especially in light of the new challenges of opening opportunity to all in our increasingly diverse communities.

To respond to this challenge, Deputy Attorney General Eric Holder has been meeting with key leaders of the profession to define the issues and map a strategy. As with leaders in the religious community and the higher education sector, I am hopeful that their work will mobilize the considerable resources of a key sector in American social and economic life. These are some of the questions I hope they will consider:

- How can the profession redouble its efforts to make *pro bono* assistance available to individuals and community groups seeking to enforce the anti-discrimination laws? Have all possible creative solutions been tried – from the use of trained para-professionals to methods of mediation?
- Can the profession take more responsibility to help the public understand what the law requires, promoting voluntary compliance with the laws? I am concerned, for

example, about the current misinformation campaign being waged by opponents of affirmative action, who seem intent on hiding the fact that the current Supreme Court has *upheld* affirmative action, provided it is carefully administered and with the appropriate justification.

- Can the profession dramatically expand problem-solving partnerships between lawyers and neighborhood groups, community development organizations and others working on the opportunity agenda, making use of lawyers' skills in analysis and planning, drafting, counseling, transactional work, and other forms of non-litigation practice? It may be, for example, that what a local group needs is not a law suit, but a lobbying strategy to influence state education policies or local environmental decision-making.

A good lawyer can help a client with a wide range of tasks – and the nation's largest corporations make ample use of those skills. What we need is a way to tap that same level of full-service commitment and creativity to help empower the groups and leaders who are struggling to make a difference in building One America.

*The Corporate Sector:* In my experience, business leaders are some of the most ardent supporters of combating discrimination, promoting inclusion, and closing the opportunity gap. Why? Apart from simple decency, they understand like no one else that corporate growth and American prosperity will be handicapped unless we make progress on the issues of race. So, the question is, what can and should business leaders do to help make that case to the American people, and to help build that more productive, inclusive, economically secure nation?

I already mentioned that corporate leaders are participating with university presidents in a higher education coalition. But there is more that corporate leaders might do. Generalizations are difficult because companies are so different. I can't offer a formula that makes sense for a major bank holding company, a fast food franchise, and a mid-sized high tech firm. Part of the challenge is to define a work plan that makes sense in particular business segments. For example:

- For some companies, there is an important opportunity to work on the challenge of bringing capital markets and investment flows to under-invested communities, as I described in the work plan on jobs and economic development. The critical question is whether a financial institution or company is making a fair assessment of the business opportunities in minority communities – looking at under-served markets and untapped opportunities in much the same way that multinationals look at emerging markets abroad.
- For other companies, the major contribution may be to lead or participate in a strong community-based effort to improve public education. Through a

combination of structured mentoring, forceful civic engagement in policy debates over accountability for excellence, support for the active participation of employees in the schooling of their children, and other strategies, American companies can make a real difference to the next generation by being *partners for educational opportunity*.

- Still other companies might make a special effort to create career tracks for young employees in connection with school-to-work and welfare-to-work strategies.
- In some sectors, companies might join together to combat discrimination and strengthen business development by nurturing small and mid-sized suppliers and subcontractors owned by minority entrepreneurs, or located in poor minority communities.
- In many communities, and in the nation as a whole, corporate leaders should seek opportunities to explain to the broader public – not just each other – why it is so imperative that we work together towards One America, making the most of our diversity.

I recognize that this agenda is not naturally a high priority for most companies, who generally wade into public debates over taxes, regulatory matters, or some extraordinary issue unique to their company or industry – like a banking bill or a threatening wave of litigation. But the best businesses always think about the long run. They think about preparing for the future, and addressing risks before they become crises. It is precisely that strategic perspective that must bring enlightened companies to lead on race. It is an investment in their own companies, and in America's future. What's good for these companies is good for America, and what is good for America is good for business.

*The News and Entertainment Media:* The Kerner Commission was emphatic about the need for the news media to step up to the plate on the issue of race, pointing to problems in news coverage, stereotypes, and the absence of minorities in the newsroom. Those problems continue to plague us, as was pointed out by Professor Robert Entman in his report to my Advisory Board. Today, many newsrooms are far more diverse, but too many of the old images and practices remain. Hispanics, in particular, remain very under-represented on both sides of the newsroom camera. In this age of 24-hour punditry, there is a conspicuous absence of racial diversity on those ubiquitous television expert panels. But when it comes to stories about crime, drugs, or welfare, the picture is quite different, both in print and broadcast news. Finally, minorities are making only small gains in the decision-making ranks of the editors and producers who have the most power to change industry practices over time.

In the entertainment media, there are parallel problems. We see far more African Americans on television and in the movies than thirty years ago, but still largely segregated and type-cast. Hispanics and Asian Americans are all but invisible. Native Americans *are* invisible.

These decisions, whether the result of benign neglect or conscious exclusion, have the cumulative power of imprinting lasting racial impressions on the minds of Americans. The fact is, if we don't see One America in the continual assault of media messages, it makes it all the more difficult for us to believe in it and work towards it. Even more troubling, if the media do things to fuel racial distrust and "otherness," they make the problem worse.

Let me be clear: We cherish the First Amendment. But the First Amendment protects expression and speech from government intrusion; it shouldn't muffle or muzzle public concern. Nor should it immunize the media from civic responsibility. Just as we expect a higher degree of discretion and support from the media in wartime, I want to challenge the media, by word and deed, to choose the high road of greater inclusion, respect and responsibility. This must be an indispensable part of our journey to One America.

*Social Science Researchers:* In October, 1998, over five hundred researchers from around the nation met to take stock of race in America under the auspices of the National Research Council, which is the research arm of the National Academy of Sciences. At the request of my race initiative, with funding from several agencies, the NRC is pulling together a volume of papers by leading scholars, some of which I have used in Part I of this book to describe the America we see. As historic as that conference and the pending volume are, there is still more we should seek from the social science research community.

The work of my initiative, as well as the work undertaken by the NRC researchers, identified several important issues, including:

- We need more basic information about certain racial groups and subgroups. The data needs are greatest for Native Americans, but we also need more detailed information about Asian American and Hispanic subgroups. For example, we can make serious mistakes by incorrectly lumping Japanese-Americans with Laotians, or Argentineans with Dominicans. We need a better understanding of the important distinctions which exist within racial groups.
- We need a better sense of how much discrimination still exists. We can't hope to resolve controversial issues like the need to strengthen enforcement, or the continuing importance of affirmative action, without some common ground on the basic facts.
- We need solid research to reduce the amount of rhetoric and guesswork that goes into our policy debates.

These are just a few items; I could add many more. But there are three overarching goals that I urge leaders in the social science community to consider. First, I have asked the President of the National Academy of Sciences, the Director of the National Science Foundation, and the Director

of the White House Office of Science and Technology Policy to find a way to build some consensus in the disciplines about the research priorities in the next few years. I believe such a set of ideas – not unlike what we try to do in some areas of biomedical research or weapons development – could help channel government and foundation funding to the most pressing problems.

Second, we need to send the right signals to younger scholars. I hear reports that in many departments and some disciplines, work on race-related problems is discouraged, sometimes quite forcefully. This is perverse. The volume of scholarship on this pressing national agenda is not what it should be, and those who discourage or disparage such work do us all a disservice. Leading researchers should devise ways to encourage good, needed work, and ensure that career advancement comes to those who do work that matters.

Finally, I am concerned that the under-representation of certain minorities remains a problem in several disciplines. There are several consequences to this. I don't believe that race dictates views or interests, but I do believe that by being inclusive you are more likely to collect a more representative set of perspectives. That's part of excellence. Even more important, we can't expect to fill all of our needs for trained research professionals unless we make full use of all of America's human resources. And increasingly, those resources are in people of color. I challenge the social science community and university leaders to revisit the problem of building a pipeline of talent that will make the disciplines even stronger in the next century.

Let me conclude this section by tying together four themes from this book. Part III discussed the opportunity we deserve, and Part IV discussed some of the promising practices and forms of civic engagement that will help us build the community we need. In this section, I have challenged key sectors of society to develop and execute their own racial reconciliation work plans. Social scientists can help us understand which policies and which practices will make a difference, and help us measure our progress from the America we see to the America we want. Leaders in business, organized labor, the media, the legal profession – *and many other sectors* – can be anchors in the development of Community Partnerships for One America. Their involvement can help define a vision and formulate action to close the opportunity gap and build the kind of community we want.

Above all else, it is clear that progress will not come without exercising leadership and paying dues. The responsibility for progress can't be delegated, it must be owned by millions of good Americans who believe that justice matters.

#### FEDERAL LEADERSHIP AND ACTION

If you think back over the past several decades, the issue of race has on occasion been a federal priority. But this has mainly been when there was an immediate crisis -- such as the national

security demands in World War II and Korea, or the riots in the 1960s. I believe we have a moment of opportunity now, as Americans from all walks of life focus on the demands of change in the century ahead. We must use this pivotal moment to invest the energy, determination and resources needed to break the shackles of our historic shame. And the federal government surely has a role to play.

In connection with the work plan to create the opportunity we deserve, I have suggested many ways to build on our accomplishments and take additional needed federal steps in education, jobs, economic development, civil rights enforcement, and other areas. But in addition to ideas, resources and exhortation, I think there are some concrete assignments. Let me mention three: reviving the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, ensuring that the Federal government is a model "business," and establishing a mechanism at the White House and across federal agencies to help drive the work plan forward at both the national level and in states and communities around the country.

***Revive the U.S. Civil Rights Commission:*** Since its inception in 1957, the Civil Rights Commission has investigated voting complaints and any denial of the nation's equal protection laws. The Commission has also monitored the efficiency and effectiveness of civil rights enforcement agencies. In addition, it has served as an important advisor to Presidents and Congress on matters of racial discrimination and as a collector and clearinghouse of vital information. Most of its work has been in response to public complaints, but in the context of our national effort to build One America, some important changes are being considered. For example:

- In addition to monitoring the *efficiency and effectiveness* of civil rights enforcement agencies, the Commission can undertake a comprehensive, systematic assessment of civil rights within the federal government, with a greater emphasis on *fairness and inclusion* in federal agencies.
- The Commission's assessment would include both employment issues and diversity compliance in government contracting consistent with the need to get the best products at the best prices.
- The Commission could issue periodic report cards to keep the public and the Congress informed of what each federal agency is doing to promote fairness and inclusion.

***Model Enterprise:*** Over the years, Presidents have made a number of efforts to put the conduct of the Federal government on the side of racial justice. I share their commitment to make Federal agencies the model for how all public and private sector enterprises should function.

**[BEGIN TEXT BOX OF EXAMPLES OF PAST FEDERAL LEADERSHIP]**

**Past Federal Civil Rights Leadership**

- In 1948, President Truman signed an executive order integrating the military and mandating equality of treatment and opportunity for all service personnel without regard to race, color, religion or national origin.
- In 1965, President Lyndon Johnson signed an executive order making it the policy of the U.S. government to provide equal opportunity in Federal employment and in employment by Federal contractors on the basis of merit and without discrimination because of race, color, religion, or national origin.

**[END TEXT BOX]**

In the Clinton-Gore administration, we've made important additional steps.

**[BEGIN TEXT BOX ON ACCOMPLISHMENTS]**

**Clinton-Gore Civil Rights Accomplishments**

- Most diverse Administration and Cabinet in history.
- Two-and-a-half times more small business loans to African American and Hispanic entrepreneurs and three times as many for Asian and Pacific Americans.
- Created over 120 Empowerment Zones and Enterprise Communities and expanded access to capital through Community Development Banks and Financial Institutions.
- Historic settlement of civil rights class action suit brought against the Department of Labor by African American farmers.
- Signed a landmark executive order on environmental justice, mandating that every federal agency identify and address disproportionately high and adverse health and environmental effects of its programs and policies on minority and low-income populations.

**[END TEXT BOX]**

But I am not satisfied. The nation as a whole has not come far enough, and we should have even higher expectations for the people's government than we do for other organizations. For example:

- Allegations by employees of discrimination in federal agencies can be handled more expeditiously, especially by using innovative dispute resolution techniques and ensuring that there are adequate resources for handling claims in a timely way so that employees

aren't waiting in line for justice, while agencies are left in doubt about the legitimacy or fairness of their personnel actions.

- The affirmative action programs agencies use when awarding contracts to suppliers, builders and other companies are intended to combat the discrimination faced by entrepreneurs in various fields of business. These programs need to be continually evaluated so that they can be strengthened and streamlined where needed, and curtailed or phased out where their goals have been achieved.
- When the government serves the public, either directly or by distributing funds to other levels of government, it is absolutely critical that it does so with scrupulous fairness. I was deeply troubled by the tragic stories about black farmers who, for decades, were mistreated under federal programs enacted to help *all* farmers. Secretary Dan Glickman has taken bold steps to put those abuses behind us, and to see that no similar abuses exist elsewhere in the U.S. Department of Agriculture. I have asked the heads of all federal agencies and departments working with the Attorney General to make comparable efforts to ensure that there are no unattended problems of racial unfairness in the way we serve the public.

To assure this important work gets done, I have asked the Office of Management and Budget, working in tandem with a revived Civil Rights Commission to lead this government-wide effort. This is not an overnight assignment. It will take years, and in fact it will require ongoing commitment from Administrations to come, until we truly are One America.

*The White House Role:* Finally, on February 5, 1999, I announced the creation of the White House Office on One America, headed by a senior member of my staff, Ben Johnson. The primary mission of that Office is to focus the efforts of my staff on how best to move forward with the work plan for the nation I have described in this book. For example, I believe this Office can play a valuable role in helping me to spur the formation of Community Partnerships for One America, and in encouraging the leadership of key sectors to contribute to this struggle. The Office can also help promote continuing public debate about the policy ideas that I and others have concerning what we can do to expand opportunity and close the disparity gaps that cripple our children and our communities.

**[BEGIN TEXT BOX ON WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE]**

### **White House Conference on One America**

One way to fuel our momentum flowing out of the new White House Office on the President's Initiative on One America is to convene a White House Conference on One America. Focusing on ways to strengthen the bonds between all races and all citizens, this conference would assess progress on our national, sectoral and community work plans for racial reconciliation. It would also highlight our efforts to close opportunity gaps in such areas as education, economic development, the media, and criminal justice.

**[END TEXT BOX]**

I believe the White House Office on One America will keep both the White House and Federal agencies focused on the paramount issue of racial reconciliation. Whether you are a corporation or a congregation, a lawyer or a laborer, a reporter or a researcher, I want to ask every individual and organization that hopes to make a contribution to this hard work to also stay focused. We must not, as we have so often done in the past, allow our attention to drift away from a problem so important to the future of our nation.

RACE BOOK

EK - NO!  
Demand another mtg.

Clara J. Shin 02/19/99 02:39:43 PM

Record Type: Record

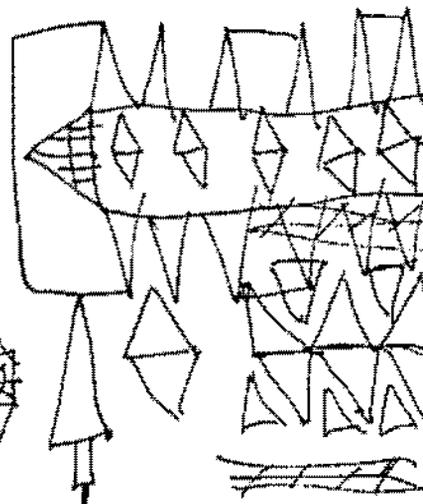
To: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message  
cc: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message  
Subject: race report: compact language

Please find attached a revised version of the education Compact section of the President's Race Report. Changes were made to reflect the concern that the Compact proposal was inconsistent with our ESEA reauthorization proposal. Please forward comments to me by Tuesday, February 23. Thank you.

- edcompact2-19.wpd

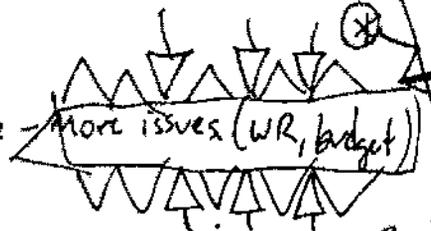
Message Sent To:  
Maria Echaveste/WHO/EOP  
Bruce N. Reed/OPD/EOP  
Elena Kagan/OPD/EOP  
Shirley S. Sagawa/WHO/EOP  
mike\_cohen @ ed.gov @ inet

Message Copied To:  
Marjorie Tarmey/WHO/EOP  
Cathy R. Mays/OPD/EOP  
Laura Emmert/WHO/EOP  
MaryEllen C. McGuire/WHO/EOP  
felicia.wong @ npr.gov



1. YES - Could I do it
2. What most effective? Events,
  - Pulling people together.
  - Message
3. Best positioned for the future - More issues (WR, budget)
4. 8 mos. -

Jane Oates, EMK / Shrum's sister in law  
 Donnica  
 - high energy, younger  
 - could med groups (close to Dept.)



Managing my life: Hours 40 - miscarriage  
Stray quartet. Tutoring.  
Ambitions. ↓

Book group  
No lines in the sand  
Learning against  
- 2 more days

## Centerpiece of the Federal Workplan: The Compact for Equal Opportunity in Education

For more than three decades, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act has been the foundation of our nation's support for millions of students and their schools. In my January, 1999 State of the Union address, I proposed that we fundamentally redirect that effort to put far greater emphasis on spurring concrete improvement in results, while creating far stronger systems of accountability, not just to federal taxpayers, but to communities and families. I also proposed targeted federal resources to help turn around failing schools, to reward progress in raising achievement levels, to put high quality teachers in high poverty schools, to end so-called social promotion, and to expand after-school and other academic support programs. And I proposed that we build in accountability at all levels to focus not only on improving education overall, but also on narrowing the gaps between poor and rich, rural and urban, minority and white.

~~This is a good start. Now~~ We must ~~build on it to~~ provide the world-class education and schools our nation and all our children need to continue to prosper into the 21st century. While these reforms are motivated by several concerns beyond racial justice, I believe they contain the right ingredients to form the centerpiece of our education workplan for building One America. I know that this important shift in policy will not occur overnight or without extended debate, but I believe that in the end there will be a consensus that our nation's ideals and prosperity require a new determination to make quality education for all a reality, not just a slogan.

I believe we can and must build upon these broad-based reforms. We must make targeted efforts in those communities where racial disparities in achievement and resources present an especially tragic and worrisome picture that simply isn't the America we want. Federal leadership can be a catalyst, but our efforts will fizzle without broad-based community involvement. Local control is essential. We need to enlist the participation of willing jurisdictions and private sector partners in a **Compact for Equal Opportunity in Education**. Quote simply, [all of us?] need to join in a new covenant to benefit America's children, with the goal of eliminating racial disparities in K-12 achievement. Just as our Welfare-to-Work Partnership has helped move tens of thousands of families off of welfare and into good jobs, the Compact can be a coalition to bring determination, creativity and resources to bear on this central obstacle to securing the opportunity all our children deserve.

Let me give you an idea of how this new partnership might work.

School systems would commit to measure and close the racial disparities in achievement, and adopt measurable goals and a strategy for achieving them. Corporations and other community actors would

commit to specific forms of support for the strategy.

*I have proposed annual report cards for every school, so parents know whether*  
~~The strategy would have a timetable, and a report-card style system of public accountability. These report cards will help ensure that our policies focus not just on the administering and maintenance of schools and programs, but also on ensuring that these schools and programs achieve the results that they are supposed to. There should be carrots and sticks so that everyone involved, from students to school boards, has all the right incentives to succeed.~~

*Confusing  
- This  
is already  
part of an  
ESGA proposal.*



The federal government should support the Compact by offering the ~~broadest possible~~ flexibility in its <sup>return for</sup> grant programs, based on the accountability for results ~~and on the judgment of expert panels that the strategy proposed by a school district (or state) has the ingredients~~ most likely to yield success, including support for quality teaching, high expectations, and quick-response takeovers of failing schools.

*NO to  
"expert  
panels"*

*real  
and strategies  
that are*

Ultimately, my hope is that the federal government will be able to offer substantial new funds to Compact communities, tied to results, to further support ambitious gap-closing reforms.

We know that this results-based approach to education can work. We have seen states and school districts use this method to help all of their students achieve more. Let me give you an example. Dade County, Florida, which includes the city of Miami and is one of the most racially diverse school districts in America, had 45 critical, low-performing schools. But in two years, they raised their math and reading scores so much that all 45 were off the list. And they did this by focusing on results. Dade County officials and teachers refused to accept the proposition that because these students were poor or lived in tough neighborhoods, they could not learn.<sup>1</sup>

We should all follow this results-oriented approach. I proposed it in response to a tragic irony that is at work in American education: too often, the children who need the most are least likely to get it. In part, this is because of long-standing inequities in educational funding formulas, especially the traditional reliance on local property taxes. Schools in a sea of poverty are too often overwhelmed, or nearly so, by the extraordinary challenges they face. Students who live in low-income neighborhoods often bring the many burdens of their lives and their communities to school with them. Simple calculations of expenditures-per-pupil don't capture the subtleties, including: homelessness, family crises, or hunger; crime in hallways, streets and homes; and the simple, grinding pressure of poverty that may make family support harder to come by. Add to those problems the aging inner-city school buildings, disparities in teacher training, high proportions of

students with special language needs -- and you have a recipe for disaster.

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

We have tolerated racial disparities and underachievement in education for too long. I share the burning impatience felt by many parents, civic leaders and educators who are fed up with the status quo and demanding more for our children. Together, we must forge a new federal-state partnership to break the cycle of disadvantage and eliminate gaps in student achievement. ~~Still more piecemeal programs -- federal or state -- will not bring about the sweeping changes needed to close the substantial racial gaps in opportunity and achievement and making public schools work for all of the public, we need to hold every state and school district accountable to produce results~~

*That's the  
Gov argument*

Let me be clear: this is not Washington encroaching on local authority. In my years as a governor, working both within my state and on national policy, I came to fully appreciate that education is primarily a state and local responsibility. But I have also seen that sometimes a child's opportunity can be limited by the resources a local community can raise with a property tax, or the accident of whether the state is wealthy or poor, generous or stingy in aid to local schools.

[And I have seen that] Federal education programs are often too confining, with their red tape and narrow categorical purposes. And across the board, I have seen education treated as an island, cutoff from the mainland of challenges in the surrounding community. We have worked hard in the last several years to tackle these problems, but I am determined to do more. Yes, education is primarily a state and local responsibility -- but to be successful, all citizens -- public and private -- must work together to support our children, their families and communities. And as I have said many times, this is an issue too important to get ensnared in jurisdictional, administrative or partisan bickering. When it comes to the education of our children, politics must stop at the schoolhouse door.

*CAN'T SAY  
THAT  
[scribbles]*

TEXT BOX:

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

No!

These are not mandates. I am proposing neither a formula nor a cookbook. Communities that are not interested in a new Compact to close achievement gaps can simply ignore this challenge, and learn from the bold efforts of others.

No!

END TEXT BOX

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

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

February 5, 1999

RACE  
BOOK

TO: JOHN PODESTA  
BRUCE REED  
GENE SPERLING  
MINYON MOORE  
ANN LEWIS  
MELANNE VERVEER  
SHIRLEY SAGAWA  
PAUL BEGALA  
SIDNEY BLUMENTHAL  
MICHAEL WALDMAN  
ELENA KAGAN  
SALLY KATZEN  
SYLVIA MATHEWS  
JOSH GOTBAUM  
JOSE CERDA  
LEANNE SHIMABUKURO

CC: CHRISTOPHER EDLEY, JR.

FROM: MARIA ECHAVESTE

SUBJECT: THE PRESIDENT'S RACE REPORT: CRIME SECTION MEETING

Thank you to those who recently reviewed the draft crime section of the President's Race Report. As you know, we are meeting on Monday to discuss the current draft and address those issues you identified. With regard to the majority of your comments, Clara Shin will work to incorporate them into the Report. I plan to focus Monday's meeting on three primary issues: (1) the manner in which the President should portray the current criminal justice system; (2) the extent to which prevention and community-based strategies should be significant components of the workplan, including the way in which the Report iterates our proposed criminal justice policies; and (3) the way in which we discuss racial profiling. On a fourth issue, the Hot Spots Initiative, I will ask DPC and Edley's book team to work outside of the meeting to ensure its consistency with our 21st Century Policing legislation.

Please find below a summary of your comments with respect to these issues, with recommended discussion points for Monday's meeting:

- *Criminal Justice System.* DPC encourages us to portray the criminal justice system as one that is fundamentally fair, while acknowledging that it insufficiently protects minority groups in high crime neighborhoods. As it is currently written, DPC is concerned that the Report sends conflicting messages as to the system's fundamental fairness. *Discussion Point:* In what manner should the President discuss the current state of our justice system?
- *Proposed Strategies.* Some of you recommended that prevention methods and strengthening communities take a more central role in the workplan. Both the First Lady's Office and DPC call for revising the criminal justice section so that the Administration's proposed policies -- particularly the 21st Century Policing legislation -- are cast from the perspective of asset-based community engagement and analysis strategies. *Discussion Point:* To what extent should the criminal justice workplan derive from prevention and community-wide strategies for reducing crime, and how should the Report cast our proposed criminal justice policies?
- *Racial Profiling.* Some of you are concerned about the way in which we address racial profiling. There were also some questions about the proposed Executive Order on Profiling as described in the current draft. *Discussion Point:* How should the President discuss racial profiling?
- *Hot Spots Initiative.* Some of you stressed the need to formulate the Hot Spots Initiative so as to be compatible with the 21st Century Policing legislation as introduced. I will ask DPC and Edley's book team to work outside of Monday's meeting to ensure consistency between the two.

Note that these discussion points are based on comments submitted by DPC, the First Lady's Office, and Ann Lewis. NEC has signed off on the current draft.

In preparation for our meeting, I am attaching background materials: (1) a summary outline of the Race Report; (2) the crime section of the workplan chapter; and (3) your comments. If you have any questions or suggestions, do not hesitate to contact me or Clara Shin at 6-5506. See you on Monday.

## BOOK SUMMARY OUTLINE

### Introduction

#### Part I: The America We See

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

#### Part II: The America We Want

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

#### Part III: The Community We Must Build

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

#### Part IV: The Opportunity We Deserve — A Workplan for the Nation [highlights attached]

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

#### Part V: The Leadership We Need for the Road Forward

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

### Conclusion

## **PART IV: THE OPPORTUNITY WE DESERVE**

[Introduction to Part IV]  
[Sections 1-2]

...

### **3. A CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM THAT SERVES ALL AMERICANS FULLY AND FAIRLY**

#### **INTRODUCTION**

I ask every American who lives in a safe community to think of a specific time in your life in which you truly feared for your safety and imagine what it would be like to live in a place where you felt that way every day. What kind of nation have we become if we are willing to accept that there are places in America where law-abiding residents will live in fear and where other law-abiding persons simply will not go? More than anywhere else, our high-crime communities, most of which are communities of color, want, need, and deserve strong law enforcement to restore order, reduce crime, and help build stronger communities. At the same time, we must take action in those communities and across our nation to keep young people out of crime and build trust and confidence in the criminal justice system across racial lines.

\*

Whenever Americans are asked what issues concern them most, crime is near the top of the list. At the same time, most of us live in communities that are relatively safe and crime free. Most of us are confident that our children won't get mixed up in crime and will have the chance to succeed to their full potential. And most of us believe that the criminal justice system exists "to protect and to serve" us -- to ensure public safety, prevent crime, and promote justice.

However, some Americans live in communities in which crime is pervasive and fear of crime is constant. Some children grow up struggling to avoid being victims of crime, in places where their peers are more likely to go to prison than they are to go to college. Some law-abiding citizens have had experiences with our criminal justice system that lead them to believe that they are more likely to be targets of law enforcement than they are to be served by it. And more often than not, the people and communities facing these conditions are people and communities of color.

Some of our deepest and most complex challenges of race in America arise in the context of criminal justice. Today, crime rates are at their lowest levels in nearly 25 years. In the last

five years, there has been an 18-percent drop in the rate of violent crime nationwide, including a 28-percent drop in the homicide rate, which is at its lowest level in 30 years.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, persons of color have in many cases experienced the sharpest decreases in crime victimization.<sup>2</sup> These are astonishing achievements. Nonetheless, as the Advisory Board on Race said in its final report, "Racial disparities persist in both the realities and perceptions of crime and the administration of justice."<sup>3</sup>

Despite recent, substantial decreases in criminal victimization across racial lines, persons of color remain significantly more likely than whites to be victims of crime, especially violent crime. For example, American Indians are more than twice as likely to be victims of homicide than whites or Asian Pacific Islanders; Hispanics are approximately 3 times more likely; and blacks are approximately 8 times more likely.<sup>4</sup> The homicide rate for black males is 58 per 100,000, compared to 5 per 100,000 for white males,<sup>5</sup> and homicide remains the leading cause of death for young, black and Hispanic males.<sup>6</sup> Persons of color are also significantly more likely than whites to fear crime. Black and Hispanic households, for example, are approximately twice as likely as white households to identify crime as a neighborhood problem.<sup>7</sup>

Most crime is intraracial. Nine out of every 10 murders, for example, involve victims and offenders of the same race.<sup>8</sup> Existing disparities in criminal victimization, therefore, reflect disparities in criminal offending as well. Nonetheless, whites commit a majority of all crime,

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<sup>1</sup> *Crime in the United States, 1997*, U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, 5-16 (November 1998).

<sup>2</sup> [DPC accomplishments document.]

<sup>3</sup> Advisory Board, *supra* note \_\_, at 81.

<sup>4</sup> See *Changing America, supra* note \_\_, at 53, Chart 1.

<sup>5</sup> Christopher Stone, *Race, Crime and the Administration of Justice: A Summary of Available Facts*, Presentation to the Advisory Board of the President's Initiative on Race, 2 (May 19, 1998).

<sup>6</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Carol J. DeFrances and Steven K. Smith, *Perceptions of Neighborhood Crime, 1995*, U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics Special Report,, 2 (April 1998).

<sup>8</sup> [BJS data summary, page 9.]

including a majority of all violent crime.<sup>9</sup>

In large part, the fact that a greater proportion of minorities are likely to be victims of crime than whites is due to extremely high crime rates in a small number of poor, largely urban communities of color, with much of the crime being committed by and against young males of color. For example, nearly half of all homicides occur in only 47 of approximately 14,000 police jurisdictions.<sup>10</sup> And crime rates remain high in parts of Indian country as well. The homicide rate, for example, on reservations has risen \_\_\_ percent in the last 5 years.<sup>11</sup>

Why do these conditions exist? It is too easy to throw up our hands and blame it all on some culture of lawlessness that most of us have only read about or seen on television. We must look beyond the footage on the 11 o'clock news. Contrary to conventional belief, I believe that crime in our highest crime communities is neither totally random nor incurable. Much of it can be stopped and prevented if we refuse to ignore it and if we are resolute in our approach to raising healthy children and building strong communities.

Studies show that the dramatically high crime rates in these communities are linked to a number of community factors, including extreme and pervasive poverty (especially mass unemployment), widespread family disruption (including the predominance of single-parent households), and frequent residential turnover.<sup>12</sup> Together, these factors result in concentrated disadvantage and the destruction of community order and cohesiveness. Young people who grow up in these communities have limited legitimate opportunities, few role models, and little community supervision. Add to these conditions the proliferation of guns and illegal drug markets, and the result is high rates of crime among youth and young adults. These factors of poverty, family disruption, and residential instability are not excuses for crime; they are explanations for why crime has taken hold in some communities. Absent these factors, rates of criminal offending and victimization do not differ significantly by race, but the communities in

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9

<sup>10</sup> Lawrence Sherman, *Cooling the Hot Spots of Homicide: A Plan of Action, in What Can the Federal Government Do To Decrease Crime and Revitalize Communities*, U.S. Department of Justice, Executive Office for Weed and Seed Report, 42 (January 1998).

11

<sup>12</sup> E.g., Robert Sampson, *The Community, in Crime*, James Q. Wilson and Joan Petersilia, eds., 193-202 (1995); Stone, *supra* note \_\_\_ at 2.

which these troubling conditions exist together are often communities of color.<sup>13</sup> [We will likely add language about the role of past governmental policies in contributing to these conditions.]

The costs of crime in these minority communities are dramatic. In addition to the direct costs to crime victims and their families, there are substantial psychological, social, and economic costs for the other law-abiding citizens who live there. We must not forget that in the poorest, highest crime neighborhoods in this country, the vast majority of people get up every day, go to work, obey the law, pay their taxes, and do their best to raise their kids. In these communities, however, fear of crime limits social interactions and destroys the sense of community. Fear of crime restricts economic investment and job opportunities. Fear of crime creates the very conditions of social disorder in which crime itself can flourish. It is these communities in which strong, effective law enforcement is needed most.

However, persons of color often have less trust and confidence in law enforcement than whites, and these perceptions of unfairness limit the effectiveness of law enforcement in communities of color. For example, more than 7 out of 10 blacks believe that blacks are treated more harshly by the criminal justice system than whites, and more than 4 out of 10 whites agree.<sup>14</sup> Furthermore, of those crime victims who did not report the incident to police, approximately twice as many blacks than whites say they did not report the crime because the police would not care or would be inefficient, ineffective, or biased.<sup>15</sup> These perceptions of unfairness in the criminal justice system are likely due to a number of historical and present factors, including the use of so-called racial profiling, incidents of police brutality, racial disparities in incarceration rates and sentencing, and the lack of diversity in the criminal justice system... During a meeting I had last year with a group of black journalists, I asked how many of them had been stopped by the police within the last few years for no reason other than the color of their skin. Every one of them raised his or her hand. Whether this is a matter of reality, perception, or both, it must be addressed.

And while many minority communities want and need strong law enforcement, they are also being harmed by high rates of incarceration, especially for young men of color. Today, one-third of all young, black males are under the supervision of the criminal justice system (on

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<sup>13</sup> Sampson, *supra* note \_\_, at 202; Stone, *supra* note \_\_, at 2; Robert Sampson and Janet Lauritsen, *Violent Victimization and Offending: Individual, Situational, and Community-Level Risk Factors*, in *Understanding and Preventing Violence*, National Academy of Sciences, Albert J. Reiss and Jeffrey Roth, eds., Vol. 3 (1993). [?]

<sup>14</sup> *Changing America*, *supra* note \_\_, at 59, Chart 7.

<sup>15</sup> [BJS data summary, 27.]

probation, in prison, or on parole).<sup>16</sup> In cities such as Baltimore, more than 50 percent of young, black males are under criminal justice supervision...<sup>17</sup> Overall, the chance that a young male will go to prison during his lifetime is approximately 4 percent for whites, 16 percent for Hispanics, and nearly 30 percent for blacks.<sup>18</sup> While persons of color comprise less than one-third of the overall population in the United States, they comprise more than two-thirds of the Federal and state prison populations, with blacks alone comprising nearly 50 percent of the prison population.<sup>19</sup> These rates of imprisonment have substantial social and economic effects on minority communities, contributing to the rise in poor, single-parent, female-headed households, the lack of employable males of color, and the disenfranchisement of 1 million black males alone.<sup>20</sup>

\*

These conditions are intolerable. No American should have to live in constant fear of crime. No American should have reason to mistrust the very officers of the state assigned "to protect and to serve" him or her. No American should grow up believing that a stay in prison is a rite of passage. We must take action to eliminate these conditions and to build a criminal justice system that serves Americans of all races fully and fairly. I believe we must do three things:

First and foremost, we must reduce crime and restore order in communities of color where crime and fear of crime are greatest. Every American has the right to live in a safe community, and we should not be able to identify high-crime neighborhoods based on the race of the residents who live there.

Second, we must prevent young people of color from becoming involved in crime and the criminal justice system. The present situation is dramatic. For black males born today, the odds of going to prison are greater than the odds of going to college. And racial disparities -- from arrest through incarceration -- are greater in the juvenile justice system than in the adult system... We must intervene to prevent juvenile delinquency before we lose a whole generation of

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<sup>16</sup>

<sup>17</sup> [?]

<sup>18</sup> *Lifetime Likelihood of Going to State or Federal Prison*, U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2 (1997).

<sup>19</sup>

<sup>20</sup>

minority youth to crime, as either victims or offenders. And for the good kids who do get in trouble, we must intervene in their lives to help them become productive and successful members of society.

Third, we must build trust and confidence in the criminal justice system among persons of color. Let me be clear: The vast majority of law enforcement officers in this nation are dedicated public servants of great courage and high moral character who deserve the respect of citizens of all races. Furthermore, though some will disagree, evidence suggests that racial discrimination is not endemic to our criminal justice system. However, evidence also shows that racial stereotypes and biases still exist, incidents of police brutality based on race still occur, and policies that have an unjustified disparate impact on persons of color are still functioning. No person should be the target of law enforcement based on the color of his or her skin. We must eliminate these conditions and increase fairness and trust in the criminal justice system.

In sum, we must develop a comprehensive model of criminal justice that can increase community safety, prevent young people from entering the criminal justice system, and build confidence and trust in law enforcement. Fortunately, I believe we have the foundation for this model, and we have already made important progress toward achieving these goals. The foundation is community justice -- an approach to criminal justice that emphasizes strong partnerships between law enforcement and communities to prevent crime.

\*

The cornerstone of community justice is community policing. Community policing is a relatively new model of law enforcement that focuses on preventing crime by restoring order in communities, solving community problems, and building partnerships between law enforcement officers and the citizens they serve. Community policing is based on several interrelated principles: First, studies show that reducing disorder in communities can help reduce fear of crime, encourage citizens to interact with one another and their community, and thereby decrease crime itself. Second, preventing crime requires more than making arrests; police must also identify and help solve the underlying community problems that cause crime. Third, both reducing disorder and solving community problems require strong relations between law enforcement officers and the communities they serve. In order to reduce disorder and fear of crime, police must look to law-abiding citizens about their concerns, needs, and values. In order to solve problems that cause crime, police must look to law-abiding citizens for information about those problems. Finally, citizens and community organizations can play a vital role as partners in reducing disorder and solving community problems, and these efforts can directly improve community cohesiveness, which in turn can further reduce crime.

In 1994, I proposed and Congress enacted the Public Safety Partnerships and Community

Policing Act, which provides grants and technical assistance to local communities to increase the number of police in communities and to enhance community policing. Today, we have nearly reached our goal of supporting 100,000 new police officers -- a 20 percent increase in the number of officers -- and promoting community policing efforts in the vast majority of communities across our nation. Program evaluations, as well as the dramatic decrease in crime rates across the country, indicate that these efforts have been successful in reducing crime, reducing fear of crime, and improving relations between citizens and law enforcement...<sup>21</sup> [A text box will summarize prior administration actions consistent with the above themes and the workplan that follows.]

Our efforts in community policing provide a solid foundation for achieving the goals of enhancing safety in our highest crime communities, keeping young people out of the criminal justice system, and increasing trust and confidence in law enforcement. To fully achieve these goals, we must build on that foundation by continuing support for community policing, expanding community justice into other areas, such as community prosecution, and promoting comprehensive, multi-faceted efforts to strengthen our most troubled communities and prevent crime.

In the balance of this chapter I offer a workplan to guide us all in our efforts. Let me first highlight the centerpiece for renewed federal leadership, which focuses on the severe problems facing our highest crime communities.

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#### **CENTERPIECE OF THE FEDERAL WORKPLAN: THE COMMUNITY JUSTICE "HOT SPOTS" INITIATIVE**

In order to reduce and prevent crime in our highest crime communities, I propose a **Community Justice "Hot Spots" Initiative** -- a comprehensive community policing and crime prevention initiative targeted to neighborhoods of concentrated disadvantage, social disorder, and high crime rates. Like multiple fire hoses aimed at the center of a blaze, this Initiative will target proven community safety efforts into a single stream aimed at crime hot spots. For communities willing to tackle conditions in their highest crime neighborhoods:

- The federal government will target funds from a number of key criminal justice programs, including our 21st Century Policing Initiative, which will build upon our community policing initiative and support more police and other resources for

the areas that need them most.

- To be eligible for this pool of targeted funds, communities will be required to bring together relevant actors (federal, state, and local; public and private; law enforcement and other services; and most important, concerned citizens and community leaders) and develop a coordinated, comprehensive plan aimed at preventing crime in high-crime neighborhoods.
- The community plans will promote accountability by setting concrete goals for reducing crime, reducing fear of crime, increasing confidence and trust in law enforcement, and more. Continued federal support from the targeted pool would be tied to progress.

With this new and revitalized "Hot Spots" support, communities will implement comprehensive plans aimed at high-crime areas and designed to (1) enhance law enforcement and establish community policing, (2) rebuild community infrastructure, and (3) initiate proven prevention programs aimed at young people, such as mentoring and after-school programs. I cannot stress this third element enough. Just as overcoming disparities in educational achievement requires taking action in early childhood and elementary education, preventing crime by teens and young adults requires taking action early in their lives to increase community supervision, provide adult support, and build a sense of opportunity. Finally, these comprehensive public safety plans should go hand-in-hand with other community and economic development programs aimed at our most distressed communities. The "Hot Spots" Initiative will, therefore, give preference to community plans that promote economic development by including business, education, and other sectors as partners.

Many strategies show promise for reducing crime in our highest crime communities. But program evaluations to date have been weak, and no one has all the answers. The "Hot Spots" Initiative, therefore, is designed to be flexible and to support innovative local approaches to reducing crime. All community plans must, however, include comprehensive evaluation mechanisms, and those evaluations must show positive results to receive continued federal support.

By focusing the resources of many programs and many actors on the concentrated problems facing our highest crime neighborhoods, we can vastly improve public safety, and we can do so in a way that helps keep young people out of crime and builds confidence and trust in our criminal justice system as well.

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## **A WORKPLAN FOR THE NATION**

The nation's agenda in criminal justice focuses on both decreasing crime and improving the administration of justice. To Build One America, we must:

- Ensure public safety in our highest crime communities;
- Keep young people out of crime and the criminal justice system; and
- Build fairness and trust in our criminal justice system across racial lines.

As indicated above, these agenda items are greatly interrelated. We cannot, for example, enhance public safety in our highest crime communities without implementing proven crime prevention programs aimed at youth or without improving relations between citizens of color and law enforcement. I believe it is useful, however, to disaggregate these goals to focus more concretely on what we need to do to achieve each of them. [A text box will summarize administration policy downpayments on the elements of this workplan.]

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### **ENSURING PUBLIC SAFETY IN OUR HIGHEST CRIME COMMUNITIES**

Today, crime rates are dropping across the nation and for all racial groups. Nonetheless, crime remains unacceptably high in a small number of deeply poor, socially disorganized communities, the vast majority of which are minority communities. These high-crime areas are concentrated in urban centers, but exist in other areas, such as parts of Indian country, as well... The Community Justice "Hot Spots" Initiative, described above, represents a new commitment to increasing public safety in those high-crime communities. Whether as part of that Initiative or otherwise, there are several important, interrelated actions we must take in our highest crime communities to make them safe communities in which parents can raise their children, businesses can invest with confidence, and all law-abiding citizens can enjoy the simple pleasures of life free from crime and fear of crime. Americans of all races deserve no less.

- ***Enhance targeted law enforcement and address the problems of gangs, guns, and drugs***

Research confirms that increased law enforcement can help prevent crime, and these

returns can be greatest in our highest crime communities.<sup>22</sup> According to a recent study, "each additional police officer assigned to a big city prevents six times as many serious crimes each year as an officer assigned nationally by population."<sup>23</sup> But to be most effective, increased law enforcement must be aimed at the right places and factors.

Crime is largely a concentrated phenomenon. Even within our highest crime areas, the vast majority of crime occurs in relatively few places and at relatively few times. For example, studies have shown that as little as 3 percent of all street addresses can account for as much as 50 percent of the crime in a given community.<sup>24</sup> This in part reflects a concentration of crime in some places. These "hot spots within hot spots" may include buildings, parks, or street corners that serve as harbors for criminal activity. We must take action to enhance targeted law enforcement within our highest crime communities. Federal, state, and local governments must work together to identify high-crime places through computer mapping and to increase police patrols at those high-crime places at high-crime times... Importantly, research shows that enhancing such targeted law enforcement does not simply displace crime, but actually reduces crime. [We could add something about nuisance abatement and/or other strategies to address the conditions of high-crime places themselves. We should also add language about the lack of police resources in Indian country.]

In addition, whatever unique problems exist in a given high-crime community, two problems that are likely pervasive (and that remain widespread national problems as well) are guns and drugs. Indeed, much of the problem of violent crime in our highest crime communities likely emanates from the overlap of guns and drugs. Alfred Blumstein and other noted criminologists postulate that the rise in violent crime in our highest crime communities during the 1980s was the result of a rise in gun violence among youth caused by the emergence of crack cocaine. According to Professor Blumstein:

[C]rack arrived in the mid-1980s, initially in the larger cities, and spread from there to the

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<sup>22</sup> Lawrence Sherman, *Policing for Crime Prevention*, in *Preventing Crime: What Works, What Doesn't, What's Promising*, U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs Report prepared by the University of Maryland Department of Criminology and Criminal Justice, 8-9 to 8-10 (1997).

<sup>23</sup> *Id.* at 8-37; Thomas B. Marvell and Carlisle E. Moody, *Specification Problems, Police Levels and Crime Rates*, in *Criminology* 34:609-46 (1996). [?]

<sup>24</sup> *E.g.*, Lawrence Sherman, Patrick R. Gartin, and Michael E. Buerger, *Hot Spots of Predatory Crime: Routine Activities and the Criminology of Place*, in *Criminology* 27-55 (Volume 27, 1989). [?]

smaller cities. Because crack required many more sellers to meet the increased demand (composed of many more buyers and with more transactions per buyer) there was major recruitment of young minorities to serve in that role. They were carrying valuable property -- drugs or the proceeds from the sale of those drugs -- and so they had to take steps to protect themselves from robbery. Because they were dealing in an illegal market, they could not call the police if someone tried to steal their valuables. Their self-protection involved carrying handguns. Because young men are tightly networked and highly imitative, their colleagues --- even those not involved in selling drugs -- armed themselves also, at least in part as a matter of self-protection against those who were armed. That led to an arms race in many inner-city neighborhoods.

It is widely recognized that violence has always been part of teenage males' dispute resolution repertoire, but that has typically involved fights, the consequences of which were usually no more serious than a bloody nose. The lethality of the ubiquitous guns contributed in a major way to the doubling of the homicide rate by (and of) those 18 and under.<sup>25</sup>

One important lesson from this theory is that guns do kill people, especially young people of color in our most disadvantaged communities. In places where community supervision is limited, many young people are armed, and gangs exert great influence, disputes are more likely to be "resolved" through gun violence. Nearly half of all murders committed in the United States each year are committed by persons under 24 years old with guns.<sup>26</sup> In the words of criminologists Philip Cook and Mark Moore, "There are very few drive-by knifings, or people killed accidentally by stray fists."<sup>27</sup> We must take action to stop gun violence and to keep guns out of the hands of those who should not have them, including convicted felons and juveniles. Promising approaches include increased seizures of illegally carried guns at crime hot spots, "tracing" of guns seized in crime to crackdown on illegal gun sales, and Brady Act background checks to prevent gun purchases by convicted felons and others prohibited from buying guns.

In addition, we must crackdown on gang activity. Today, there are an estimated 23,000 gangs with 665,000 members in 2000 jurisdictions across the country, and there is evidence that

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<sup>25</sup> Alfred Blumstein, *The Context of Recent Changes in Crime Rates, in What Can the Federal Government Do To Decrease Crime and Revitalize Communities*, U.S. Department of Justice, Executive Office for Weed and Seed report, 15 (January 1998).

<sup>26</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Philip J. Cook and Mark H. Moore, *Gun Control, in Crime*, James Q. Wilson and Joan Petersilia, eds., 273 (1995).

these numbers are growing.<sup>28</sup> Research shows that gang members account for a high percentage of crime in our highest crime communities and that gang membership itself encourages criminal activity.<sup>29</sup> We must prevent and reduce gang membership and

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**TEXT BOX**  
**The Boston Gun Project**

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crime. In large part, this means increasing support for proven prevention programs aimed at our young people. [Lawrence Sherman, Malcolm Klein, and other criminologists suggest that we don't know much about how to reduce gang activity. We are continuing to explore this.] Simply put, we must draw the line against gang and gun violence in our highest crime communities. By doing so, we can reduce crime and save lives. For example, in Boston, law enforcement and community leaders came together in 1996 and made clear to gang members that any gun violence by any gang member would be met with a massive, comprehensive crackdown against all members of the gang. The result was an immediate decline in the number of juvenile homicides in Boston to zero for two consecutive years... [We could tell a more complete story about Boston here or in a text box. We are exploring this.]

Finally, while the use of some drugs, including crack cocaine, is decreasing in many places, the percentage of persons who commit crimes under the influence of drugs is increasing, and drug markets continue to threaten order in our highest crime communities.<sup>30</sup> We must take action to reduce drug use and illicit drug markets. However, we must also acknowledge that the war on drugs has had a disproportionate, negative impact on persons of color, and we cannot allow the war on drugs to be a war on minority persons or communities. In large part, this means promoting a renewed focus on prevention and treatment and promoting greater fairness in our drug laws. (I will say more on these issues below with regard to both keeping youth out of the criminal justice system and building trust in the criminal justice system.) [Does this work?]

- ***Engage the community and establish community policing***

While increasing law enforcement can help reduce crime in our highest crime communities, it must be the right kind of law enforcement done in the right way. Most importantly, it is essential that the community itself be fully engaged in both the development and implementation of any new public safety effort. Without full community involvement and

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<sup>28</sup> J.P. Moore, *The 1995 Youth Gang Survey, Report to the U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Programs* (1996). [?]

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support, any targeted law enforcement effort is likely to be perceived not as comprehensive community building but as a full-scale assault in which police and other governmental entities assail select minority neighborhoods. Rather than increasing public safety, such an effort could increase mistrust of law enforcement, which would likely reduce the effectiveness of law enforcement. Research shows that increasing police legitimacy in the eyes of the community not only reduces tensions, but can also help prevent crime.<sup>31</sup> Building police legitimacy requires training police and citizens on how to interact effectively, with mutual respect, and building lines of communication through community meetings and other mechanisms. (I will say more on these issues below with regard to building confidence and trust in the criminal justice system.)

The community must also be fully engaged because each community's crime problem is, at some level, unique, and the law-abiding citizens of each community are the best resource for understanding how crime and fear of crime manifest themselves in that community. Partnerships between law enforcement and the community are, therefore, essential for solving community problems and, thereby, reducing crime. This is the heart of community policing. As described above, we must take action to establish community policing in our highest crime communities to help restore order, solve community problems, and improve relations between citizens and law enforcement. Since 1993, the number of communities implementing community policing has increased from hundreds to more than 9000. In 1998, we took action at the federal level to target community policing resources to our highest need cities, and (as discussed above) I propose to target future federal community policing resources, including funds to support 50,000 new police officers, to our highest crime areas as well.

Evidence shows that the expansion of community policing has contributed greatly to the decrease in crime across our nation and to better police-community relations. For example, Chicago's Alternative Policing Strategy (CAPS) seeks to identify and resolve problems of crime at the neighborhood level by putting more police on the street, training police and citizens in problem solving and partnership building, and holding hundreds of community meetings each month around the city at which thousands of Chicagoans interact with their community policing officers. Evaluations of CAPS show that the effort has been successful in reducing crime, reducing fear of crime, and improving relations between citizens and law enforcement...<sup>32</sup>

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**TEXT BOX**  
Chicago's Alternative Policing Strategy (CAPS):  
Cleaning Up Gill Park

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<sup>31</sup> See Sherman, *supra* note \_\_\_, at 8-26; Tom Tyler, *Why People Obey the Law* (1990). [?]

<sup>32</sup>

• ***Build community infrastructure and promote economic development***

While law enforcement is important, crime prevention in most communities is a consequence not only of law enforcement or any government action, but is primarily based on the strength of the community itself. "Each person's bonds to family, community, school and work create what criminologists call 'informal social control,' the pressures to conform to the law that have little to do with the threat of punishment. Informal controls threaten something that may be far more fearsome than simply life in prison: shame and disgrace in the eyes of other people you depend upon."<sup>33</sup> Emerging research shows that crime rates in communities are related to what is called in the literature "collective efficacy," which simply means the degree of social cohesion in a community -- the extent to which neighbors know, trust, and look out for one another. The greater the collective efficacy in a community, the lower the crime rates.<sup>34</sup> Thus, it is essential that formal law enforcement efforts be fully aligned with and support community based efforts that seek to promote and leverage informal social controls -- from parent-teacher associations to neighborhood watch programs.

However, the communities with the highest crime rates not surprisingly have the worst social conditions for preventing crime. These conditions include pervasive unemployment, family disruption, and residential instability. For example, despite our booming economy, some communities, most of which are minority communities, face unemployment rates as high as 80 percent,<sup>35</sup> and half of all black children today are raised in single-parent households.<sup>36</sup> In addition, high-crime neighborhoods suffer from so-called community disorder, which refers to the sense of lawlessness that pervades many high-poverty, minority communities. According to Wesley Skogan:

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<sup>33</sup> Lawrence W. Sherman, *Thinking About Crime Prevention in Preventing Crime: What Works, What Doesn't, What's Promising 2-7*, U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs Report prepared by the University of Maryland Department of Criminology and Criminal Justice (1997).

<sup>34</sup> Robert J. Sampson, Stephen W. Raudenbush, Felton Earls, *Neighborhoods and Violent Crime: A Multilevel Study of Collective Efficacy*, in *Science*, Vol. 277, 918-24 (August 15, 1997).

<sup>35</sup> William Julius Wilson, *When Work Disappears: The World of the New Urban Poor* 19 (1996). (?)

<sup>36</sup> Joseph P. Tierney, Jean Baldwin Rossman, and Nancy L. Resch, *Making a Difference: An Impact Study of Big Brothers/Big Sisters, Public/Private Ventures* (1995). (?)

Disorder is evident in the widespread appearance of junk and trash in vacant lots; it is evident, too, in decaying homes, boarded-up buildings, the vandalism of public and private property, graffiti, and stripped and abandoned cars in streets and alleys. It is signaled by bands of teenagers congregating on street corners, by the presence of prostitutes and panhandlers, by public drinking, the verbal harassment of women, and open gambling and drug use. What these conditions have in common is that they signal a breakdown of local social order. Communities beset by disorder can no longer expect people to act in a civil fashion in public places. . .

Researchers have found that perceptions of disorder have many ill effects on urban neighborhoods. Disorder not only sparks concern and fear of crime among neighborhood residents; it may actually increase the level of serious crime. Disorder erodes what control neighborhood residents can maintain over local events and conditions. It drives out those for whom stable community life is important, and discourages people with similar values from moving in. It threatens house prices and discourages investment. In short, disorder is an instrument of destabilization and neighborhood decline.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Wesley G. Skogan, *Disorder and Decline: Crime and the Spiral Decay in American Neighborhoods* 2-3 (1990). Several years ago, James Q. Wilson and George Kelling published a revolutionary article explaining how community disorder is likely related to crime:

[I]f a window in a building is broken and is left unrepaired, all the rest of the windows will soon be broken. This is as true in nice neighborhoods as in rundown ones. Window-breaking does not necessarily occur on a large scale because some areas are inhabited by determined window-breakers whereas others are populated by window-lovers; rather, one unrepaired broken window is a signal that no one cares, and so breaking more windows costs nothing. . .

We suggest that "untended" behavior also leads to the breakdown of community controls. A stable neighborhood of families who care for their homes, mind each other's children, and confidently frown on unwanted intruders can change, in a few years or even a few months, to an inhospitable and frightening jungle. A piece of property is abandoned, weeds grow up, a window is smashed. Adults stop scolding rowdy children; the children, emboldened, become more rowdy. Families move out, unattached adults move in. Teenagers gather in front of the corner store. The merchant asks them to move; they refuse. Fights occur. Litter accumulates. People start drinking in front of the grocer; in time, and inebriate slumps to the sidewalk and is allowed to sleep it off. Pedestrians are approached by panhandlers.

In short, concentrated disadvantage and community disorder greatly reduce collective efficacy and, thereby, promote crime in our highest crime communities. We can and must take action to rebuild community infrastructure and increase collective efficacy. One simple key is to get organizations involved. Stable community organizations can and must reach into high-crime neighborhoods, encourage civic participation, and build a foundation of community support...<sup>38</sup> [Wesley Skogan and others have presented research that shows limited success for these types of interventions, but Chicago and others have had more recent success. We are following up.] Furthermore, the community can be an essential partner in helping to restore order in high-crime communities by cleaning up areas and promoting positive activities for youth. Indeed, these roles might be more appropriate and successful ones for citizens and organizations than a more traditional law enforcement role... Finally, we must promote economic development to overcome the concentrated disadvantage that plagues many high-crime communities... [We will briefly reference policy and bully pulpit actions in the economic development section of the workplan regarding job training, business investment, etc.]

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#### **KEEPING YOUNG PEOPLE OUT OF CRIME AND THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM**

After increasing dramatically for nearly a decade, juvenile crime has been decreasing rapidly for the last few years at rates even greater than adult crime. However, too many children are still falling prey to crime, as either offenders or victims. And kids who commit crime are

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James Q. Wilson and George L. Kelling, *Broken Windows: The Police and Neighborhood Safety*, in *Atlantic Monthly* (March 1982).

At this point, it is not inevitable that serious crime will flourish or violent attacks on strangers will occur. But many residents will think that crime, especially violent crime, is on the rise, and they will modify their behavior accordingly. They will use the streets less often, and when on the streets, will stay apart from their fellows, moving with averted eyes, silent lips, and hurried steps. "Don't get involved." . . . Such an area is vulnerable to criminal invasion.

<sup>38</sup> Wesley Skogan, *The Community's Role in Community Policing*, in *Communities: Mobilizing Against Crime, Making Partnerships Work*, U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice Journal, 34 (August 1996).

significantly more likely to become adults who commit crime.<sup>39</sup> There are nearly 3 million juvenile arrests across the nation each year, and children of color are overrepresented in those arrests and at every stage in the juvenile justice process.<sup>40</sup> For example, minority youth constitute approximately 32 percent of the juvenile population, but they represent 68 percent of the juvenile population in detention.<sup>41</sup> Black youth constitute approximately 15 percent of the juvenile population, but blacks alone account for 26 percent of juvenile arrests, 32 percent of delinquency referrals to juvenile court, 41 percent of juveniles detained in delinquency cases, 46 percent of juveniles in correctional institutions, and 52 percent of juveniles transferred to adult criminal court after judicial proceedings.<sup>42</sup>

In part, these figures raise serious concerns about the fairness of the juvenile justice system (which I discuss below in the context of building fairness and trust in the criminal justice system). But they also reflect disparities in criminal offending and the need for greater efforts to keep our young people, especially young males of color, out of crime and the criminal justice system. Once again, research suggests that racial disparities in criminal offending among youth are closely tied to factors such as concentrated poverty, family disruption, and residential instability that plague many communities in which children of color are raised.<sup>43</sup> Controlling for those factors, juvenile offending rates do not differ significantly by race.<sup>44</sup> Therefore, supporting efforts in our highest crime communities, described above, to increase law enforcement, enhance community policing, rebuild collective efficacy, and promote economic development will help reduce and prevent youth crime. However, in addition to and as part of those efforts, we must also renew our commitment to prevention and treatment programs aimed directly at youth and young adults to ensure that our children have every chance to succeed in life rather than getting caught up in a life of crime.

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<sup>39</sup> See Peter W. Greenwood, *Juvenile Crime and Juvenile Justice*, in *Crime*, James Q. Wilson and Joan Petersilia, eds., 98-99 (1995).

<sup>40</sup> *Id.* at 17.

<sup>41</sup> *Id.* at 32.

<sup>42</sup> [OJJDP summary...]

<sup>43</sup> Darnell F. Hawkins, John H. Laub, and Janet L. Lauritsen, *Race, Ethnicity, and Serious Juvenile Offending*, in *Serious and Violent Juvenile Offenders: Risk Factors and Successful Interventions*, 39-43, Rolf Loeber and David P. Farrington, eds. (1998).

<sup>44</sup> *Id.* at 42.

• *Prevent crime by supporting young people*

Several strategies show evidence of success at keeping young people out of crime and the criminal justice system and would likely have a disproportionately positive effect on young people of color. Implementing those strategies successfully will require the support and participation of families, schools, and communities... At the federal, we launched in 1998 a Values-Based Violence Prevention Initiative to support community-based efforts led by civic and religious organizations and designed to target the problems facing young people, including youth violence, truancy, and gangs. I believe these efforts show great promise, and we must do more at all levels of government and, most importantly, in communities to expand such efforts. [We will add additional information regarding successful youth crime prevention efforts, including more on the experiences in Boston and/or Houston.]

First, as reported in the education section of this chapter, emerging evidence shows that early childhood and family support programs can help reduce criminal activity years and even decades later. The Perry Preschool project in Michigan, for example, provided early childhood education and in-home family support for low-income, black children ages 3-5 and their families. Children who participated in the project were found to be less than one fourth as likely to become involved in crime by age 24 as children who did not participate in the program.<sup>45</sup> [We will check on the status of this project?] Similar programs have also been found to reduce child abuse, which is a great evil in itself and a risk factor for future child delinquency and adult criminality.<sup>46</sup> We must increase support for early childhood development, family support, and quality pre-school programs to reduce juvenile delinquency and increase educational achievement.

Second, after-school programs can help reduce delinquent activity. Data show that juvenile crime peaks sharply at 3 p.m., just as school lets out, and remains high until approximately 8 p.m.<sup>47</sup> It is during these hours of 3 p.m. to 8 p.m. that our kids are often on their own and most likely to fall prey to gangs, drugs, and/or crime. By keeping schools open to serve

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<sup>45</sup> J. Berrueta-Clement et al., *Changed Lives: The Effects of the Perry Preschool Program on Youths through Age 19* (1984); Lawrence Sherman, *Family-Based Crime Prevention, in Preventing Crime: What Works, What Doesn't, What's Promising*, U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs Report prepared by the University of Maryland Department of Criminology and Criminal Justice 4-10 to 4-15 (1997); James F. Short, Jr., *Poverty, Ethnicity, and Violent Crime, 1998-99* (1997); Greenwood, *supra* note \_\_\_, at 115.

<sup>46</sup> See Sherman, *supra* note \_\_\_, at 4-1 to 4-15.

<sup>47</sup> *Juvenile Offenders and Victims, supra* note \_\_\_, 26.

children and their families during these hours, we can provide our children with safe havens from crime, promote constructive activities, and develop educational and other skills...

Third, many young people get into trouble because they lack adult and/or community supervision. Mentoring programs can prevent juvenile crime by providing that supervision and vital support. For example, a recent study of the Big Brothers and Big Sisters of America program, which has existed for more than 90 years, found that children participating in the program, 60 percent of whom were children of color, were significantly less likely to use drugs or alcohol, get into fights, or skip school than kids who did not participate in the program.<sup>48</sup> If we are going to prevent our young people from getting involved in gangs and crime, more Americans must get involved in the lives of our young people as mentors.

- *Reduce recidivism by promoting alternative punishments for good kids who get in trouble*

Rates of criminal recidivism among juveniles and adults are astounding. Data show that the majority of adult prisoners released from state prison are rearrested within 3 years, and these recidivism rates are highest for persons of color...<sup>49</sup> [We will add data on juvenile recidivism rates.] For some violent juvenile and young adult offenders, arrest and incarceration is necessary, justified, and effective... However, in many instances and many ways, we can do more to intervene in the lives of young people who commit crimes or delinquent acts and help them and their families turn their lives around. Once again, several strategies have shown signs of success.

First among these strategies are youth, gun, and drug courts, as well as drug treatment more generally. These courts provide alternative interventions for non-violent youth offenders and offer treatment and other services as long as those offenders stay out of further trouble. Drug courts have become particularly important, both for children and adults. Data show that the majority of all crime is committed under the influence of drugs, including alcohol.<sup>50</sup> Drug courts and related treatment strategies can help reduce recidivism by offering first-time, non-violent offenders drug treatment, but requiring consistent drug testing and exacting immediate sanctions for failing a drug test.

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<sup>48</sup> Jean Baldwin Grossman and Eileen M. Garry, *Mentoring -- A Proven Delinquency Prevention Strategy*, U.S. Department of Justice Juvenile Justice Bulletin (April 1997); Sherman, *supra* note \_\_\_, at 3-20 to 3-26.

<sup>49</sup> [BJS data summary, 22.]

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Too many Americans, and particularly too many Americans of color, are presently incarcerated for drug offenses or for offenses committed under the influence of drugs while not getting the treatment they need to overcome their addictions. In fact, the majority of all state and federal prisoners were under the influence of drugs or alcohol at the time of their arrests, yet only 12 percent have ever received any form of treatment.<sup>51</sup> Drug treatment is humane and cost-effective and must be given a more prominent place in our criminal justice system...

Second, programs that work with parents and families in the home to deal with delinquent youth have shown signs of success at preventing future delinquency, and at much lower costs than out-of-home placements. These programs provide family counseling and other assistance to disengage troubled kids from factors that lead to crime, such as gangs... In one study, 22 percent of youth who participated in such a program were arrested again within 4 years compared to 87 percent of youth who did not participate.<sup>52</sup> [This is apparently called "Multisystemic Therapy." We are continuing to learn more.]

Third, programs that promote what is called "restorative justice" can help reduce repeat offending. Restorative justice holds youth offenders responsible for their delinquent acts to both their victims and communities. Delinquent youth are required to make restitution and perform community service, but they are also given adult mentoring and employment training. Studies indicate that such programs can reduce recidivism and strengthen community values.<sup>53</sup> In addition, both offenders and victims who participate in restorative justice report greater respect for the criminal justice system, which also reduces criminal offending...<sup>54</sup> [Again, we are still exploring this.]

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#### **BUILDING FAIRNESS AND TRUST IN OUR CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM ACROSS RACIAL LINES**

There is no more fundamental tenet of our governmental system than the entitlement of every person, inscribed in our Constitution, to equal protection under the law. That seemingly simple notion means many things in many contexts. But at its heart, it means that the state shall

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<sup>51</sup> Christopher J. Mumola, *Substance Abuse and Treatment, State and Federal Prisoners, 1997*, U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1 (December 1998).

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not without compelling reason treat people differently because of such factors as race, color, or national origin. The criminal justice system is the most powerful domestic arm of the state. It has the power to restrict individual freedom and, in extreme cases, even to take human life. With that power comes the great responsibility and obligation to implement our laws fairly and justly.

Today, persons of color continue to have less confidence and trust in our criminal justice system than whites. In a recent poll, for example, a majority of blacks said they believe that the criminal justice system is biased against them.<sup>55</sup> [Add more examples here, such as the differing reactions to the O.J. Simpson verdict and/or the growing debate over jury nullification.] These perceptions are based on a number of experiences, incidents, and policies that lead some law-abiding persons of color to believe that they are likely to be targeted or threatened by law enforcement for no reason other than the color of their skin.

For white Americans, it is difficult but important to fully understand what this means. Recently, the brother of a young, black member of my staff got his driver's license. But, as my staff member explained to me, before his brother was allowed to drive, his parents would have to have "the talk" with him. I wasn't sure what that meant. "The talk" in this case was that when (not if, but when) the young man is stopped by the police for no reason other than the color of his skin, he is to hide his frustration and anger so that an upsetting situation does not escalate into a dangerous one. Two United States attorneys who are African American talked at a recent Department of Justice conference about having similar conversations with their own children.<sup>56</sup> That is a talk that most white parents do not have to have with their children. And it is a talk that no American family should have to have.

The lack of trust and confidence in our criminal justice system among persons of color is not only morally disconcerting, it also limits the effectiveness of law enforcement, and may even promote crime. Recent studies show that persons are more likely to obey the law when they believe the law and its officers are legitimate, and when they are treated with respect. One study in Milwaukee, for example, found that persons arrested for domestic violence who believed they were treated fairly by law enforcement officials in their interactions were significantly less likely to commit another act of domestic violence compared to those who believed they were treated unfairly.<sup>57</sup> A similar study found that persons who perceived that police treated them fairly in

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<sup>55</sup> Gallup Poll Monthly (1995) (cited in Randall Kennedy, Overview of Racial Trends in the Administration of Criminal Justice, Draft paper submitted to NAS/NRC conference (1998)).

<sup>56</sup>[Confirm this]

<sup>57</sup> Raymond Paternoster et al., *Do Fair Procedures Matter? The Effect of Procedural Justice on Spouse Assault*, in \_\_\_\_\_, 163-204 (199\_).

their interactions (such as when they were stopped by the police for traffic offenses) were less likely to commit minor crimes (such as parking violations or petty theft).<sup>58</sup> While the studies may not put the social science question to rest, these troubling results are in a way unsurprising. The fact is that we are all more likely to obey rules, respect authority, and feel like members of a community when we believe that the rules are legitimate, the authority treats us fairly, and the community respects our concerns.

We must take action to build the same levels of confidence and trust in our criminal justice system among persons of color that other Americans have. In no small part, this means improving relations between law enforcement and minority communities. Community policing can play an important role here by establishing stronger lines of communication -- through community meetings, door-to-door visits, and more -- and by building partnerships between citizens and law enforcement. In addition, we must do a better job of training law enforcement officials in how to interact effectively with citizens of all races. Finally, we must address several important and difficult issues underlying the present racial gap in trust and confidence in our criminal justice system, including such issues as racial profiling, police brutality, disparities in incarceration rates and sentencing, and the lack of diversity in law enforcement. It is to those issues that I now turn.

- ***Restrict racial profiling***

"Racial profiling" refers to the use of race, color, or ethnicity by law enforcement as a factor in identifying criminal suspects. Studies as well as individual cases indicate, for example, that law enforcement officials are often more likely to stop motorists who appear black or Hispanic for traffic violations, to search black motorists for drugs following a stop, and to question Hispanic persons about their immigration status. Let me be clear: This is not about the use of race as the sole factor in identifying criminal suspects, which is quite clearly unlawful. Furthermore, this is not about the use of race as one of several identifying characteristics of a specific criminal suspect; most of us would agree that if a robbery victim provides a good description, including race, police should not be "color blind" in their search. The question here is, "Should police be able to use race as a proxy for an increased risk that people of a given racial background have engaged in or are about to engage in criminal misconduct?"<sup>59</sup> For example, a police officer sees two young men on a street corner at night engage in a very quick transaction in which cash is exchanged for some small object that the officer thinks may be

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<sup>58</sup> Tyler, *supra* note \_\_\_, at \_\_\_. [?]

<sup>59</sup> Randall Kennedy, *Race, Police, and "Reasonable Suspicion,"* Speech at the Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice (1998).

drugs. Should the officer be any more or less likely to stop and question the young men if they are black or white or Hispanic or Asian Pacific American or American Indian or all of the above? And what should our policy be?

The Advisory Board on Race summarized this issue well in its final report:

Some in law enforcement may see racial profiling as a necessary, legitimate practice given limited law enforcement resources and evidence of racial disparities in criminal behavior. . . . But racial profiling also imposes costs on innocent persons, perpetuates and reinforces stereotypes, creates situations that can lead to physical confrontations, and contributes to tensions between persons of color and the criminal justice system.<sup>60</sup>

Not only is racial profiling fueled by negative stereotypes and inconsistent with our fundamental belief in equal protection under the law, it is also simply bad policy that hinders effective law enforcement. As Attorney General Janet Reno said at a recent Department of Justice sponsored conference on police stops and searches:

First, I begin with the fact that traffic stops and searches are a vital tool for effective law enforcement. . . . At the same time, we agree that traffic stops must be conducted in a manner that ensures fairness and nondiscrimination. As I have said before, it is wrong to assume that members of one race or ethnic group are more prone to criminal behavior than any other. Reliance on such racial stereotypes is as wrong in law enforcement as it is in other endeavors. And this includes situations where law enforcement officers improperly use race to target individuals for a traffic stop, a pedestrian stop or a request for consent to search, in the absence of information about a specific suspect or other special circumstances. . . .

I don't view these twin goals as inconsistent. They are complementary. Without the trust of the community in which the police operate, our law enforcement efforts simply cannot be effective. And the subject of racial profiling, as I know you are all aware, is one that has galvanized many communities. The perception that law enforcement stops are biased has a corrosive effect on our ability to protect and to serve the very communities where effective law enforcement is

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<sup>60</sup> Advisory Board on Race, *supra* note \_\_\_, at 82.

often most needed.<sup>61</sup>

I believe we must take action at all levels of government to restrict the use of racial profiling. We can start by ensuring that all levels of law enforcement develop and explain clear policies concerning racial profiling. At the federal level, I have instructed the Attorney General to prepare an Executive Order for my signature that will establish policy throughout all of federal law enforcement, and provide an example to state and local jurisdictions that have no policy. That order will prohibit the use of race or ethnicity as a factor for general screening of the population in virtually all contexts, and create safeguards whenever exceptions are warranted. [Insert Text Box on Executive Order on Racial Profiling.] Second, we must promote greater training for law enforcement officers on how to avoid acting based on improper racial stereotypes and how to interact fairly and constructively with citizens of all races in ways that de-escalate situations and build trust. The Department of Justice is working on this at the national level, and many local jurisdictions have already tackled this challenge. [Insert Text Box example of a police department's training efforts.] Third, we must improve data collection so that we know the extent to which persons of color are being inappropriately targeted by law enforcement and can take steps to restrict such actions. Congressman John Conyers has proposed legislation to accomplish this, which I support.<sup>62</sup> Indeed, the legislation should be broadened to ensure we have adequate data to monitor several aspects of fairness in the administration of justice.

Finally, we must enhance civil rights enforcement to correct situations in which persons of color are being inappropriately targeted by law enforcement. Currently, for example... [Describe a current DOJ Civil Rights Division case on this issue, in human terms.]

- *Eliminate police brutality*

Of all the issues of race in the administration of justice, none looms larger than the issue of police brutality. We all know many of the most egregious incidents, from Rodney King to Abner Louima. We have all read the headlines: "New York Police Officer Accused of Brutalizing Haitian Immigrant." We have also lived through the community violence and racial unrest that such incidents can spark. But what we must understand is that to many persons of color, incidents of police brutality are more than just discrete, horrific acts, they are seen as harbingers of what could happen to them if they are caught in the wrong place at the wrong time with the wrong kind of "officer." That lack of trust is a reality.

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<sup>61</sup> *Attorney General Janet Reno, Remarks for problem solving group on law enforcement stops and searches (December 8, 1998). [This was the prepared text.][?]*

<sup>62</sup> [Cite to Conyers legislation on data collection on race and administration of justice.]

But there is another reality. Most police officers are, quite simply, heroes who do an extremely difficult job with fairness, honor, and skill. Furthermore, most officers abhor the improper use of force because it hurts their legitimacy, makes their jobs more difficult and, most importantly, is inconsistent with their responsibility to enforce the law. When we take action against police brutality, we are not taking action against our law enforcement officers, we are taking action to support good law enforcement and to protect all citizens from crime. Simply put, police brutality is a violent crime made more vile by the fact that it is committed under the supposed authority of the state, by officers who are sworn "to protect and to serve," and sometimes appears, when it does occur, to be motivated by racial or ethnic prejudice.

Two points here: First, we know too little about police use of excessive force. As of 1994, federal law requires the U.S. Department of Justice to collect and analyze data on excessive use of force. A preliminary report, for example, suggests that police use of force against anyone is infrequent (occurring in approximately 1 percent of police-citizen encounters), but that a disproportionate number of these incidents involve persons of color.<sup>63</sup> This preliminary study is very limited, and the Bureau of Justice Statistics is conducting a more comprehensive analysis. What is clear is that all levels of government can do a much better job monitoring police use of force and communicating to police and citizens that excessive use of force is unacceptable and will be punished. That is what both professionalism and fairness require.

But apart from the need for better monitoring and information, we must acknowledge excessive use of force against persons of color still occurs. There are just too many examples, some horrific, to ignore the problem. Later in this book, I will challenge communities across the nation to formulate workplans to help achieve their vision of a healed, "opportunity community" in a just One America. I believe that any such community workplan must include a determined effort to root out police brutality and punish those who commit it.

I pledge whatever advice and assistance the wisdom and resources of the federal government can offer, because police brutality is corrosive to the trust so essential to community law enforcement. We know some of what works. Police leaders have found certain training to be helpful, including how to communicate across racial lines, how to de-escalate situations, and how to use force only in appropriate circumstances and in appropriate ways. It helps to have clear mechanisms for dealing with allegations of excessive use of force that include clear chains of management and independent review. And finally, federal and state prosecutors must be prepared to combat brutality through appropriate enforcement actions, because these are crimes in which the victims include the community and justice itself.

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<sup>63</sup> U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics.

• ***Reduce disparities in incarceration rates and sentencing***

The racial disparities throughout the administration of justice raise legitimate and important questions about the fairness of the criminal justice system. For example, while persons of color make up less than one-third of our nation's population, they make up more than two-thirds of the state and federal prison populations.<sup>64</sup> Blacks account for 43 percent of arrests, 54 percent of convictions, and 59 percent of prison admissions for violent crime.<sup>65</sup> Moreover, America has a greater percentage of its citizens behind bars than any other nation in the world, except Russia.<sup>66</sup> These rates of imprisonment and racial disparities are disconcerting regardless of the cause and, as I have argued, we must take bolder steps to prevent crime and recidivism. However, in terms of fairness in the administration of justice, the key question is to what extent are present disparities caused by discrimination in the administration of justice. Most of us believe that discrimination is a very small factor, but some of our citizens feel otherwise. Still more of us believe that, even if there is not discrimination, there is some subtle role of racial difference and color that has stacked the deck.

The answer to the question of whether there is discrimination in the administration of justice should not be, "We don't *know* there is discrimination." The answer must be, "We know there is *not* discrimination, and we have processes in place to ensure that." Clearly, we're not there yet.

Having said that, the best available evidence indicates that most of the existing disparities in the administration of justice -- from arrest through sentencing -- are not due to discrimination, but are primarily due to underlying disparities in the commission of crimes: once the crime is committed, the rates of arrest, conviction and imprisonment do not seem to differ significantly by race. For example, a recent analysis by the U.S. General Accounting Office (GAO) compared racial differences in arrest rates for several violent crimes to data from a national survey of crime victims concerning the race of their assailants. GAO found no significant difference between the two, suggesting that controlling for criminal offending, arrest rates do not differ significantly by race.<sup>67</sup> In addition, a study by the U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics tracked more than 10,000 adult, felony defendants in the nation's 75 largest cities through all stages of

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<sup>65</sup> *Changing America*, *supra* note \_\_\_, at 57, Chart 5.

<sup>66</sup> [We are re-checking this.]

<sup>67</sup> See letter from Laurie E. Ekstrand, Associate Director, Administration of Justice Issues, General Accounting Office to the Honorable John Conyers (January 20, 1984).

the criminal justice process. The study, which focused on black and white defendants, found that the defendants were equally likely to be prosecuted and convicted, and received the same sentence regardless of race.<sup>68</sup>

The fact is that every racial or ethnic group appears to have higher rates of offending than others groups with regard to at least some forms of crime.<sup>69</sup> But persons of color, especially young black and Hispanic males, appear to have higher rates of offending and repeat offending with regard to the crimes most likely to lead to incarceration, specifically violent crimes. Once again, these disproportionate rates of offending are closely related to the conditions of concentrated disadvantage and community disorder in which a disproportionate amount of minority children are raised

Finally, there are a few key areas in which disparities in the administration of justice raise immediate, greater concerns of discrimination. Racial disparities in drug arrests and sentencing are dramatic. In part, this is an unintended consequence of the war on drugs. Let me be clear: I believe that drugs, drug use, and especially drug trafficking should be unlawful and subject to punishment. Drugs destroy individuals, families, and communities, and threaten the strength of our nation. However, we cannot ignore the disproportionate impact that drug laws and enforcement have had on persons of color in America. While drug use is roughly equal across racial lines, blacks, for example, are approximately five times more likely than whites to be arrested for drug-related offenses. [This is old data, and we are getting newer data here, and trying to reconcile with above-cited GAO and BJS studies on disparities in arrests, etc..]

The war on drugs is a war *for* our communities and children, not a war against them. That is why I have urged increases in support for prevention and treatment. This also means making sure kids get the message on drugs, and we have launched at the federal level a \$200 million anti-drug media campaign to promote that message. However, this also means revising drug policies and practices that have an unjustified negative impact on persons of color. Chief among these is the present gap in sentencing for crack versus powder campaign. Under present federal

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<sup>68</sup> See Patrick A. Langan, *No Racism in the Justice System*, in *The Public Interest* 48 (Fall 1994) (The study did find that blacks were more likely than whites to receive a prison sentence (though prison sentences were of equal length); however, that disparity appears to be explained largely by factors other than race... *Id.* at 50-51.)

<sup>69</sup> Sampson and Lauritsen, *supra* note \_\_\_, at 326. For example, whites are overrepresented in sex offenses; Asian Pacific Americans are overrepresented in gambling offenses; American Indians are overrepresented in alcohol-related offenses; and blacks are overrepresented in robbery and other violent offenses.

law, possession of 5 grams of crack cocaine triggers a 5-year mandatory minimum sentence, the same sentence imposed for possessing 500 grams of powder cocaine, a 100:1 ratio. Black defendants comprise 86 percent of those convicted in federal court of crack cocaine offenses, compared with 35 percent of those convicted of powder cocaine offenses.<sup>70</sup> There are some legitimate justifications for treating crack cocaine offenses more harshly than powder cocaine offenses, but, as the Advisory Board on Race said in its final report, the disparate racial effect of the present policy and the racial division it engenders make the present 100:1 ratio "morally and intellectually indefensible." I believe we should, in effect, lower the sentence for crack cocaine while raising the sentence for powder cocaine to reduce the present sentencing disparity to 10:1 and, thereby, reduce the reality and perception of unfairness.

Second, racial disparities in the juvenile justice system are even greater than in the adult system and less clearly explained by legitimate factors. [There is a major DOJ initiative here under OJJDP requiring states to reduce disproportionate minority confinement of juveniles. But most plans appear to pursue this as a disparity issue, promoting better prevention programs for minority youth. We are still exploring this, but will discuss it either here or as part of the section on keeping youth out of crime and the administration of justice.]

Third, racial disparities in the death penalty have long been a concern... [What should we say about this?]

• *Increase diversity in law enforcement*

Police and prosecutors, judges and jurors, are officers of our society empowered on behalf of all of us to enforce the laws and serve us all. Quite simply, they are likely to receive greater trust and confidence when all persons in society see themselves reflected in those officers. When it comes to diversity in law enforcement, we are, to some extent, caught in an unfortunate cycle. Increasing minority representation in law enforcement would likely increase trust in law enforcement among citizens of color. But the lack of trust and confidence in law enforcement among persons of color likely makes it more difficult to attract minority law enforcement officers.

We have made some important gains in diversifying law enforcement. In 1993, persons of color comprised 18 percent of all police officers in local police and sheriff's departments across the nation and 30 percent of all officers in larger cities. Since that time, our COPS initiative has helped fund nearly 100,000 additional police officers in communities across the nation. And one goal of that initiative has been to increase diversity in law enforcement.

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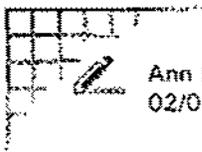
Furthermore, I am proud that, as President, I have appointed more persons of color as federal judges than any other President in our nation's history. We must continue this progress at all levels of government and in all segments of the criminal justice system.

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#### CONCLUSION

All that we have talked about -- ensuring public safety, keeping young people out of crime, and guaranteeing fairness in the administration of justice -- is crucial to building One America. We can no longer ignore the crime and fear of crime that threatens some of our American communities and too many of our fellow citizens. Nor can we ignore the frustrations of many Americans of color who too often experience injustices at the hands of our criminal justice system.

But I do not think you can talk about crime in America, especially the proliferation of crime and violence among young people of color in deeply poor communities, without talking about the values and the lessons we teach our young people. A child's world view -- whether positive or negative -- is formed early in life, not only by the love or lack of love we show them, but also by the investments we make or don't make in their futures, the values and images we present them through the media, and the opportunity or lack of opportunity that surrounds them. We cannot be satisfied when some states spend more on prisons than education, or when America, the land of the free, has one of the highest incarceration rates in the world. Is it not more humane and cost effective to invest in our children at the front end of their lives -- in education, in prevention, in strong communities -- than to invest in them at the back end by building more and stronger prisons in which to warehouse them? We cannot talk about race and crime in America without talking about our commitment, as parents and as a nation, to embrace all children as our own and to give them something to say yes to.



Ann F. Lewis  
02/01/99 05:50:34 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Clara J. Shin/WHO/EOP

cc:

Subject: Crime

To: Clara Shin

From: Ann Lewis

Re: Crime Section

2/1/99

My concerns about the Crime section of the workbook are similar to those raised in our discussion of education:

The Centerpiece , the Hot Spots Initiative, calls for redirecting funds currently in the 21st Century Policing Initiative. Is this to be included in the 21st Century Policing legislation as it is introduced ? If not, how would we answer the question why not , if it is the right answer to such an important problem?

The draft suggests that the President will have signed an Executive Order on Profiling. Is this going to happen ? What is the timetable ?

I have some other, smaller concerns.. For example, in discussing the Hot Spots Initiative , the chapter says that "program evaluations have been weak." But there are also repeated references to the results of research :

P 9, "Research confirms that increased law enforcement can help crime..."

P 10, " research shows that enhancing such targeted law enforcement..."

P. 13, " Evaluations of CAPS show that the effort has been successful..." etc.

Finally, I have some concerns about the economic numbers. P 14 cites the source of unemployment in minority communities "as high as 80%" as William Julius Wilson's 1996 book, which means the figures are even older. Surely, we have seen some progress since then . Is that also true of the 1995 book cited on p 17 ?

MEMORANDUM FOR MARIA ECHAVESTE

FROM: Shirley Sagawa and Melanne Verveer

RE: Race Report Crime Section

DATE: February 3, 1999

Thank you for the opportunity to comment on the crime section of the race report. The chapter has a lot of good information. We have one overarching comment -- that there should be more emphasis on prevention than in the current draft. Specifically, given the Administration's record on afterschool, we should highlight the importance of these programs, including in the introductory paragraphs. We would also like to see the role of the media addressed in the introduction.

Here are our more detailed comments:

1. Media -- We thought it made sense to talk about the impact the media has on the self-image of young African American males, as well as others' views of them.
2. The introduction states that "strong law enforcement" will "build stronger communities." It would be equally (or more) valid to stress that stronger communities will reduce crime. Perhaps this idea could be included here -- it is addressed well later on page 3. It might also be worth hinting at what we might do "to keep young people out of crime" -- ie creating more opportunities for them, afterschool programs, etc.
3. On page 1, second paragraph, the quotation marks around "to protect and serve" seem odd.
4. On page 3, we suggest mentioning or citing the neighborhood cohesiveness study of Chicago neighborhoods (it is mentioned on page 14).
5. In general, we would like to see building stronger communities become a more significant part of the workplan. We would put an emphasis on comprehensive, community-wide strategies to address crime and create more opportunities for young people.
6. On page 14, the conclusion of the first paragraph is that it is essential that "formal law enforcement efforts be fully aligned with and support community based efforts. . ." While we agree with this statement, we would also include other parts of the strategy, such as schools. We would also stress the importance of adult involvement in the lives of children.
7. On page 16, we wanted to make sure that the statement "Stable community organizations can and must reach into high-crime neighborhoods" does not imply that existing grassroots organizations (even those that are very informal) should not be supported. We think we should

support an asset-based approach.

8. On page 18, we would like to see more in the section on preventing crime by supporting young people. The Administration has a good record of prevention programs, and this section could be more interesting, and the connection made more clearly between prevention and crime reduction, with some good anecdotes and examples. The National Crime Prevention Council's Youth as Resources program and Save the Children's Web of Support programs could be mentioned. Head Start should be mentioned with respect to early childhood. The Perry Preschool study was done by the High/Scope Educational Research Foundation in Ypsilanti, Michigan. They have longitudinal data to age 30 by now, we think. This is also a good place to talk more about afterschool programs and our record on this issue. The First Lady's mentoring event today should provide some good background and examples.

9. On page 19, the bullet suggesting "alternative punishments for good kids who get in trouble," implies that some kids are inherently good and others inherently bad. While this may well be true, it probably should be said here. How about "alternative punishments for kids who have good records but get into trouble.



Record Type: Record

To: Clara J. Shin/WHO/EQP

cc: Bruce N. Reed/OPD/EOP, Elena Kagan/OPD/EOP, Leanne A. Shimabukuro/OPD/EOP, Laura Emmett/WHO/EOP

Subject: Edits to Race/Crime Chapter

Clara:

Forgive the tardiness, but here are my comments on the initial draft of the race/crime chapter circulated last week, with concurrence and input from my two maximum leaders. Since the comments are extensive, a bit repetitive, and not limited to line edits, I have tried to summarize the major points up front.

Also, let me begin by saying that we appreciate the efforts of Chris and Scott to address our concerns and incorporate many of our ideas. For instance, the initial emphasis on the problem of minority victimization, the recognition that community policing must be at the center of our efforts, and the specific inclusion of language supportive of the law enforcement community are very important to us, and have all been prominently featured in the current draft. That said, however, we continue to have some concerns -- some major, some more a matter of nuance -- that we are hopeful can be worked out in our upcoming meeting. Again, thanks for your patience, and I hope these comments are taken in the candid spirit that they are offered.

Jose'

**1. Contradiction on whether the system is fair or unfair.** Most importantly, the draft suffers from a series of contradictions about whether we believe the justice system is fundamentally fair or unfair to minorities. We believe that the facts show that, if you control for criminal offending, the system is essentially fair, but that it doesn't do enough to protect minorities in high-crime neighborhoods. There are several things we need to do to convey this. First, the opening of the crime chapter should include a key set of facts that makes clear the rates of minority victimization and offending. Without such facts, it is almost impossible to engage in a broader discussion of race and crime -- and it is difficult to distinguish whether issues should be dealt with as matters of policy or perception. Second, given these facts, the draft should characterize America's race/crime problem as both a lack of opportunity and responsibility...too little opportunity for minority youth to avoid crime, stay out of jail, and get ahead...and too little responsibility in the form of high crime, public disorder, and broken communities. Beginning the race/crime discussion as such, we can begin to understand why minority communities mistrust a justice system that -- while not fundamentally unfair or intentionally discriminatory -- doesn't meet their public safety needs, despite incarcerating so many persons. And we begin to lay the groundwork for solutions that address these issues (i.e., more opportunity for youth, improved public safety) and build trust (i.e., engaging the community).

**2. More focus on the need to build stronger communities.** The draft should focus more on the importance of building strong communities. That means more than simply picking up garbage, rehabbing housing, and targeting resources. Although these things matter, they are not the

biggest predictors of violent crime. Falling crime rates in some of our worst neighborhoods have proved this. So, too, has the Earls/Sampson study on Chicago neighborhoods, which found that communities with a strong sense of shared values and people willing to reinforce those values -- whether black or white, rich or poor, uptown or downtown, etc. -- had 40 percent less violent crime. This is a powerful study that should be more prominently and positively featured in the draft. It shows that community members who act responsibly and in the interest of their neighbors have a huge impact on crime and violence. It shows that even the best law enforcement is no substitute for strong communities. And, as is the case with the Boston Gun Project, it shows that one entire communities -- police, prosecutors, parents, and priests -- organize to reinforce certain behaviors, they can literally bring murder and gun violence to a standstill.

**3. Concept of community justice not clear.** I don't think the discussion of community justice makes clear exactly what policies the Administration is calling for. We are probably better served by discussing how community policing has revolutionized policing and public safety in America, and how its two component parts -- solving crime problems and engaging the community -- can help revolutionize our entire criminal justice system. More importantly, these two concepts -- more than the term "community justice" -- capture what it will take to address the paradox of America's race/crime problem: that, with respect to the criminal justice system, minorities are both fundamentally underserved and overrepresented.

**4. Wrong tone for discussion of "hot button" issues.** While I recognize the desire to touch on the difficult issues of racial profiling and police brutality. I think the draft's language will be viewed by our friends in law enforcement as inflammatory. Not only are the vast majority of law enforcement officers decent, hard-working public servants who put their lives on the line every day, but -- as a result of community policing -- they have become the harbingers of change in the criminal justice system. In many cities, police-led efforts to work w/the community have made the justice system more responsive, resulted in new prevention programs, and increased the flow of information to the public. Condemning them and their practices with a broad brushstroke strays from the known facts, and doesn't contribute to our goal of building trust. Equally important, I don't believe our own federal law enforcement bureaus -- who I'm sure don't think they engage in racial profiling -- are prepared to live under the executive order on racial profiling proposed in the draft. In many ways, dealing with this issue at the federal level (i.e., INS and Customs enforcement at the nation's borders) is even more difficult than locally (traffic stops and drug enforcement).

Also, with respect to the section on racial disparities in the rates of incarceration, I think this entire discussion is inconsistent with point #1. It ignores the disparities in criminal offending and suggests we excuse away behavior. We simply shouldn't.

**5. More emphasis on President's record and its impact on minorities.** Finally, the draft should include discussion and examples of falling crime rates in minority communities. It should mention the dramatic drop in youth gun homicides, mostly among minority youth, and it should include anecdotes with specific and well-known minority neighborhoods (e.g., Washington Heights in New York City, where the number of murders has dropped from a peak of 100+ per year to about 10 now). Also, we should take credit for major policy shifts that have benefited minorities -- such as taking on the gun lobby at a time when more teenagers were being killed by guns than by any natural cause; and transforming the nature of policing across the nation. Finally, the President's leadership in appointing an unprecedented number of high-caliber, minority law enforcement professionals (Holder, Noble, Johnson, Gonzales, etc.) is worth highlighting, too.

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Here are some additional, specific comments:

1. Page 1, paragraph 4, 3rd sentence: Replace with, "Since 1993, the violent crime rate has dropped by more than 20 percent nationwide, including a 28 percent drop in the homicide rate, which is at its lowest level in 30 years." (1997 National Crime Victimization Survey, Bureau of Justice Statistics).
2. Page 2, paragraph 2, between 3rd and 4th sentence: We should think about adding a sentence along the lines of, "Although African Americans represent 12 percent (?) of the overall population, they have represented approximately half of all murder victims for the past 30 years." (BJS crime stats...Scott should have this chart)
3. Page 2, paragraph 3. This is an important point that needs to be clearer and perhaps expanded. We need to make clear from the outset what we know -- what the facts are -- about rates of victimization and offending by race. I recall that Chris Stone's paper to the Advisory Board has a good discussion on this topic; perhaps it should be incorporated. And the recent BJS homicide study (12/98) including factoids showing that African Americans were 7 times more likely than whites to be murdered, as well as 8 times more likely than whites to commit murder. Perhaps we should come to agreement on the 5-10 most important facts here and break them out as bullets. And perhaps we should also include the findings from the GAO and DOJ studies, mentioned at the end of page 26, showing that -- if we control for the type of criminal offense committed -- rates of arrest, prosecution and conviction do not differ significantly by race. Again, the point being that we should make the facts of minority rates of victimization and offending very clear up front
4. Page 3, paragraph 1, last line: I believe this number is included in the DOJ/Interior report on crime in Indian Country, and that it might be that violent crime is up by more than 80%. (Scott should have this in his copy of the final report on crime in Indian Country.)
5. Page 3, last paragraph, last 2 sentences: I'm not sure this is right...or what we want to emphasize here. Don't we want to emphasize the cutting edge findings from the Earls/Sampson Chicago Study that a strong, shared sense of community (collective efficacy) is a better predictor of violent crime than the usual demographic data -- by 40 percent, in fact.
6. Page 5, final paragraph and sentence: A couple of comments on this sentence...(1) if the GAO study shows that, if we control for criminal offending, the rates of arrest, prosecution and conviction don't differ greatly by race, then what are the assumed "racial disparities" that are even greater in the juvenile system...or do disparities only really exist in the juvenile system? If we're trying to make a point about the juvenile system, let's cite the facts and make it. If not, let's drop the inconsistent rhetoric....We can't say throughout this chapter that the system is both fairer than people think...yet unfair...and (2) with respect to the following sentence, the sad truth is that we've already lost a generation of minority youth -- victims and offenders -- to the mix of crack/gangs/guns (discussed on pages 10 and 11), and this sad chapter accounts for many of the difficult issues surrounding crime and race. Perhaps this is a story that should be told more explicitly here.
7. Page 6, first full paragraph, drop everything after the 4th sentence: Again, either we believe the system is fundamentally fair or unfair, but it can't be both. I would argue that we want to say the system is fundamentally fair, but that it can be improved...that the relationship between law enforcement and some minority communities is not as strong as it could or should be...and that law enforcement and the community both lose when this is the case. Consistent with this point, I wouldn't generalize that unfair policies, racial biases and police brutality undermine the criminal justice system. Instead, I would point out that in some communities racial tensions, past riots, incidents of police brutality, police shootings, etc., have led to

historically strained relationship between police department and some minority communities, and that these strained relationships can and must be overcome. Perhaps a specific example of a community that overcame racial unrest/tension would help make the point.

8. Page 6, 2nd and 3rd full paragraph: Do we really want to introduce/coin the term "community justice" here? I'm not sure the term "community justice," without further explanation, is clear. Instead, I would suggest that, in the last sentence of the 2nd paragraph, we replace "community justice" with "community policing," and then drop the opening sentence of the third paragraph. Later in the workplan we can talk about applying what we've learned from community policing to other components of the criminal justice system -- neighborhood DAs, community corrections, special youth/gun/drug courts, etc.

9. Starting w/the last line on page 6 and over to page 7: I'd replace this w/a paragraph along the lines of:

"Before I ran for President, I traveled across the country and visited different cities where local officials were leading the way in solving some of the nation's most difficult domestic problems. One of the places I visited was Charleston, SC, where Police Chief Reuben Greenberg was at the forefront of the community policing movement. Through community policing, Chief Greenberg was both driving down the crime rate in public housing and strengthening the relationship between local police and community residents...(add more specifics here on what Charleston has done...and we can add more here on Charleston overcoming a difficult history of police mistrust)."

I would then add a paragraph on our policing initiative...something like:

"That is why when I became President one of my top priorities was to help our cities hire more police and expand the community policing philosophy. I was proud to work with an unprecedented coalition of law enforcement, teachers, clergy, local officials and other community leaders to pass our initiative to put 100,000 more community police on the street. Today, we have nearly reached our goal of funding 100,000 more police officers and helped expand community policing to thousands of police departments across the country. Our efforts are making a difference. Crime and the fear of crime have dropped to their lowest level in a quarter century..."

10. Page 7, 2nd paragraph, last sentence: Strike everything after "community policing," and replace with -- "applying the lessons learned from community policing to other areas of the criminal justice system, such as local prosecutors' offices, our courts, local jails, etc."

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\* The federal government will target funds from its 21st Century Policing Initiative to help communities with high-crime neighborhoods to hire and redeploy up to 50,000 additional police officers, acquire the latest crime-fighting technologies, and engage their entire community in the fight against crime.

\* The federal government will target key prevention programs, including afterschool

programs and programs for at-risk youth...

\* What else? (i.e., gun enforcement...drug testing...?)

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fundamentally fair or unfair, and go from there. If the justice system is fundamentally fair, as I believe we should be saying, then we should say these are isolated problems that are important because of their disproportionate impact on perceptions and attitudes of the system's overall fairness -- not because they're implicitly widespread.

More specifically, I have the following concerns w/each of the sections...

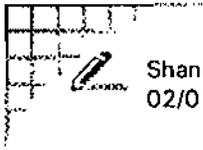
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Disparities in Sentencing/Incarceration: I would reverse the emphasis in this section, too. I would open with the GAO and DOJ studies showing that, if we control for criminal offending, rates of arrest, prosecution and conviction do not differ greatly by race. Perhaps we could also include Eric Holder's report from several years ago that comes to the same conclusion for federal crack and gun sentencing. I would then talk about how, over the long term, we can't be satisfied with a system that incarcerates so many Americans, especially so many minorities...that destroys so many families...disenfranchises whole communities...makes so many people unemployable. We can't simply be satisfied with high rates of incarceration; we must actually work to reduce criminality and recidivism. One way to do this is by using the power of the criminal justice system to get offenders to kick their drug habits. We can do this by making an unprecedented commitment to drug test, treat, and appropriately punish the millions of probationers, parolees and prisoners with drug habits...etc.

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Shannon Mason  
02/01/99 05:01:22 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Clara J. Shin/WHO/EOP

cc:

Subject: NEC

signs off on Race Report (crime section). Thanks

RACE  
Book

Record Type: Record

To: Elena Kagan/OPD/EOP, Bruce N. Reed/OPD/EOP  
cc: Leanne A. Shimabukuro/OPD/EOP, Laura Emmett/WHO/EOP  
Subject: Revised comments to Edley draft

EK:

I've tried my best to incorporate Bruce's points here, though only in the summary points. You may not want to spend too much time on my line-by-line comments. In most instances, they don't add much more anyway.

jc3

Clara:

Forgive the tardiness, but here are my comments on the initial draft of the race/crime chapter circulated last week. Since they're extensive, a bit repetitive, and not limited to line edits, allow me to summarize my major concerns:

**1. Contradiction on whether the system is fair or unfair.** Most importantly, the draft suffers from a series of contradictions about whether we believe the justice system is fundamentally fair or unfair to minorities. We believe that the facts show that, if you control for criminal offending, the system is essentially fair, but that it doesn't do enough to protect minorities in high-crime neighborhoods. There are several things we need to do to convey this. First, the opening of the crime chapter should include a key set of facts that makes clear the rates of minority victimization and offending. Without such facts, it is almost impossible to engage in a broader discussion of race and crime -- and it is difficult to distinguish whether issues should be dealt with as matters of policy or perception. Second, given these facts, the draft should characterize America's race/crime problem as both a lack of opportunity and responsibility...too little opportunity for minority youth to avoid crime, stay out of jail, and get ahead...and too little responsibility in the form of high crime, public disorder, and broken communities. Beginning the race/crime discussion as such, we can begin to understand why minority communities mistrust a justice system that -- while not fundamentally unfair or intentionally discriminatory -- doesn't meet their public safety needs, despite incarcerating so many persons. And we begin to lay the groundwork for solutions that address these issues (i.e., more opportunity for youth, improved public safety) and build trust (i.e., engaging the community).

**2. More focus on the need to build stronger communities.** The draft should focus more on the importance of building strong communities. That means more than simply picking up garbage, rehabbing housing, and targeting resources. Although these things matter, they are not the biggest predictors of violent crime. Falling crime rates in some of our worst neighborhoods have proved this. So, too, has the Earls/Sampson study on Chicago neighborhoods, which found that communities with a strong sense of shared values and people willing to reinforce those values -- whether black or white, rich or poor, uptown or downtown, etc. -- had 40 percent less violent crime. This is a powerful study that should be more prominently and

positively featured in the draft. It shows that community members who act responsibly and in the interest of their neighbors have a huge impact on crime and violence. It shows that even the best law enforcement is no substitute for strong communities. And, as is the case with the Boston Gun Project, it shows that one entire communities -- police, prosecutors, parents, and priests -- organize to reinforce certain behaviors, they can literally bring murder and gun violence to a standstill.

**3. Concept of community justice not clear.** I don't think the discussion of community justice makes clear exactly what policies the Administration is calling for. We are probably better served by discussing how community policing has revolutionized policing and public safety in America, and how its two component parts -- solving crime problems and engaging the community -- can help revolutionize our entire criminal justice system. More importantly, these two concepts -- more than the term "community justice" -- capture what it will take to address the paradox of America's race/crime problem: that, with respect to the criminal justice system, minorities are both fundamentally underserved and overrepresented.

**4. Wrong tone for discussion of "hot button" issues.** While I recognize the desire to touch on the difficult issues of racial profiling and police brutality. I think the draft's language will be viewed by our friends in law enforcement as inflammatory. Not only are the vast majority of law enforcement officers decent, hard-working public servants who put their lives on the line every day, but -- as a result of community policing -- they have become the harbingers of change in the criminal justice system. In many cities, police-led efforts to work w/the community have made the justice system more responsive, resulted in new prevention programs, and increased the flow of information to the public. Condemning them and their practices with a broad brushstroke strays from the known facts, and doesn't contribute to our goal of building trust. Equally important, I don't believe our own federal law enforcement bureaus -- who I'm sure don't think they engage in racial profiling -- are prepared to live under the executive order on racial profiling proposed in the draft. In many ways, dealing with this issue at the federal level (i.e., INS and Customs enforcement at the nation's borders) is even more difficult than locally (traffic stops and drug enforcement).

Also, with respect to the section on racial disparities in the rates of incarceration, I think this entire discussion is inconsistent with point #1. It ignores the disparities in criminal offending and suggests we excuse away behavior. We simply shouldn't.

**5. More emphasis on President's record and its impact on minorities.** Finally, the draft should include discussion and examples of falling crime rates in minority communities. It should mention the dramatic drop in youth gun homicides, mostly among minority youth, and it should include anecdotes with specific and well-known minority neighborhoods (e.g., Washington Heights in New York City, where the number of murders has dropped from a peak of 100+ per year to about 10 now). Also, we should take credit for major policy shifts that have benefited minorities -- such as taking on the gun lobby at a time when more teenagers were being killed by guns than by any natural cause; and transforming the nature of policing across the nation. Finally, the President's leadership in appointing an unprecedented number of high-caliber, minority law enforcement professionals (Holder, Noble, Johnson, Gonzales, etc.) is worth highlighting, too.

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Here are some additional, specific comments:

1. Page 1, paragraph 4, 3rd sentence: Replace with, "Since 1993, the violent crime rate has dropped by more than 20 percent nationwide, including a 28 percent drop in the homicide rate, which is at its lowest level in 30 years." (1997 National Crime Victimization Survey, Bureau of

Justice Statistics).

2. Page 2, paragraph 2, between 3rd and 4th sentence: We should think about adding a sentence along the lines of, "Although African Americans represent 12 percent (?) of the overall population, they have represented approximately half of all murder victims for the past 30 years." (BJS crime stats...Scott should have this chart)

3. Page 2, paragraph 3. This is an important point that needs to be clearer and perhaps expanded. We need to make clear from the outset what we know -- what the facts are -- about rates of victimization and offending by race. I recall that Chris Stone's paper to the Advisory Board has a good discussion on this topic; perhaps it should be incorporated. And the recent BJS homicide study (12/98) including factoids showing that African Americans were 7 times more likely than whites to be murdered, as well as 8 times more likely than whites to commit murder. Perhaps we should come to agreement on the 5-10 most important facts here and break them out as bullets. And perhaps we should also include the findings from the GAO and DOJ studies, mentioned at the end of page 26, showing that -- if we control for the type of criminal offense committed -- rates of arrest, prosecution and conviction do not differ significantly by race. Again, the point being that we should make the facts of minority rates of victimization and offending very clear up front

4. Page 3, paragraph 1, last line: I believe this number is include in the DOJ/Interior report on crime in Indian Country, and that it might be that violent crime is up by more than 80%. (Scott should have this in his copy of the final report on crime in Indian Country.)

5. Page 3, last paragraph, last 2 sentences: I'm not sure this is right...or what we want to emphasize here. Don't we want to emphasize the cutting edge findings from Earls/Sampson Chicago Study that a strong, shared sense of community (collective efficacy) is a better predictor of violent crime than the usual demographic data -- by 40 percent, in fact.

6. Pages 4 and 5, the first full paragraph and the two following it: I would drop this discussion of perceived unfairness and high rates of incarceration from this section on criminal victimization and law enforcement need, and look to incorporate it into the section on Building Fairness (starting at page 20).

7. Page 5, final paragraph and sentence: A couple of comments on this sentence...(1 if the GAO study shows that, if we control for criminal offending, the rates of arrest, prosecution and conviction don't differ greatly by race, than what are the assumed "racial disparities" that are even greater in the juvenile system...or do disparities only really exist in the juvenile system? If we're trying to make a point about the juvenile system, let's cite the facts and make it. If not, let's drop the inconsistent rhetoric...We can't say throughout this chapter that the system is both fairer than people think...yet unfair...and (2) with respect to the following sentence, the sad truth is that we've already lost a generation of minority youth -- victims and offenders -- to the mix of crack/gangs/guns (discussed on pages 10 and 11), and this sad chapter accounts for many of the difficult issues surrounding crime and race. Perhaps this is a story that should be told more explicitly here.

8. Page 6, first full paragraph, drop everything after the 4th sentence: Again, either we believe the system is fundamentally fair or unfair, but it can't be both. I would argue that we want to say the system is fundamentally fair, but that it can be improved...that the relationship between law enforcement and some minority communities is not as strong as it could or should be...and that law enforcement and the community both lose when this is the case. Consistent with this point, I wouldn't generalize that unfair policies, racial biases and police brutality undermine the criminal justice system. Instead, I would point out that in some communities racial tensions, past riots, incidents of police brutality, police shootings, etc., have led to

historically strained relationship between police department and some minority communities, and that these strained relationships can and must be overcome. Perhaps a specific example of a community that overcame racial unrest/tension would help make the point.

9. Page 6, 2nd and 3rd full paragraph: Do we really want to introduce/coin the term "community justice" here? I'm not sure the term "community justice," without further explanation, is clear. Instead, I would suggest that, in the last sentence of the 2nd paragraph, we replace "community justice" with "community policing," and then drop the opening sentence of the third paragraph. Later in the workplan we can talk about applying what we've learned from community policing to other components of the criminal justice system -- neighborhood DAs, community corrections, special youth/gun/drug courts, etc.

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\* What else? (i.e., gun enforcement...drug testing...?)

14. Page 8, 1st full paragraph: Rewrite this paragraph to be focused on how targeting resources will allow high-crime, minority neighborhoods to develop comprehensive anti-crime strategies, and to engage their entire community -- schools, prosecutors, clergy, etc. Drop all references to economic development.

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communities the police have a historically strained relationship with minorities. If we want to explain why this is the case, than we should take the time to do it right. It's not simply because of recent police policies or racial profiling; recent police policies, in fact, have done much to improve relations with minority communities. Rather, I believe it has much more to do with 30-years of changes in some of our minority communities (population moving out, concentration of poverty and related social ills), tensions from riots during the civil rights era, the professionalization of urban police forces and the resulting gap between the police and the policed, the nature of the crack epidemic, the relatively rapid diffusion of guns in minority communities...etc

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**Education: *The Compact for Equal Educational Opportunity***

- Building on the earlier Empowerment Zones proposal, the *Compact* would focus on closing achievement disparities, with fiscal and regulatory consequences for poor performance. It would go significantly beyond Title I in performance accountability and reinvention. Key staff disagreements: *Can't we do this within Title I, as a carve-out? Or just reform Title I? And: We should invest available dollars on other initiatives, like teachers and adult education.*
- **Divided perspectives:** (i) Is Title I doing all that we can expect to spur gains for needy students, or is something bolder called for in light of disparities and the threats of block grants and vouchers? (ii) Realistically, can we make Title I edgier, so that supposedly dramatic initiatives like the *Compact* are politically/substantively unnecessary? Or, have 35 years made Title I a *de facto* entitlement to fiscal relief for high-poverty districts – the analogue of CDBG? If it is a quasi-entitlement, don't we *have* to put something on the table beyond Title I to be credible? (iii) More generally, can POTUS's vision of eliminating disparities be achieved by yet more small-budget categorical programs (teachers, buildings, technology, adult ed, violence, etc.), however popular these are individually, or should we *shift public debate and program design* to stress flexibility and investment in exchange for results and accountability?
- My answers: The President must be bolder. We should press Title I as far as we can, but then add something more, the *Compact*, on top. The draft Title I reforms promise more attention to state accountability "systems" and intervention for "failing" schools, but on closer inspection this is mostly exhortation without performance consequences for the state or district. Secretary Riley and Mike Smith informally acknowledge Title I is a quasi-entitlement; there is no real hope of conditioning Title I on results for children who have little political power. Proposing such conditions will lack credibility, draw criticism from our base, and fail as an anti-voucher strategy. So will a raft of categorical proposals (which we rarely win any way.)
- Spreading scarce dollars across several education initiatives is the antithesis of boldness. It's the familiar all-things-to-all-people budgeting that we cannot afford, fiscally or politically. Does it make it more likely that *something* will be adopted, permitting a claim of "victory"? The unlikely categorical victory would be hollow anyway. Instead, propose one bold down payment, and identify small-to-medium things as proposals contingent on available funding.

**Jobs & Economic Development**

- The book draft says: (a) focus on breaking the back of endemic hyper-unemployment among young adults, attacking white/minority employment disparities in regional labor markets; (b) offer a signature effort to harness markets for economic development.

- **Jobs:** The draft now proposes a *Jobs Gap Challenge* program, developed jointly with OMB staff, that stresses metropolitanism, strategic planning/reinvention, and accountability, all targeted on ages 18-30. After several budget meetings, however, I took the proposal off the table because there are insufficient funds to launch this in the FY 2000 budget. But I think the idea should still be in the book for the future. I think it is superior to a raft of jobs and economic development initiatives over which we are spreading a lot of money.
- **Economic Development:** To harness the debt and equity markets in aid of targeted development, NEC has led an effort around Rev. Jackson's trillion dollar challenge. I think several of the NEC-led ideas are fine, but I'm concerned that creating a few new SBICs or a thinly funded domestic OPIC will be mostly packaging rather than substance, in part because I think to make a difference we need more than a minor nudge to current market incentives.
- What is missing is a major effort to redirect the GSEs. In particular, the Federal Home Loan Bank Board [FHLBB] should have its charter rewritten to focus on community economic development. Using PAYGO and off-budget resources, a thoroughly reinvented FHLBB could be a tremendous source of financial support and strategic planning assistance for distressed communities. As an intermediary, it could nurture secondary markets, attract financing for SBICs and CDFIs, create insured equity investment vehicles, and more, subject to government safety and soundness oversight. This need not be done on the NDD side of the ledger, and would be a powerful multiplier for whatever discretionary programs are created at SBA or elsewhere. But I think it would lift the initiative to another plane.

### Crime: Community Security and Criminal Justice

- As I wrote to the President earlier, the three central elements in the book's workplan are: (1) Eliminate racial disparities in victimization –“The right to live in a safe community”; (2) keep young people out of the criminal justice system, and for those who have contact with it, make it their last; (3) build greater fairness and trust in the criminal system. The third item, trust, is non-budgetary. The second, prevention-diversion-rehabilitation, probably requires more in resources than we can afford this year, and has very complex politics.
- On the victimization issues, Jose Cerda and I reached general agreement on DPC's "*Hot Spots*" idea, with a twist. The notion is to take a wide range of programs, including COPS, firearms enforcement, drug programs, etc., and make those authorizations subject to a "shave" that would put resources into a central pot for competitive awards to communities that develop strong comprehensive plans to attack the hot-spot disparities in victimization. Eligible communities would be defined by race-neutral criteria, and selected based on how promising their strategies seem to a review panel. They would get some new *Hot Spots* money, plus substantial flexibility in how they spend their other DOJ funds.
- This can be done without new money if the President agrees to the "shave and waiver" approach, or a combination of shaves plus new dollars.

### Civil Rights Law Enforcement and Research

- OMB's passback levels provided an investment of roughly \$40 million above enacted, and DPC (Julie Fernandes) has recommended an additional \$60 million, for a total of \$100. Combined with last year's investment, this figure is a very respectable downpayment on the reinvigoration urged in the draft book. The investment in the Community Relations Service is especially noteworthy.
- But in DPC's proposed increment, I would trim the \$15 million increase for HUD fair housing enforcement and do roughly \$5 million more in education-related enforcement, through OCR. Why? Because equal opportunity in education is the highest priority in the race book. I would also propose a \$10-15 million startup for a discretionary grant program to state attorneys general to fund new civil rights enforcement positions at the state level. This would be analogous to the HUD programs that provide grants to state and community-based fair housing enforcers.
- **Data:** The Federal government's vast statistical and research capacity should focus on answering the questions *How much discrimination is there in various sectors, and how is that changing over time* by forcing methodological consensus, collecting data, and publishing an authoritative time series for years to come. OMB has identified \$10 million for this effort in FY 2000, but this is not aggressive enough to create a sustainable effort. Indeed, most of that figure is simply follow-through on already well-established testing in housing discrimination that was launched in the FY 99 budget.

### Civic Engagement and Strengthening Democracy: School-Based Community Service

- This has very limited budget impact. We have a note from POTUS asking for a school-based community service initiative modeled after Maryland's program, designed to promote reconciliation. A meaningful start in this direction could be done, perhaps within *Americorps*, for \$25 million.

<b>Education: Compact</b>	\$250 m.	outyear growth (caps permitting); Title I carve-out?
<b>Jobs: Gap Challenge</b>	--	metro-area comprehensive challenge grants; defer for now
<b>Econ. Development</b>	PAYGO	Add PAYGO/off-budget GSE initiative to NEC package
<b>Crime: Victimization</b>	"shave"	Finance <i>Hot Spots</i> initiative with "shave-plus-reinvention"
<b>Civil Rights</b>	\$10 m.	above DPC/OMB levels for data; tweak DPC priorities
<b>Civic Engagement</b>	\$25 m.	race-related school-based community service; <i>Americorps</i> ?

October 9, 1998

RACE Book

MEMORANDUM TO BRUCE REED AND GENE SPERLING

CC: Paul Weinstein  
John Kaplan

FROM: Maria Echaveste

SUBJECT: Identifying Key Accomplishments for the President's Book on Race

To support the President's book on race, we need to identify the most important race-related accomplishments over the two terms of this Administration. PIR staff working with Christopher Edley have collected the usual set of White House accomplishment documents. The expertise of your staffs is essential, however, in identifying what *you* and your staff see as the key accomplishments in education, economic opportunity, civil rights, criminal justice and civic engagement. Our time to complete this book is very limited, and it would help significantly if the DPC and NEC were able to pull together this information by **October 16**. Below is a proposal for what would be most helpful.

- ▶ 2-4 page memos, in bullet form, summarizing key Administration accomplishments over the past six years on each of these five topics: education, economic opportunity, civil rights, criminal justice and civic engagement (e.g., increasing voter participation and involvement in community service.)
- ▶ Accomplishments should focus on either those items that are specifically race targeted (e.g., increasing access to capital for Hispanics) or those policies that are intended to be race neutral but have a significant or disproportionate impact (whether negative or positive) on one or more racial groups (e.g., EITC, increase in minimum wage.) The bullets should explain the program or policy initiative and, if it is not obvious, describe how the accomplishment is connected to race.
- ▶ Please separate *proposals* from measures actually enacted or implemented.
- ▶ Please describe race-related results or outcomes that have come about because of general Administration action (e.g., decline in poverty rates among African American children.)
- ▶ Please identify the very few items that you believe should be included in the President's narrative; others will be displayed in charts or boxes
- ▶ Please attach any additional or supporting documents that you think might be helpful (e.g., accomplishments by race.)

Thank you very much for your attention to this project. If your staff has any questions, please contact Race Initiative staff Michele Cavataio at 5-1013 or Scott Palmer at 5-1047.

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

cc: Julie  
Jose  
JUL  
CC  
Mike  
Thom  
BR

Date: 9-29-98 ACTION / CONCURRENCE / COMMENT DUE BY: 10-5-98 9 A.M.

Subject: "Revised Race Book Outline based on POTUS guidance"

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	McCURRY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BOWLES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	NASH	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
PODESTA	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	REED →	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
ECHAVESTE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RUFF	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
LEW	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SMITH	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BEGALA	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SOSNIK	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BERGER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SPERLING	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BLUMENTHAL	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	STEIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
EMANUEL	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	STERN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
IBARRA	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	STRETT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
KLAIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	VERVEER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
LANE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	WALDMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
LEWIS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	YELLEN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
LINDSEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>Mathews</u>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
MARSHALL	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>Gotbaum</u>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
MOORE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>Kagan</u>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
McGINTY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

RACE BOOK

REMARKS: Comments to Maria Echaveste

RESPONSE:

Draft 11; 9/25/98

## INTRODUCTION

1. Context for the book; why I launched this; 21<sup>st</sup> century challenges; no subject more vexing; my personal experiences and motivation, in private and public life
2. Executive Summary:
  - a. Summary of core themes and vision
  - b. Summary of proposals to build community and close the opportunity gap
3. Appreciation to the Advisory Board

## PART I: THE AMERICA WE WANT

1. Getting the facts right: What America looks like and where we are going; salience of race/ethnicity in our daily lives
  - a. Race and community: Summary of authoritative evidence on demographic trends; the extent of discrimination and prejudice; information on integration, social relations; most salient progress to date
  - b. Race and opportunity: Summary of authoritative evidence on disparities in social and economic indicators; how far public and private policy changes have brought us
  - c. The effects of racial and ethnic divisions in polluting our political and policy discourse
2. My vision of One America with racial and ethnic justice in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, and why this vision is preferable to competing visions: seeking clarity about our value commitments and ambitions for One America
  - a. Building a sense of community: removing the barriers between our hearts
    - i. Why progress is so difficult; viewing human history as a struggle to overcome our seemingly innate tendency to fear, discriminate against and even hate the "other"
    - ii. Cherishing what is unique about our distinctive subgroup identities, while celebrating the diversity of the larger group – the struggle to find a way to do both of these without a mortal external threat or a dire internal crisis
    - iii. Modeling how to think about a selected set of complex, hard questions

illustrating this challenge of community and connection; searching for the kernel of truth in what the other side of the debate is saying -- not providing the "right" answer, but showing the importance of well-informed, thoughtful engagement that gets us beyond platitudes in searching for "first values" and ways to bridge them.

- b. Building racial and ethnic justice by closing the opportunity gap between the races
  - i. Tearing down barriers, like discrimination
  - ii. Affirmative opportunity so that we will someday erase the social and economic legacy of disadvantage -- especially through public and private steps related to education, jobs/economic development and criminal justice.
- c. Why this vision is preferable to competing visions

## **PART II: THE COMMUNITY WE MUST BUILD**

1. The importance of promising practices: building bridges to connect people across lines of class and color, creating community and the creating the mutual concern that is the basis for bold action on the opportunity agenda.
  - a. *Criteria:* Does it help build bridges across lines of class and color? Is it action that improves people's lives, or does it lead to such action? Is it sustainable over time, and can it be used by others elsewhere?
  - b. Unpromising practices: what doesn't work, and makes our problems worse
  - c. The work of the Advisory Board and its staff; description of the guidelines for effective conversations on race, as developed by PIR staff in consultation with experts and practitioners
2. Examples and descriptions from different sectors: government, business, the media, the faith community, education, nonprofit sector, etc. And in different modalities: dialogue; education efforts; service efforts; action efforts, etc.
3. Establishing an ongoing program to recognize and replicate promising practices, analogous to the Ford Foundation-funded Kennedy School program on Innovations in Government, which produces annual awards and publishes case studies. And also: build on the experience and interest of the National Civic League.

→ More about Responsibility

## PART III: THE OPPORTUNITY WE DESERVE

Overview and background: It is not enough to stop doing what is wrong. Therefore, we must think in each sector both about how to tear down barriers, such as discrimination, and how to affirmatively build opportunity.

- Workplan organized by sectors/subject matter. *This is not just about the federal government, and not just about government.*<sup>1</sup>
- Context: The nation's recent progress, reflected in the record and leadership of the Clinton-Gore Administration, and in examples of public and private progress around the country.

Best racial progress  
is opp. for all

1. **The Workplan for Education Opportunity.** Education is primary to achieving my vision, by: eliminating disparities; strengthening accountability; reviving the integration ideal. These problems have long gone unsolved not only because they are difficult and because race has divided us, but also because we need to reassess the roles of the different levels of government and of the family in education. The old formulas need revision, the old problems need new thinking, and the old values need new life. New thinking, including:

- State and metropolitan approaches to overcome local limitations
- Toward a new Federal role to redress a national legacy of color-coded disadvantage and unequal opportunity ?
- Higher standards for what we can accomplish: zero tolerance for "system failure"
- Personal, family and community responsibilities – more than regulations and bureaucracy, but dealing with the consequences of personal choices and culture
- Summation: We need to provide every family with an Education Bill of Rights,<sup>2</sup> regardless of race or zip code.

- a. *Eliminate racial disparities in educational opportunity and achievement;*
  - i. Resources – especially teachers, curriculum, infrastructure and early childhood
  - ii. Expectations and support – high expectations from parents and strong support from parents
  - iii. Access to higher education
- b. *Strengthen accountability and reinforce responsibility for administrators, teachers and students, as well as for the political institutions governing education. Fair and effective*

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<sup>1</sup> Very few elements will have FY 2000 budget implications, although many long-term directions can find beginning steps in Administration accomplishments and proposals. The narrative will be largely thematic, issuing a series of challenges and principles, with a few broad-brush policy directions. Some added detail will be in stand-apart textual boxes or in an appendix. The narrative will be largely thematic, issuing a series of challenges and principles, with a few broad-brush policy directions. Some added detail will be in stand-apart textual boxes or in an appendix.

assessment tools are a start.

- c. *Promote racial and economic integration in education* by reinvigorating the integration ideal.

2. **The Workplan for Jobs and Economic Development.** There are many approaches to the complex of interconnected problems in employment, job creation, community economic development, wealth creation, and so forth. We have been ill-served by the long debate about "people versus places" when, clearly, a blend of approaches is needed. But our workplan should be focused, and I see these three challenges as paramount:

- a. *Break the back of hyper-unemployment among young adults in poor minority communities.* We have for too long tolerated the tragedy of concentrated poverty and joblessness, with all the resulting ills. We can save the next generation if we are willing to challenge the old approaches and focus our resources. Metro regions should be challenged: in return for some additional resources and greatly enhanced flexibility with dozens of current federal and state programs, regions will accept accountability for creatively tackling the problems of young adult unemployment. That means tying together programs in education, training, job search, transportation, employer networking, day care, housing assistance, drug treatment, and many more. Not every community will be prepared to accept the challenge. But for those that are, we should stand ready to reinvent the heavens to help them end the cycle of lost opportunity.
- b. *Put financial markets to work in disadvantaged communities.* From the "un-banked" to mortgage and insurance redlining; from usurious lending to toxic brownfields; from unsympathetic loan officers to unaware consumers – there is no shortage of barriers to overcome in making the financial sector and market forces the engines of economic development and wealth accumulation that they could be in disadvantaged communities.
  - i. Lower the barriers to access: A range of education, regulatory and incentive measures to level the playing field in access to credit and other financial services.
  - ii. Harness the markets and major financial institutions to channel business and economic development resources to our needy communities – opportunities which in many respects are more attractive than the overseas ventures so alluring to many institutions and investors.

- c. *Revive and pursue the ideal of integrated communities*

3. **The Workplan for Criminal Justice and Community Security.** From hate crimes to crack houses, from police misconduct to police hiring, from disparate incarceration rates to racial profiling -- barely a week goes by without some aspect of crime and criminal justice standing as a lightning rod for racial and ethnic tensions. No area is more freighted with divisive stereotypes and misunderstanding. Victimization and criminality destroy

communities and families, just as they fuel alienation and division. The scourges of drugs and gun violence are not immutable, and recent progress is some cause for hopefulness. We must not compromise on this goal: every family in every American community has a right to be secure, and that right cannot be hollow for some and hallowed for others.

- a. *Community Security: Eliminate racial disparities in victimization.* The right to be secure cannot be discounted by race. Every American is entitled to live in a safe community, and the race of residents shouldn't tell us the crime rate. The Administration's record has numerous elements, which we can build upon and target to close the disparities.
- b. *Give youth alternatives to drugs + crime.*  
*Keep young people out of the criminal justice system, and for those who have contact with it, make it their last.* The chance that a young black male will go to prison during his lifetime is nearly 30%. The realities are flatly inconsistent with an American vision of racial justice and equal opportunity. We know there are effective community strategies (Boston, Chicago), if we can summon the will to use them.
- c. *Build greater fairness and trust in the criminal system.* Several past and present factors contribute to mistrust in our criminal justice system among persons of color, including negative interactions, disparities in the administration of justice (incarceration, sentencing, death penalty), and lagging diversity in law enforcement (police, prosecutors, judges, juries). Without more trust, creating safe communities is impossible, because legitimacy, support and cooperation don't come free.

also ~~stop~~  
its failure to  
catch bad guys  
(conv. prosecution)

4. **The Workplan for Civil Rights Enforcement.** Persistence of discrimination, and of enforcement backlogs. We have opportunities to strengthen and more aggressively enforce civil rights principles, and also support appropriate voluntary actions that promote equal opportunity and access. This includes defending disparate impact doctrine, and defending affirmative action. The traditional agenda needs renovation to (i) increase its efficiency at handling the retail problem of discrimination; (ii) contribute more directly to the opportunity agenda in education, jobs and community economics; (iii) reflect our 21<sup>st</sup> century diversity.

- a. *Overcome racial disparities in opportunity by expanding the use of civil rights enforcement.* Civil rights enforcement can play an especially important role in overcoming barriers to educational and economic opportunity, and we should strengthen and focus civil rights enforcement to complement the opportunity agenda.
- b. *Fully address all forms of discrimination affecting our increasingly diverse population by strengthening civil rights laws and enforcement.* We must retool our civil rights laws and refocus enforcement efforts to fully address civil rights issues affecting our diverse citizenry.

- c. *Address discrimination and disparities by promoting voluntary efforts in conjunction with enforcement of civil rights laws.* In addition to reacting to civil rights complaints, civil rights enforcement agencies should act proactively to encourage and support voluntary compliance with civil rights laws and values.
  - d. *Mend, don't end, affirmative action as enforcement remedy and voluntary measure to promote access and inclusion.*
5. **The Workplan for Civic Engagement and Strengthening Democracy.** Alienation and disaffection are barriers to building One America because: institutions will be more responsive and effective if they are inclusive; civic engagement creates trust and cooperation; and thriving civic organizations can sometimes do what governments are unable or unsuited to do.
- a. *Education for cultural competence:* Improve K-16 curricula so that we understand our history and each other; media industry as a venue for better understanding of issues; on-line communities.
  - b. *Wage war against democracy drop-outs:* The dramatic racial disparities in voter registration and participation are a symptom of disaffection and alienation. We have to adopt measures to change the culture of participation for the better.

## **PART IV: THE ROAD FORWARD**

- 1. Leadership call -- American's must hold leaders accountable for active, effective engagement on our most pressing challenges, and race is certainly one of them. We need leaders in institutions and communities as part of this workplan for the nation
  - a. *Community leadership and action* – in communities around the nation, local and metro/regional partnership to formulate and implement a community workplan for building bridges and opportunity.
  - b. *Sectoral leadership and action* – each sector with a tailored plan for both national and grass-roots engagement. Target sectors: higher education; the faith communities; corporate; labor; youth; the media<sup>2</sup>
  - c. *Federal leadership and action* through renaissance of the Civil Rights Commission,

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<sup>2</sup> For this book, we should be able to describe workplans in-place for higher education, the faith communities, and perhaps the youth and corporate sectors.

making the Federal workplace a model, and establishing the "PIR follow-on entity"

2. My own life's work – [Clinton Library activities, etc.?)
3. *Conclusion:* Previous presidents – some personalized examples of how some of them chose to move forward, and others didn't. Tragedies seeded or averted. Opportunities seized and squandered. Optimism about our ideals and spirit. Our standing in the eyes of the world, and in the judgment of historians. We must not be mere participants in the history of this struggle. We must be the authors of that history. Our standing in the hearts of our children and grandchildren; what we owe them. We must lighten their burdens and brighten their futures, each and all. Closing message: response to a letter from a grade school child; and a prayer.

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#### Endnotes:

- a. Such a Bill of Rights might include the following:
  - (1) Every child shall have a parent or other adult actively engaged in his/her learning and have access to support services to help that child achieve to his/her full potential.
  - (2) Every child shall have access to early learning opportunities.
  - (3) All parents have the right to send their children to equitably funded schools that are accountable for their child's learning.
  - (4) Every child shall have access to high-quality teachers.
  - (5) Every child shall be held to high expectations and standards and have access to challenging curricula.
  - (6) Every child shall have access to adequate facilities and modern technology.
  - (7) Every LEP child shall have access to the tools necessary to help him/her learn English within three years.
  - (8) Every child shall learn in a safe environment.
  - (9) All parents and children shall have the right to choose to attend racially and ethnically integrated schools.
  - (10) Every high school graduate shall have the financial support and opportunity to go to college.

cc ~~AEK~~  
+ Att: Race Book

October 6, 1998

**MEMORANDUM**

**TO:** Charles Ruff  
Eddie Correia

**FROM:** Christopher Edley, Jr.  
Scott Palmer

**Cc:** Maria Echaveste, Minyon Moore, Elena Kagan, Josh Gotbaum

**SUBJECT:** Comments on Your Civil Rights Enforcement Decision Memorandum

Thank you for your leadership in creating a vehicle for some strategic decisionmaking. In a parochial sense, we look at your memorandum as a way to help get the President's book done. But there is certainly a greater good, too. We have three fundamental comments:

- *\* Programmatic issues:* The most valuable role for your memorandum is to present legal and enforcement options to the President. We should drop the programmatic material from the memorandum (except as context) and leave those matters to another memorandum, presumably developed in a timely way under policy council leadership with broad participation. Apart from turf issues, this would permit you to focus on the substantive comparative advantage of the Counsel's office -- which is in law enforcement rather than, say, programmatic strategies for K-12 improvement. Crucially, this would also eliminate a troubling conceptual flaw in the document: the false choice between enforcement and policy tracks, when quite clearly they are not mutually exclusive.

Alternatively, if people feel that some or many of the President's enforcement decisions are inextricably linked to decisions about program policy, we need a more ambitious, omnibus memorandum. (On most issues, we do not believe this is necessary.)

- *Missing issues:* There are some thorny, important questions that should be added to the memorandum, in part because the President will want to address them in his race book. School and residential integration, for example, are plausible policy values that he might pursue through a combination of programmatic *and* enforcement activities, but doing so obviously requires some agency vetting and a careful presentation.
- *Enforcement philosophy:* The memorandum by implication discounts the function enforcers play in driving policy choices by regulated entities - e.g., in pressing college admissions officers to mend, not end, affirmative action - short of litigation. If there is disagreement about the desirability of this, let's sharpen and decide the question. Even more important, the memorandum adopts a philosophy of *minimal litigation risk* in the positions we press on Title VI and other matters, suggesting that enforcement action is appropriate only when standards and violations are fairly clear. That was not the Reagan-

Bush approach to civil rights, and we think that is the wrong way for President Clinton to create a legacy. Can't we give him an informed opportunity to push the envelope.

We are presently working on three core themes for the civil rights section of the President's workplan on race, and some related issues elsewhere in his book.

- a. **Overcome Racial Disparities in Opportunity by Strengthening Civil Rights Laws and Enforcement:** This includes a substantial emphasis on more aggressive use of Title VI -- as the basis for technical assistance, administrative action, and litigation. It might also include an amendment to Title II (public accommodations) to address retail sector discrimination.
- b. **More Fully Address All Forms of Discrimination Affecting Our Increasingly Diverse Population by Strengthening Civil Rights Laws and Enforcement:** We want to explore strengthening laws and enforcement efforts related to our growing diversity -- including the rights of new immigrants and LEP populations.
- c. **Address Discrimination and Disparities by Promoting Voluntary and Collaborative Efforts to Live by Civil Rights Principles:** For example, we can expand civil rights consultations and clarify legal standards in affirmative action and other areas, and we can expand proactive, collaborative enforcement efforts. The difficulty in formulating the college admissions guidance suggests that presidential guidance would help.
- d. **Reviving and pursuing the integration ideal:** Quite relatedly, in sections of the workplan related to *education* and to *jobs & economic development*, our "short list" of key themes includes a recommitment of the nation to the integration ideal in K-12 and housing patterns. This should imply a serious effort on our part to ask whether law enforcement can contribute more to the President's integrationist vision. (The answer, after hard thought, may be "No," but the hard thought has not yet been done.) Your decision memorandum can be used to frame these difficult choices for him.
- e. **Racial Profiling in Law Enforcement:** This thorny issue is unavoidable for us, even if we were so inclined. Shouldn't the President be presented with an "enforcement" option in this arena?

We acknowledge the timing and coordination problem with the social policy process. He can't make a strategic decision about enforcement policy without *some* policy context. Arguably, enforcement strategy and program strategy should be made concurrently. In this less-than-ideal world, however, it seems reasonable to move forward with the enforcement issues above -- except perhaps racial profiling, where the basic data, values and policies require more cooking.

We will send you some detailed minor comments separately. We hope this is helpful.

- Voting rights/districting; hiring/affirmative action? The politics of race.
- Comparing notes with other political and civic leaders in the 1970s and 1980s.

C. Summary of core themes and vision

1. *Vision of community:* Celebration of our diversity, not mere tolerance of our differences; building inclusive communities and organizations to take advantage of the benefits and strengths that flow from diversity. (Examples from forums, letters, etc.)
2. *Vision of opportunity:* Opportunity enjoyed so equally that there is no discernable legacy of slavery, colonization or conquest; of Jim Crow or internment. (Examples from forums, letters, etc.)
3. *Vision of responsibility:* Responsibilities of citizenship; responsibility to reach out to others; responsibility to take advantage of opportunities. (Examples from forums, letters, etc.)
4. We must do this for our children and their children. We must do this to honor those who have sacrificed over the generations in earlier battles to put our sacred civic values into practice. And I believe we must do this to honor the God who has created us all equal, and blessed our nation in so many countless ways.

D. The Advisory Board and its work

1. What has been accomplished since launching this initiative – the work of the Advisory Board, the engagement of scores of thousands of people in communities and organizations around the nation.
2. Appreciation to the Advisory Board, and to the many people throughout the nation who responded to our call to engage in a national conversation on race, or to redouble their efforts already underway.

E. What I hope to accomplish with this report/book:

1. Authoritative social scientific background information on demographics, disparities, discrimination, and intergroup relations;
2. My vision of One America in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, and why it is preferable to some alternatives that are implicit in public discourse, and how the motivation for that vision is rooted in our history and cherished ideals;
3. Some models or examples of how we can constructively engage one another on hard questions, and the promising practices that may build bridges connecting people across lines of color and class;
4. A workplan for the nation – not just what the Federal government should undertake this year and next, but what *all* of us can do together and individually. Federal, state and local governments; private sector and voluntary sector; in our public lives and our personal lives, to help build One America with racial and ethnic justice

F. Some highlights of this report to the American people:

1. Headlines from promising practices and dialog efforts (chapter 5)

2. Headlines from the workplan: enforcement, education, criminal justice, health disparities, history initiative (chapter 7)
  3. Headlines from leadership/next steps (chapter 8)
- G. Closing message to the Congress, and to the American People.

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## Executive Summary

### Chapter 1. Where Is America On Race, And Where Are We Going?

#### 1.1. The salience of race and ethnicity in our everyday lives

- (a) How it intrudes on us in various ways, explicitly or subtly.
- (b) For some of us, our communities are homogenous and we live in a racial or ethnic enclave with exposure to racial differences almost entirely through mass media. Others of us have constant reminders about the differences in America.
  - For example .... [*real stories* ....]
- (c) Demography and its general implications:
  - Not just black and white – the contemporary complexity created by changing demographics, etc.
  - Demographic history and trends
    - Population and population characteristics
    - Intermarriage; multiracial families, the census category controversy

#### 1.2. Social policy history: The broad sweep of social policies, and what conclusions to draw about their effectiveness. Narrative starting with Myrdal, through Kerner Commission, to Clinton Inauguration. Organized to focus on:

- (a) Hinging events, or milestones in 5-7 key policy sectors: antidiscrimination law; political rights and participation; education; economic opportunity (jobs, training, economic development); criminal justice; housing; health
  - Weaving through the narrative a half dozen conceptual themes that are the framework for the narrative – how are ideas have evolved, and our struggles been shaped, with reference to:
    - Federalism – what's the proper role of different levels of government;
    - Public-private-personal? Includes the roles of market and family; includes the nature redistributive norms – as in the establishment of food stamps, or SSI; EITC, but not a guaranteed income or job; etc.
    - Targeting by race or income, versus broad-based programs
    - Black-white, versus more complex multiculturalism (this includes rising consciousness about Native American issues, as well as burgeoning Hispanic and Asian populations)
- (b) Evolution of Norms of Tolerance, inclusion and antidiscrimination
- (c) *Integrated throughout:* Pivotal figures: include within the narrative some examples of individuals who have made a big difference – Eisenhower at Little Rock; MLK at Montgomery and Birmingham; Nixon on Native Americans; etc.

- (d) *Integrated throughout*: Stressing the nature of the choices we faced and made at each juncture.
- 1.3. Disparities, and what we know about the effectiveness of past policies intended to help close the opportunity gap so strongly correlated with race.
- (a) A survey of sectoral conditions today: Socioeconomic indicators: income, wealth, business ownership, employment, education, housing, health, criminal justice variables, benefits program participation
- The sectoral [drawing on CEA Factbook and on the NAS/NRC study]
    - [An especially detailed look at education and economic mobility]
  - Voting and civic engagement – voting rights, voter registration and participation, elected officials, other dimensions of participation
- (b) Discrimination: authoritative data using various methodologies: How much discrimination is there?
- Definitions: not looking at mere disparities; considering both traditional econometric methods and the compelling evidence from “testers”
  - Sectors: employment, housing, retail sales, credit, business/contracting
- (c) Intergroup relations: how integrated are our lives, how have attitudes and stereotypes changed, etc.
- Are we One community, or many? [Motivation for looking at the data:] What is the significance of group separation or segregation? Why does it matter? Connection to the vision of One America; separateness of our communities leading to divisions in perceptions and even values, with implications for our broader sense of community and our ability to live and work together.
  - Data on integration and separateness
    - Patterns of residential, school and occupational segregation; trends and historical comparisons
    - Religious life
    - Other dimensions of social life
  - Attitudes: tolerance, etc., over time.
    - Racial attitudes
    - Ethnic attitudes, e.g., Arab-Americans facing discrimination
- (d) Summation:
- The effects of race on our civic discourse: how race poisons politics and policymaking, overtly or subtly; examples of how *not* to address issues of opportunity, responsibility and community.
  - Most salient elements of progress to date, and some missteps, shortcomings
  - Policies that have made the problem harder, at least in some respects: [e.g., housing, transportation policies that have fueled racial and economic isolation]
  - Policies that have importantly helped [e.g., antidiscrimination laws, income maintenance programs]

- Our most challenging work ahead

## Chapter 2. More Than A Dream: Racial Justice and Opportunity in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century

[The President's vision of One America with racial and ethnic justice in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, and why his vision is preferable to competing visions. Seeking clarity about our value commitments and ambitions for One America. This pivotal section is an elaboration of the framework sketched in speeches and in the introduction to this Report. The section should be significantly historical, illustrating the conceptual points with references to historical struggles and statements.

*What follows in analytical material – a start for eliciting the President's views and theories. The book would not be written or organized in this manner.]*

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- 2.1. Models: There several ways to think about national identity, and about racial and ethnic justice, each of which has valuable and even compelling claims on our values, but which ultimately are inadequate and/or unattainable:
- (a) *Neutral formalism*: Eliminate race-conscious barriers in law; achieve "colorblindness" in official and personal conduct: Martin Luther King, Jr.'s "I have a dream" formulation, as commonly misconstrued.
    - Clear problems as an instrumental prescription (MLK acknowledged this in his support for race-conscious measures), but what about as ideal, as vision?
    - Seems unattainable if there are group-correlated inequalities because these will fuel stereotypes and, in turn, be incorporated into attitudes, and from these into private practices and public policies.
  - (b) *Assimilation*, with racial differences vanishing in importance.
    - May imply a radical kind of assimilation, in which I have to give up too much of who I am in order to be accepted in this One America. That's unacceptable.
  - (c) *Celebratory pluralism*: Racial differences as analogous to religious differences.
    - Religious diversity analogy:
      - America is the most religious of industrialized nations, but we do not worship in the same way; indeed, some scholars assert that religion flourishes precisely because of religious freedom.
      - We do not merely tolerate this diversity, we celebrate it. It is one aspect of America about which we are intensely proud.
    - Fine, but needs an element of distributive justice as well.
  - (d) *Rawlsian distributive justice*: Definition: no discernable evidence that America had a history of slavery, conquest or colonialism.

- For example, no inherited legacy of disadvantage as reflected today in, for example, the incredible wealth disparities.
- Fine formulation, but incomplete. It needs an element to ensure *community*; interactions across lines of differences. Even if it were possible, we wouldn't want fully equal individuals separated from one other by walls and distance.
- We care about *integration*. And we should. Because ....

## 2.2. *Clintonian Synthesis*, and its basic implications for policy and practice

- The sources of our values
- Civic sources – Declaration of Independence, etc.
  - Family and communal sources
  - Spiritual sources
- The connection between national identity and our conception of justice
- What a just One America should and will look like.
- Why I believe we can and must do it.

## 2.3. Beyond the Black-White paradigm. What that means, and why it is necessary.

- The distinctiveness created by colonization, conquest and culture; the importance, and limits, of the old model.
- Immigration policy and attitudes – distinguishing a principled pursuit of One America from divisive and even nativist proposals.
- Language, culture and subgroup identity – especially the issue of bilingual education and English acquisition.
- The special challenges of Native American justice. Tribal sovereignty: what it is, and what it must be in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

## Chapter 3. Wrestling Lessons: Constructive Engagement Of Our Vexing Differences<sup>1</sup>

### 3.1. The unfinished agenda of combating discrimination, bigotry and exclusion:

- (a) How much does race still matter? And why?
  - What is discrimination, and how much of it is there?

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<sup>1</sup> The purpose of this chapter: Using just a handful from the menu of topics below, model how we can face up to some of the hardest questions dividing us in an honest and constructive way; teasing out the policy implications of the values and vision by grappling with some questions that animate the national conversation. Make use of short essays that will be contributed by a diverse group of "thinkers", leaders and citizens; the essays will be separately published in a companion document.

List of topics for this chapter to be developed; the following items are among the menu of possibilities, for POTUS selection. The book's discussion of each question would (i) respectfully note and engage a broad range of views, searching for the "kernel of truth" in opposing positions; (ii) develop the President's view on the matter by reference to the Vision presented in Chapter 4; (iii) sketch the practical implications for public policies and private practices – with some of those implications detailed in later chapters of the book.

- How much observed disadvantage is fairly attributable to discrimination or its lingering effects? (Includes discussion of the "culture" critique.)
  - Absent specific discrimination, How important are diversity, inclusion and integration as ideals, and as social policy objectives? Why?
  - Profiling in the criminal justice system: where do we draw the line between efficient allocation of resources, and impermissible stereotyping?
  - When is a public policy battle, such as bilingual education or affordable housing or welfare reform, a covert battle about color? And when, in our civic discourse, must we face issues of race in order to address issues of opportunity?
- (b) What about "apologizing" for slavery, conquest, and colonization?
- 3.2. When we act in public and private life to close the opportunity gap, when is racial targeting appropriate, and when not? What are the moral, practical and legal considerations?
- (a) Since affirmative action is so controversial, should we abandon it? [Recapitulation of "Mend it, don't end it."]
- (b) Public policies: with, or without, racial targeting?
- 3.3. The new agenda of inclusion and opportunity:
- (a) Do we still care about integration? Why? What price, what burdens are we willing to bear?
- Education
  - Housing
- (b) Identity politics and ethnic enclaves
- Multiethnic Placement Act
- (c) But can we overcome our differences, and agree on the agenda?
- Clashes of interests – zero-sum competition
  - Clash of values
  - Clash of perceptions

#### **Chapter 4. Promising Practices: How To Build Bridges That Connect People Across Lines of Color and Class**

- 4.1. Intro: the topic is examples of public and private efforts to promote racial reconciliation and racial justice
- (a) We need important changes in public policies and private practices to change the social and economic facts in people's lives, but policy initiatives will founder and fail to command consensus unless build on a foundation of moral and political agreement. That kind of agreement requires that we feel more connected to one another, across our

differences. So we need promising practices for how people can come together to improve understanding and, ultimately, to make a difference.

- (b) Criteria for making these judgments – although not every practice fits with every criterion:
  - Does it help build bridges across lines of class and color?
  - Is it action that improves people's lives, or does it lead to such action?
  - Is it sustainable over time, and can it be used by others elsewhere?
- (c) Unpromising practices: what doesn't work, and makes our problems worse

#### 4.2. The importance of effective dialogue

- (a) The work of the Advisory Board and its staff;
  - Description of the guidelines for effective conversations on race, as developed by PIR staff in consultation with experts and practitioners
- (b) Examples of promising dialogue programs
  - Examples and descriptions from different sectors: government, business, the media, the faith community, education, nonprofit sector, etc. And in different modalities: dialogue; education efforts; service efforts; action efforts, etc. (Excerpting from the web site and from a separate, detailed compendium volume we will publish)
    - Search for Common Ground
    - A World of Difference
    - Students Talking About Race (STAR)
    - Etc.

#### 4.3. Programs that include action, often as well as dialogue

- (a) Examples and descriptions from different sectors, etc.
  - City Year
  - Americorps
  - Bell Atlantic, Levi Straus (?)

#### 4.4. Establishing an ongoing program to recognize and replicate promising practices

- (a) Announce (pre-cooked) creation of a private program analogous to the Ford Foundation-funded Kennedy School program on Innovations in Government, which produces annual awards and publishes case studies. And also: build on the experience and interest of the National Civic League.
- (b) [Anticipate discussion of leadership in chapter 7]
- (c) Conclusion

### Chapter 5. The Record Of The Clinton-Gore Administration

[Organized as by sector paralleling organization of the workplan chapter. Avoid laundry list by emphasizing themes -- presented to show debate and struggle (within the Administration and with Congress) over the

conceptualization the Opportunity Agenda and the appropriate means; an overlay of debate about the role of government generally, and of the Federal government in particular. *What the value-based choices have been, and why.* Programmatic details from NEC/DPC/agencies in an appendix, or set apart graphically in floating "boxes".]

## Chapter 6. A Workplan For Our Nation

[Workplan organized by sectors/subject matter; and including within each, federal, state, local, private and personal elements. To repeat: *This is not just about the federal government, and not just about government.* Few items will have FY 2000 budget impacts. Several will have "down payments" represented in Administration accomplishments and earlier proposals.

Laundry list programmatic ideas presented in floating boxes, so that the text can focus on themes, values, personalized discussion, and a few bold ideas.]

### 6.1. Introduction

- (a) The foundation for our workplan:
  - First, Trying to understand why these challenges (e.g., disparities in education achievement), so long the focus of policy discussion and civic debate, have remained unsolved – and then fashioning a workplan cognizant of those long-standing barriers to success.
  - Second, What are the facts?
  - Third, What are our value-based commitments? [equality norms to spur gap-closing, as related to the Vision chapter] Seeking clarity about the values at stake, both personal and civic.
  - Who has what rights; who has what responsibilities? public versus private roles.
- (b) Rethinking the federal role for the 21<sup>st</sup> century? Within the role of government, are their challenges that require rethinking the allocation of responsibility and accountability?

### 6.2. Education<sup>2</sup>

- (a) Closing the gap in opportunity
  - *Resources:*<sup>3</sup> teachers; curriculum; infrastructure
  - *Expectations and support:* high expectations by teachers; parental involvement
  - Governance and accountability
- (b) Closing the gap in achievement

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<sup>2</sup> Includes floating text boxes throughout with details on: early childhood; K-12; post-secondary

<sup>3</sup> LEP/bilingual issues handled in part as resource issues and in part as achievement issues.

- *Standards and excellence:* testing; appropriate stakes and accountability
  - *Attainment:* high school graduation; college graduation; etc.
  - *Values and hopes:* closing the gap in aspirations; universalizing the credo of education as the gateway
- (c) Combating racial and economic isolation
- Reduce segregation and racial isolation among schools
  - Reduce segregation within schools – inappropriate tracking and overrepresentation in special education
  - Promote inclusion in higher education
  - Combating the twinned calamities of racial isolation and poverty concentration, in schools and in housing.

### 6.3. Economic Development and Job Opportunities

- (a) Closing the jobs gap
- Job creation and community economic development
  - The distribution of job opportunities, and access to them
    - Spatial mismatch
    - Transportation; Gatreaux
    - Access to affordable to childcare (detailed under “Strong and Health Families” subsection)
  - Welfare to Work targeted funds to ensure that Welfare Reform works for all Americans.
  - School-to-work, technical training, and lifelong learning
- (b) Putting financial markets to work for all
- CDFIs
  - Community Reinvestment Act
  - Micro-lending
- (c) Attacking our legacy of wealth and asset inequality
- Building a stronger entrepreneurial class –initiatives in business formation and development (apart from government contracting programs, which deserve continued support to remedy discrimination where it exists).
  - Home ownership

### 6.4. Criminal Justice and Community Security

- (a) Community Security: reducing criminal victimization in communities of color, and establishing the right to a live in safety.
- [includes combating the endemic drugs]
- (b) Youth focus: Keep young people out of the criminal justice system
- Just as we invest in child nutrition to save lives, we must find a way to make the interventions needed to prevent the reckless or desperate turn to crime
- (c) Strengthen fairness and trust in the criminal justice system
- Combat improper use of racial profiling

- Zero tolerance for police misconduct and brutality
- Eliminate racial discrimination and unjustified disparities in incarceration, sentencing and imposition of the death penalty
- Increase diversity and representation in the administration of criminal justice.

#### 6.5. Strong and Healthy Families

- (a) Health disparities initiative
  - The Clinton Initiative
  - Relatedly: The insurance gap
- (b) Early childhood development (Administration initiative)
  - Spreading understanding of the importance of investments in years 0-3; the data are clear. Include this as call to action. FLOTUS book.
- (c) Child care (Administration initiative; federal-state-local; public-private)
  - The goal: If a parent, whether by economic necessity or choice, decides to use child care -- every child, regardless of race or class, should be assured childcare of adequate safety and quality.
  - Data problems
  - Demand – subsidies
  - Supply – employer practices; faith community, etc.
  - After school
- (d) Child welfare
  - The goal: attacking the disparity in family structure
  - Another goal: fairness in the child welfare system – is there disparate treatment of minority parents/families?
    - Viewing disparities, local agencies and communities need to be vigilant and understand the reasons, because of the risk of unfairness and biases.
  - Reforms of 1997, putting best interest of the child first; more intense time limits for permanency; underfunding of the associated supportive services
  - Differential removal rates – reflecting racism? Cultural divide? Or simply a tragic symptom?
- (e) Fatherhood
  - Why this is an important theme: the crisis in some communities
  - There are several agreed upon principles.
  - Roles of various sectors, especially non-governmental.

#### 6.6. Indian Country

- (a) Introduction: Special status and sovereignty; history
- (b) [Reprise of the subchapter themes above, as applied to Native Americans:]
  - education
  - economic development and jobs
  - criminal justice
  - health care and strengthening families

- cultural survival and integrity
- governance and sovereignty

#### 6.7. Enforcing our Antidiscrimination Laws and Values

- (a) Strengthening the legal framework for opportunity – shaping federal and state civil rights law and law enforcement to promote educational and economic opportunity
- (b) Strengthening law enforcement -- federal and state, public and private; increasing voluntary compliance with antidiscrimination laws and principles
- (c) Data and research:
  - Authoritative time-series data measuring the extent of discrimination in various sectors and regions, using both statistical and “tester” methodologies.
  - We must be able to answer the questions, “How much discrimination is there, and are we making progress?”

#### 6.8. Citizenship and Civic Life

- (a) Renewing democracy as a component of healing America.
  - Voter registration and participation as civic obligation
  - Searching out and stimulating new forms and mechanisms of participation, because building community is a step toward building One America.
- (b) Naturalization and immigrant integration
- (c) The news and entertainment media
  - Enormous power for good or ill; limited accountability to government because of the First Amendment, which is of course as it should be. But the media are accountable to us in a different sense, and have both rights and responsibilities. What are those in connection with the struggle for a racially just One America?  
- Cf., the issue violence in the media
- (d) School and university curricula
  - Bold initiative to expand/improve the teaching of history, viewing the study of history as instruction in dealing with difference; cf. NDEA/Sputnik.
  - More generally, curricular improvements so that Americans understand more about Americans. Multicultural competence for the 21<sup>st</sup> century.
- (e) Bold initiative to enlist the faith community in this work, tapping not just their resources in free basements and mailing lists, but their spiritual resources.
- (f) Research needs
  - Missing data – under-analyzed groups and subgroups, especially Native Americans and Asians.

- Authoritative tracking of disparities to mark our progress into the next century.
- Periodic report card [by the "follow-on entity"]

## Chapter 7. Leadership For One America

### 7.1. Call to action

- (a) In general terms: Holding ourselves accountable for the quality of our leadership: creating effective watchdog and feedback mechanisms.
- I am issuing a call to action, appealing for the recruitment of a cadre of leaders from all sectors who will dedicate themselves to learning, teaching and practicing the difficult tasks of building One America for the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

### 7.2. A plan to sustain and expand the efforts now underway in communities and organizations around the country.

- (a) *Sectoral leadership and action:* I am assigning responsibility for nurturing this community-based engagement by explicitly challenging certain sectors, organizations and leaders.
- Elected officials
  - Faith community
  - Corporate community
  - Youth
  - Educators
  - Organized labor
  - The media
  - Leadership organizations within minority and non-minority ethnic communities, e.g., Native Americans, Latinos, Italian-Americans
  - Others??
- (b) *Community leadership and action:* Community-based workplans to be developed by local partnerships, reporting to their communities. [One America Partnerships?]
- (c) *Federal leadership and action:* What the Federal government's ongoing commitment will be
- Strengthening the Civil Rights Commission and its state partners. A network of means to monitor the roles and activities of political leaders, corporate leaders, civic leaders, the media.
  - within the federal government – federal employees and agencies as leaders/models
  - [The "follow-on entity" within Executive Office of the President/WHO]

### 7.3. Conclusion

- (a) The critical ingredient of leadership – not just from politicians, or even primarily from them. People in all walks of life, in dramatic and quiet ways.
- (b) Awards Program for promising practices (see chapter 4)
  - [Modeled after the American Civic League "All American City" program, and the Ford Foundation-Kennedy School award program for Innovations in Government.]
- (c) How these private/civic leadership efforts are to be sustained over time, so there will momentum will build, not flag.

## **Chapter 8. Conclusion**

- 8.1. Reprise
- 8.2. Personalized examples of how previous presidents chose to move forward, and others didn't. Tragedies seeded or averted. Opportunities seized and squandered. Optimism about the our ideals and our spirit. Our standing in the eyes of the world, and in the judgment of historians. We must not be mere participants in the history of this struggle. We must be the authors of that history. Our standing in the hearts of our children and grandchildren; what we owe them. We must lighten their burdens and brighten their futures, each and all.
- 8.3. Closing message. Response to a letter from a grade school child. A prayer.