

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. note	Elena Kagan to Reed re: Potential Race Commission Members (partial) (1 page)	ca. 1997	P2, P5
002. note	Reed's comments on the back of the memo's last page (partial) (1 page)	3/20/97	P5, P6/b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 Domestic Policy Council
 Bruce Reed (Subject File)
 OA/Box Number: 21208

FOLDER TITLE:

Race-Commission

rs70

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

- C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
- PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
- RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

THE NATIONAL CAMPAIGN TO PREVENT TEEN PREGNANCY

2100 M STREET, N.W., SUITE 500
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20037

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Campaign Director

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RACE
COMM.

The National Campaign to
Prevent Teen Pregnancy
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Washington, D.C. 20037

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The National Campaign to Prevent Teen Pregnancy

2100 M Street, N.W.
Suite 500

Washington, D.C. 20037

THE CAMPAIGN

The National Campaign to Prevent Teen Pregnancy, founded in February 1996, is a nonprofit, nonpartisan initiative supported entirely by private donations.

THE NEED

The United States has a teen pregnancy rate more than twice as high as that in any other advanced country and almost ten times as high as the rate in Japan or the Netherlands. Teen pregnancy goes hand in hand with high risk for all those involved, particularly the mother and her baby, and imposes large costs on taxpayers.

To be effective in reducing teenage pregnancy, we need a national presence and national leadership to raise awareness of the issue, to attract new voices and new resources to the cause. We need to provide concrete assistance to those already working in the field. We need to face squarely the many disagreements that have plagued both national and local efforts to address this problem. And we need to establish the right of every child to be born to parents who are prepared to nurture and support that child.

THE MISSION AND GOAL

The mission of the Campaign is to prevent teen pregnancy by supporting values and stimulating actions that are consistent with a pregnancy-free adolescence. The Campaign's goal is to reduce the teenage pregnancy rate by one-third by the year 2005.

KEY STATISTICS

- More than 4 out of 10 young women become pregnant before they reach the age of 20—one million a year.
- More than 8 out of 10 of these pregnancies are unplanned.
- Almost 75 percent of births to teens are outside of marriage, up from only 15 percent 30 years ago.
- One of every 3 girls has had sexual intercourse by the age of 15 and 1 out of 2 by the age of 18.
- Three of every 4 boys have had sexual intercourse by the age of 18.
- Teen childbearing costs U.S. taxpayers \$7 billion annually.

LEADERSHIP

The work of the Campaign is being led by four task forces. Task force members have been drawn from many sectors and regions of the country and bring a wide range of experience and points of view to the Campaign. The task forces and their chairs are:

Media Task Force

Jody Miller, Chair

Religion and Public Values Task Force

William Galston, Chair

State and Local Action Task Force

Barbara Huberman, Chair

Effective Programs and Research Task Force

Kristin Moore, Chair

For Further Information Contact
The National Campaign to
Prevent Teen Pregnancy
2100 M Street, N.W., Suite 500
Washington, D.C. 20037
Telephone: (202) 857-8655
Fax: (202) 331-7735

THE STRATEGY

To achieve its mission the Campaign has adopted a five-pronged strategy:

- Take a strong stand against teen pregnancy
- Enlist the help of the media
- Support and stimulate state and local action
- Lead a national discussion on the role of religion, culture, and public values in an effort to build common ground
- Make sure that local community efforts are based on research about what works

Each of these efforts will inform, or work in tandem with, the others.

GUIDING PRINCIPLES

The work of the Campaign is being guided by six principles:

- Tolerance for the diversity of views that exists about how best to intervene
- Commitment to nonpartisanship
- Desire to work with existing groups
- Recognition that teen pregnancy is a symptom as well as a cause of poverty and other disadvantages
- Commitment to be science-based
- Recognition that the focus must be on boys as well as girls

Fair
Comm

**FAIR HOUSING: ELIMINATING DISCRIMINATION
AND REDUCING BARRIERS TO CREATE ONE AMERICA**

As we expand opportunity and create jobs, no one can be left out. We must continue to enforce fair lending and fair housing and all civil rights laws, because America will never be complete in its renewal until everyone shares in its bounty.

President Clinton, State of The Union Address, January 25, 1994

Today President Clinton attended the second meeting of his Race Advisory Panel and announced a three-part initiative to eradicate housing discrimination: (1) doubling the number of enforcement actions against housing discrimination; (2) giving new grants to help private non-profit groups, state and local governments and others to eliminate housing discrimination; and (3) filing civil charges in three housing discrimination cases.

PRESIDENT CLINTON ANNOUNCES \$15 MILLION IN GRANTS TO ENFORCE FAIR HOUSING LAWS. These grants-- a total of 67 awards -- are going to 33 states and the District of Columbia to support the efforts of private non-profit organizations, state and local governments, disability advocacy groups, community development corporations and others to enhance compliance with the nation's fair housing laws. Grants will be used for both education and enforcement efforts -- including funding for enforcement organizations that undertake testing and provide housing counseling and other activities to prevent and eliminate discriminatory housing practices and promote fair housing.

PRESIDENT CLINTON ANNOUNCES THAT HUD WILL DOUBLE THE NUMBER OF ENFORCEMENT ACTIONS AGAINST HOUSING DISCRIMINATION. Under President Clinton's leadership, the rate of home ownership in America is approaching the highest in our history -- we are one-tenth of one percentage point away. Minority homebuyers account for a large and growing share of these new homeowners -- from 1993-1996, minority homeowners accounted for 29% of all new homebuyers. Unfortunately, as the rate of minority participation in housing has increased, so too have complaints of housing discrimination. The Clinton administration is committed to eliminating barriers to home ownership and allowing even more Americans to own homes in safe and affordable communities. Today, the President announced that the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development will double the number of enforcement actions against housing discrimination in the next four years to help eliminate housing discrimination.

CIVIL CHARGES FILED IN THREE CASES OF ALLEGED ILLEGAL HOUSING DISCRIMINATION. Today HUD Secretary Andrew Cuomo announced that the Department of Housing and Urban Development will file civil charges of housing discrimination against three individuals and one business under the Fair Housing Act, which bars discrimination in the sale, rental, financing and advertising of almost all housing in the nation on account of race, color, religion sex, disability, family status and national origin. The actions today send a message that the Administration will immediately strengthen enforcement of our nation's fair housing laws, in compliance with the President's announcement.

FAIR HOUSING INITIATIVES PROGRAM

1997 GRANT AWARDS

DESCRIPTION OF PROGRAM

The Fair Housing Initiatives Program (FHIP) of the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) provides support to private non-profit organizations, State and local governments and others to strengthen enforcement of, and enhance compliance with, the nation's fair housing laws. FHIP was authorized by the Housing and Community Development Act of 1987. While FHIP grants support education and enforcement efforts, the program focuses on helping private, non-profit fair housing enforcement organizations undertake testing and other enforcement activities to prevent and eliminate discriminatory housing practices.

1997 GRANT AWARD COMPETITION

In fiscal year 1997, \$15 million is being made available for grants in three categories:

- Private Enforcement Initiative -- (\$10.2 million)-- These funds go to enforcement organizations to investigate allegations of housing discrimination, provide housing counseling, and promote fair housing.
- Fair Housing Organizations Initiative -- (\$2.7 million) -- These funds help organizations build their capacity to undertake fair housing enforcement activities. Approximately \$1.3 million of these funds have been designated to help disability advocacy organizations.
- Education and Outreach Initiative -- (\$1.8 million) -- This category of grants includes funds to promote reconciliation in communities experiencing racial tensions as may occur when members of minority groups move into formerly all-white areas.

OVERVIEW OF GRANT AWARDS

- A total of 67 awards, totaling \$15 million.
- Awards in 33 states and the District of Columbia, with at least 2 private enforcement initiative awards in every HUD region in the country.
- A broad range of grant recipients that are active on fair housing issues including: private fair housing enforcement organizations, housing industry groups, community groups, disability advocacy groups, city governments, fair housing agencies, legal service agencies, and community development corporations.

**LOCATIONS OF
FAIR HOUSING INITIATIVES PROGRAM GRANT RECIPIENTS**

ALABAMA -- Birmingham, Montgomery
ARKANSAS -- Arkadelphia, Little Rock
ARIZONA -- Tucson
CALIFORNIA -- Berkeley, Fresno, Ontario
COLORADO -- Denver (2)
CONNECTICUT -- Hartford
DELAWARE -- Wilmington
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA -- Washington (2)
FLORIDA -- Cocoa, Miami
GEORGIA -- Savannah
IDAHO -- Boise (2)
ILLINOIS -- Chicago (3), Winnetka
KENTUCKY -- Louisville (2)
LOUISIANA -- New Orleans
MARYLAND -- Baltimore, Upper Marlboro
MASSACHUSETTS -- Amherst, Holyoke
MINNESOTA -- Minneapolis (2)
MISSOURI -- Kansas City (2), St. Louis
MONTANA -- Missoula
NEBRASKA -- Omaha
NEVADA -- Carson City, Reno
NEW HAMPSHIRE -- Manchester
NEW MEXICO -- Albuquerque
NEW YORK -- Buffalo, Islandia, Jamaica-Queens-NYC, Rochester, Syracuse
NORTH CAROLINA -- Elizabeth City, Raleigh
NORTH DAKOTA -- Bismarck
OHIO -- Cincinnati, Cleveland (2), Parma, Toledo
OREGON -- Eugene, Portland
PENNSYLVANIA -- Pittsburgh Swarthmore
TENNESSEE -- Jackson, Memphis, Nashville
UTAH -- Salt Lake City
VERMONT -- Burlington
WISCONSIN -- Appleton, Milwaukee
WASHINGTON -- Lakewood, Seattle

FAIR HOUSING

Internal Qs &As

Q. What is covered under the Fair Housing Act?

The Fair Housing Act prohibits discrimination in the sale, rental, financing or advertising of housing based on race, color, religion, sex, disability, family status, or national origin. The act applies to almost all housing in the United States. It applies to private landlords and property management firms, property owners, federally-assisted housing, public housing authorities, realtors, and lenders and insurers of housing.

Q. How are violations of the Fair Housing Act handled?

Persons who believe they are victims of discriminatory housing practices can file a complaint with the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). Fair housing investigations are conducted by HUD, state and city agencies working with HUD, and private fair housing groups that receive HUD funds. If an investigation shows that illegal housing practices have occurred and the parties will not settle, HUD can issue civil enforcement charges -- such as the three announced today -- and legal action is taken. HUD handles over 12,000 inquiries from potential complainants annually.

Q. How many complaints has HUD processed and what was their disposition?

Since the Clinton administration took office, HUD has investigated 16,325 housing complaints, taken enforcement actions on 1,085 cases, reached out-of-court settlements on 6,517 cases, and collected \$17.8 million in compensation to victims of housing discrimination.

Q. Why is the President directing HUD to double its the level of its enforcement actions against housing discrimination?

One of the most basic civil rights is the ability to live where you want. Discrimination in housing represents a serious barrier to achieving true racial reconciliation in the country, If people are kept apart in their homes and neighborhoods, how can we ever come together as a nation? Discrimination in housing is illegal and it is wrong. That's why I am directing Secretary Cuomo to do everything in HUD's power to ensure that this Nation's fair housing laws are enforced.

Homeownership helps build strong communities, which is why another goal of my administration has been to increase the homeownership rate. We cannot achieve that goal without ensuring that fair and equal housing opportunity is open to all Americans. Over the past four years, more than 34,000 complaints of housing discrimination have been made to federal, state and local agencies. It is critical to address these problems, and so in

the next four years, HUD will double its enforcement actions to ensure that all Americans have a full range of opportunities for home ownership.

Q. What has been the level of enforcement activity in the past four years? How much will enforcement actions increase as a result of this announcement?

A total of 1,085 enforcement actions were taken during fiscal years 1993, 1994, 1995 and 1996: during that time 882 charges finding violations of the Fair Housing Act were issued and 203 cases were referred to the Department of Justice for enforcement action. Over the next four years, at least 2,170 enforcement actions will be taken.

Q. How have minorities fared in terms of home ownership over the past few years?

With the economy going strong and ownership becoming more affordable, many minority and immigrant households are buying homes. The Ford Foundation-sponsored study, The State of the Nation's Housing: 1997, issued by the Joint Center for Housing Studies of Harvard University found that minority and immigrant households account for nearly 30% of the overall growth in homeownership, and in many areas anchor the first-time buyer market. The number of minority households buying homes for the first time increased by 994,000 from 1993 to 1996 -- almost 30 percent of the overall increase of 3.3 million.

During those three years, 460,000 Hispanic households have become homeowners -- an increase of 16.3 percent. African-Americans and other minorities also posted significant gains.

Q. What does the Fair Housing Initiatives Program(FHIP) do? How are these grants used?

FHIP provides funds to public and private entities carrying out programs to prevent or eliminate discriminatory housing practices. Federal funds provide support to private non-profit organizations, State and local governments and others to strengthen enforcement and enhance compliance with the nation's fair housing laws. While both educational and enforcement efforts are funded, the program's main emphasis is the support of private non-profit fair housing enforcement organizations that undertake testing and other enforcement activities to prevent and eliminate discriminatory housing practices.

Q. Why is FHIP important to HUD's mission?

The FHIP represents a significant Federal commitment to fair housing activity and is a critical component of HUD's enforcement of the provisions of the fair housing laws. It is the only grant program available within the federal government whose primary purpose is to prevent and eliminate discriminatory housing practices. FHIP also promotes local partnerships with other public/private entities in addressing fair housing violations.

Q. What types of activities are funded under FHIP?

Examples of funded activities include:

- investigating complaints alleging discrimination in housing -- including rental, sales, lending and insurance;
- testing as a means of detecting different treatment;
- training housing industry groups and others regarding their responsibilities under the Fair Housing Act.

Q. What types of organizations typically receive FHIP awards?

The majority of FHIP recipients are fair housing enforcement organizations that provide the full-range of fair housing services to the public. FHIP also funds:

- State and local governments;
- disability advocacy organizations;
- legal services organizations;
- community development organizations; and
- housing industry groups (this year, a National Outreach and Education award is being made to the National Association of Homebuilders Research Center).

Q. What have FHIP finding levels been in the past? How much has been requested for FY 1998?

FHIP Funding 1991-1997

1991	\$5.8 million
1992	\$8.0 million
1993	\$10.6 million
1994	\$20 million
1995	\$26 million
1996	\$17 million
1997	\$15 million, requested \$18 million
1998	Requested \$24 million.

Andrew J. Mayock
05/15/97 12:52:15 PM

File

Record Type: Record

To: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message

cc:

Subject: Press Plan on Race Initiative

Please provide any comments to Mary Ellen. Thanks.

----- Forwarded by Andrew J. Mayock/WHO/EOP on 05/15/97 12:50 PM -----

Mary E. Glynn
05/14/97
07:32:47 PM

Record Type: Non-Record

To: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message

cc:

Subject: Press Plan on Race Initiative

Please send me your comments/thoughts by Thursday afternoon.

Race/Reconciliation

Thus far, coverage of the race/reconciliation issue has been both accurate and positive. It has piqued the interest of many reporters -- stories have already appeared in the New York Times, Knight-Ridder, Newsday, the Chicago Tribune and many others. CNN, TIME, US News & World Report and Newsweek are all looking at big packages they would like to run in the next few weeks. Most of them understand that the President has a long-term commitment to the issue. To a person, the reporters see the President's initiative as transcendent and historical.

The problem we face is that there has been such a long buildup to this speech that when June 14 actually comes, reporters will look for something tangible (besides the names of the commission members) to come out of the speech. If they consider this speech mushy, we will face the headline "there is no there there." It is essential that our administration talkers stress that the President wants to set a tone and spark a dialogue on race -- that in and of itself is progress.

Goals

1. Inform reporters about the President's long-term commitment to and understanding of the issue of race in America. (Background as a white Southerner, significant speeches on race, the affirmative action review, etc.)

2. Plan to give out some information regarding the structure of the commission, its scope, agenda, etc. to White House press corps via tongs and structured interviews.
3. Make certain that alternative media are aware of the President's initiative on race.

Calendar

May 12 - 16

Surrogate list - Develop a solid list of "talkers" both within and outside of the Administration to refer to reporters. (ie - Slater, Mathews, Nash, Emanuel, McLarty, Stephanopoulos, Leopoulos)

May 16

Tuskegee Apology

The Tuskegee story will be the hook for many of our reporters to write about the race initiative. This event will showcase the President's historical interest in the subject of race in America, and his intimacy with the issue of Southern segregation. East Room Event
David Satcher, CDC does stakeout, regional interviews

May 18

Morgan State Commencement

The President's speech will not be targeted to an African-American audience, but it will address science, technology and ethical dilemmas. It will reference the Tuskegee apology and will tie it to the role of ethics in science and technology.

May 25 -- 29 Foreign Travel -- The Hague, Paris, London

June 2 -- Work with news outlets that are dedicating considerable time to issue. CNN has expressed interest in a week long series on race leading up to the 14th. US News, Newsweek and TIME also plan large takeouts.

Mathews, Nash, McLarty to do tongs on Potus background in
Arkansas

June 9 - 14 Interviews On Race

Potus interview with Mike Frisby, Wall St. Journal
Potus interview with San Diego Union-Tribune
Potus interview with William Greider, Rolling Stone,
Potus interview with American Urban Radio Network

VP conference call interview with the Trotter Group

Qs and As needed for the day of speech

- June 13 Embargoed briefing on Potus speech at White House
Morning shows -- Rodney Slater, Bob Nash to discuss Potus
background in AR
Background briefing for pundits -- EJ Dionne, Colby King,
Clarence Page, Lars Erik Nelson, Charlyne Hunter-Gault, Paul Gigot,
Gerry Seib, Mary McGrory, Tom Oliphant, Jacob Weisberg + others
- June 14 Speech at UCSD
- June 15 Member of commission on Sunday shows

Post Speech

Op-eds from validators

Editorial board and specialty press mailing of speech and
background materials

Regional conference calls with beat reporters in large ethnic and
minority markets

Book guests on national and regional radio and tv shows in
targeted markets (ie - Tom Joyner; Jesse Jackson show; religious
shows)

Specialty press conference calls to ethnic and religious media

Radio, tv and print interviews to targeted specialty media (ie -
Telemundo, Univision)

Satellite interviews and/or CNN Guest Source

Message Sent To: _____

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May 21, 1997

Mr. Bruce Reed
Domestic Policy Council
The White House

Dear Bruce:

President Clinton is destined to play a historic role in bettering race relations in our country. The President was kind enough to send me a note on the publication of our book on race relations in the Army and what lessons might be derived for American society.

I am pleased to include two copies of the book -- one for you and one for Sylvia Matthews. Knowing you are both overwhelmed by reading material and work, I note that the core argument is given on pages 131-142. I and John Butler (the co-author) hope in this small way we can contribute to the President's endeavors to resolve the perennial American dilemma.

Yours sincerely,

Charlie
Charles Moskos

847-475-1170

Bruce, could your office please forward the 2nd
copy to Sylvia Matthews?
did that
cm.



8/21/96

Dear Charlie —

Thanks for your book and the
inscription — If I get another term
I want to make sure we give more folks
a chance to be all they can be —

Best,
Bill Clinton

Dear Charlie --

Thanks for your book and the
inscription -- If I get another term
I want to make sure we give more folks
a chance to be all they can be.

Best,

Bill Clinton .

File: Race Comm.
cc: Elena

MEMORANDUM FOR RAHM EMANUEL

From: Bernie Aronson
Subject: Civil Rights

It is a good thing the President plans to focus on civil rights during his second term. It remains the great unfinished business of the nation, and could be an important legacy of his presidency. But to succeed, you have to adopt a strategy relevant to the civil rights realities of the 1990's rather than try to relive the glory days of the 1960's.

As you know, the civil rights landscape today is far more complicated and politically treacherous. There is no national consensus about either the nature of the problem or the solution such as existed when the Civil Rights Act or the Voting Rights Act were passed. There are many more claimants at the civil rights table, new tensions between Hispanics and blacks over political power in the cities and continued tensions between blacks and Jews, once historic allies, over affirmative action and Farrakhan.

Navigating these treacherous currents is no easy task. The tools and instruments of a previous era, such as a new Kerner Commission, as you already know, are not what is needed. Still, it is no accident that the modern President who made the greatest impact on civil rights was a southerner, Lyndon Johnson. President Clinton's southern heritage and his early civil rights involvement give him credibility in both the white and black communities and his instincts as a leader to seek new common ground among differing parties is well suited for the challenge of civil rights in the 90's.

Here are some suggestions that might be helpful, by no means exhaustive or entirely original:

1. Start with a large idea.

What drove the civil rights revolution successfully was a moral consensus that united a majority of Americans around the idea that dismantling segregation was a national imperative. No new consensus has yet emerged to take its place. The American people perform best when challenged and summoned to meet an important and historic national challenge. Therefore, you need to create a new language with which to address the issue of civil rights that is inclusive, inspiring, and relevant. Here is one suggestion.

As they look around the world, the American people see nations and societies from Bosnia to Quebec to Northern Ireland to Rwanda (perhaps even Israel) being torn apart by religious, racial, and ethnic divisions. Americans fear our own country may be heading in the same direction and wish for relief from our own political and racial polarization. The Oklahoma bombing only added to that fear. Indeed, much of the broad support for Colin Powell's presidential candidacy reflected this private yearning for a leader as healer who would bring us together as one nation across the racial, religious, and political divide. This national yearning is particularly strong because Americans sense even if they can't articulate why, that the end of the cold war deprived the nation of an unacknowledged, but still powerful unifying force—the threat to our national security and values posed by an expansionary Soviet Union.

Rather than speak about civil rights only in traditional terms, the President should invoke this larger ideal. The President should say something like this: Throughout the 20th century, American democracy was an example and beacon in the night to people all over the world struggling for their freedom from colonialism, dictatorship, and totalitarianism. In the 21st century, America must be a beacon and example to people divided by ethnic, racial, and religious differences that a diverse society can build a stronger, more prosperous and secure nation by bridging differences and drawing on the unique talents and strengths of all its citizens. In other words, to lead on the issue of civil rights today, the President needs to offer his own vision of America as "a city on a hill" for the 21st century.

2. Reunite civil rights and economic issues.

The best way to bridge racial divisions in the 1990's is to build common political ground around the idea of opening up economic opportunity for disadvantaged Americans regardless of color or ethnicity. You should frame a strategy around achieving that goal with the limited goal of passing one piece of legislation.

In fact, as you know, there was an historic debate within the civil rights movement between those who argued largely for a legislative and judicial strategy to end discrimination based on race and those who argued that the civil rights movement must embrace also a broader agenda of economic empowerment that would unite blacks with poor and working class whites. The 1963 march on Washington was a march for "Jobs and Freedom". Unfortunately, that effort to create a broader coalition failed and the civil rights consensus broke down over affirmative action, busing, and other issues. You should make an effort to revive it.

Just as you see Orrin Hatch and Ted Kennedy, too very unlikely political or cultural soul mates, uniting around the issue of health insurance for poor working class kids, I think a broad religious, racial, and political coalition could be assembled around both the effort to promote voluntarism that is already underway with Colin Powell, President Bush and others and around the idea of empowering the next generation to compete in a high-tech global economy. The key is not to bite off more than you can chew. You should identify some discrete part of the president's economic agenda--perhaps the President's proposals to expand college and vocational school opportunity or perhaps the Kennedy-Hatch bill itself--and then try to assemble a broad racial, religious, and political coalition, including both business and labor, around it. I would even reach out to the Christian right if you find the right issue. You may have noticed recently that the Christian Coalition made an effort to be supportive of the black community over the issue of arson against black churches. There is an enormous social and political yearning in the United States for finding common ground around the issue of race and you should try to be the catalyst for such a coalition behind the right legislative vehicle.

3. Lead by example.

This is not a new idea to you. You are already doing this. Still, I think the best way to combat bigotry today is for the President to lead by example in a dramatic way. For example: The next time a black family which has recently moved into a new, white or mixed neighborhood is greeted with vandalism and spray painted racial epithets, let the President call the family up, ask to visit, scrap his schedule, bring the first lady and Chelsea, the Vice President and Tipper, and the bipartisan congressional leadership, come in work clothes with buckets and brushes, ask sympathetic neighbors to join them, and together with the family scrub the walls to erase the racial epithets. Or, the next time a school is defaced, as happened last week in Maryland (see enclosed article) do the same thing.

4. Support mentoring of young black men by adult black men.

When Colin Powell was growing up in the Bronx there were still successful role models in the urban black community to mentor young black males and offer models of constructive and successful adult lives. Today, successful middle class blacks, like white Americans, have moved to the suburbs and the inner cities are abandoned to an underclass that is woefully ill-equipped to compete in a high-tech global economy that puts little value on muscle power and great value on education and skills. Still, as evidenced by the Million Man March there is an enormous hunger in the black community among black men to reach out and uplift and mentor young black males. Enclosed are columns by Bill Raspberry celebrating one such successful effort here in D.C.--the Alliance of Concerned Men, which has been working successfully to end gang violence. The President ought to invite both the "concerned men" and the kids they work with to the White House to talk about what they have done, what has succeeded, and to celebrate and support their efforts. I have another, more ambitious idea for supporting such mentoring nationwide which I would be happy to discuss with you.

5. Denounce the glorification of violence and denigration of women in minority popular culture

I understand this is a sensitive subject, but the glorification of violence, the denigration of women, the celebration of the "gansta" life is a civil rights issue today. Regardless of whether economic and social opportunity

exists de jure, if you raise a generation of kids in the inner city to believe that human life has no value, crass materialism is the goal, women are fresh meat to be exploited, and violence is the fastest means to achieve your ambitions, we are going to continue to have a problem. You have already addressed this issue at the political level: school uniforms, v-chips, and the like. And one of the President's most effective public addresses was his speech in Memphis about the violence that claims black youth. But as you know, any political message has to be repeated over and over again. The President should spend some of the political capital he has in Hollywood to denounce the cheapening of human life and nihilism contained in this kind of music and videos. I understand that there are civil liberties issues involved and that as a genre "gansta rap" is an authentic expression of urban black life. Still rationalizing this kind of nihilistic message for vulnerable black youth who desperately need a sense of identity and respect is just a new form of paternalism. I think the President ought to mount the bully pulpit on this more than he has.

6. Re-legitimize the goal of an integrated society.

It is hard to remember now but the civil rights movement was about building a pluralistic, integrated society. We have virtually abandoned that goal and in many ways have become more balkanized along racial and ethnic lines than ever. I think the President has to find the right way and the right words to re-legitimize the value of building an integrated society. One thought might be to bring Nelson Mandela into a visible forum convened by the President to discuss this issue. He is a powerful example of someone who could have abandoned any interest in building an integrated society, but instead has pursued national reconciliation. As you know, the anti-apartheid movement drew inspiration and hope from the American civil rights movement. Maybe the President could find a way and a public forum to make the point that now we can learn something from them.

7. Support democratization in Africa.

To its credit, groups like Trans-Africa, which in earlier days identified largely with black nationalism in Africa and decolonialization has now taken up leadership in support of democratization in Nigeria and elsewhere in Africa. I think a credible civil rights strategy by the President should also include more visible presidential leadership and support for democratization in Africa. The President might make the point as Latin America has replaced dictatorship with democracy and begun to empower groups left out of the social and political marketplace, Africa must do the same and the United States and the West must show support.

8. Promote healing among blacks and Jews.

As you know, the civil rights movement was in no small part an alliance between blacks and American Jews. That relationship has been greatly strained in recent decades over affirmative action and Farrakhan, among other issues. But there is enormous yearning for healing and reconciliation. The President should seek ways to foster that healing. At the risk of special pleading, you might consider a joint award of the Medal of Freedom to the late Louis Martin and to Arnold Aronson, two unsung heroes of the civil rights movement, and two symbols of that black-Jewish alliance. The annual dinner of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, which Arnold Aronson founded with Roy Wilkins, and at which Tipper Gore will be honored May 6th, would be an appropriate public forum where such a joint award would be well-received.

RACE COMM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 28, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR ERSKINE BOWLES, SYLVIA MATHEWS, JOHN PODESTA

FROM: GENE SPERLING
CC: BRUCE REED, RAHM EMANUEL, DON BAER, ANN LEWIS
RE: Commissions Established by President Clinton

You asked me to look at how our commissions have worked out and how much they were spaced-out. I have worked with Tom Janenda and Chris Gillespie on this and they have done a good job of summarizing the mandate and results of these commissions. Attached is an analysis of some of the more highly visible commissions established under the Clinton Administration. In view of recent and possible future action in forming new commissions, it is possible that some may question the effectiveness of past commissions as well as the propriety of certain appointments.

This analysis, however, shows that the record of the attached commissions is quite strong. It also illustrates that the more specific the mandate, the greater the chance that the commission achieved positive and effective results. Also note that we generally spaced the establishment of new commissions from three to four a year.

From: Tom Janenda and Chris Gillespie
Re: Commissions established by President Clinton
Date: March 28, 1997

Please find attached a list of all organizations established by President Clinton since January 20, 1993. Please also find attached summaries and analyses of some of the more visible commissions that have been established by President Clinton. Of the sixteen higher-profile commissions analyzed here, seven were largely successful, one had little impact, and eight are still in the process of gathering information. With regard to these higher-profile entities, the Administration averaged the formation of a new commission every three months or four a year.

The commissions that we analyzed that were largely successful include:

- The U.S. Russian Joint Commission On Energy & Space
- The Federal Fleet Conversion Task Force
- The United States Advisory Council On The National Information Infrastructure
- The Advisory Committee On Human Radiation Experiments (ACHRE)
- The Presidential Advisory Committee On Gulf War Veterans' Illnesses
- The Presidential Advisory Council on HIV/AIDS
- The White House Commission On Aviation Safety & Security

The commissions that we analyzed that were unsuccessful include:

- The Bipartisan Commission On Entitlement Reform

The commissions that we analyzed that are still gathering information include:

- The Commission On Dietary Supplement Labels
- The National Bioethics Advisory Commission
- The National Commission On Restructuring The Internal Revenue Service
- The President's Commission On Critical Infrastructure Protection
- The Advisory Commission On Consumer Protection & Quality In The Health Care Industry
- The President's Advisory Commission On Educational Excellence For Hispanic Americans
- The Commission To Study Capital Budgeting
- The Advisory Committee On Public Interest Obligations Of Digital Television Broadcasters

SUMMARIES OF SELECTED COMMISSIONS ESTABLISHED BY ORDER OF PRESIDENT CLINTON

1. U.S. Russian Joint Commission On Energy & Space

Established as a result of preliminary agreement between the President and Russian President Boris Yeltsin at Vancouver Summit on 4/3/93. Agreement signed by Vice President and Russian Prime Minister on 9/1/93.

Result: Largely Successful

The so-called "Gore-Chernomyrdin Commission" meets every six months to discuss technical, scientific, and business cooperation between the U.S. and the former Soviet Union. The commission has held eight meetings and in February 1997, The Economist wrote, "What began at the behest of Presidents Clinton and Yeltsin at their Vancouver summit four years ago as an effort to enhance co-operation in space and energy has mushroomed into a process with multiple committees, sub-committees and working groups... And the process works. It has been getting things done, with some 150 agreements hammered out so far. A few of these are eye-catching, such as the 'megatons-to-megawatts' agreement to take weapons-grade plutonium out of Russian warheads, blend it down and send it to America to be made into reactor fuel. There is the agreement to use once-secret satellite data for environmental research, and the health-care co-operation that has contributed to a 60% drop in diphtheria cases in Russia. Collaboration on a space station (though threatened by delays on the Russian side) also occasionally makes headlines." [The Economist, 2/8/97]

2. Federal Fleet Conversion Task Force

Established by Executive Order 12844 on 4/21/93.

Result: Largely Successful

This 38-member commission was established to expand the government's efforts to acquire alternative fueled vehicles (AFVs) and to accelerate the commercialization and market acceptance of these vehicles. On October 8, 1993, the task force issued recommendations for coordinating public and private sector fleet plans for buying vehicles powered by fuels other than gas and diesel. The task force said that the real goal of federal fleet conversion is to serve as a catalyst for broad acceptance of AFVs and for development of technology and infrastructure necessary to place these vehicles on the road. The task force has been successful in helping to increase the demand for and production of alternative fuel vehicles for private sector use. The report established a Presidential Clean Cities Initiative -- listing 38 top priority cities -- to help government and business work together to develop demand for alternative fuel vehicles in these cities. In 1995, Salt Lake City became the 16th city to sign on to the Clean Cities program and it now has 131 natural-gas vehicles -- including a car driven by Mayor Deedee Corradini. In addition, the Salt Lake airport has converted 90 vehicles and private companies like the Newspaper Agency Corp. and Mountain Fuel Supply have increased the size of their fleets. In December 1993, as the President formally accepted the task force's report, he announced that the Administration would buy 11,250 alternative-fueled vehicles (AFVs) in fiscal 1994 -- 50% more than the 7,500 required by the Energy Policy Act of 1992. In December 1996, President Clinton issued an Executive Order which calls on the Federal Government to exercise leadership in the use of alternative fueled vehicles (AFVs). [Oxy-Fuel News, 10/2/95; Platt's Oilgram, 7/28/93; Oil Daily, 8/16/93; 12/10/93; National Petroleum News, 11/96; Alternative Fuels Network, 6/28/96; Salt Lake Tribune, 3/15/97]

3. **United States Advisory Council On The National Information Infrastructure**
Established by Executive Order 12864 on 9/15/93.

Result: Largely Successful

This 37-member group of experts was set up to advise the Administration on developing comprehensive technology and telecommunications policies that best meet the needs of the country. In December 1995, this panel recommended that communities work to connect their schools and libraries to the internet by the year 2000. On February 17, 1996, this council issued a report to President Clinton entitled "Kick Start America" which urged that all elementary and high school students be assured of access to the information super highway by the year 2000. The report heavily influenced President Clinton's February 1996 education technology proposal to create a \$2 billion matching fund to make all American children technologically literate by the year 2000. The President proposed putting a computer in every classroom in his January 1996 State of the Union address and is attempting to implement the proposals of the Advisory Council. The Telecommunications bill which the President signed in February 1996 required companies to provide discounts for connecting libraries and classrooms to the Internet. [AP, 12/14/95; Computer Connection, 2/17/96; Planning, 7/96]

4. **Bipartisan Commission On Entitlement Reform**
Established by Executive Order 12878 on 11/5/93.

Result: Unsuccessful

This 32-member commission headed by Senator Bob Kerrey (D-NE) and John Danforth (R-MO) warned that if current trends continue, entitlement programs will consume the budget by 2012. The Commission recommended bold action to avert the long-term bankruptcy of the Social Security system and bring other entitlement spending under control. The committee called for raising the Social Security retirement age from 65 to 70 and an increase in Medicare premiums and the Medicare retirement age. It also called for reducing and capping spending for other entitlement programs. When the plan was presented in December 1994, it ran into "overwhelming resistance" according to the Washington Post and Senator Kerrey said he was "highly skeptical" that he could attract more than "four or five votes" for the proposal. Groups like the AARP, the NAACP, and the AFL-CIO strongly opposed the plan. The recommendations of the commission were not implemented. [Washington Post, 12/10/94]

5. **President's Advisory Commission On Educational Excellence For Hispanic Americans**
Established by Executive Order 12900 on 2/22/94.

Result: Incomplete

This panel was established to advise the President and Education Secretary in their efforts to strengthen the nation's capacity to provide high-quality education and increased educational opportunities for Hispanic Americans. The panel's September 1996 report cited wide disparities in educational attainment between Hispanics and others -- including higher dropout rates and lower numbers of college graduates. The commission met with Vice President Gore in September 1996 to discuss the issues involved in educating the growing numbers of Latino students. The panel recommended: higher participation of Hispanic preschoolers in early childhood programs; increased support for bilingual education; implementation of programs to prevent Hispanics from dropping out; improving access to technology for Hispanic American students and; increasing Hispanic participation in "school to work" programs. This panel is still in the process of gathering information. [Austin American-Statesman, 9/14/96]

6. **Commission On Dietary Supplement Labels**
Established by P.L. 103-417 on 10/25/94.

Result: Incomplete

This commission is charged with conducting a study and developing recommendations for the regulation of dietary supplement label claims and statements. Part of the commission's task involves evaluating how "best" to provide truthful, scientifically valid and non-misleading information to consumers so that they can make "informed choices." The commission held seven public meetings in 1996. The commission also established an Office of Dietary Supplements at the National Institutes of Health (NIH) to explore the potential role of supplements to improve health care and promote scientific study of their benefits in maintaining health and preventing disease. The commission has not yet issued its final report. [Food Chemical News, 12/9/96]

7. **Advisory Committee On Human Radiation Experiments (ACHRE)**
Established by Executive Order 12891 on 1/15/94.

Result: Largely Successful

The committee examined reports that the federal government had funded and conducted unethical human radiation experiments and radiation releases during the Cold War. The committee reviewed thousands of records, held public hearings around the country, and produced an 800-page report which was accepted by President Clinton in October 1995. The committee found that the government had conducted several thousand human radiation experiments from 1945 to 1975. Although the majority of the experiments advanced biomedical science and were unlikely to have caused harm, some were conducted unethically. ACHRE made 18 recommendations to improve openness in government, protect human subjects in the future, and redress past wrongs. The Administration has adopted most of ACHRE's recommendations and has acted throughout the government to implement them. The government has begun to announce settlements with the families of the victims of unconsenting radiation experiments. [Toxic Chemicals Litigation Reporter, 12/9/96]

8. **Presidential Advisory Committee On Gulf War Veterans' Illnesses**
Established by Presidential remarks to VFW, 3/6/95 and Executive Order 12961 on 5/26/95.

Result: Largely Successful

The committee has held 18 meetings around the country and received public comments and written submissions from hundreds of veterans and their families since August 1995. The committee delivered an Interim Report on February 15, 1996 and a Final Report on January 7, 1997. The 12-member panel made up of scientists, health care professionals, veterans, and policy experts reviewed the full range of government activities relating to Gulf War veterans' illnesses. The Final Report found that many veterans have illnesses likely to be connected to their service in the Gulf and that stress is a likely important contributing factor to these illnesses. Veterans organizations are suspicious of the stress theory because of initial Pentagon denials and reports that the Army ignored chemical alarms during the war. The Final Report also found that the DOD's early efforts to assess possible exposure of U.S. troops to chemical warfare agents in the Gulf were superficial and lacking in credibility. The report also urged intensified research to find causes of the syndrome. The committee is scheduled to release a supplemental Special Report on October 31, 1997 which will focus on the government's response to chemical and biological weapons incidents and implementation of the recommendations of the January 1997 Final Report. The stress theory has been refuted by a recently released study by scientists at the University of Texas Southwestern Medical Center at Dallas who claim their research indicates that a chemically triggered nerve affliction -- not stress -- causes the illnesses. [Louisville Courier-Journal, 1/9/97; Washington Post, 1/25/97]

9. **Presidential Advisory Council on HIV/AIDS**
Established by Executive Order 12963 on 6/14/95.

Result: Largely Successful

This 30-member panel issued a report on AIDS in July 1996 for the 11th World AIDS conference in Vancouver. The panel also helped put together the President's national strategy for fighting AIDS which was unveiled on December 17, 1996. The report highlighted six goals to eradicate AIDS: developing an AIDS vaccine and cure; reducing and eventually eliminating new infections; guaranteeing access to high-quality AIDS care for all patients; fighting AIDS-related discrimination; turning new scientific advances into improved care and prevention; and assisting efforts to combat AIDS in other countries. The Administration is attempting to implement these six goals to end AIDS and the Administration's FY '98 budget contains \$8.9 billion for AIDS care, research, and prevention -- a 5% increase over current spending. In FY '97, federal AIDS expenditures totaled \$8.4 billion -- a 12% (\$924 million) increase. [Wash. Post, 12/17/96; S.E. Chronicle; CNN, 12/17/96; AIDS Policy, 2/21/97]

10. **National Bioethics Advisory Commission**
Established by Executive Order 12975 on 10/3/95.

Result: Incomplete

This 15-person panel of biologists, social scientists, theologians, philosophers and others, chaired by Princeton Dean Harold T. Shapiro, is studying and plans to recommend guidelines on issues such as federal support of fetal tissue and embryo research, assisted suicide, and the rights of biomedical research subjects. The commission is currently in the process of preparing a report on cloning which it plans to give to the President in late May. [Washington Post, 11/11/96; AP, 3/6/97]

11. **National Commission On Restructuring The Internal Revenue Service**
Established by P.L. 104-52 on 11/19/95.

Result: Incomplete

This 17-member commission -- co-chaired by Senator Bob Kerrey (D-NE) and Rep. Rob Portman (R-OH) -- was created to provide a foundation for modernizing, overhauling, and reforming the IRS. Since September 1996, the commission has held seven public hearings, solicited input from the public, and received documents and testimony from the IRS and international tax experts. The group has strong private-sector representation, including, tax policy professionals, company CEOs, representatives from taxpayer advocate groups, and technology experts. The commission has the potential to be a significant example of bipartisan cooperation in Congress. The panel is expected to issue a report this year which could provide Congress and the President with the tools necessary to initiate a substantial restructuring of the IRS. The Clinton Administration recently proposed a major overhaul of the management of the IRS and much of the Administration's plan reflects suggestions made during the months of testimony heard by this commission. The commission is scheduled to make its recommendations on restructuring the IRS in the near future. [Roll Call, 3/10/97; Washington Post, 3/17/97]

12. **President's Commission On Critical Infrastructure Protection**
Established by Executive Order 13010 on 7/15/96.

Result: Incomplete

This commission is charged with assessing the risk of computer sabotage of critical industries and developing protective strategies for the industries that rely heavily on computer technology. These industries include: oil and gas, transportation, banking, finance, the electric power-grid, the telecommunications systems, air traffic control systems, water supply systems, emergency services and government services. The commission is chaired by retired US Air Force general Tom Marsh. Public hearings are scheduled for this spring and summer in Los Angeles, Houston, St. Louis, Atlanta and Boston. The group is scheduled to deliver a report to the White House recommending a national policy to protect the computer systems of these critical industries in the summer of 1997. [Washington Post, 1/31/97; Hartford Courant, 2/6/97; Arizona Republic, 2/3/97]

13. **White House Commission On Aviation Safety & Security**
Established by Executive Order 13015 on 8/22/96 (Fact Sheet 7/25/96)

Result: Largely Successful

In response to the crash of TWA Flight 800, President Clinton established this 21-member commission chaired by Vice President Gore to recommend security enhancements to airports and airlines. The commission, which includes defense technologists, federal law enforcement officials, intelligence experts and former military officials issued an Initial Report in September 1996 and its Final Report on February 12, 1997. The committee made 53 recommendations to the President, including stricter airport security, an updated air traffic control system, improved inspections of the nation's commercial jetliners, requiring infants to travel in seats equipped with a child-restraint system, screening passengers for possible terrorists, and to keeping better track of passenger luggage. The committee also recommended spending roughly \$100 million annually to meet capital requirements identified by airport consortia and FAA, but it said more resources are needed. These funds would be in addition to the \$400 million appropriated by Congress in 1996 to pay for 54 explosive-detection devices, 114 additional teams of

bomb-sniffing dogs, 140 new customs inspectors and more than 300 FBI agents. Recently Republican Senators John McCain (AZ) and Slade Gorton (WA) have criticized the Administration's budget for not providing enough details on where the funds for the improvements will come from. The budget calls for the funds to come from user fees. [St. Louis Post-Dispatch, 3/7/97; Airports, 2/18/97; Commercial Appeal, 2/13/97; LA Times, 2/13/97; Reuters, 3/5/97]

14. Advisory Commission On Consumer Protection & Quality In The Health Care Industry
Established by Executive Order 13017 on 9/5/96

Result: Incomplete

This 20-member commission -- co-chaired by the Secretaries of Labor and Health & Human Services -- will examine both the managed-care and fee for service sectors of the health care industry. The commission will include consumers, institutional health care providers, health care professionals, other health care workers, health care insurers, health care purchasers, State and local government representatives, and experts in health care quality, financing, and administration. The commission is supposed to develop recommendations on a variety of quality and consumer protection issues and issue a final report 18 months after its first meeting and a preliminary report September 30, 1997. The commission has been endorsed by all parties -- including HMOs and managed care organizations. [Pharmaceutical Executive, 12/96; Senate Labor Committee Hearing (FedNews), 3/6/97; Medical Outcomes & Guidelines Alert, 9/12/96]

15. Commission To Study Capital Budgeting
Established by Executive Order 13037 on 3/3/97

Result: Incomplete

This 11-member, bipartisan commission will include individuals with expertise in public and private finance; government officials, and leaders in the labor and business communities. The commission will study: capital budgeting practices in other countries and in state and local governments in the U.S.; the appropriate definition of capital for Federal budgeting; the role of depreciation in capital budgeting; the effect of a Federal capital budget on budgetary choices between capital and non-capital means of achieving public objectives; the implications for macroeconomic stability; and potential mechanisms for budgetary discipline. [E.O. 13037, U.S. Newswire, 3/4/97]

16. Advisory Committee On Public Interest Obligations Of Digital Television Broadcasters
Established by Executive Order 13038 on 3/11/97

Result: Incomplete

This 15-member panel will include representatives from commercial and noncommercial TV, the computer and advertising industries, academia, and public interest organizations. The committee is scheduled to submit a final report to Vice President Gore on June 1, 1998. Commerce Department staff will be used to help the panel complete its work, with NTIA Administrator Larry Irving designated as the contact for the unpaid commission. [Communications Daily, 3/12/97]

CS

cc: Bruce Reed

200707 23

Bruce -
From my wife
in the Staff Sec's
office

HU010

Obama

COPY



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

3-6-97

CHIEF OF STAFF TO THE PRESIDENT: 10:38
THE WHITE HOUSE

March 5, 1997

MR. PRESIDENT:

Please see the attached memo from Bill Galston regarding the Council on Racial Reconciliation, and Sylvia's notes on Galston's memo.

Sylvia has it right. Galston is on the mark in my opinion.

Erskine

110 Willis Owen
W/ASAP
1/25

Copy
to Baste
Chron



Mr. President -
Sylvia has a right
Grossman is on the mark in
my opinion -
EB

UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND AT COLLEGE PARK

INSTITUTE FOR PHILOSOPHY AND PUBLIC POLICY

March 3, 1997

3/2/97

EB,

TO: ERSKINE BOWLES
SYLVIA MATHEWS

FROM: BILL GALSTON

SUBJ: COUNCIL ON RACIAL RECONCILIATION

FUI. I don't
think we should
circulate this memo
because of its comment
on the Win

I am very much in favor of a serious effort to grapple with our country's racial and ethnic divisions. The proposal circulated as the basis of today's meeting, however, does not measure up to that standard.

As usual Bill is both thoughtful and concise SM

The memorandum rests on what might be called the "Cool Hand Luke" assumption: what we have here is a failure to communicate. That's part of the story, of course, and an increase in frank dialogue across racial and ethnic lines would be all to the good. But there are, in addition, some difficult policy issues that need to be addressed with rigor and without preconditions. Doing this would require, not a cheerleading council, but rather a fully empowered presidential commission with intellectually and politically serious commissioners.

President Clinton is in a unique position to catalyze this effort. In addition to the moral authority inherent in his office, his commitment to racial justice and reconciliation is unchallenged. Moving the country closer to these goals would be a core element of the legacy his presidency leaves the nation.

A full-fledged presidential commission would be charged with four key tasks:

1. assembling, assessing, and laying out the evidence on what has happened, good and bad, in racial and interethnic relations during the three decades since the Koerner Commission report;
2. candidly exploring the continuing sources of racial and ethnic tension, including (but not limited to) housing, employment, immigration, urban conditions, and law enforcement strategies;
3. recommending to the nation those changes in law, policy, and implementation that could reduce racial and ethnic tensions while building fairer and more inclusive society;

4. serving as a clearinghouse and catalyst for local and voluntary-sector activities that could also contribute to long-term reconciliation.

I will not pretend that a full-fledged presidential commission charged with such a mandate is risk-free. A candid discussion of racial and ethnic divisions is bound to give offense across the political spectrum, and specific remedial prescriptions are sure to spark controversy. But the potential reward outweighs these risks. agur
The President has the opportunity to set in motion a process that revitalizes the ideals of Martin Luther King Jr. and renews the meaning of e pluribus unum for the 21st century. The "creative tension" of which King spoke is an integral part of such a process and must be accepted--indeed, welcomed. The alternative is superficial happy-talk that will only exacerbate cynicism and alienation while squandering an important opportunity.

If there is interest in the general concept of a serious presidential commission, I would be pleased to offer more specific recommendations about organization and personnel. I cannot imagine this commission succeeding without the involvement of serious scholars/public intellectuals such as Randall Kennedy and William Julius Wilson.

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

Race Comm.

DATE: 4-5 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: _____

SUBJECT: Race Commission

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	McCURRY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
BOWLES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	McGINTY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
McLARTY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	NASH	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
PODESTA	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	RUFF	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
MATHEWS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SMITH	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
RAINES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	REED	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
BAER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	SOSNIK	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
ECHAVESTE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	LEWIS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
EMANUEL	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	YELLEN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GIBBONS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	STREETT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HALE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SPERLING	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
HERMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	HAWLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HIGGINS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	WILLIAMS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HILLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RADD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
KLAIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BERGER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
LINDSEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS: *This memo has gone to PATHS.*

RESPONSE: _____

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 4, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

ERSKINE BOWLES AND SYLVIA MATHEWS *EW* *SM*

SUBJECT:

AMERICA 2000: A PRESIDENTIAL INITIATIVE TO
PREPARE OUR NATION FOR THE 21st CENTURY

This memorandum outlines the components of a comprehensive proposal for a Presidential initiative on race.

ISSUES FOR DECISION

1) Whether you should appoint a commission that will help prepare Americans for the 21st Century by working to improve race relations. 2) Whether you should do a series of town hall meetings with the commission. 3) Whether you should hold meetings every other month with the commissioners at the White House.

(If you choose to deliver a speech on April 24 in which you announce the commission members, Bob Nash informs us that we need to have them selected and notified by this Monday, April 7. Even if we start the vetting process April 7, Bob feels that it would be a challenge to have all fifteen commissioners vetted in that time frame. The next opportunity to deliver a speech in which you announce the commissioners would be sometime during the week of May 12, after the Service Summit and your Mexico trip.)

BACKGROUND

This memorandum describes a proposal that will help implement your call to the American people that we must become "One America" and must confront unresolved issues of race and bigotry. As we discussed with you on March 25, we have concluded that any efforts in this area must include: 1) action on this issue; 2) an examination of the difficult issues involved in the nation's racial tensions; and 3) recommendations for addressing these problems.

This memo will discuss the various components of this proposal: 1) Mission; 2) Goals and Actions; 3) Commission; 4) Town Hall Meetings; 5) Commission Meetings at the White House; and 6) Report. A separate memo will discuss our plan for working with other groups which are not included in the scope of this initiative, but are concerned about discrimination and equality issues.

Mission

The mission of this initiative is to enable America to prepare for the 21st Century through a nationwide program of dialogue, study and action addressing the issues of race and pluralism.

This initiative is occasioned not by an immediate crisis but rather by your long term commitment that we enter the next century a strong and united country: strong because we will benefit from the talents of all our people; united because we will overcome the divisions of race that have deprived too many Americans of the full benefit of their citizenship and deprived the rest of us of the benefit of their contributions.

The initiative would be forward looking, preparing us for a new century (and a new millennium). It would address the issue of race in the contemporary American context: Hispanic, Asian American, African American, Native American, other people of color, and White.

The initiative would have several components, beginning with Presidential leadership. You would participate personally in several town hall meetings on this issue. In addition, you would ask fifteen distinguished Americans to serve on a Presidential commission that would work with you. The commission would primarily focus on basic areas which are important in providing every American the unhindered ability to pursue the American dream -- education, employment and housing -- and also address those unique issues which affect the goal of racial reconciliation and understanding -- youth, violence, the dynamic change in our nation's racial composition, global economic leadership and our criminal justice system.

The commission will engage in extensive discussions around the country, find effective interracial efforts already underway in local communities and meet with scholars who can examine certain issues in depth. The commission will report back to you regularly on their progress.

On January 19, 1998, the federal holiday marking the birth of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., you would receive the final report of the commission, including a comprehensive look at race relations in America today and recommendations for action as we go forward.

Goals and Actions

To carry out this mission, the following goals and actions have been developed.

GOAL ONE: Frame a debate with a positive, forward-looking focus on how we think and talk about race; strengthen Americans' appreciation of the value of diversity as one of our greatest resources; and instill the sense of promise that One America holds.

ACTIONS:

- Use the bully pulpit of the President to articulate these themes.
- Highlight these themes in all of the commission's activities and through targeted amplifiers (e.g. PSAs and Cabinet involvement).
- Engage Americans on these themes through the interactive components of the initiative (e.g. town hall meetings, web site, etc).
- Distribute literature reflecting these core themes through the commission to schools, businesses and community organizations.

GOAL TWO: Raise the profile of racial reconciliation and understanding, to a degree previously reached only in times of trouble.

ACTIONS:

- Introduce the initiative in a major Presidential address.
- Elevate the initiative nationally through your participation in town hall meetings, regular meetings with the commissioners and possibly a presentation of a Presidential award.
- Elevate the initiative nationally and locally through the town hall meetings, public hearings and policy roundtables sponsored by the commission.
- Activate Cabinet involvement with the commission and incorporate outside disciples and validators.
- Highlight the initiative through active involvement with the national media, through public service announcements and other ways.

GOAL THREE: Confront and work to eliminate discrimination and promote racial reconciliation and understanding.

ACTIONS:

- Survey local and community groups for ideas on best practices involving these issues.
- Serve as a clearing house to distribute best practices to a wider range of community and governmental bodies (e.g. ministerial groups, U.S. Conference on Mayors, National League of Cities and National Governors' Association)
- Highlight, analyze and develop strategies for overcoming common stereotypes and discriminatory acts through town hall meetings, public hearings and report.
- Provide recommendations for actions to eliminate certain discriminatory acts.
- Spotlight those persons, groups and businesses who exemplify One America through the town hall meetings, public hearings, your speeches, PSAs and other means.
- Consider bestowing a Presidential award or awards upon those who best exemplify One America.
- Work in partnership with non-profit organizations and businesses involved in these efforts and encourage others to join.
- Address these issues in visits to schools and campuses and through youth-oriented media.

GOAL FOUR: Initiate ongoing constructive dialogue on racial issues between and among races, which includes particular attention on how to maintain civil discourse on some of these divisive issues. Foster and encourage sustaining this dialogue through the spread of organizations which will further provide expansion of meaningful interracial dialogue.

ACTIONS:

- Establish and explain the importance of dialogue in your major speech.
- Set an example through Presidential participation in town hall meetings.
- Issue Presidential challenge for Americans across the country to join in such a dialogue in their homes, schools, businesses and places of worship.

- Encourage dialogue through a wider range of community and governmental bodies (e.g. ministerial groups, service organizations, U.S. Conference on Mayors, National League of Cities and National Governors Association).
- Engage students at schools and campuses in dialogue and create youth-oriented media which addresses the importance of dialogue.

GOAL FIVE: Foster a greater understanding among the American people of the many ways in which our racial backgrounds affect perceptions of life and events, and with that understanding, arrive at a better appreciation for the views of people of different races.

- Highlight common perceptions held by groups about themselves and others at town hall meetings and public hearings.
- Deliver insightful, accurate information that addresses those perceptions.
- Analyze how these perceptions are created and recommend effective ways for dealing with them.
- Encourage public outreach campaign that challenges stereotypes and encourages people to work beyond them.

GOAL SIX: Deliver an accurate analysis of the progress we have achieved, our present condition and the challenges ahead for the American public.

ACTIONS:

- Review existing literature and analyses, including the Truman Commission, Kerner Commission, Johnson Council and the U.S. Civil Rights Commission.
- Undertake original research which analyzes the present complexity of race and race relations in the U.S. through in-put from town hall meetings, hearings and other fact-finding.
- Study and analyze the changing demographics of the U.S. through the first fifty years of the 21st Century.

GOAL SEVEN: Provide concrete, specific recommendations on how to derive strength from this country's dynamic racial composition.

ACTIONS:

- Build a consensus locally and nationally that is committed to implementing the commission's recommendations.
- Distribute and encourage specific action items for the American people that private citizens, acting as individuals, can pursue.
- Produce report in both print form and as a living document in video format. For example, a video could include you speaking to the issue, the results of the report, footage of town hall meetings and other meetings, brief shots of commissioners and "real people" which could be shown in schools and community meetings.

Commission

Charter: The commission would be charged with implementing the mission of the President's initiative by carrying out the action items. Through these efforts, the commission would help lead all Americans towards One America by bringing the races together through dialogue and education, and it would raise and answer the tough questions facing an America with a dynamic and diverse population. In the commission's report, it would make concrete recommendations for action by individuals, businesses, churches, schools and government at all levels.

Membership: The commission would be composed of approximately fifteen members. The commission would consist of distinguished Americans who transcend race and politics and who embody the vision of One America. They will be diverse professionally and racially. *(The attached memo and lists of prospective commissioners are for your consideration and selection.)*

Executive Director / Staff: An executive director and deputy director would head the commission, and be responsible for managing the commission's work. *(The attached list provides suggestions on potential executive directors for your consideration.)* They would be assisted by a full-time staff of about 30 professional and support employees. Also, various consultants and contractors will be hired to supplement the full-time staff. The commission would be housed in space outside the White House. Among other duties, the commission staff will carry out the following functions:

- support the commission members in their deliberations
- help to develop and oversee the commission's research agenda
- schedule and arrange commission meetings and hearings
- oversee the preparation of working papers and a final report
- serve as a point of contact for the press and others who are interested in the commission's work
- serve as a liaison between the commission and the White House and Executive Branch
- reach out to the public along with the commissioners

(For the Kerner Commission, President Johnson appointed David Ginsburg to be executive director and Victor H. Palmer as deputy executive director. They divided the commission's work into two phases. In the first phase, it held 20 days of public hearings between August and November 1967. More than 130 individuals from federal, state and local government, including leaders from the civil rights, labor, religious, and business community testified. Ninety professional and clerical workers supported this phase. The second phase, which extended from December 1967 to February 1968, involved reviewing the information collected from its extensive research program (e.g., they developed riot profiles on 23 cities) and drafting its final report. A professional staff of 45 professionals and clerical staff supported this phase of the work.)

Town Hall Meetings

In early June, you would kick off the commission's town hall meetings by hosting the first one. This meeting would focus on promoting the commission's goal of encouraging dialogue and preparing a road map for the 21st Century. It would provide a forum for you to emphasize the positive, forward-looking aspects of the commission and challenge the country to actively engage the commission and each other.

After this initial town hall meeting, the commission would hold a series of others in cities and rural areas around the country. You would attend two or three more meetings throughout the year. The Vice President and First Lady could also participate in town hall meetings. At these town hall meetings, commission members could encourage local officials to have preparatory, parallel and/or follow-up sessions on their own to try to agree on, or at least identify, key problems and solutions. These town hall meetings would focus on engaging and challenging the American people to discuss how we can move forward in specific areas (e.g. employment in Detroit, Michigan; education in rural south; criminal justice system in Los Angeles, California; housing in Chicago, Illinois or Santa Fe, New Mexico. *These locations and topics are illustrative only.*) The participants would consist of mostly people from the community. The town hall meetings could be policy road tests where communities can provide feedback on potential policy outcomes.

Commission Meetings at White House

Over the course of the commission, the commissioners would come to the White House every other month to meet with you. At these meetings, they would brief you on their experiences and progress.

Report

On January 19, 1998, the federal holiday marking Martin Luther King, Jr.'s birthday, the commission would deliver their report to you. The report would layout a vision of the 21st Century. It would teach and challenge the American people. The report would reflect their outreach to thousands of Americans through town hall meetings, interviews and the nation's best minds on this subject. It would include a review existing research and include that of the independent, bi-partisan U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. It would recommend specific concrete actions that we must take on the national and local levels to achieve this vision. This report could be a living document that educates the nation, frames the debate and provides concrete solutions for a long time to come.

RECOMMENDATION

After considering different formats for pursuing your call to the American people, we recommend that you appoint a commission that will work on improving race relations, do a series of town hall meetings with the commission, and meet with the commissioners at the White House once every two months.

This option is not without drawbacks. There is the chance that the commission would recommend that we spend more money on problems despite our serious budget constraints. Also, there is a possibility that the commission will offer recommendations contrary to your policy (e.g. They recommend *against* educational standards.) Additionally, meeting with the commissioners at the White House is a great device for forcing the commission's work along and giving you some ownership, but it also makes it difficult to distance you from the deliberations and conclusions of the commission.

DECISIONS

That you appoint a commission that will work on improving race relations.

approve _____ disapprove _____ let's discuss _____

That you do a series of town hall meetings with the commission.

approve _____ disapprove _____ let's discuss _____

That you meet with commissioners at the White House every other month.

approve _____ disapprove _____ let's discuss _____

Attachment: Memorandum on Recommended Commission
Potential Executive Directors

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001, note	Elena Kagan to Reed re: Potential Race Commission Members (partial) (1 page)	ca. 1997	P2, P5

**This marker identifies the original location of the withdrawn item listed above.
For a complete list of items withdrawn from this folder, see the
Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet at the front of the folder.**

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Domestic Policy Council
Bruce Reed (Subject File)
OA/Box Number: 21208

FOLDER TITLE:

Race-Commission

1570

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advise between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM, Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR, Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Hourly News Summary
Around the World, Around the Clock...with United Press International.

RACE Comm.

-0-

A tragic accident in Tennessee involving six prison inmates.

They were killed when the prison van they were in burst into flames on Interstate-40 near Nashville. It was impossible for them to escape... they were shackled hand and foot. And the heat of the fire welded the rear door shut. Two guards were able to escape.

-0-

A 38-year-old man convicted of murdering three teenagers in 1982 was executed by lethal injection in Huntsville, Texas. David Wayne Spence used his final words to repeat he did not do it. Spence was 38...it was the second execution in Texas in two days.

-0-

A week-and-a-half ago, a 2-year-old girl died in a house fire in Hastings, Minnesota. Now, her mother...who escaped the fire with her three other children...has been charged with starting it. The young girl was seriously disabled.

-0-

It appears some kids in Georgia and Tennessee will ALSO be getting shots to protect them from hepatitis-A. They, too, were served tainted strawberries like those that sickened at least 150 kids in Michigan. In Arizona, some kids are being given precautionary inoculations.

-0-

Another slow day of jury selection in the bombing trial of Timothy McVeigh. Another prospective juror said she opposes the death penalty. She was not dismissed, but was told the court would keep in touch.

-0-

Watchdog groups are urging Congress to not just "give away" licenses for digital TV...without at least one strong condition. Specifically, requiring them to give TV time to political candidates as part of fundraising reform.

-0-

Italian doctors say they've developed a technique to replace severely damaged corneas with tissue grown in the laboratory. The tissue was implanted in two patients with severe cornea damage...after two years, it appears to be functioning normal.

-0-

The writing credits on 24 movies whose scripters were blacklisted during the McCarthy era in the 1950s are being revised. The films include "Inherit the Wind," "The Robe," "Born Free," and "Hellcats of the Navy."

-0-

By Craig Smith (UPI)

[REOACTED]

TALKING POINTS--CONSULTATION

We have identified a number of individuals with whom we wish to consult regarding a possible Commission on Race. Below is a suggested script so that we all ask the same questions and elicit useful information on this very important matter and within a very short time frame.

Context

In the State of the Union, the President spoke about the unresolved issue of racial discrimination and the great challenge facing our country as we move into the next century with changing demographics. The increasing awareness of ethnic and racial differences threatens the principle of "One America" and the President believes we must tackle these issues straight on to ensure a unified country over the next century.

Proposals

The President is considering a number of proposals to address this issue. For example, a Commission on Race could be established. Such a commission could both be action-oriented and a forum for thoughtful consideration of a variety of issues. The Commission could review existing literature and research regarding the state of race relations and suggest areas for additional research. It could also identify best practices--programs and initiatives that cities and towns around the country are utilizing to bring people and communities together.

We will be back in touch as we progress.

Requested Input

The President would like your views on this matter and we are facing a short time frame. If a commission is formed with no more than 8 members, who would you suggest as possible participants? What should be the tasks and deadlines assigned to the commission? An executive director should be identified; who do you suggest?

For Discussion on Outcomes

By the time the Commission completes its work on January 20, 1998, you will have accomplished the following:

First, by heading this initiative through high-profile town hall meetings and a commission, you provided Presidential leadership that raised and sustained this issue to a height in the nation's psyche that it had not found except for discrete periods and only in times of trouble.

Second, despite the divisiveness that this issue often bears and bore in some cases over the past eight months, you framed and focused the debate with a positive, futuristic focus. Through this leadership and the commission, the country gained a genuine appreciation of racial diversity as one of America's true strengths.

Third, through your participation in the town hall meetings in particular, the country initiated, engaged and continues to engage in a far-reaching, constructive dialogue on racial issues between the races and among races.

Fourth, because of the commission's research, scholarship and public hearings, the American public received precise, accurate and concrete information on our racial history and destiny.

Fifth, due to the receipt of accurate and insightful information, the races gained a more accurate perception about themselves and how they perceive each other. This information brought the perception gap closer and debunked some of the myths and half-truths that have crept into the perceptions of one race's view of the other and itself.

Sixth, your leadership on this issue and the commission's work started a process that reversed, or at least halted, the disturbing trend of "resegregation" occurring throughout the nation.

Seventh, the commission provided concrete, specific recommendations for moving forward to achieve a nation that gains strength from its dynamic racial composition.

Eighth, you stimulated a network of communities provided...

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Comm on Delta

Racial progress step by step

30 yrs - wedge issues

You will be remembered by what you get done
in an limited time here

- impressive record, from ~~the~~ Affirm Action to Econ Empow.

- if we have more to do ^{I hope you do} just do it

- Comm = polit. copart, elite gratification

I. ~~Delta~~ Comms.

1. Political copart, on an issue where politics always copart
- elites will love it, but it won't ~~bring it~~ lift hopes of
for real people in South Central or the Delta

2. ~~the~~ Keener Comm was a setback, not a landmark
- nothing came of it
it closed more wounds than it opened ^{wedge issues}

MEMPHIS

II. You have transformed the polit debate by ^{defining the wedge issues =} taking action
[Corps, affirm action, econ empowerment]

1. Your legacy is what you get done in limited time here

2. If we have more to do, just do it.

3. Any Pres. can appoint Comm:

- You have power to stir Americans' souls

STAGE 3 - VISION

- Your legacy will be your vision

- You have to lead the country into the 21st C.

Partial List of Opinion Leaders to Receive HEADS UP On the President's Remarks on Race

Civil Rights Advocates

Pat Wright, Disability Rights Education Defense Fund, (202) 986-0375

Hugh Price, National Urban League, (212) 310-9000

Elaine Jones, NAACP Legal Defense Fund, (202) 682-1300

Joe Lowery, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, (404) 522-1420

Coretta King, MLK Center for Non-Violence, (404) 526-8977

Marsha Greenberger, National Women's Law Center, (202) 328-5160

Judy Lichtman, Women's Legal Defense Fund, (202) 986-2600

Barbara Arnwine, CEO, Lawyer's Committee on Civil Rights, (202) 371-1212

Dorothy Height, National Council of Negro Women, (202) 737-0095

Raul Yzaguirre, National Council of La Raza, (202) 289-1380

Jesse Jackson, Rainbow Coalition, (202) 728-1180

David Saperstein, Union of Hebrew Congregations, (202) 387-2800

Laura Murphy, Director ACLU, (202) 544-1681

Karen Narasaki, Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium, (202) 296-2300

Wade Henderson, Leadership on Civil Rights, (202) 466-3311

Kwesi Mfumi, NAACP, (410) 486-9100

Becky Cain, President, League of Women Voters, (202) 429-1965

Janice Wyman, Executive Director, AAUW, (202) 785-7720

Audrey Haynes, Executive Director, Business and Professional Women, (202) 293-1100

John Sturdivant, President AFGE, (202) 639-6401

Civil Rights Advocates (Continued)

Owen Bieber, President, UAW, (313) 926-5201

Steve Yokich, President (after 6/95), UAW, (202) 926-5301

John Sweeny, AFL-CIO, (202) 637-5231

Antonia Hernandez, President and General Counsel, Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund, (213) 629-2512

Juan A. Figueroa, President and General Counsel Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund, (212) 219-3360

Josephine Nieves, Executive Director, National Association of Social Workers, (202) 457-0492

Ismael Ahmed, Executive Director, Arab Center for Economic and Social Services, (313) 581-4790

Gerald W. McEntee, AFSME President, (202) 429-1102

Corporate Leaders

Hugh McColl, CEO, Nations Bank, (704) 386-5663

Jim Kelly, Chairman, UPS, (404) 828-6108

Richard Rosenburg, CEO, Bank of America, (415) 622-6893

Robert Allen, CEO, AT&T, (908) 221-5151

Craig Wetherup, CEO, Pepsi Bottling Co., (914) 253-3700

Vernon Jordan, Akin & Gump (202) 887-4260

Hugh Robinson, Southland Corp, Dallas, (214) 828-7011

Ed Artzt, CEO, Proctor & Gamble (513) 983-4602

William Smithburg, CEO, Quaker Oats Co., (312) 222-7202

Paul Allaire, CEO, Xerox Corp., (203) 968-4515

Corporate Leaders (Cont.)

Gerald M. Levin, CEO, Time Warner, (212) 484-8001

Ellen Gordon, Tootsie Roll Indus., (312) 838-3400

Howard Gittis, Revlon Corp., (212) 572-5090

Former Government Civil Rights Types

Elliot Richardson, Former Nixon Cabinet Secretary, Bob Mathias, Former Republican Sen. From MD, Birch Bayh, Former Democratic Sen. From Indiana, Arthur Fletcher, Former Chair of Civil Rights Commission, (202) 376-7572

Historical Political and Social Leaders

Roger Wilkins, Historian, George Mason University, (703) 993-2162

Father Theodore Heshburg, Former President, Notre Dame University, (219) 631-6882

Minority Business Leaders

Bob Johnson, BET, (312) 322-9301

Clarence Avant, Motown, (213) 634-3446

Maynard Jackson, Chair, Jackson Securities, Inc., (404) 522-5766

Andy Young, (404) 224-1896

George Pla, CEO, Cordoba Corp., (213) 895-0224

Maria Elena Torano, CEO, META, (305) 579-2180

Raydean Acevedo, President, RMCI, (703) 356-4401

Teresa McBride, President, McBride & Assoc., (505) 883-0600

Linda Alvarado, CEO, Alvarado Constructions, (303) 629-0783

Ed Romero, CEO, Advanced Sciences, Inc., (505) 823-6802

Harriet Michele, CEO, National Association Minority Suppliers, Inc., (202) 635-9385

Minority Business Leaders (Cont.)

Ernie Green, Lehman Brothers, (202) 452-4728

Emma Chappell, CEO, United Bank, (215) 829-2265

Ragan Henry, US Radio, (215) 563-2910

J. Bruce Llewellyn, Coca-Cola Phila. Franchise, (215) 698-7700

Think Tank Types

Eddie Williams, Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, (202) 789-3500

Robert Greenstein, CEO, Center for Budget and Policy Priorities, (202) 408-1080

Isabelle Sawhill, Urban Institute, (202) 857-8531

Peggy McIntosh, Wellesley College Center for Research on Women, (617) 283-2520

Charles Ogletree, Jr., Professor, Harvard Law School, (617) 495-5097

William Julius Wilson, Professor of Social Policy University of Chicago, (312) 702-8689

Angela Blackwell, Vice-President, Rockefeller Foundation, (212) 852-8462

Franklyn Thomas, Ford Foundation, (212) 573-5000

Cornell West, Harvard University, (617) 495-7868

Chang Lin Tien, U.C. Berkeley Chancellor, (510) 642-7464

Eamon Kelly, President of Tulane University, (504) 865-5201

Joan Scott, Institute for Advanced Studies, Princeton University, (609) 734-8280

Rose Beth M. Kantor, Harvard Business School, (617) 495-6053

Chuck Lawrence, Georgetown Law, (202) 662-9086

Henry Louis Gates, Chair, Afro-American Studies, Harvard, (617) 495-4113

Mary Frances Berry, Civil Rights Commission, (202) 965-5234

Ricardo Fernandez, President, Lehman College, (718) 960-8000

Stephen Carter

DRAFT

*RACE COMM.
Task Force
Don't model on Keene
staff too big*

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ERSKINE BOWLES AND SYLVIA MATHEWS

**SUBJECT: PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON ONE AMERICA
FOR THE 21ST CENTURY
Or
AMERICA 2000: WHAT WILL IT MEAN?**

This memorandum outlines the components of a comprehensive proposal on the President's Commission on One America for the 21st Century.

ISSUES FOR DECISION

1) Whether you should appoint a commission that will help prepare Americans for the 21st Century by working on actions to improve race relations. 2) Whether you should do a series of town hall meetings with the commission. 3) Whether you should meet with the commissioners once every two months. 4) Whether you should convene a White Conference on Hate Crimes.

change

BACKGROUND

This memorandum describes the proposal that will help implement your call that the American people must become "One America" and must confront unresolved issues of race and bigotry. As we discussed with you on March 25, we have concluded that any efforts in this area must include: 1) providing immediate "action" on this issue; and 2) examining the difficult policy issues involved and providing recommendations for addressing them.

As we discussed in the meeting, there are some drawbacks to this option. The scope of the initiative's charter may bring discord among key constituencies, and we may find ourselves responding to highly visible and vocal criticism from certain constituencies. However, we believe that appropriate outreach before the race initiative is announced and a plan for working on some of some of the groups concerned with equality issues. Also, as with any commission and evidenced most recently with the Health Care Quality Commission, there will be a period of intense lobbying for commission slots between the announcement and the appointment.

The following paragraphs discuss the various components of this proposal: 1) Presidential Involvement; 2) Commission; 3) Town Hall Meeting; 4) Commission Meetings; 5) Plan for Other Equality and Unity Issues; and 6) Outcomes.

Presidential Involvement

On April 4, you would announce the White House Conference on Hate Crimes scheduled for early May. On April 7, you would announce the Commission on One America for the 21st Century in a major speech on race and the 21st Century. On April 21, you would announce the appointment of the commissioners. In early May, you would host a White House conference on

Hate Crimes. In late May, you would host the first in a series of town meetings. Once every two months, you would meet with the commission at the White House. On the anniversary of Martin Luther King, Jr.'s birthday, January [20,] 1998, the commission would deliver their report to you.

Commission on One America for the 21st Century or America 2000: What Will It Mean?

Charter: The commission will be charged with helping America prepare today for a 21st Century with a rapidly changing racial composition. Their task is to do the following: 1) help lead all Americans towards "One America" by bringing the races together through dialogue and education, and 2) raise and answer the tough questions facing an America with a dynamic and diverse population. In particular, the commission could focus on the following areas: criminal justice system, education, housing and employment. In fulfilling their charter, the commission will work to 1) heighten awareness; 2) promote reconciliation; 3) confront negative stereotypes; 4) encourage rational discourse on divisive issues; 5) provide an update on the state of race relations and discrimination in the U.S. today, including a report on our progress since the Kerner Commission; 6) provide recommendations for moving the country forward; and 7) offer a selection of realistic action items which you could pledge to pursue.

Objectives: The commission would pursue these goals through various means, including: 1) holding town meetings, hearings and policy roundtables which include federal, state and local leadership; 2) surveying local and community groups for ideas on best practices; 3) serving as a clearing house to distribute best practices to a wider range of community and governmental bodies (e.g. ministerial groups, U.S. Conference on Mayors and National League of Cities); 4) commissioning papers by leading scholars on discrete issues of race; 5) visiting schools and campuses and creating youth-oriented media; 6) enlisting major businesses in the effort; 7) nominating people and groups for a Presidential Award; 8) creating public service announcements; 9) establishing interactive Web Site that provides for citizens input, dialogue, information resource, schedule of commission events and more; and 10) synthesizing the commissions findings and recommendations in the report.

Membership: The commission would be composed of approximately eight to ten members. The commission would consist of distinguished Americans who transcend race and politics and who embody the vision of "One America." They will be diverse professionally and racially. (The attached list provides *examples only* for your consideration.)

Executive Director / Staff: An executive director and deputy director would head the commission, and be responsible for managing the commission's work. Among other duties, this will include: 1) supporting the commission members in their deliberations; 2) helping to develop and oversee the commission's research agenda; 3) scheduling and arranging commission meetings and hearings; 4) overseeing the preparation of working papers and a final report; 5) serving as a point of contact for the press and others who are interested in the commission's work; 6) serving as a liaison between the commission and the White House and Executive Branch; and 7) reaching out to the public along with the commissioners. (The attached list provides suggestions on the

executive director for your consideration.)

A full-time staff of about 30 professional and support employees will assist the commission's directors. These individuals would 1) help carry out the research program; 2) work with the press; 3) be responsible for travel and logistical arrangement for meetings; 4) public hearings and other fact finding efforts; and 5) provide editorial support and other administrative support. Also, various consultants and contractors will be hired to supplement the full-time staff. The commission will probably have to be housed in space outside the White House.

(For the Kerner Commission, President Johnson appointed David Ginsburg to be executive director and Victor H. Palmer as deputy executive director. They divided the Commission's work into two phases. In the first phase, it held 20 days of public hearings between August and November 1967. More than 130 individuals from federal, state and local government, including leaders from the civil rights, labor, religious, and business community testified. Ninety professional and clerical workers supported this phase. The second phase, which extended from December 1967 to February 1968, involved reviewing the information collected from its extensive research program (e.g., they developed riot profiles on 23 cities) and drafting its final report. A professional staff of 45 professionals and clerical staff supported this phase of the work.)

Town Hall Meetings

In early June, you would kick off the Commission's town meetings by hosting the first one. This meeting would focus on promoting the commission's goal creating dialogue and preparing a road map for the 21st Century. It would provide a forum for you to emphasize the positive, forward-looking aspects of the commission and challenge the country to actively engage the commission and each other.

After this initial town meeting, the commission would hold a series of others in cities and rural areas around the country. You would attend three more meetings throughout the year. At these town hall meetings, commission members could encourage local officials to have preparatory, parallel and/or follow-up sessions on their own to try to agree on, or at least identify, key problems and solutions. These town meetings would focus on specific issues (e.g. judicial system in Los Angeles, California; employment in Detroit, Michigan; education in rural south; housing in Chicago, Illinois or Santa Fe, New Mexico. *These locations are illustrative only.*) The participants would consist of mostly people from the community. They would be policy road tests where communities can provide feedback on potential policy outcomes.

Commission Meetings

Once every two months, the commissioners will come to the White House to meet with you. At these meetings, they will brief on their experiences and progress. They could also brief the White House press.

Report

On January [20,] 1998, the anniversary of Martin Luther King, Jr.'s birthday, the commission will deliver their report to you. The report will reflect their outreach to thousands of Americans through town meetings, interviews, the nation's best minds on this subject and those . It would include a review existing research, and recommend actions. This report could be a living document that educates the nation on the face of the nation, frame the debate and provide concrete solutions for a long time to come.

Plan for Other Equality and Unity Issues

Since this initiative will focus on race issues, we are developing a plan that will address other issues of equality and unity. For example, in early May you would host a White House Conference on Hate Crimes. The conference would unequivocally signal the Administration's opposition to and abhorrence of violence against those who may be different from us, and bring affected groups together to identify commonalities and possible solutions. Also in May, the you would endorse the Equality and Non-Discrimination Act.

Outcomes

When the commission completes its work on January 20, 1998, you will have accomplished a number of things. By speaking out, you will have brought others to recognize crisis of present - the turning away. Through the commission's work and your participation in the town meetings, you will have initiated far-reaching dialogue on racial issues. The American public will be provided with precision and accuracy of our racial history and the importance of taking steps to redress vestiges of that past through commission and leadership. There will be an assessment of where we have gone as a nation since Kerner, and what are we headed towards, including assessment of the rapidly changing racial dynamics of this country. We will hopefully have started to the reverse trend of "resegregation" through our dialogue and the commission's report. We will have gained an understanding of the divided perceptions between the races and started to bridge that gap. We will have concrete recommendations for moving forward.

RECOMMENDATION

That you appoint a commission that will help prepare Americans for the 21st Century by working on actions to improve race relations, do a series of town hall meetings with the commission, meet with commissioners once every two months, and convene a White Conference on Hate Crimes.

DECISIONS

That you appoint a commission that will help prepare Americans for the 21st Century by working on actions to improve race relations.

approve _____ disapprove _____ let's discuss _____

That you do a series of town hall meetings with the commission.

approve _____ disapprove _____ let's discuss _____

That you meet with commissioners once every two months.

approve _____ disapprove _____ let's discuss _____

That you convene a White Conference on Hate Crimes.

approve _____ disapprove _____ let's discuss _____



OFFICE OF STAFF DIRECTOR

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20425

File - Race Commission

cc - Paruca -

Looks like we have
a race commission!

E,

March 27, 1996

The Honorable William J. Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20500-2000

Dear Mr. President:

As you consider what additional initiatives that you might take to address problems of race and ethnic relations in our nation, I am writing to describe recent activities of the Civil Rights Commission for your information. I also want to remind you that the chairpersons of the Commission's fifty-one State Advisory Committees have recommended that you convene a White House Conference on Race Relations. These bipartisan committees consist of leaders in each state who serve without compensation in the cause of civil rights.

Over the last four years a major activity of the Commission has been a project on racial tensions in America's communities, poverty, inequality, and discrimination. The Commission first held an overview hearing in Washington and then hearings of three days duration each in four major cities and one rural area. Federal, state and local government officials and leaders of business, religious and community organizations testified and documents were collected from witnesses where necessary and appropriate. In addition, public sessions were devoted to hearing from any person who desired to speak, and staff and Commissioners collected testimony from persons who did not want to speak in a public forum but wished to share information and views. In each city, we focused on specific issues as sources of racial tensions.

In Chicago and Los Angeles, we focused on police-community relations and the employment of women and people of color in the police department. In Miami, we investigated immigration issues and in New York employment opportunities for women and people of color in brokerage houses and banks and the infusion of capital into entrepreneurial activities in minority communities. The last hearing, held just three weeks ago in the Mississippi Delta, focused on the quality of education offered to poor and minority children, voting rights, and economic development in impoverished areas. We expect to conclude the publication of reports based on these hearings over the next six months with a final report including findings and recommendations made public by December, 1997.

In addition to the hearings on the subject of racial tensions, our State Advisory Committees held public forums in the states where the largest number of church burnings took place last summer. I attended each forum and made factfinding visits to the affected communities. Since that time, our State Advisory Committees have been working with local individuals and public officials to create multiracial committees and promote understanding. I intend to revisit each site this summer to see what progress has been made and to assist the advisory committees in their efforts. In addition, I participated, along with our state advisory committee, in two forums in St. Petersburg, Florida, after the riots. Our staff continues to coordinate with state and local officials and the Federal task force involved in trying to make progress on the issues that divide that city.

The eight member U. S. Civil Rights Commission is independent and bipartisan and equally divided between Democratic and Republican appointees. Despite the fact that we are politically and sometimes ideologically divided over the existence of civil rights problems and their remedies, we have been productive. In fact, our ideological diversity is probably representative of the divided points of view in the nation. We have managed to address the civil rights complaints we receive, to begin the production of public service announcements under our new statutory authority, and to meet our statutory mandate of producing and disseminating enforcement reports analyzing the work of Federal civil rights agencies and making suggestions for improvement. The reports include: Prospects and Impact of Losing State and Local Agencies from the Federal Fair Housing System (1992); Enforcement of Equal Employment and Economic Opportunity Laws and Programs Relating to Federally Assisted Transportation Projects (1993); The Fair Housing Amendments Act of 1988: The Enforcement Report (1994); Federal Title VI Enforcement to Ensure Nondiscrimination in Federally Assisted Programs (1996); and the Equal Educational Opportunity Report - Volume I (1996). Furthermore, we have issued reports on Civil Rights Issues Facing Asian Americans in the 1990's (1992) and on Funding Federal Civil Rights Enforcement (1995). In addition, our State Advisory Committees continue to produce reports on subjects of importance in their states.

I want to add my voice to those encouraging you to take further steps to address the bigotry and prejudice which unfortunately remains a problem in our nation. The initiatives you take to set the country on the right course in dealing with this most intractable matter of public concern could be the most important domestic achievement of your presidency.

Respectfully,



MARY FRANCES BERRY
Chairperson

March 24, 1997

RECONCILIATION AND UNITY MEETING

DATE: March 25, 1997

LOCATION: Cabinet Room

TIME: 5:00pm - 6:30pm

CONTACT: Sylvia M. Mathews

I. PURPOSE

The purpose of this meeting is to consider proposals for combating discrimination and intolerance and promoting racial understanding and reconciliation.

II. BACKGROUND

Over the last few weeks, the reconciliation working group has been meeting to devise a proposal that would enable you to take steps to improve race relations, lessen intolerance and capitalize on the nation's diversity as a strength. Attached is an informational memorandum on the group's proposals and background materials including: 1) a memorandum on the previous presidential commissions dealing with race relations 2) excerpts from editorials on race commissions; 3) a list of the core reconciliation group members; and 4) funding options.

III. PARTICIPANTS

See Attached List

IV. PRESS PLAN

Closed Press

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

N/A

VI. REMARKS

None required

List of Attendees

Agencies and Other non-White House staff

Secretary Pena
Secretary Slater
Chris Edley
Bill Galston
David Ogden
Michael Wenger
Governor Winter

Department of Justice
Appalachian Regional Commission

White House Staff

Don Baer
Erskine Bowles
Dawn Chirwa
Carolyn Curiel
Michael Deich
Maria Echaveste
Terry Edmonds
Rahm Emanuel
Richard Hayes
Alexis Herman
Ben Johnson
Elena Kagan
Ron Klain
Ann Lewis
Sylvia Mathews
Doris Matsui
Andrew Mayock
Cheryl Mills
Minyon Moore
Janet Murgia
Bob Nash
John Podesta
Bruce Reed
Richard Socarides
Doug Sosnick
Tracey Thornton
Melanne Verveer
Ann Walker
Rob Weiner

March 25, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

**FROM: ERSKINE BOWLES, SYLVIA MATHEWS
 AND THE RECONCILIATION GROUP**

SUBJECT: ACTION ON RECONCILIATION

PURPOSE

This memorandum is to prepare you for Tuesday's meeting on proposals for combating discrimination and intolerance and promoting racial understanding and reconciliation. The memorandum is an informational memorandum for our discussion. Therefore, we have not included any recommendations.

What follows is a discussion on background, scope and two proposals for your consideration. Attached to the memorandum are the following background items: 1) a memorandum on the previous presidential commissions dealing with race relations; 2) excerpts from editorials on a race commission; 3) a list of the core reconciliation group members; and 4) funding options.

BACKGROUND

In examining whether to form a race commission, we considered how to address your concerns, as articulated in the State of the Union Address, that America must become "One America" and must confront unresolved issues of race and bigotry. Over the last few weeks, we have convened a number of meetings (list of participants, attachment #3) to devise a proposal that would enable you to take steps to improve race relations, lessen intolerance and capitalize on the nation's diversity as a strength.

In order to achieve the difficult balance between study and action, we have concluded that any proposal must include two elements: 1) an ability to provide immediate action on this issue, which includes creating a greater dialogue between the races in this country; and 2) the means to examine the difficult policy issues involved and to provide recommendations for addressing them. This memo lays out two options for pursuing these goals: 1) a commission with an action entity and a study entity; and 2) a series of town meetings, a national conference and a report from the President to the American people.

Either undertaking is not without risks. A candid discussion of race and discrimination is bound to stir passions, cause controversy and give offense across the political spectrum. Specific remedial prescriptions are sure to spark controversy. For example, if you appoint a commission, we might receive recommendations on affirmative action that do not align with our position.

Also, choosing participants for such a commission would present a challenge in balancing the twin goals of reaching a consensus and including diverse opinions.

Yet, along with the risks is the opportunity to provide leadership that may change the national environment concerning race and discrimination. While any President is in a special position to use the moral authority of the office to promote healing of the racial divides and an appreciation of our diversity as a nation, you are unique because of your deep commitment to racial justice and reconciliation and your ability to talk about race and unity in a way that moves the American people. Moreover, we believe that leading the country towards racial reconciliation and tolerance could be a central element of the legacy you leave as President.

SCOPE

A threshold question that you need to confront is how broad or narrow this initiative should be. Three options to consider are the following: 1) an initiative that addresses racial issues exclusively; 2) a "unity" initiative which broadly encompasses minorities affected by bigotry and intolerance, including racial groups, women, the disabled, gays and lesbians; or 3) an initiative that would be dominated by race issues, but also generally address other, often inter-related types of discrimination. This concept might be titled "race and intolerance" or "race and unity."

The argument for focusing specifically on racial intolerance is that the long history of racial struggle for civil rights has led to a consensus on the principle of racial equality. Precisely because that consensus has become fragile--witness the attacks on affirmative action and the anti-immigrant rhetoric--your initiative must focus solely on racial discrimination in order to reinforce and strengthen our country's commitment to equality. Another reason for focusing on racial intolerance is that a commission or conference about everything will, in the end, be about nothing. Also, the issue of race is in itself a very difficult, complex, broad-ranging problem that touches everyone.

The argument for a broad "unity" focus is the fulfillment of your call for "One America." Many of the problems of discrimination and hatred are experienced just as strongly by groups other than racial minorities. Narrowing the initiative's charter may yield discord among key constituencies, and we may find ourselves responding to highly visible and vocal criticism from certain constituencies from the onset of our effort. Gays and lesbians may argue that their struggle for civil rights is now coming of age and that to not include them in a reconciliation initiative may be characterized as a lack of commitment to broad inclusion in the Administration's initiatives.

The argument for a "race and intolerance" or "race and unity" initiative is that it recognizes that it is race which continues to be "The American Dilemma," without dismissing others who face intolerance and bigotry.

OPTION I: RACE COMMISSION

One option is for you to create and appoint a race commission by Executive Order. The commission would have two components: 1) an action task force which would conduct a sustained and intensive campaign to build a national environment receptive to addressing the divisions within our country; and 2) an academic task force which would conduct an effort to develop a deeper understanding and provide recommendations to overcome the differential treatment accorded various groups. The commission would thus be both action-oriented and academic.

Membership / Executive Director: The commission would be composed of approximately twenty to twenty-five members and would be national; diverse (geographically, racially and professionally) and bi-partisan. We believe that limiting the commission's size is important to create a group that can actually achieve something. The members would be former elected public officials, former judges, educators, business and religious leaders, sports and entertainment notables, scholars, foundation and other non-profit officials, and civil rights and community advocates. Due to the commission's size limitations, currently serving elected officials may not be included because inclusion would lead to a demand that could not be met. The commission would be administered by an executive director. This position will be a key to the success or failure of the commission. The selection of the members and the executive director will communicate how serious, bold and creative you consider this project.

Action Task Force: To pursue an action agenda, the commission would have a task force that heightens awareness, promotes reconciliation, confronts negative stereotypes and encourages rational discourse on divisive issues. The action task force would pursue these objectives through various initiatives, including: 1) holding town meetings and debates which include state and local leadership; 2) surveying local and community groups for ideas that already work and disseminate best practices to a wider range of community and governmental bodies (e.g. ministerial groups, U.S. Conference on Mayors and National League of Cities); 3) reaching out to youth in schools and on campuses through meetings and youth-oriented media; 4) nominating people and groups for a Presidential Award; 5) initiating a nation-wide theme campaign; and 6) creating public service announcements. Also, the action task force could sponsor a White House Conference on Hate Crimes, which would unequivocally signal the Administration's opposition to and abhorrence of violence against those who may be different from others, and bring affected groups together to identify commonalities and possible solutions.

Academic Task Force: A scholarly task force created by the commission would undertake an inquiry that would draw upon the nation's best minds on this subject. This task force would organize working groups to review existing research, pursue original research and recommend action. Among others, the group could focus on the following specific areas: judicial system, education, housing, employment and health care.

Timing: The action task force would be at work over the next year. The academic task force would deliver a report to you one year from its inception. Under current assumptions, which include time for selecting and appointing the members, a realistic timeframe would probably indicate an initiation date between July - September 1997 and a report date between November - December 1998.

Variant: A variant of the commission option splits the action and study entities (described above) into two separate organizations: a Commission on Race and a Council on Unity. Ideally, the commission and council would be well coordinated, but one would not have formal authority over the other. The commission would be a scholarly endeavor and focus on the policy issues of racial discrimination. The council would be action-oriented and broadly focused to include issues of discrimination against women, the disabled, gays and lesbians. The council would do all those things that the action task force would do (e.g., youth outreach, town meetings, etc.). This commission/council option may simplify participant selection with academics and experts on the commission and public figures on the council. However, this option has its drawbacks in that the broader public may be confused about the role and purpose of the two entities, especially if the council is more broadly defined. Furthermore, a dual-entity option could set up a jurisdictional dispute between the council and the commission.

Pros and Cons on Commission

Pros

- If successful, the commission's report will be a living document that guides the nation's thought on race relations and frames the debate and solutions for a long time to come (e.g. Kerner report and Nation at Risk).
- A commission could provide a flexible tool for utilizing your participation. This option would allow your time to be strategically scheduled. Thus, your schedule could include various events such as town halls, meetings with the commissioners and public service announcements.
- A commission provides your Presidential imprimatur which lends the authority and high-profile of your office to this important initiative, while it also provides some distance from a hot-button, high-risk issue.
- Establishing an independent bi-partisan commission widens the range of advice received and issues considered, enhances the credibility of the commission's findings and recommendations, and shows that to promote the long-term public good, you are willing to run the risk of receiving recommendations that may not be fully consistent with your own views.

- There are a number of areas (e.g. reinforcing the legitimacy of the criminal justice system for all Americans) in which the problems are clearer than the solutions. The commission would address the need for more policy research in areas that need it. By harnessing the research of the nation's top thinkers, it could enhance policy-making at all levels and provide guidance on non-governmental actions. (This can be accomplished less directly in the second option.)
- Through its action component, the commission could overcome the "study means delay rather than action" criticism and provide a base for reaching out to the American people.
- It addresses the need for more research in areas that need it and leverages the Administration's resources by placing the policy work outside your Administration.

Cons

- Depending on the strength of the commission, you could cede control over large aspects of your domestic agenda -- for example, welfare, education, and criminal justice -- to an outside body that may or may not agree with your priorities or accept the constraints of your budget. Of course, you could reject all or part of the commission's eventual recommendations, but that could present a difficult situation.
- Appointing a commission will pose a number of difficult questions. Membership? How wide or narrow should be the spectrum of ideological views represented on the Commission? The size of a commission is necessarily limited, hence the membership is often drawn largely from academics and economic elites. Also, selecting appropriate members to fulfill the action *and* scholarly functions further complicates the selection process. (However, participation in any proposal on this issue will be difficult.)
- If there is an emphasis on balancing the commission across the ideological spectrum, it may make civil rights advocates in the community nervous about potential outcomes.
- The use of a "commission" to address this issue subjects you to criticism that you are foregoing action on the issue of race and discrimination only to study a problem which has been studied long enough.
- A commission may not take full advantage of your unique talents on this issue. Any President could appoint a commission and respond to its proposals. You have the unprecedented ability to talk about race in a way that the American people respond to and to construct your *own* agenda for racial reconciliation.
- Commissions are often "top-down" exercises rather than "bottom-up." Many of the important ways to improve race relations may not lie within the ambit of the federal government. The problem is national, but many of the solutions may be local. State and

local governments, religious institutions, charities, private enterprise and individual citizens must participate.

- An independent commission opens the possibility of stalemate from a divided commission (e.g. Advisory Council on Social Security, which split into three factions on privatization recommendations, and the U.S. Civil Rights Commission).
- A commission with scholarly and action task forces may confuse the public, and lead to ongoing jurisdictional fights and substantive disagreements between the two groups.

OPTION II: TOWN MEETINGS, NATIONAL CONFERENCE AND REPORT

Under this proposal, you would convene a series of town hall meetings, host a national conference at the White House, and deliver a report from the President to the American people. The following proposal was devised with specific details so that you may envision the positive and negative aspects that might result from this concept. The details would be refined and modified, if you select this proposal. The concept includes the following components:

Town Meetings: A series of four "town halls" on specific race-related issues would be held: two meetings led by you, one by the Vice President and one by the First Lady.

Subject/Location: These events would occur in different areas of the country among different kinds of communities (rural/urban): judicial system in Los Angeles, California; employment in Detroit, Michigan; education in rural south; housing in Chicago, Illinois or Santa Fe, New Mexico. (These locations are illustrative only.)

Participants: The participants would consist of mostly people from the community, a few experts in the field and you. The experts could contribute empirical evidence and exacting analysis to the discussion and listen to citizens for input into the Presidential report to the American people.

Timing: At the earliest, the town meetings would start in the early part of summer. One town meeting per month could follow with the conference in the fifth month and the report following the conference.

Action: The town halls would be part of our policy development where certain policy ideas could be tested. For example, affirmative action could be a topic of the discussion on the judicial system where we elicit the community's views and reflect on our policy decisions. To develop these policies, we could put into place a broad process that is led by the White House and involves all the agencies. This group could also reach out to public policy experts outside the government. This process, with the events described above serving as action-forcing mechanisms, would produce a wide range of actions and proposals -- both large and small, executive and legislative. Also, this process would

feed into a report to the Nation with specific proposals based on the town meetings and outreach to scholars and other experts in the field. Furthermore, papers and essays, which may provide a valuable resource for communities, might be commissioned and released in conjunction with the town hall meetings and the conference.

You could encourage local officials to have preparatory, parallel and/or follow-up sessions on their own to try to agree on, or at least identify, key problems and solutions. If these meetings are successful, they may become regularized forums in the communities and proliferate to other communities. Ideally, these meetings would be the seeds of organizations that live on and promote interracial dialogue in the local communities. We may even explore ways in which the Administration could provide encouragement or support to sustain this dialogue.

Conference: Following these town meetings, a multi-day conference would be held.

Subject/Location: The conference would be at the White House and would consist of a number of segments (e.g. panels and roundtables). For example, the conference could include the following segments: 1) judicial system; 2) employment; 3) education; 4) housing; 5) hate crimes; 6) best practices for local communities; 7) families; 8) government's role; and 9) racial groups differing perceptions.

Participants: Participants would vary segment to segment. They would include all the people who would be candidates for the commission (former elected officials, former judges, educators, business and religious leaders, civil rights advocates, and scholars). The conference would include elected officials (e.g., Members of Congress, mayors and governors). It also would include the participation of the town hall communities so that they could share their experience with the other conference participants.

Timing: At the earliest, this conference could be held in early fall.

Action: The conference would provide a forum for a national articulation of the existing problems and solutions as presented by everyday people, experts and leaders. Cabinet Secretaries could prepare materials to help focus and guide discussions on topics relevant to their missions. As with the town meetings, policy announcements could accompany and/or follow the conference. The conference results would be included in the report by the President to the American people.

President's Report to the American People: Following the town hall meetings and conference, a report "from the President to the American People" would be developed for you.

Participants: The report would include input by the communities, the agencies and experts in the field. The White House would work with an informal outside group to draft the report.

Timing: The anniversaries of the birth or death of Martin Luther King, Jr. have been suggested as dates for delivery of the report.

Action: The report would be a thoughtful, comprehensive description of the existing problems and a presentation of action items to address those problems. It would include the following items: 1) an update on the state of race relations and discrimination in the U.S. today, including a report on our progress since the Kerner Commission; 2) a description of those events that have occurred through your initiative - your town halls, others' town halls and the conference; 3) recommendations for moving the country forward; and 4) a selection of realistic action items which you could pledge to pursue.

Pros and Cons of Town Meetings, National Conference and Report

Pros

- This option fully draws upon your unique talents on this issue. It places you in the forefront of the issue that you have exhibited an ability to talk about race in a way that moves the American people. It allows you to more fully demonstrate the power of moral leadership.
- It addresses several needs: 1) bringing people in communities together to talk to each other about these issues; 2) forcing policy development on this issue in the government; 3) creating a comprehensive and inclusive report through the town halls and conference; 4) initiating broad-based action on this issue.
- It would allow you to maintain control over the long term and allow you, with input from the people most affected, to create your *own* agenda for unity and reconciliation that is consistent with your priorities and within the constraints of your budget.
- This initiative increases our ability to actively include more national and community leaders.
- It directly confronts the broad-scale policy issues of criminal justice and education that are central to achieving progress in this area.
- The process of this initiative has the potential to improve race relations and promote tolerance through broad-scale, community-based dialogue, as well as generate innovative solutions to old and new problems alike.

Cons

- Town halls may be perceived as a shallow exercise of talk without serious action. Many people think we have studied and discussed the questions involving race long enough and that it is past time to put that study to practical use.
- We may receive a “not another White House conference” response.
- The town halls and a conference bring this hot, divisive issue literally to your front door. If the town halls and the White House conference are to be a real discussion of the issues, principals may be in a position to receive strong criticism directly.

Attachments

Memorandum on the Previous Presidential Commissions Dealing with
Race Relations
Excerpts from Editorials on Race Commissions
List of Reconciliation Working Group
Funding Options

EXCERPTS FROM EDITORIALS ON RACE COMMISSION

ANTI-COMMISSION:

"Nation Doesn't Need a Kerner II," Editorial, *The Tampa Tribune*, 10/30/95

The dilemma of rough-edged race relations has been commissioned, studied and talk-showed with small result. But better race relations will come from sincere efforts at the local level, not from another Washington-based government commission. [The Kerner report] ignores the fact that there are other groups in this nation besides Americans of European and African descent. We are a multiracial society, more so than when that report was written. The report devoted 70 pages to the education, housing, job training and welfare programs that the authors thought would bring blacks into the national mainstream. The only real obstacle the commissioners foresaw was some resistance in raising the necessary taxes. We now know that too much faith was put in Washington. There is no reason to believe that lawmakers and bureaucrats are any better equipped this time around. Improved race relations will come from the dedicated efforts of churches, community organizations, employers and individuals at the local level. That is where people interact with each other every day. It is through personal contact and open, honest dialogue that real improvement will take place.

ANTI-COMMISSION:

"One Study of Race Echoes Another," by Alan Lupo, *Boston Globe*, 11/5/95

In Washington, they are talking about another study of race relations, another commission - a "blue-ribbon" commission of course, not some run-of-the-mill gathering of alleged experts, but one with ribbons. So the big boys down in D.C. are talking studies again. One of the first witnesses was Dr. Kenneth Clark, a noted scholar and African-American, testified that he had read the report "of the 1919 riot in Chicago, and it is as if I were reading the report of the investigating committee on the Harlem riot of '35, the report of the investigating committee on the Harlem riot of '43, the report of the McCone Commission on the Watts riot. I must again in candor say to you members of this commission - it is a kind of Alice in Wonderland - with the same moving picture re-shown, over and over again, the same analysis, the same recommendations, and the same inaction." The report noted, "We have learned much, but we have uncovered no startling truths, no unique insights, no simple solutions. The destruction and the bitterness of racial disorder, the harsh polemics of black revolt and white repression have been seen and heard before in this country. It is time now to end the destruction and the violence, not only in the streets of the ghetto but in the lives of people." And now they're talking about another commission? Another study? Forget the commission. Forget the study. Save a pile of buckaroones by simply reprinting the 1968 report, which, in paperback form, contained more than 600 pages of explanation, testimony, history, perspective and proposals. In the wake of the... right-wing political blitzkrieg of the past two decades on both common sense and compassion,

perhaps a few more quotes are in order. The commission argued that the alternative to a divided America would require "a commitment to national action - compassionate, massive and sustained, backed by the resources of the most powerful and the richest nation on the earth. . . . The vital needs of the nation must be met; hard choices must be made, and, if necessary, new taxes enacted."

So the commission proposed programs for everything from job training, to criminal justice reform, to better education. It suggested, for example, more public housing "with emphasis on small units." Sound familiar today? It suggested consolidating existing job-training programs to avoid duplication? Hey, have we heard that recently? Aha, conservatives now mutter. You see? We spent all that money, and the poor are still poor and having poor babies. And liberals answer: What money? We started, but we never finished. The money went south, really south, to wage not a war on poverty but a war on Southeast Asians. So, by all means, then, let us have another study. It's a traditional cop out. Poles in both parties can claim they are doing something about the divisive issues of race and class. And Bill Clinton and Newt Gingrich might especially like it, because it's such a neat baby boomer exercise - to talk, and talk, and talk, without ever having to take the shot to the face by making an unpopular commitment, such as raising taxes. They can have neat hearings in those alabaster conference rooms for which D.C. is so famous. And the media will converge breathlessly to report on the best sound bites. And some of us will wonder how many in the media and how many testifying will even know what Kenneth Clark said in 1967. "I read that report . . . the 1919 riot in Chicago, and it is as if I were reading the report of the investigating committee on the Harlem riot of '35 . . ."

PRO-COMMISSION:

"Do We Need Another Blue-Ribbon Investigation?" Editorial, *The Dallas Morning News*, 10/23/95

Not since the 1960s has our country been so wracked by the divisiveness of race. Without a true assessment of how we as a nation are doing to provide each citizen an equal opportunity to reach his or her full potential, misperceptions on the effort will continue to fuel racial tensions. A report can help bridge racial divide. Given how high racial tensions have been running, something has to be done, even if only symbolically. Another commission to give America an up-to-date report card on civil rights could be useful in sorting out statistics and perceptions. Some studies indicate that middle-class blacks have made enormous progress in recent years. At the same time, rates of illegitimacy have gone up, and record numbers of black men have been incarcerated. A carefully selected commission could dispel some perceptions and affirm others. It would give the nation a new empirical base from which to move forward. But no report is worth the paper it is written on if there is no serious political will to act on its conclusions. Thus, a commission must have strong support from the president and Congress. There must be a commitment at the local level to improving race relations that goes far beyond enforcement of equal-opportunity laws. Laws can change people's actions but not their attitudes. "Do we need another blue-ribbon investigation?"

PRO-COMMISSION, ACTION ENCOURAGED:

"It Can't Hurt: Any New Commission on Race Relations Should Propose Solutions, Not Pin Blame," Viewpoint, *Nassau and Suffolk Edition*, 10/19/95

Despite the desperate need to defuse tensions between blacks and whites, it's hard to get excited about a national commission on race relations. The creation of blue-ribbon panels, however, is often a convenient, even cynical, way to duck tough issues. Washington is famous for that. There's a slim possibility on a problem so volatile as race that the commission could actually increase divisiveness, by squabbling over its membership, leadership and scope. [W]hile there have been changes for the good - the emergence of a black middle class and some gains in education and in the professional ranks for people of color - the continuing divisions were easy to see in the racially polarized reactions to the O.J. Simpson verdict and other recent flash points. Jesse Jackson said, in calling for a White House conference on urban policy, economic development and equal opportunity, "We don't need to be studied; we need to be employed." If the panel is to be of real value, however, it must be more than merely a starting point for frank discussion and fresh ideas - although those are needed. It must not get bogged down on the issue of who's to blame - there's plenty on all sides of the racial divide - but instead come up with specific ideas for action. And not just for government.

PRO-COMMISSION, ACTION ENCOURAGED:

"A Commission, and More," Editorial, *The Christian Science Monitor*, 10/19/95

[I]t has been nearly 30 years since the last hard, public look at race in America, the 1968 Kerner Commission. Things may no longer be as simple as "two societies ... separate and unequal." Another examination - of a country whose racial and ethnic mix is rapidly changing - would be useful. But only if it's joined to the kind of individual and community changes urged by Monday's marchers. The building of a more perfect union remains America's central task, and it has to be tackled through the prayers, actions, and thoughtful attention of everyone. No one need wait for a definitive study.

COMMISSION FOR COMMON GROUND:

"The Search for Common Ground," Editorial, *The Fresno Bee*, 10/22/95

The divisions are deeply drawn between the races in America. Efforts at the highest level could help bridge that dangerous gap. Presidential commissions are often disparaged as a way to avoid difficult issues, and their reports dismissed as collections of pieties that make a day's headlines and are then quickly forgotten. But given everything that's occurred in this country in the past few years, President Clinton can hardly refuse the proposal, endorsed by members of Congress of both parties, to name a commission on the state of race relations in America. The

need for such a statement on race relations from a respected panel is even more necessary now. For rarely, if ever, have even the perceptions of the nation's racial divide been as divided. Most troubling...is how differently whites and African-Americans view the criminal justice system, a fundamental institution of a civilized society. Unfortunately much of the nation still fails to recognize the nature of such social dynamite. That failure by itself is reason enough for a commission. Our divided perceptions cry out for a new, serious attempt to find the common ground from which all people of good will, white and black, can proceed.

PUBLIC DIALOGUE:

**"America Has a Race Crisis That Americans Have to Discuss," by David Broder,
*International Herald Tribune, 10/12/95***

In the last few days, The Washington Post has been publishing polls dramatizing the gulf in perceptions on a wide range of subjects. Whites predominantly and mistakenly believe that blacks have achieved parity with whites in income, jobs, education, housing and other measures of well-being. As a consequence, few whites but most blacks believe racial discrimination is a continuing problem. The gap is so wide, said Robert J. Blendon, the Harvard professor who analyzed the poll, that "blacks and whites may as well be on two different planets." The danger in that situation cannot be reduced without honestly confronting it, nor will it be helped by an inherently exclusionary march of a million black men in Washington on Monday. Now is the time, while the Simpson case is still echoing, for President Clinton to take the lead in organizing a public dialogue among Americans of different races about where we are and where we are going, as he suggested Tuesday he might do. The television and press, which gave so much attention to the trial, ought to make comparable time available for this conversation. Of course it is risky for leaders to step forward. But the president could do no greater service to the nation than convening the first such group and inviting the nation to join in - while there is still time.

ADDENDUM

INSTRUCTIVE EXERCISE:

"'Nightline' Series Confronts Hard Realities of Racial Gulf," by Tom Walter,
The Commercial Appeal (Memphis), 5/24/96

One of Nightline's most instructive exercises this week was asking those white Philadelphians whether they favored affirmative action. None did. But then anchor Ted Koppel put it another way. Say there's an organization that determines race. Say it made a mistake when it had you born white and was changing your color to black tomorrow. Would you accept payment in return? Many of the whites did - up to \$ 50 million to help ease the pain of being black in this society. These white people clearly believed being black made it harder to make your way in America. Twenty-eight years after the Kerner Commission Report, many white people want to throw their hands in the air and say: Two separate, unequal societies? Sure. Things will never change. But at least Nightline assumes things must change if America is to fulfill its promise to everyone.

KERNER REPORT AT 20 YEARS:

By Barbara Vobedja, *The Washington Post*, 3/1/88

Today, a group of experts on race and urban affairs, some of whom had worked on the Kerner Commission report, said that the problems the commission set out to erase two decades ago persist. While great strides have been made in some areas of race relations, the plight of poor, inner-city blacks, they concluded, is more dismal now than it was 20 years ago. The panelists, organized by former Oklahoma senator Fred R. Harris (D), one of the Kerner Commission's 11 members, spent the weekend assessing the state of black America on the 20th anniversary of the landmark report. They pointed to gains, primarily the emergence of a black middle class, the election of black political leaders and the integration of police forces, newsrooms, corporate offices and other previously segregated workplaces. "The Kerner report warning is coming true," the group said in its update of the original report. "America is again becoming two separate societies" Tearing the nation apart today, the new document said, are "quiet riots," in the form of unemployment, poverty, housing and school segregation and crime. "These quiet riots are not as noticeable to outsiders . . . but they are more destructive of human life than the violent riots of 20 years ago." Much like their counterparts two decades ago, members of the group called for public job and housing programs and urged that affirmative action be enforced and the minimum wage be raised. But for some who were here, the exercise was more sobering than their work on the presidential panel -- the sense of promise dulled by two decades of experience. But the epic, charted in stacks of academic papers compiled for this conference, has unfolded with a menacing twist. While civil rights legislation and Great Society programs enabled middle- and working-class families to leave the inner cities, their departure,

in combination with economic and other factors, has created urban ghettos far worse than those of the late 1960s, Wilson said.

KERNER REPORT AT 25 YEARS:

By Chris Reidy, *The Boston Globe*, 4/4/93

A Democrat from Oklahoma who ran for president in 1976, Harris says there was much progress between 1968 and 1978. But then the economy slumped and President Reagan cut federal aid. Between 1981 and 1991, urban aid declined by 50 percent, says the National League of Cities. With subsidies slashed, Harris notes, cities experienced "quiet riots" of despair and poverty, riots far more destructive in human terms than the fires of the 1960s. "It's a myth of the Reagan administration that nothing the government tries works," Harris says. "What we tried largely worked. Either we quit trying or we're not trying hard enough. As a result, all major cities are re-segregating. They're just as bad as 25 years ago. Gaps that had narrowed are widening again - infant mortality, life expectancy, the number of people going to college. We have to focus again on people: job training, child development, education." Last month, the Milton S. Eisenhower Foundation reached a similar conclusion, issuing a silver anniversary update on the Kerner Commission report. The foundation urges Congress to enact a 10-year plan that would allocate \$ 30 billion annually to job training and education, says the foundation's Vesta Kimble. The 29-page summary may have "captured headlines," Lemann says, but it was "unrepresentative" of the commission's 609-page report. In any case, the general perception was that Lindsay's words represented a solid consensus. That such a harsh indictment could seemingly come from a group of 11 mainstream moderates gave the report added impact. The perception of police brutality in the Rodney King case provoked riots in Los Angeles last spring. In response, the California Legislature formed a committee on the "Los Angeles crisis." Its conclusions were similar to those of the Kerner Commission. In Washington, President Bush fashioned his own response to the LA crisis. Congress approved his emergency aid package, but Bush vetoed it the day after he lost the election, the Eisenhower Report notes. Earlier, Bush and his advisers had decided against appointing a Kerner-like commission. Says Lemann, "They figured, 'Why give critics a platform to beat up on Bush in an election year?'"

FORMER KERNER COMMISSIONER'S VIEWS:

**"Race Relation Commission Vital to Review Today's Issues,"
All Things Considered, NPR, 10/18/95**

Judge Nathaniel Jones, U.S. Court of Appeals, 6th Circuit: "My first reaction is similar to the reaction that Dr. Kenneth Clarke, the very eminent social scientist, expressed in testimony before the Kerner Commission in 1968...[t]hat this is sort of like Alice in Wonderland with the same moving picture reshown over and over again, the same analysis, the same recommendations, and the same inaction. That was my initial reaction. Now, on reflection, though, I feel that a

commission of national stature would be very timely because it appears to me that one of the great problems we have is a severe case of national amnesia. We do not, as a society, seem to be able to recall with precision and with accuracy the racial history that we as a country have had and why it's necessary for various steps to be taken to redress vestiges of that past. I would suggest that people even go back beyond the Kerner Commission. There was a report issued in 1946 by a committee appointed by President Truman which was a very significant document. It was called To Secure These Rights, and very few people are familiar with that report, but the recommendations that were contained in that report were revolutionary, and they certainly laid the groundwork for much progress of really a dramatic nature that took place with regard to military, particularly at a time when we now are talking about a presidential candidate who was a four-star general, a person of color. He is a direct result of the very bold programs and the very bold step that President Truman took back in 1947 or '48 when he ordered the military integrated. I think what we have to be mindful of is the nature of the crisis today, whereas in '68 and the mid '60s, it was- the Commission was the result of the civil disturbances in major cities. But today the crisis is of a divisiveness and a return to a separate society. The Kerner Commission attempted to warn us that we were going down that path - two societies, separate, black, white, separate and unequal. And the only way I see us stemming it is for our national leadership to re-examine this racial history and to inform the American people of the role that government played, that law played in creating these inequities and because the progress toward correcting them has not been as rapid as it should be, the frustration is causing people to withdraw in anger into racial and ethnic and color enclaves. And this kind of re-segregation, a return to the separateness, is a frightening prospect for many. Time for serious discussion about race."

PREVIOUS PRESIDENTIAL COMMISSIONS DEALING WITH RACE RELATIONS

OVERVIEW

Previously, two Presidential Commissions dealt with the subject of race relations. President Truman established the *President's Committee on Civil Rights* in December 1946, to investigate racial violence and recommend remedial measures. The second commission was the *National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders*, widely known as the Kerner Commission. President Johnson appointed it on July 27, 1967, following riots in the mid 1960s.

In addition, two other historical gatherings dealing with race have occurred that have a bearing on the current proposal. President Lyndon B. Johnson convened the *White House Conference To Fulfill These Rights*, on June 1-2, 1966. Its purpose was to "seek a solution of the Negro Problem since the Civil War," and to figure out how to best translate the promise of racial equality into reality. Finally, the Lyndon Baines Johnson Library at the University of Texas in Austin, sponsored a symposium on civil rights, *Equal Opportunity in the United States*, December 11-12, 1972. Its primary purpose was to honor Johnson's contributions to civil rights, but it also dealt with the unfinished agenda with respect to racial justice for blacks.

PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

President Truman established the *President's Committee on Civil Rights* in December 1946, in response to an impending racial crisis between blacks and whites. With the return of hundreds of thousands of black soldiers who had fought overseas in World War II, and the migration north of thousands more searching for economic betterment, a new age of black aspiration had been ushered in. Simultaneously, a violent white backlash persisted in the south, which relied on Jim Crow segregation, poll taxes and literacy tests, and lynching to dissuade black advancement. Eventually, tensions between blacks and whites erupted into race riots in several major cities.

Guided by Charles Wilson, President of the General Electric Corporation, the Committee thoroughly examined the issue of civil rights, in both public and private forums. On October 29, 1947, the Committee issued its report, *To Secure These Rights*. The report concluded that there was a large gap between what the country stood for and the reality for millions of blacks. It recommended the enactment of many civil rights laws, including:

- Providing federal protection against lynching;
- Banning poll taxes and protecting the right to vote;
- Establishment of a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission;
- Expanding the Justice Department's civil rights section;
- Desegregating the military;
- Home rule for the District of Columbia;
- Resolving the evacuation claims of Japanese-Americans interned during World War II; and
- Proposals attacking segregation in education, housing, and interstate transportation.

Truman enthusiastically endorsed *To Secure These Rights*, calling it "an American charter of human freedom." On February 2, 1948, he sent Congress a message on civil rights followed by specific legislation to dismantle segregation and ensure black voting rights. Noting that not "all groups are free to live and work where they please or to improve their conditions of life by their own efforts," he urged Congress to enact into law the Committee's recommendations.

Most African-American leaders, the NAACP, and the black press embraced the president's efforts, as did white liberal organizations such as Americans for Democratic Action. Ultimately, Truman failed to get any of his legislative program enacted because of strong congressional opposition. However, when his initiatives stalled on capitol hill, he issued executive orders to: 1) desegregate the Armed Forces and 2) to fight discriminatory hiring practices by Federal agencies. In the end, opposition to Truman's proposals was so great that he made only modest progress in fighting segregation over the next two years of his term.

KERNER COMMISSION

This presidential commission was headed by Illinois Governor Otto Kerner. The Commission's official title is the *National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders*, however, it is widely known as the *Kerner Commission*. It was appointed by President Johnson on July 27, 1967, following a series of riots in dozens of American cities in the mid 1960s. The worst riots occurred in Newark, New Jersey, and in Detroit, Michigan during the summer of 1967. In the wake of the Detroit Riots, hundreds of black and white businesses were destroyed, forty-three people lost their lives, and over 7,200 people were arrested.

President Johnson appointed the Commission to find out whether any subversive or conspiratorial elements were involved and to determine how future riots could be avoided. The Commission was also charged with examining the reasons why ghettos persisted. It also explored the problems of unemployment, family structure, and social disorganization in the ghettos, and the experiences of other immigrants with those of blacks. In addressing the nation on the racial disturbances sweeping the country, Johnson said, "[t]he only genuine, long-range solution for what has happened lies in an attack -- mounted at every level -- upon the conditions that breed despair and violence. All of us know what those conditions are: ignorance, slums, poverty, disease, not enough jobs. We should attack these conditions -- not because we are frightened by conflict, but because we are fired by conscience. We should attack them because there is simply no other way to achieve a decent and orderly society in America."

On March 1, 1968, the *Kerner Commission* issued its report, stating that the United States was "moving toward two societies, one black, one white -- separate and unequal." The report warned that racism and hatred were growing deeper and that communication between the two communities was breaking down. Unlike the earlier Truman commission that largely focused on civil and legal rights, the *Kerner Commission* pointed out the growing economic inequality among the races.

Many civil disturbances in 1960s occurred in northern cities where the most oppressive vestiges of segregation had not existed. There, African Americans were confronted with substandard housing, meager job possibilities, and the absence of economic and political power.

The Commission recommended a massive government assault on the economic inequality between the races, which would have cost billions of public dollars to implement in its entirety. The Commission's key recommendations called for:

- Creating public and private sector jobs in the inner cities aimed at the hard-core unemployed;
- Eliminating desegregation in both secondary and higher education;
- Improving the quality education in inner city schools;
- Overhauling public welfare programs, including providing "a national system of income supplementation," for the working poor; and
- Eradicating inner city slums, including building low and moderate income housing units.

Although the Commission uncovered no seditious or conspiratorial ingredients, many did not like the report, possibly owing to the culpability it attributed to the white community. Generally, white liberals applauded it; conservatives felt that its assessment was prejudiced and unfair; and blacks regarded it simply as another report. Beyond this, critics say all levels of government largely ignored the report. Reportedly, Johnson was deeply suspicious of the Commission's recommendations, and refused to comment on the report, or allow the Commission to present it to him, or even sign form letters thanking the members for their work. Johnson was convinced that there was a conspiracy behind the riots.

Although critics charge that the Commission's recommendations were not immediately adopted, others argue that the report significantly altered public opinion on racial matters and helped pave the way for later successes. For example, *de jure* segregation was eliminated by 1960's civil rights legislation and affirmative action and other programs were started to help close the economic gap between blacks and whites. Also, in 1969, the Supreme Court ordered cities to desegregate their schools immediately and in 1971, they approved the use of busing to accomplish this aim. Moreover, Charles Evers was elected Mayor of a Mississippi city. Additional electoral victories soon followed in Detroit, Cleveland, Los Angeles, Chicago, Gary, Indiana, and other cities. Thus, most experts say that we have made progress, but that much remains to be done.

WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE FULFILL THESE RIGHTS

On June 1-2, 1966, President Lyndon B. Johnson convened the *White House Conference To Fulfill these Rights*. Its purpose was to "seek a solution of the Negro Problem since the Civil War," and to "move beyond opportunity to achievement." President Johnson announced his intentions to hold this conference at a speech he gave at Howard University, on June 4, 1965.

Leading up to the conference, the White House held a national planning session November 17-18, 1965. Attending was more than 200 scholars and practitioners from the civil rights, labor, business, education, religious, and social welfare community who met for intensive working sessions on eight subjects of concern. The result was a comprehensive set of recommendations dealing with four areas: economic security and welfare, education, housing, and administration of justice.

In February 1966, the President appointed a 30-member Council to oversee the Conference. In addition, White House and agency staff, and various consultants collected extensive background materials and prepared background papers for the conference itself. The published proceedings distilled the background materials and previously prepared recommendations for each area. According to reports, more than 2,500 people participated in the conference. In retrospect, many Conference's recommendations were later reflected in the programs of the Great Society.

CIVIL RIGHTS SYMPOSIUM PROGRAM: EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN THE UNITED STATES

The LBJ School of Public Affairs in Austin, Texas, held a civil rights symposium on December 11-12, 1972, *Equal Opportunity in the United States*, in which all the major civil rights and other leaders at the time attended. Many of these leaders have since died, but other surviving participants include Vernon Jordan, Roger Wilkins, Julian Bond, Gary Hatcher, Yvonne Brathwaite Burke among others. Besides honoring LBJ, the main purpose of the symposium was to discuss what should be done in the future with respect to civil rights. It was felt that we had already taken all of the required legislative actions, and that the next steps were purely economic opportunity.

Chief Justice Earl Warren was the keynote speaker at the conference. Hubert Humphrey, Barbara Johnson, Louis Stokes, and Henry Gonzalez, were among the other speakers. In addition, in what was his last address before dying shortly after the conference, Johnson summed up the progress that we had made with respect to civil rights over the years saying, "that it's time to leave aside legalisms and euphemisms and eloquent evasions. It's time we get down to the business of trying to stand black and white on level ground." He went on to ask the participants a series of questions:

- Are the federal government and the state government, the foundations, the churches, the universities, all doing what they can do to assure enough scholarships for young blacks?
- Are our professions such as law, medicine, accounting, etc., sounding the call to make sure that Blacks are taking the leadership courses to avail themselves of leadership opportunities in professional careers?
- Are our trade unions and those concerned with vocational occupations do the same with regard to apprenticeship and training programs?
- Are employers who have already opened their doors to Blacks making sure that they are

providing advancement opportunities up the career ladder?

Johnson concluded his remarks, saying "[w]e know there's injustice. We know there's intolerance. We know there's discrimination and hate and suspicion. And we know there's division between us. But there is a larger truth. We have proved that great progress is possible. We know how much still remains to be done. And if our efforts continue and our will strong and if our hearts are right and if courage remains our constant companion, then, my fellow Americans, I am confident we shall overcome."

CORE RECONCILIATION GROUP

Don Baer
Maria Echaveste
Chris Edley
Bill Galston
Richard Hayes
Ben Johnson
Elena Kagan
Ann Lewis
Sylvia Mathews
Andrew Mayock
Minyon Moore
Bob Nash
Rodney Slater
Richard Socarides
Rob Weiner
Michael Wenger
Governor Winter

DRAFT

For today's meeting at 4:30.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

**FROM: ERSKINE BOWLES, SYLVIA MATHEWS
 AND THE RECONCILIATION GROUP**

SUBJECT: ACTION ON RECONCILIATION

PURPOSE

This memorandum is to prepare you for Tuesday's meeting on proposals for combating discrimination and intolerance and promoting racial understanding and reconciliation. The memorandum is an informational memorandum for preparation for our discussion. Therefore, we have not included any recommendations.

What follows is a discussion on background, scope and two proposals for your consideration. Attached to the memorandum are the following items: 1) a memorandum on the Kerner Commission; 2) excerpts from editorials on a race commission; 3) a list of the core reconciliation group members; and 4) funding options.

BACKGROUND

In examining whether or not to have a race commission, we considered how to address your concerns, as articulated in the State of the Union Address, that America must become "One America" and must confront unresolved issues of race and bigotry. Over the last few weeks, we have convened a number of meetings (list of participants attached) to devise a proposal that would enable you to take steps to improve race relations, lessen intolerance and capitalize on the nation's diversity as a strength.

In order to achieve the difficult balance between study and action, we have concluded that any proposal must include two elements: 1) an ability to provide immediate action on this issue, which includes creating a greater dialogue between the races in this country; and 2) the means to examine the difficult policy issues involved and to provide recommendations for addressing them. This memo lays out two options for pursuing these goals: 1) a commission with an action entity and a study entity; and 2) a series of town meetings, a national conference and a report from the President to the American people.

This undertaking is not without risks. A candid discussion of race and discrimination is bound to stir passions, cause controversy and give offense across the political spectrum. Specific remedial prescriptions are sure to spark controversy. For example, we might receive recommendations on affirmative action that do not align with our position. Also, choosing participants will present a challenge in balancing the twin goals of reaching a consensus and including a diverse opinions.

Yet, along with the risks is the opportunity to provide leadership that may change the national environment concerning race and discrimination. While any President is in a special position to use the moral authority of the office to promote healing of racial divides and an appreciation of our diversity as a nation, you are unique because of your deep commitment to racial justice and reconciliation and your ability to talk about race and unity in a way that moves the American people. Moreover, we believe that your leading the country towards racial reconciliation and tolerance could be a central element of the legacy you leave as President.

SCOPE

A threshold question that you need to confront is how broad or narrow this initiative should be. Three options to consider are the following: 1) an initiative that addresses racial issues exclusively; 2) a "unity" initiative which broadly encompasses minorities affected by bigotry and intolerance, including racial groups, women, the disabled, and gays and lesbians; or 3) an initiative that would be dominated by race issues, but also generally address other, often inter-related types of discrimination. This concept might be titled "race and intolerance" or "race and unity."

The argument for focusing specifically on racial intolerance is that the long history of racial struggle for civil rights has forged a consensus on the principle of racial equality. Precisely because that consensus has become fragile--witness the attacks on affirmative action and the anti-immigrant rhetoric--your initiative must focus solely on racial discrimination in order to reinforce and strengthen our country's commitment to equality. Another reason for focusing on racial intolerance is the argument that a commission or conference about everything will, in the end, be about nothing. Also, the issue of race is in itself a very difficult, complex, broad-ranging problem that touches everyone.

The argument for a broad "unity" focus is the fulfillment of your call for "One America." Many of the problems of discrimination and hatred are experienced just as strongly by groups other than racial minorities. Narrowing the initiative's charter may yield discord among key constituencies, and we may find ourselves responding to highly visible and vocal criticism from certain constituencies from the onset of our effort. Gays may argue that their struggle for civil rights is now coming of age and that to not include them in a reconciliation initiative and may be characterized as a lack of commitment of broad inclusion in the Administration's initiatives.

The argument for a "race and intolerance" or "race and unity" initiative is that it recognizes that it is race which continues to be "The American Dilemma," without dismissing others who face intolerance and bigotry, which are somewhat intertwined with issues of race.

OPTION I: RACE COMMISSION

One option is for you to create and appoint a race commission by Executive Order. The commission would have two components: 1) an action task force which would conduct a sustained and intensive campaign to build a national environment receptive to addressing the divisions within our country; and 2) an academic task force which would conduct an effort to develop a deeper understanding and provide recommendations to overcome the differential treatment accorded various groups. The commission would thus be both action-oriented and academic.

Membership / Executive Director: The commission would be composed of approximately twenty to twenty-five members and would be national, diverse (geographically, racially and professionally) and bi-partisan. We believe that limiting the commission's size is important to creating a group that can actually achieve something. The members would be former elected public officials, former judges, educators, business and religious leaders, sports and entertainment notables, scholars, foundation and other non-profit officials, and civil rights and community advocates. Due to the commission's size limitations, currently serving elected officials would not be included because inclusion would lead to a demand that could not be met. The commission would be administered by an executive director. This position will be a key to the success or failure of the commission. The selection of the members and the executive director will communicate how serious, bold and creative you consider this project.

Action Task Force: To pursue an action agenda, the commission would have a task force that heightens awareness, promotes reconciliation, confronts negative stereotypes and encourages rational discourse on divisive issues. The action task force would pursue these objectives through various initiatives, including: 1) hold town meetings and debates which feature state and local leadership; 2) survey local and community groups for ideas that already work and disseminate best practices to a wider range of community and governmental bodies (e.g. ministerial groups, U.S. Conference on Mayors and National League of Cities); 3) reach out to youth in schools and on campuses through meetings and youth-oriented media; 4) nominate people and groups for a Presidential Award; 5) initiate a nation-wide theme campaign; and 6) create Public Service Announcements. Also, the action task force could sponsor a White House Conference on Hate Crimes, which would unequivocally signal the Administration's opposition to and abhorrence of violence against those who may be different from others, and bring affected groups together to identify commonalities and possible solutions.

Academic Task Force: A scholarly task force created by the Commission would undertake an inquiry that would draw upon the nation's best minds on this subject. This task force would organize working groups to review existing research, pursue original research and recommend action. The group could focus on the following specific areas: judicial system, education, housing, employment and health care.

Comms don't solve probs. Actions do.

- e.g., affirmative action

- We don't need polit. cover. 2nd term Pres w/ unimpaired credibility. Strip away cover

Do you want your legacy to be, we discovered racial probs, or we did something about it

Bottom up

Carroll: Race only. Not a comm.

Nash: not some academic exercise
he doesn't have much time

Wanger: Council at end to preserve comms in Pres's reports

Johnson: Race only. Milb: Race only, singular issue.

Previous Comms -> racial crises

-> Howard speech / full Conf.

Sacowides: E-04, dem participation

Migman: 92-98 elections. Option 2.
World of 2010 much like me.

Doug: #1 thing is his time.

Winter: Includes POTUS. Don't go leading to council or comm.

I. Commission is unimpaired
1) who to get on it
2) Takes forever to decide, to wait

I. Action vs. Study

- 1) Another commission
- 2) Make a choice - force ourselves to act
- 3) Time's a-wasting

III

Report

Affirm. Action - ~~can~~ Would we be better off an Affirm Action if POTUS had appointed Comm. ^{graduate} instead of ordering a review?

Timing: The action task force would be at work over the next year. The academic task force would deliver a report to you in one year. Under current assumptions, which includes time for selecting and appointing the members, a realistic timeframe would probably indicate an initiation date between July - September 1997 and a report date between November - December 1998.

Variant: A variant of the commission option splits the action and study entities (described above) into two separate organizations: a Commission on Race and a Council on Unity. Ideally, the commission and council would be well coordinated, but one would not have formal authority over the other. The commission would be a scholarly endeavor and focus on the policy issues of racial discrimination. The council would be action-oriented and broadly focused to include issues of discrimination against women, the disabled, gays and lesbians. The council would do all those things that the action task force would do (e.g., youth outreach, town meetings, etc.). This commission/council option may simplify participant selection with academics and experts on the commission and public figures on the council. However, this option has its drawbacks in that the broader public may be confused about the role and purpose of the two entities, especially if the council is more broadly defined. Furthermore, a dual-entity option could set up a jurisdictional dispute between the council and the commission.

Pros and Cons on Commission

Pros

- If successful, the commission's report will be a living document that guides the nation's thought on race relations and frames the debate and solutions for a long time to come (e.g. Kerner report and Nation at Risk).
- A commission could provide a flexible tool for utilizing your strengths whereby your participation with the action task force would be strategically scheduled. Thus, your schedule would include public service announcements, town halls, or meetings with the commissioners.
- A commission provides your Presidential imprimatur which lends the authority and high-profile of your office to this important initiative, while it also provides some distance from a hot-button, high-risk issue.
- Establishing an independent bi-partisan commission widens the range of advice received and issues considered, enhances the credibility of the commission's findings and recommendations, and shows that to promote the long-term public good, you are willing you are willing to run the risk of receiving recommendations that may not be fully consistent with your own views.

Galston
1. Serious - deliberate
2. Membership - not issue beyond groups & parties
3. Research - first class
Non solution. Eg, commission system
4. Independence - more credibility, will progress to be challenged
5. Report's crucial turning pt, how have we changed since MLK
- Could do more steps anyway
- Active involvement of POTUS

Edley
Legacy

- There are a number of areas (e.g. restoring the legitimacy of the criminal justice system for all Americans) in which the problems are clearer than the solutions. The commission would address the need for more policy research in areas that need it. By harnessing the research of the nation's top thinkers, it could enhance policy-making at all levels and provide guidance on non-governmental actions. (This can be accomplished less directly in the second option.)
- Through its action component, the commission could overcome the "study means delay rather than action" criticism and provide a base for reaching out to the American people.
- It addresses the need for more research in areas that need it, and leverages the Administration's resources by the policy work taking place outside your Administration.
- A commission provides a broad base from reaching out to the Nation.

Cons

- Depending on the membership of the commission, it could ^{cede}~~lose~~ ^{SEIZE} control over large aspects of your domestic agenda -- involving, for example, welfare, education, and criminal justice -- to an outside body that may or may not agree with your priorities or accept the constraints of your budget. Of course, you could reject all or part of the commission's eventual recommendations, but that could present a difficult situation.
- Appointing a commission will pose a number of difficult questions. Does Jesse Jackson have a place on the Commission? Colin Powell? How wide or narrow should be the spectrum of ideological views represented on the Commission? The size of a commission is necessarily limited, hence the membership is often drawn largely from academics and economic elites. Also, selecting appropriate members to fulfill the action *and* scholarly functions further complicates the selection process. However, participation in any proposal on this issue will be difficult.
- If there is an emphasis on balancing the commission across the ideological spectrum, it may make civil rights advocates in the community nervous about potential outcomes.
- The use of a "commission" to address this issue subjects you to criticism that you are foregoing action on the issue of race and discrimination only to study a problem which has been studied long enough.
- A commission may not take full advantage of your unique talents on this issue. Any President could appoint a commission and respond to its proposals. You have the unprecedented ability to talk about race in a way that the American people respond to and to construct your *own* agenda for racial reconciliation.

- Commissions are often “top-down” exercises rather than “bottom-up.” Many of the important ways to improve race relations may not lie within the ambit of the federal government. The problem is national, but many of the solutions may be local. State and local governments, religious institutions, charities, private enterprise and individual citizens must participate.
- An independent commission opens the possibility of stalemate from a divided commission (e.g. Advisory Council on Social Security, which split into three factions on privatization recommendations, and the U.S. Civil Rights Commission).
- A commission with scholarly and action task forces may confuse the public, and lead to ongoing jurisdictional fights and substantive disagreements between the two groups.

OPTION II: TOWN MEETINGS, NATIONAL CONFERENCE AND REPORT

Under this proposal, you would convene a series of town hall meetings, a national conference at the White House, and deliver a report from the President to the American people. The following proposal was devised with specific details so that you may envision the positive and negative aspects that might result from this concept. The details would be refined and modified if you select this proposal. The concept includes the following components:

Town Meetings: A series of four “town halls” on specific race-related issues would be held: two meetings led by you, one by the Vice President and one by the First Lady.

Subject/Location: These events would occur in different areas of the country among different kinds of communities (rural/urban): judicial system in Los Angeles, California; employment in Detroit, Michigan; education in rural south; housing in Chicago, Illinois or Santa Fe, New Mexico. (These locations are illustrative only.)

Participants: The participants would consist of mostly people from the community, a few experts in the field, and you. The experts could contribute empirical evidence and exacting analysis to the discussion and listen to citizens for input into the Presidential report to the American people.

Timing: At the earliest, the town meetings would start in the early part of summer. One town meeting per month could follow with the conference in the fifth month and the report following the conference.

Action: The town halls would be part of our policy development where certain policy ideas could be tested. For example, affirmative action could be a topic of the discussion on the judicial system where we elicit the community’s views and reflect on our policy decisions. To develop these policies, we could put into place a broad process, led by the White House, involving all the agencies. This group could also reach out to public policy

experts outside the government. This process, with the events described above serving as action-forcing mechanisms, would produce a wide range of actions and proposals -- both large and small, executive and legislative. Also, you would produce a report to the Nation with specific proposals based on the town meetings and outreach to scholars and other experts in the field. Furthermore, papers and essays, which may provide a valuable resource for communities, might be commissioned and released in conjunction with the town hall meetings and the conference.

You could encourage local officials to have preparatory, parallel and/or follow-up sessions. Also, you could ask participants in these sessions to convene further meetings on their own to try to agree on, or at least identify, key problems and solutions. If these meetings are successful, they may become regularized forums in the communities and proliferate to other communities. Ideally, these meetings would be the seeds of organizations that live on and promote interracial dialogue in the local communities. We may even explore ways in which the Administration could provide encouragement or support to sustain this dialogue.

Conference: Following these town meetings, a multi-day conference would be held.

Subject/Location: The conference would be at the White House, and would consist of a number of segments (e.g. panels and roundtables). For example, the conference could include the following segments: 1) judicial system; 2) employment; 3) education; 4) housing; 5) hate crimes; 6) best practices for local communities; 7) families; 8) government's role; and 9) differing perceptions of racial groups.

Participants: Participants would vary segment to segment. They would include all the people who would be candidates for the commission (former elected officials, former judges, educators, business and religious leaders, civil rights advocates, and scholars). The conference would include elected officials (e.g., Members of Congress, mayors and governors). It also would include the participation of the town hall communities so that they could share their experience with the other conference participants.

Timing: At the earliest, this conference could be held in early fall.

Action: The conference would provide a forum for a national articulation of the existing problems and solutions as presented by everyday people, experts and leaders. Policy announcements could accompany and/or follow the conference through the broad policy development process led by the White House. A wide range of actions and proposals could result-- both large and small, executive and legislative. The conference would be included in the report by the President to the American people. Cabinet Secretaries could prepare materials to help focus and guide discussions on topics relevant to their missions.

President's Report to the American People: Following the town hall meetings and conference, a report "from the President to the American People" would be developed for you.

Participants: The report would include input by the communities, the agencies and experts in the field. The White House would work with an informal outside group to draft the report.

Timing: The anniversaries of the birth or death of Martin Luther King, Jr. have been suggested as dates for delivery of the report.

Action: The report would be a thoughtful, comprehensive description of the existing problems, and a presentation of action items to address those problems. It would include the following items: 1) an update on the state of race relations and discrimination in the U.S. today, including a report on our progress since the Kerner Commission; 2) a description of those events that have occurred through your initiative - your town halls, others' town halls and the conference; 3) recommendations for moving the country forward; and 4) a selection of realistic action items which you could pledge to pursue.

Pros and Cons of Town Meetings, National Conference and Report

Pros

- This option fully draws upon your unique talents on this issue. It places you in the forefront of the issue where you have exhibited an ability to talk about race in a way that moves the American people, and it allows you to more fully demonstrate the power of moral leadership.
- It addresses several needs: 1) bringing people in communities together to talk to each other about these issues; 2) forcing policy development on this issue in the government; 3) creating a comprehensive and inclusive report through the town halls and conference; 4) initiating broad-based action on this issue.
- It would allow you to maintain control over the long term, and allow you, with input from the people most affected, to create your *own* agenda for unity and reconciliation that is consistent with your priorities and within the constraints of your budget.
- This initiative increases our ability to actively include more national and community leaders.
- It directly confronts the broad-scale policy issues of criminal justice, and education that are central to achieving progress in this area.

- The process of this initiative has the potential to improve race relations and promote tolerance through broad-scale, community-based dialogue, as well as generate innovative solutions to old and new problems alike.

Cons

- Town halls may be perceived as a shallow exercise of talk without serious action. Many people think we have studied and discussed the questions involving race long enough and that it is past time to put that study to practical use.
- We may receive a "not another White House conference" response.
- The town halls and a conference bring this hot, divisive issue literally to your front door. If the town halls and the White House conference are to be a real discussion of the issues, principals may be in a position to receive strong criticism directly.

Attachments

Memorandum on the Kerner Commission
Excerpts from Editorials on Race Commissions
List of Reconciliation Working Group
Funding Options

DRAFT
PREVIOUS PRESIDENTIAL COMMISSIONS DEALING
WITH RACE RELATIONS

OVERVIEW

Previously, two Presidential Commissions dealt with the subject of race relations. President Truman established the *President's Committee on Civil Rights* in December 1946, to investigate racial violence and recommend remedial measures. The second commission was the *National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders*, widely known as the Kerner Commission. President Johnson appointed it on July 27, 1967, following riots in the mid 1960s.

In addition, two other historical gatherings dealing with race have occurred that have a bearing on the current proposal. President Lyndon B. Johnson convened the *White House Conference To Fulfill These Rights*, on June 1-2, 1966. Its purpose was to "seek a solution of the Negro Problem since the Civil War," and to figure out how to best translate the promise of racial equality into reality. Finally, the Lyndon Baines Johnson Library at the University of Texas in Austin, sponsored a symposium on civil rights, *Equal Opportunity in the United States*, December 11-12, 1972. Its primary purpose was to honor Johnson's contributions to civil rights, but it also dealt with the unfinished agenda with respect to racial justice for blacks.

PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

President Truman established the *President's Committee on Civil Rights* in December 1946, in response to an impending racial crisis between blacks and whites. With the return of hundreds of thousands of black soldiers who had fought overseas in World War II, and the migration north of thousands more searching for economic betterment, a new age of black aspiration had been ushered in. Simultaneously, a violent white backlash persisted in the south, which relied on Jim Crow segregation, poll taxes and literacy tests, and lynching to dissuade black advancement. Eventually, tensions between blacks and whites erupted into race riots in several major cities.

Guided by Charles Wilson, President of the General Electric Corporation, the Committee thoroughly examined the issue of civil rights, in both public and private forums. On October 29, 1947, the Committee issued its report, *To Secure These Rights*. The report concluded that there was a large gap between what the country stood for and the reality for millions of blacks. It recommended the enactment of many civil rights laws, including:

- Providing federal protection against lynching;
- Banning poll taxes and protecting the right to vote;
- Establishment of a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission;
- Expanding the Justice Department's civil rights section;
- Desegregating the military;
- Home rule for the District of Columbia;
- Resolving the evacuation claims of Japanese-Americans interned during World War II; and
- Proposals attacking segregation in education, housing, and interstate transportation.

Truman enthusiastically endorsed *To Secure These Rights*, calling it "an American charter of human freedom." On February 2, 1948, he sent Congress a message on civil rights followed by specific legislation to dismantle segregation and ensure black voting rights. Noting that not "all groups are free to live and work where they please or to improve their conditions of life by their own efforts," he urged Congress to enact into law the Committee's recommendations.

Most African-American leaders, the NAACP, and the black press embraced the president's efforts, as did white liberal organizations such as Americans for Democratic Action. Ultimately, Truman failed to get any of his legislative program enacted because of strong congressional opposition. However, when his initiatives stalled on capitol hill, he issued executive orders to: 1) desegregate the Armed Forces and 2) to fight discriminatory hiring practices by Federal agencies. In the end, opposition to Truman's proposals was so great that he made only modest progress in fighting segregation over the next two years of his term.

KERNER COMMISSION

This presidential commission was headed by Illinois Governor Otto Kerner. The Commission's official title is the *National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders*, however, it is widely known as the *Kerner Commission*. It was appointed by President Johnson on July 27, 1967, following a series of riots in dozens of American cities in the mid 1960s. The worst riots occurred in Newark, New Jersey, and in Detroit, Michigan during the summer of 1967. In the wake of the Detroit Riots, hundreds of black and white businesses were destroyed, forty-three people lost their lives, and over 7,200 people were arrested.

President Johnson appointed the Commission to find out whether any subversive or conspiratorial elements were involved and to determine how future riots could be avoided. The Commission was also charged with examining the reasons why ghettos persisted. It also explored the problems of unemployment, family structure, and social disorganization in the ghettos, and the experiences of other immigrants with those of blacks. In addressing the nation on the racial disturbances sweeping the country, Johnson said, "[t]he only genuine, long-range solution for what has happened lies in an attack -- mounted at every level -- upon the conditions that breed despair and violence. All of us know what those conditions are: ignorance, slums, poverty, disease, not enough jobs. We should attack these conditions -- not because we are frightened by conflict, but because we are fired by conscience. We should attack them because there is simply no other way to achieve a decent and orderly society in America."

On March 1, 1968, the *Kerner Commission* issued its report, stating that the United States was "moving toward two societies, one black, one white -- separate and unequal." The report warned that racism and hatred were growing deeper and that communication between the two communities was breaking down. Unlike the earlier Truman commission that largely focused on civil and legal rights, the *Kerner Commission* pointed out the growing economic inequality among the races.

Many civil disturbances in 1960s occurred in northern cities where the most oppressive vestiges of segregation had not existed. There, African Americans were confronted with substandard housing, meager job possibilities, and the absence of economic and political power.

The Commission recommended a massive government assault on the economic inequality between the races, which would have cost billions of public dollars to implement in its entirety. The Commission's key recommendations called for:

- Creating public and private sector jobs in the inner cities aimed at the hard-core unemployed;
- Eliminating desegregation in both secondary and higher education;
- Improving the quality education in inner city schools;
- Overhauling public welfare programs, including providing "a national system of income supplementation," for the working poor; and
- Eradicating inner city slums, including building low and moderate income housing units.

Although the Commission uncovered no seditious or conspiratorial ingredients, many did not like the report, possibly owing to the culpability it attributed to the white community. Generally, white liberals applauded it; conservatives felt that its assessment was prejudiced and unfair; and blacks regarded it simply as another report. Beyond this, critics say all levels of government largely ignored the report. Reportedly, Johnson was deeply suspicious of the Commission's recommendations, and refused to comment on the report, or allow the Commission to present it to him, or even sign form letters thanking the members for their work. Johnson was convinced that there was a conspiracy behind the riots.

Although critics charge that the Commission's recommendations were not immediately adopted, others argue that the report significantly altered public opinion on racial matters and helped pave the way for later successes. For example, *de jure* segregation was eliminated by 1960's civil rights legislation and affirmative action and other programs were started to help close the economic gap between blacks and whites. Also, in 1969, the Supreme Court ordered cities to desegregate their schools immediately and in 1971, they approved the use of busing to accomplish this aim. Moreover, Charles Evers was elected Mayor of a Mississippi city. Additional electoral victories soon followed in Detroit, Cleveland, Los Angeles, Chicago, Gary, Indiana, and other cities. Thus, most experts say that we have made progress, but that much remains to be done.

WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE FULFILL THESE RIGHTS

On June 1-2, 1966, President Lyndon B. Johnson convened the *White House Conference To Fulfill these Rights*. Its purpose was to "seek a solution of the Negro Problem since the Civil War," and to "move beyond opportunity to achievement." President Johnson announced his intentions to hold this conference at a speech he gave at Howard University, on June 4, 1965.

Leading up the conference, the White House held a national planning session November 17-18, 1965. Attending was more than 200 scholars and practitioners from the civil rights, labor, business, education, religious, and social welfare community who met for intensive working sessions on eight subjects of concern. The result was a comprehensive set of recommendations dealing with four areas: economic security and welfare, education, housing, and administration of justice.

In February 1966, the President appointed a 30-member Council to oversee the Conference. In addition, White House and agency staff, and various consultants collected extensive background materials and prepared background papers for the conference itself. The published proceedings distilled the background materials and previously prepared recommendations for each area. According to reports, more than 2,500 people participated in the conference. In retrospect, many Conference's recommendations were later reflected in the programs of the Great Society.

CIVIL RIGHTS SYMPOSIUM PROGRAM: EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN THE UNITED STATES

The LBJ School of Public Affairs in Austin, Texas, held a civil rights symposium on December 11-12, 1972. *Equal Opportunity in the United States*, in which all the major civil rights and other leaders at the time attended. Many of these leaders have since died, but other surviving participants include Vernon Jordan, Roger Wilkins, Julian Bond, Gary Hatcher, Yvonne Brathwaite Burke among others. Besides honoring LBJ, the main purpose of the symposium was to discuss what should be done in the future with respect to civil rights. It was felt that we had already taken all of the required legislative actions, and that the next steps were purely economic opportunity.

Chief Justice Earl Warren was the keynote speaker at the conference. Hubert Humphrey, Barbara Johnson, Louis Stokes, and Henry Gonzalez, were among the other speakers. In addition, in what was his last address before dying shortly after the conference, Johnson summed up the progress that we had made with respect to civil rights over the years saying, "that it's time to leave aside legalisms and euphemisms and eloquent evasions. It's time we get down to the business of trying to stand black and white on level ground." He went on to ask the participants a series of questions:

- Are the federal government and the state government, the foundations, the churches, the universities, all doing what they can do to assure enough scholarships for young blacks?
- Are our professions such as law, medicine, accounting, etc., sounding the call to make sure that Blacks are taking the leadership courses to avail themselves of leadership opportunities in professional careers?
- Are our trade unions and those concern with vocational occupations do the same with regard to apprenticeship and training programs?
- Are employers who have already opened their doors to Blacks making sure that they are

providing advancement opportunities up the career ladder?

Johnson concluded his remarks, saying "[w]e know there's injustice. We know there's intolerance. We know there's discrimination and hate and suspicion. And we know there's division between us. But there is a larger truth. We have proved that great progress is possible. We know how much still remains to be done. And if our efforts continue and our will strong and if our hearts are right and if courage remains our constant companion, then, my fellow Americans, I am confident we shall overcome."

Race Comm.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 20, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR ERSKINE BOWLES
SYLVIA MATHEWS

FROM: BRUCE REED *BR/rd*
ELENA KAGAN *EK*

SUBJECT: RACE COMMISSION/COUNCIL

We are concerned that the two pending proposals for a race commission or council have serious flaws. This memo presents a third alternative.

The proposal to establish a full-fledged Presidential commission on race has four weaknesses.

- First, it could cede control over large aspects of the President's domestic agenda -- involving, for example, welfare, education, and criminal justice -- to an outside body that may or may not agree with the President's priorities or accept the constraints of the President's budget. Of course, the President could reject all or part of the commission's eventual recommendations, but we should think twice before putting ourselves in the position of having to do so.
- Second, it will involve the President in a morass of difficult appointments questions. Does Jesse Jackson have a place on the Commission? Colin Powell? How wide or narrow should be the spectrum of ideological views represented on the Commission?
- Third, it subjects the President to criticism that he is not doing anything. Many people think we have studied questions involving race long enough and that it is past time to put that study to practical use.
- Fourth, and perhaps most important, it fails to take advantage of the President's unique talents on this issue. Any President could appoint a commission and respond to its proposals. This President has the unprecedented ability to talk about race in a way that the American people respond to and to construct his own agenda for racial reconciliation.

The proposal to establish an action-oriented Council, along the lines of the Council on Physical Fitness, also raises significant concerns, at least as described so far.

- First, it is subject to characterization as a "do-good," "touchy-feely," essentially unrigorous and unserious response to the most intractable of America's social problems.

- Second and relatedly, it would not in fact deal with the broadscale policy issues of welfare, criminal justice, education, and so forth that are central to achieving progress in this area.
- Third, it too would be removed from the President (though potentially somewhat less so than the commission) and so would fail to take advantage of his ability to spur reconciliation and progress.

A third alternative makes the President central to a second-term effort on racial issues, at the same time as it combines intellectual rigor with an action orientation. It would include the following components:

- A major multi-day conference on racial issues to take place at the White House, perhaps in early summer. Participants in this conference would include all the people who would be candidates for the commission: political figures (e.g., Jesse Jackson, Pat Moynihan); business, civil rights, and religious leaders; scholars and public intellectuals (e.g., William Julius Wilson, Skip Gates, Randy Kennedy). It also could include events or discussions involving the participation of "non-elites," in order to widen the range of views considered and command the attention of the broadest possible audience.
- A series of "town halls" led by the President on race-related issues. These events would occur in different areas of the country among different kinds of communities. They would focus on particular subjects, such as race and criminal justice. They would involve both "ordinary Americans" and experts in the field, who would contribute empirical evidence and rigorous analysis.
- Policy announcements to precede, accompany, and follow the conference and town halls. We would put into place a broad policy development process, led by the White House, involving all the agencies, and reaching out to public policy experts outside the government. This process (with the events described above serving as action-forcing mechanisms) would produce a wide range of actions and proposals -- both large and small, executive and legislative.

It should be noted that this proposal easily can accommodate some attention to issues of intolerance generally, involving not only racial minorities, but also women, religious minorities, and gays and lesbians. Although we would not like to see the conference, town halls, and policy process focus exclusively (or even mainly) on this area, nothing would be easier than to have, for example, one panel of the conference or a single town hall address these issues.

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- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

AGENDA

We will discuss the pros and cons for each of the following proposals, including the appropriate balance between study and action, and the focus and scope of our proposal:

- A Commission
- A Commission on Race and Council on Unity
- A Conference / Summit with town meetings

MEMORANDUM

DRAFT

Date: March 13, 1997

TO: Working Group on "One America"

FROM: M. Echaveste

SUBJECT: Draft Memorandum Outlining Proposals for Addressing President's Concerns Regarding Race and Bigotry

We have been charged with developing a proposed plan of action that would address the President's statement in his State of the Union Address that America must become "One America" and that our society must address unresolved issues of race and bigotry. Below is a draft of the proposals we have discussed and debated in our last two meetings. Provided we reach consensus as to the merits of each of these proposals and the timing for announcement, the following proposals could serve as the basis for a decision memorandum for the President.

Commission on Racial Reconciliation

Modeled in part on the Kerner Commission of thirty years ago, a Presidential Commission on Racial Reconciliation would be formed. The scope of this commission would be racial and ethnic divisions among Americans, rather than addressing all forms of hatred, bigotry and discrimination.

The Commission would have three objectives: a) review existing research and undertake critical scholarly analyses of the current state of race relations, b) develop possible governmental and private sector solutions to address continuing problems and c) identify existing effective programs and models that lead to positive interracial interactions thereby reducing negative racial stereotyping.

Research and Analyses

The Presidential Commission would need to review and consider existing academic research and analyses, and possibly undertake original research in order to establish the current state of affairs regarding racial and ethnic relations throughout the country. Inasmuch as there are some who deny that race continues to matter in our country, such serious and thoughtful studies would help to persuade the skeptics.

For example, a significant threat to the fabric of our society is the widely divergent views regarding the police and legal system held by white Americans in comparison to African-Americans, as well as certain other ethnic groups. To the extent that a significant part of our society does not have confidence in the police and the legal system, those institutions are undermined. Research establishing that segments of our society do not share common beliefs regarding our legal and law enforcement institutions would be useful in identifying possible

solutions.

Solutions and Recommendations

By engaging in thoughtful and critical analyses, possible governmental and private sector response may be identified to address the following challenges: continuing housing segregation, employment discrimination, unequal educational opportunities and negative racial stereo typing.

Best Practices

The Commission would identify best practices, i.e., programs currently in use in communities seeking to bridge the gap between people. In communities around the country, concerned citizens have engaged in a variety of thoughtful and different ways to find the common threads that unite people, rather than divide them. By carefully analyzing the effectiveness of such programs and models, the Commission could serve as a resource for communities around the country seeking assistance.

Each of the foregoing objectives requires further refinement. Details regarding the Commission's membership, duration, funding and specific charter would, of course, need to be addressed.

White House Conference on Hate Crimes

The President should convene a White House Conference on Hate Crimes. The purpose of such a conference would be both symbolic--unequivocally signaling the Administration's opposition to and abhorrence of violence against those who may be different from others, and proactive--bringing key constituencies together to identify commonalities and possible solutions.

Such a conference could be organized around: a) recognition that hate crimes exist, are not rare and occur throughout the country; b) acknowledgment that too often we tolerate hatred towards others, and that such tolerance can and sometimes does lead to violence; and c) identification of effective legal and community responses that reduce tolerance for hatred and bigotry and that help to eliminate hate crimes..

President's Council on Unity and Reconciliation

There appears to be consensus that a majority of white Americans believe that racial discrimination has been eliminated; or if not eliminated, reduced to such an extent that society has no further responsibility or obligation to address issues of discrimination. Such belief has led to the backlash against such programs as affirmative action in the workplace and educational institutions, and government procurement programs designed to increase the participation of minority (and women) contractors.

At the same time, African-Americans and other groups continue to experience in overt and subtle ways continuing discrimination, be it at the workplace, neighborhood, recreation activities or on the street. Before progress can be made in bringing people together, there must be an increase in awareness that, in fact, minorities in our society often experience daily life differently solely because of race or ethnic characteristics.

To focus attention immediately on the very serious issues of racism, hatred and bigotry, the President could establish a Council on Unity and Reconciliation. Its mission would be to identify actions that could be taken now to highlight the task at hand and find ways to create media interest in these issues. By raising the profile of these issues, the Council would assist the Commission in identifying problem areas that require research and study or find effective programs that the Commission could examine to determine best practices for achieving racial and community harmony.

The Council could assist states and local governments in finding ways of highlighting the contributions of various and diverse groups to this country's success. The Commission could engage in a variety of activities--convening town hall meetings, forums and other public outreach activities--that would educate the public across the country that the goal of equality of opportunity has not yet been achieved.



THE PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL
ON
RACIAL RECONCILIATION

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THE PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL ON RACIAL RECONCILIATION
The Concept

Summary:

This paper describes a proposal to establish The President's Council on Racial Reconciliation, designed to fulfill President Clinton's promise that all Americans will cross the bridge to the 21st century together.

Background:

President Clinton built his campaign for re-election around the theme that all of us, no matter what our racial or ethnic background, must cross the bridge to the 21st century together. In speeches from Florida to California he repeated essentially these words:

"We need to build a new majority in America based on three principles--opportunity for all, responsibility from all, and an American community where if you show up for work tomorrow and you believe in our Constitution, our Bill of Rights, and our Declaration of Independence, we don't need to know anything else about you. We are all a part of our American community, and we're going forward together across that bridge to the 21st century."

In both the passion of his speeches and the diversity of his Administration President Clinton has demonstrated his abhorrence of racial discrimination and his commitment to inclusion. His record builds on a half-century of undeniable progress in combatting racial prejudice. Yet, recent events illustrate the perilous road that lies ahead.

Incidents in Pittsburgh and St. Petersburg remind us that color blind law enforcement remains an elusive goal. At corporations like Texaco and Avis employment discrimination emerges from behind closed board room doors. In several southern states race-related church burnings recall the most violent responses to the 1960's civil rights movement.

SAT test scores among African-American and Hispanic-American youth disclose the continuing inequality of our educational systems. A variety of studies confirm a differential quality of health care based on the race of the patient. Testing by trained multi-racial teams confirm the continued existence of racial discrimination in housing.

Beyond these events and statistics, everyday experiences of subtle, often unconscious, behavior exacerbate racial tensions. Well-dressed African-Americans can't hail a cab. Qualified minority employees fall victim to the "good old boy" network at promotion time. The media portrays young African-American males as dangerous and African-American females as unwed mothers. Resulting tensions limit racial interaction, preventing the communication we need to navigate the road to reconciliation.

This lack of communication perpetuates negative racial stereotypes and a deep-seated racial gap which 1) saps our nation's economic strength, 2) breeds political polarization, 3) de-stabilizes our communities and threatens our individual safety, and 4) jeopardizes our moral credibility in the global community. In the 21st century an increasing percentage of non-white Americans in the population and in the labor force will intensify the effects of this gap, while our changing economy, the technological revolution, increased mobility, and scarce resources will complicate the solutions.

Competing in the global economy, finding common ground on polarizing political issues, and securing our homes and communities pose difficult challenges. To a greater degree than ever before our nation's strength depends on the ability of every American to carry his or her share of the responsibility. As President Clinton has declared: "We do not have a single person to waste."

Only Presidential leadership can set us on the proper course. Only the President has the power to reach into every sector of our nation's life--from the community to the workplace, from schools to houses of worship, from the courtroom to the media. Only the President can energize the kind of comprehensive national campaign necessary to achieve meaningful racial reconciliation, build a foundation for enduring racial equity, and secure our nation's strength. As Presidents Kennedy and Johnson led us through the racial minefields of the 1960's, so President Clinton must guide us through the perils of the 1990's if we are to cross that bridge to the 21st century as "one nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all."

The Proposal:

The President's Council on Racial Reconciliation would formulate and promote strategies for meaningful racial reconciliation. It would serve as the President's action arm to engage every facet of American society and every American community in fulfilling the promise that all Americans can cross the bridge to the 21st century together. As the President's Council on Physical Fitness energized a self-satisfied and sedentary nation to meet the challenges of the 1960's, so the President's Council on Racial Reconciliation will steer a divided and suspicious nation on a course toward unity for the 21st century. The Council would:

1. Provide leadership and coordination to focus our nation on the need to eradicate negative racial stereotypes and combat racial discrimination.
2. Build coalitions with public and private sector organizations to develop a comprehensive series of strategies to increase racial interaction, enhance racial understanding, and foster racial equity.
3. Promote the implementation of these strategies through schools, the workplace, civic and community organizations, houses of worship, and the media.

4. Advise the President on steps toward achieving racial reconciliation.

To symbolize the power of our nation's diversity The Council would be led, not by a single Chairperson, but by a diverse and powerful Co-Chair team composed of at least one African-American, one Hispanic-American, and one caucasian American. The Council would pursue its work primarily through four task forces based on where racial interactions most frequently occur:

1. **Our Communities**
2. **Our Schools**
3. **Our Places of Employment**
4. **Entertainment and the Media**

These task forces would focus the work of The Council on promoting meaningful inter-racial communication, the essential ingredient of racial reconciliation. This structure avoids the dangers of divisiveness on contentious issues or of defensiveness resulting from a focus on specific groups, such as corporate executives or police officers. The Council and its task forces would:

1. Develop community improvement projects, school-based programs, and workplace activities which promote racial interaction and understanding.
2. Build partnerships with professional sports franchises, among the most integrated institutions in our society, and with major corporations to sponsor prime time public service announcements, produce and distribute materials designed to promote messages of inclusion, and support awards and special recognition to individuals and organizations.
3. Conduct policy roundtables, town meetings, major conferences, national conversations, and research projects and widely disseminate the proceedings and outcomes.
4. Issue publications providing information, insights and guidance on specific issues.
5. Establish a clearinghouse for collecting and disseminating information on successful responses to race-related matters.

Many organizations are currently engaged in activities to promote racial reconciliation. The Council will neither duplicate nor replace these activities. Rather, The Council will create an environment in which existing activities gain power and credibility, and it will promote the development and implementation of additional activities in partnership with private and public sector organizations.

For example, the task force on **Our Communities** could reach out to Rotarians or to a foundation to back local community projects. The task force on **Our Schools** could work with the National Education Association on curriculum ideas and ask universities to

host major conferences. The task force on **Our Places of Employment** could seek labor union participation in specific workplace activities and suggest steps employers can take to recruit qualified minority employees at all levels. The task force on **Entertainment and the Media** could persuade corporations to sponsor prime time public service announcements and recommend ways to combat media-induced negative stereotypes.

The Co-Chair team and the task force chairs would serve as an Executive Committee for **The Council**. They would recommend to **The Council** specific and measurable goals and objectives, and monitor progress on a regular basis. An Executive Director would manage day-to-day operations. Administrative costs would be borne by the Office of the President or by those Cabinet Departments whose responsibilities and activities are particularly relevant, or by a combination of the two. Support for program activities would come from the private sector.

Urgency:

To build on the post-election momentum and to illustrate the importance which President Clinton attaches to racial reconciliation, establishment of **The President's Council on Racial Reconciliation** should be an immediate priority. Ideally, **The Council** would be established by Executive Order by late February, 1997.

Outcomes:

Success in promoting racial reconciliation will 1) strengthen our global competitiveness, increase productivity, and generate additional tax revenue, 2) decrease the costs of law enforcement, incarceration, and welfare benefits, 3) increase the stability and vibrancy of our communities and the safety of our citizens, 4) reverse polarization on difficult political issues and create common ground for seeking solutions, and 5) reinforce our nation's moral stature.

Conclusion:

Senator Paul Simon, when he withdrew from the 1988 Democratic Presidential primary campaign, observed: "Americans instinctively know that we are one nation, one family, and when anyone in that family hurts, all of us eventually hurt. There really is a yearning across this good land for leadership that appeals to the noble in us rather than to the greed in us."

President Clinton has demonstrated his understanding of that yearning and his capacity to appeal to the noble in us. **The President's Council on Racial Reconciliation** will serve as his vehicle to take us across the bridge to the 21st century united as Americans rather than divided by race.

This paper was prepared by Michael R. Wenger, States' Washington Representative for the Appalachian Regional Commission

PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL ON RACIAL RECONCILIATION
Mission and Goals

Mission:

To bridge the existing racial divide in the United States and to create a society which treasures the unique strengths of each individual, regardless of race, and celebrates the common threads which bind us together.

Goals:

1. To create an environment in which inter-racial communication and interaction are routinely accepted and mutually respected.
2. To increase both our collective and our individual awareness of unintended differential behavior based on race.
3. To minimize the number of instances of conscious racist behavior and maximize the public disapproval of such behavior whenever it occurs.
4. To strengthen both our collective and our individual understanding of the value of America's racial diversity and the importance of walking together across the bridge to the 21st century.

PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL ON RACIAL RECONCILIATION
Launching the Council's Agenda: A Project to Commemorate the 50th
Anniversary of Jackie Robinson's Entrance into Major League Baseball

Overview:

In 1947 Jackie Robinson, playing first base for the Brooklyn Dodgers, was the first African-American to participate in a Major League Baseball game. Baseball's popularity as our national pastime catapulted this event into one of the most significant milestones in race relations in this century. The 50th anniversary of this event offers a meaningful and powerful vehicle for launching the Council's agenda. This inaugural project, designated as "The American Team" Project, would weave together an array of visible activities into the overriding theme that we are all members of "The American Team."

In the Media:

1. Create a partnership between Major League Baseball and the President's Council on Racial Reconciliation, modeled after the partnership between the National Football League and the United Way, to air Public Service Announcements (PSA's) on Major League Baseball telecasts. The PSA's would be built around the theme that we are all members of "The American Team," would provide a telephone number to call for further information, and would promote the following broad messages:

- a) the vast majority of Americans, no matter what their race, share similar values and work hard to live those values.
- b) our diversity has been vital in building this nation, and today, more than ever, we need each other for economic, social, and political stability,
- c) despite dramatic improvements in race relations, many instances of subtle, often unconscious racial discrimination remain as barriers to enduring racial reconciliation,
- d) there are many promising racial reconciliation efforts on which to build in communities and corporations throughout America.

Funding Sources: Council produces the PSA's. Major League Baseball airs them.

2. Arrange a special "American Team" ceremony at the 1997 All-Star Game, designed for television, honoring Jackie Robinson's contribution to the game and to society. Among participants in the ceremony would be representatives of little league and other youth baseball leagues which exemplify the integration of the game made possible by Jackie Robinson's courage.

Funding Sources: Council works with Major League Baseball and television network to design ceremony. Corporate sponsors pay expenses.

In Our Communities:

1. Encourage local baseball franchises to form "American Team" partnerships with public officials and community organizations to promote community improvement activities which enhance racial interaction and strengthen racial bonds.

Funding Sources: Council provides guidance as necessary in forming partnerships. Local baseball franchises devote a portion of proceeds from team ticket sales to support activities.

2. Post billboards which build on "The American Team" theme and messages of the PSA's.

Funding Sources: Council produces the billboards. Local baseball franchises purchase the space.

In Our Schools:

1. Conduct an essay contest on the meaning of being a member of "The American Team," to be implemented through public schools in and near major league cities. Prizes for local winners would be tickets to and recognition at a major league baseball game. Prizes for national winners would be a trip to Washington, D.C., a meeting with the President, and tickets to and recognition at the World Series. All winning essays will be published and widely distributed.

Funding Sources: Council, working through State School Superintendents, conducts the contest. Local baseball franchises donate prizes for local winners. Corporate sponsors donate prizes for national winners and pay for publication and distribution of essays.

2. Introduce several "American Team" baseball card series, designed as teaching tools, which highlight:

- a) aspects of Jackie Robinson's career and life,
- b) aspects of major league baseball's progress toward integration since 1947 and the effect of this progress on our nation,
- c) significant events in our nation's progress toward racial reconciliation since 1947,
- d) important facts (such as demographic and economic information) which build the practical case for racial reconciliation.

Funding Sources: Major League Baseball and Council provide information. Teacher organizations provide guidance in designing cards as teaching tools. Baseball card distributors produce cards and sell them at cost.

3. Produce and distribute poster-size replicas of "American Team" billboards to schools.

Funding Sources: Council produces and distributes the posters with assistance from corporate sponsors.

PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL ON RACIAL RECONCILIATION
The Continuing Agenda of the Council

Overview:

In addition to building a partnership with Major League Baseball, the Council will work with the media, with communities, with our public schools, and with employers and employees to develop an array of activities which, taken together over time, will significantly narrow America's racial divide. Beginning in October, 1997, a new initiative will be announced quarterly. An outside consultant will design and implement tools to measure the impact of these activities.

In the Media:

1. Air public service announcements in prime time which focus on the need for racial harmony and mutual respect and feature popular entertainers and other public figures, as well as ordinary people in everyday situations. These PSA's could build on the "American Team" theme.

Funding Sources: Council works with corporations to produce the public service announcements. Corporations air the public service announcements in a portion of their regular advertising buys.

2. Produce and publish a book of inspirational stories and writings, patterned after the Chicken Soup for the Soul series of books, recounting heartwarming successes in overcoming racial barriers and achieving racial reconciliation.

Funding Sources: Council publishes and sells book.

3. Telecast on C-Span a series of roundtable discussions featuring a wide range of viewpoints on divisive issues like affirmative action and immigration, as well as on the broader topics of racial interaction and reconciliation, and publish the proceedings.

Funding Sources: Foundations support costs of televised discussions and publication of proceedings.

4. Issue monthly feature articles by guest writers, suitable for publication in Sunday newspapers and for use on television network news programs, exploring current race relations issues and detailing specific examples of progress we are making in overcoming racial barriers.

Funding Sources: Council prepares and distributes articles.

5. Create and regularly update a web page on the Internet which describes activities of the Council and provides ideas on how individuals can become involved in building racial unity in their communities. Provide special links to facilitate use by schools.

Funding Sources: Council creates and maintains web page.

In Our Communities:

1. In collaboration with Junior Leagues and Jaycees produce a "how-to" book of community improvement activities which promote racial interaction and reconciliation and distribute copies of the book to local chapters.

Funding Sources: Council compiles material. National Junior Leagues and Jaycees organizations publish book. Local chapters, as well as local businesses and other civic clubs, adopt and support selected activities. A small portion of the proceeds from tickets to baseball games and other public events could be used to fund implementation of some of the activities.

2. Develop and publicize a set of "American Team Principles." Award "American Team" window stickers and/or other forms of recognition to businesses, law enforcement agencies, and other local institutions which demonstrate a commitment to the "Principles."

Funding Sources: Council in collaboration with communities and trade/professional associations.

3. Arrange exchanges in which Caucasian, African-American, and Hispanic-American Members of Congress visit each other's Districts, speak at worship services at each other's churches and synagogues, and engage in other high profile activities.

Funding Sources: Members pay their own expenses.

4. Ask major organizations of public officials--NGA, USCM, NLC, NCSL, NACO--to form standing committees charged with developing policies and suggestions to help guide their members in dealing with race-related issues and in promoting racial reconciliation.

Funding Sources: Council promotes efforts of organizations.

In Our Schools:

1. Publish and distribute to schools quarterly a contemporary magazine, in versions targeted for specific age groups, highlighting ways to deal with difficult racial situations, confront racial stereotypes, overcome racial barriers, and build racial harmony.

Funding Sources: Council works with professional organizations in preparing magazine materials. Corporate sponsors and/or advertisers defray the expenses of publication and distribution.

2. Publish, distribute and regularly update a compendium of information, data, and quotes for the use of speech-writers in crafting graduation and other special occasion speeches.

Funding Sources: Council publishes and sells material.

3. Distribute video(s), movie(s), and/or book(s) on racial issues to all public schools and to teacher training institutions, modeled after Steven Spielberg's effort to distribute Shindler's List to every high school.

Funding Sources: Private sponsors such as producers and publishers.

4. Develop a sister school program among schools with different racial compositions.

Funding Sources: Participating school systems, with assistance from foundations for specific activities.

5. Create a proactive speakers bureau aimed at inspiring college campus audiences to provide leadership in overcoming racial barriers.

Funding Sources: Council operates speakers bureau. College hosts pays traveling expenses of speakers.

In Our Workplaces:

1. Develop and publicize a set of "American Team Principles for the Workplace." Provide recognition annually to those employers and employees who demonstrate their commitment to these "Principles."

Funding Sources: Council in collaboration with trade associations and labor unions.

2. Develop and distribute suggestions for the recruitment and training of minority employees.

Funding Sources: Council in collaboration with trade associations and labor unions.

3. Publish and distribute quarterly a magazine highlighting how major employers and their employees have increased productivity and workplace satisfaction by overcoming racial barriers and strengthening mutual respect in the workplace.

Funding Sources: Council publishes and trade associations distribute newsletter.

4. Work with corporations to provide information on racial matters for product packaging.

Funding Sources: Corporations.

General Activities:

1. Establish a clearinghouse for information on activities which promote racial interaction and reconciliation.

Funding Sources: Council operates clearinghouse. Users pay nominal fee.

2. Designate a national day of racial reconciliation and plan activities designed to promote racial reconciliation and provide recognition to those who have done the most during the year to promote racial reconciliation.

Funding Sources: Corporate sponsors pay expenses and receive recognition.

PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL ON RACIAL RECONCILIATION
Implementation Schedule

Weeks of 1/6/97 and 1/13/97:

1. Meet with Rodney Slater and Governor Winter to discuss work plan, schedule, potential members of Council. Consult, as well, with Eddie Williams and Hodding Carter.
2. Meet with White House officials to discuss concept, work plan, schedule, potential members.
3. Meet individually with key Congressional leaders, particularly leaders of Congressional Black Caucus and Congressional Hispanic Caucus, and key Cabinet Secretaries, particularly Education, Labor, HHS, HUD, Commerce, Transportation, Agriculture, Attorney-General.
4. Conclude draft of final work plan, implementing schedule, Council members.
5. Schedule a meeting with Major League Baseball officials for week of 1/20/97.
6. Schedule a White House briefing for week of 1/27/97 with key Congressional leaders, key Cabinet Secretaries and constituencies--civil rights groups, labor, education groups, public officials--to advise them of plan and seek further suggestions for activities and potential members.

1/20/97: Insert mention in President's Inaugural Address of need to commit ourselves to racial reconciliation as the best way to honor the memory of Dr. Martin Luther King as we celebrate his birthday.

Weeks of 1/20/97 and 1/27/97:

1. Meet with Major League Baseball officials concerning a partnership to commemorate of 50th anniversary of Jackie Robinson breaking baseball's color line.
2. Conduct White House briefing as scheduled.
3. Finalize work plan, schedule, composition of Council.
4. Notify prospective members of Council and talk with them individually, either in person or by telephone.

2/5/97: Announcement in State of the Union Address of intention to establish Council by Executive Order.

Following State of Union Address and Week of 2/10/97:

1. Prepare and finalize Executive Order.
2. Make PR arrangements for announcement of Council, for comments by Council members, and for responses from key constituencies, Congressional leaders, etc.
3. Make arrangements for office space and equipment.
4. Begin to develop Public Service Announcements for airing when baseball season begins.
5. Prepare and distribute press packets and additional materials to Council members.

2/17/97 (Presidents' Day): Announcement by President of President's Council on Racial Reconciliation and introduction of Co-Chairs (and Executive Committee?).

Remainder of February and Month of March

Follow-up meetings/speeches/TV appearances concerning goals/activities of Council.

Hire staff (Communications and Public Affairs, Resource Development, Program Development, Inter-Governmental Affairs). Solicit names from White House, Council members, others.

Plan and schedule first meeting of Council.

Announce partnership with Major League Baseball.

Test Public Service Announcements with focus groups.

Plan for Opening Day activities.

Begin planning for activities through 1998.

3/31/97: Opening Day for Major League Baseball.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

**FROM: ERSKINE BOWLES, SYLVIA MATHEWS
 AND THE RECONCILIATION GROUP**

SUBJECT: ACTION ON RECONCILIATION

PURPOSE

This memorandum is to prepare you for Tuesday's meeting on proposals for combating intolerance and promoting racial understanding and reconciliation. What follows is background information and two proposals for your consideration.

BACKGROUND

In examining the question of whether or not to have a race commission, we examined how to address your concern, as articulated in the State of the Union Address, that America must become "One America" and that our society confront unresolved issues of race and bigotry. Over the last few weeks, we have convened a number of meetings (list of participants attached) to devise a proposal that would enable you to take steps to improve race relations, lessen intolerance and capitalize on the nation's diversity as a strength.

In order to achieve the difficult balance between study and action, we have concluded that any proposal must include two elements: 1) an ability to provide immediate action on this issue, which includes creating a greater dialogue between the races in this country; and 2) the means to examine the difficult policy issues involved and to provide recommendations for addressing them. This memo lays out two options for pursuing these goals: 1) a commission with an action entity and a study entity; and 2) a series of town meetings, a national conference and a report from the President to the American people.

This undertaking is not without risks. A candid discussion of racial divisions is bound to stir passions, cause controversy and give offense across the political spectrum. Specific remedial prescriptions are sure to spark controversy. For example, we might receive a recommendation to change cocaine sentencing, a sensitive and difficult issue. Also, selecting people to participate will present a challenge to achieve a balance whereby consensus may be found and still provide a breadth of views. Yet, along with the risks is the unique opportunity to set in motion a process which reverses the negative trend that has hindered racial progress since the eighties, and re-establishes the ideal of an America for all.

While any President is in a special position to use the moral authority of the office to promote healing of racial divides, you are unique because of your deep

commitment to racial justice and reconciliation and your ability to talk about race in a way that the American people respond. Moreover, we believe that your moving the country towards racial reconciliation could be a central element of the legacy you leave as President.

SCOPE

A threshold question that you need to confront is how broad or narrow the scope of this initiative should be. Three options to consider are the following: 1) an initiative that addresses racial issues exclusively; 2) a "unity" initiative which broadly encompasses minorities affected by bigotry and intolerance, including races, women, the disabled, and gays and lesbians; or 3) a "race and intolerance" initiative, which would be dominated by race issues, but also generally address other types of discrimination.

The argument for focusing specifically on racial intolerance is that the long history of racial struggle for civil rights has caused a consensus on the principle of racial equality. Precisely because that consensus is fragile--witness the attacks on affirmative action and the anti-immigrant rhetoric--your initiative must focus solely on racial discrimination in order to reinforce and strengthen our country's commitment to equality. Another reason for focusing on racial intolerance is the argument that a commission or summit about everything will, in the end, be about nothing. Also, the issue of race is in itself a very difficult, complex, broad-ranging problem without the addition of other types of discrimination.

The argument for a broad "unity" focus is the fulfillment of your call for "One America." Many of the problems of discrimination and hatred are experienced just as strongly by groups other than racial minorities. By narrowing the initiative's charter, discord may result among key constituencies.

The argument for a "race and intolerance" initiative is that it focuses directly on race without excluding other minorities who face intolerance and bigotry.

OPTION I: RACE COMMISSION

One option is for you to create a commission by Executive Order and appoint its members. The commission would undertake: 1) a sustained and intensive campaign to build a national environment receptive to addressing the divisions within our country; and 2) scholarly research which leads to a deeper understanding and provides recommendations to overcome the differential treatment accorded various groups. The commission would thus be both action-oriented and academic.

Membership / Executive Director: The commission would be composed of approximately twenty to twenty-five members that would have a national, diverse

(geographically, racially and professionally) and bi-partisan composition. We believe that limiting the commission's size is important to creating a group that can actually achieve something. The members would be formerly elected public officials, former judges, business and religious leaders, sports and entertainment notables, scholars, foundation and other non-profit officials, and civil rights advocates. Due to the commission's size limitations, the elected officials would not be included because inclusion would lead to a demand that could not be met. The commission would be administered by an executive director. This position will be a key to the success or failure of the commission. The selection of the members and the executive director will communicate how serious, bold and creative you consider this project.

Action Task Force: To pursue an action agenda, the commission would have a task force that heightens awareness, promotes reconciliation, confronts negative stereotypes and encourages rational discourse on divisive issues. The action task force would pursue these objectives through such initiatives as 1) Public Service Announcements; 2) the collection and dissemination of information on best practices to community groups (e.g. ministerial groups, U.S. Conference on Mayors and National League of Cities); 3) the nomination of Presidential Award recipient; 4) a nation-wide theme campaign; and 5) town meetings and debates. Also, the action task force could sponsor a White House Conference on Hate Crimes, which would unequivocally signal the Administration's opposition to and abhorrence of violence against those who may be different from others, and bring effected groups together to identify commonalities and possible solutions.

***Action Variant:** A variant of a commission option that raises the level of the action entity is the creation of two separate entities: a Commission on Race and a Council on Unity. The commission would be a scholarly endeavor and focus on the policy issues of racial discrimination. The council would be solely action-oriented and broadly focused, including issues of discrimination against women and gays and lesbians. The council would do all those things that the action task force would do (e.g., Public Service announcements, town meetings, etc.). This commission/council option may simplify participant selection with academics and experts on the commission and public figures on the council. However, this option has its drawbacks in that it may confuse people between the two entities, especially if the council is more broadly tailored. Furthermore, a dual-entity option could set up a jurisdictional dispute between the council and the commission.*

Academic Task Force: A scholarly task force created by the Commission would undertake an inquiry that would reach out to the nation's best thinkers. This task force would organize working groups to review existing research, pursue original research and recommend action. The group could focus on the following specific areas: judicial system, education, housing, employment and health care.

Timing: The action task force would be at work over the next year. The academic task force would deliver a report to you in one year. Under current assumptions, which includes time for selecting and appointing the members, a realistic timeframe would probably indicate an initiation date between July - September 1997 and a report date between July - September 1998.

Funding: An attachment is provided that outlines possible funding options.

Pros and Cons on Commission

Pros

- If successful, the commission's report will be a living document that guides the nation's thought on race relations and frames the debate and solutions for a long time to come (e.g. Kerner report and Nation at Risk).
- A commission could utilize your strengths on a flexible basis whereby your participation with the action task force is strategically scheduled. Thus, your schedule would include public service announcements, town halls, or meetings with the commissioners.
- A commission provides your Presidential imprimatur which lends the authority and high-profile of your office to this important initiative, while it also provides some distance from a hot-button, high-risk issue.
- Establishing a commission shows that you are willing to be challenged by commission of others' views.
- A commission should lead to good policy. By harnessing of the nation's top thinkers and their research, we can enhance policy-making at all levels and provide guidance on non-governmental actions.
- This commission provides for serious study by serious academics, and should overcome any "just another commission" criticism through to its action component..
- It addresses the need for more research in areas that need it, and leverages the Administration's resources by the policy work taking place outside your Administration.
- A commission provides a broad base from reaching out broader community.

Cons

- Depending on the membership of the commission, it could cede control over large aspects of the your domestic agenda -- involving, for example, welfare, education, and criminal justice -- to an outside body that may or may not agree with your priorities or accept the constraints of your budget. Of course, you could reject all or part of the commission's eventual recommendations, but that could present a difficult situation.
- A commission will require a number of difficult appointment questions. Does Jesse Jackson have a place on the Commission? Colin Powell? How wide or narrow should be the spectrum of ideological views represented on the Commission? The size of a commission is necessarily limited, and the membership is often drawn largely from academics and economic elites. Also, selecting appropriate members to fulfill the action *and* scholarly functions further complicates the selection process. However, participation in any proposal on this issue will be difficult.
- Any connection with word and notion of commission subjects you to criticism that you are not *doing* anything. Many people think we have studied questions involving race long enough and that it is past time to put that study to practical use.
- It is not clear that a commission takes advantage of your unique talents on this issue. Any President could appoint a commission and respond to its proposals. You have the unprecedented ability to talk about race in a way that the American people respond to and to construct your *own* agenda for racial reconciliation.
- Commissions are often "top-down" exercises rather than "bottom-up." Many of the important ways to improve race relations may not lie within the ambit of the federal government. The problem is national, but many of the solutions may be local. State and local governments, religious institutions, charities, private enterprise and individual citizens must participate.
- An independent commission opens the possibility of stalemate from a divided commission (e.g. Advisory Council on Social Security, which split into three factions on privatization recommendations, and the U.S. Civil Rights Commission).
- A commission with scholarly and action task forces may confuse the public, and lead to ongoing jurisdictional fights and substantive disagreements between the two groups.

OPTION II: TOWN MEETINGS, NATIONAL CONFERENCE AND REPORT

Under this proposal, you would convene a series of town hall meetings, a national conference at the White House, and deliver a report from the President to the American people. The following proposal was devised with specific details so that you may envision the positive and negative aspects that might result from this concept. They would, of course, be refined and modified if you select this proposal. The concept includes the following components:

Town Meetings: A series of four "town halls" on specific race-related issues would be held: two meetings led by you, one by the Vice President and one by the First Lady.

Subject/Location: These events would occur in different areas of the country among different kinds of communities (rural/urban): judicial system in Los Angeles, California; employment in Detroit, Michigan; education in rural south; housing in Chicago, Illinois or Santa Fe, New Mexico. (These locations are illustrative only)

Participants: The participants would consist of mostly people from the community, a few experts in the field, and you. The experts could contribute empirical evidence and exacting analysis to the discussion and listen to citizens for input into the Presidential report to the American people.

Timing: At the earliest, the town meetings would start in late April. One town meeting per month could follow with the conference in the fifth month and the report following the conference.

Action: The town halls would be part of our policy development where certain policy ideas could be tested. For example, cocaine sentencing could be a topic of the discussion on the judicial system where we illicit the community's views and reflect in our policy decisions. To develop these policies, we could put into place a broad process, led by the White House, involving all the agencies. This group could also reach out to public policy experts outside the government. This process, with the events described above serving as action-forcing mechanisms, would produce a wide range of actions and proposals -- both large and small, executive and legislative. Also, you would produce a report to the Nation with specific proposals based on the town meetings and outreach to scholars and other experts in the field.

At the town halls, you could ask participants in these sessions to convene further meetings on their own to try to agree on, or at least identify, key problems and solutions. If these meetings are successful, they may become regularized forums in the communities and proliferate to other communities.

Ideally, these meetings would be the seeds of organizations that live on and promote interracial dialogue in the local communities.

Conference: Following these town meetings, a multi-day conference would be held.

Subject/Location: The conference would be at the White House, and would consist of a number of segments (e.g. panels and roundtables). For example, the conference could include the following segments: 1) judicial system; 2) employment; 3) education; 4) housing; 5) hate crimes; 6) best practices for local communities; 7) families; and 8) government's role.

Participants: Participants would vary segment to segment. They would include all the people who would be candidates for the commission (formerly elected officials, former judges, business and religious leaders, civil rights advocates, and scholars). The conference would include elected officials (e.g., Members of Congress, mayors and governors). It also would include the participation of the town hall communities so that they could share their experience with the other conference participants.

Timing: At the earliest, this conference could be held in mid-summer.

Action: The conference would provide a forum for a national articulation of the existing problems and solutions as presented by everyday people, experts and leaders of the Policy announcements could accompany and/or follow the conference through the broad policy development process led by the White House. A wide range of actions and proposals could result-- both large and small, executive and legislative. The conference would be included in the report by the President to the American people.

President's Report to the American People: Following the town hall meetings and conference, a report "from the President to the American People" would be developed for you.

Participants: The report would include input by the communities, the agencies and experts in the field. The White House would work with an informal outside group to draft the report.

Timing: One date it might be delivered is April 4, 1998 - the thirtieth anniversary of the death of Martin Luther King, Jr.

Action: The report would be a thoughtful, comprehensive description of the existing problems, and a presentation of action items to address those problems. It would include the following items: 1) an update on the state of

race relations in the U.S. today; 2) a report on our progress since the Kerner Commission; 3) a description of those events that have occurred through your initiative - your town halls, others' town halls and the conference; and 4) recommendations for moving the country forward.

Pros and Cons of Town Meetings, National Conference and Report

Pros

- It takes advantage of your unique talents on this issue by putting you out front on this issue where you have exhibited an ability to talk about race in a way that the American people respond.
- It addresses several needs: 1) bringing people in communities together to talk to each other about these issues; 2) forcing policy development on this issue in the government; 3) creating a comprehensive report through the town halls and conference; 4) initiating broad-based action on this issue.
- It could keep control of the agenda over the long term, and allow the you to create your *own* agenda for racial reconciliation that is consistent with your priorities and within the constraints of the your budget.
- This initiative increases our ability to actively include more national leaders.
- It directly confronts the broad-scale policy issues of criminal justice, and education that are central to achieving progress in this area.
- The goal of this initiative is that the process itself improve race relations and promote tolerance, as well as generate innovative solutions to old problems.

Cons

- Town halls may be perceived as a shallow exercise of talk without serious action. Many people think we have studied and discussed the questions involving race long enough and that it is past time to put that study to practical use.
- We may receive a "not another White House conference" response.
- The town halls and a conference bring this hot, divisive issue literally to your front door. If the town halls and the White House conference are to be a real discussion of the issues, principals may be in a position to receive strong criticism directly.

CONCLUSION

This memorandum is not a decision memo, but an informational memorandum for preparation for our discussion. Therefore, we have not included a recommendation.

Attachments

Memorandum on the Kerner Commission
Excerpts from Editorials on Race Commissions
Funding Options

cc ✓ S. Mathews
✓ E. Kazan

March 17, 1997

Mr. Frank D. Stella
and Colleagues
The National Italian
American Foundation
1860 19th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20009-5501

Dear Friends:

Thank you for writing to suggest convening a White House Conference on Multi-Culturalism. I appreciate your suggestion, and I've forwarded your letter to my staff.

There are, of course, real differences in the life experience and backgrounds of the people who make up America, but there is also a rich fabric of shared experience -- of common problems, common hopes and fears, common ground. It is of great importance for the future of our nation that we expand that common ground, focusing more on what unites us than on what divides us. We still have much to do to break down racial, gender, and ethnic barriers, and in pursuing this path we must engage in a public dialogue that is respectful, tolerant, and open.

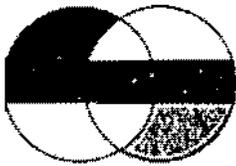
As I work to help promote this dialogue, I am grateful for your active involvement.

Sincerely,

BILL CLINTON

BC/KMB/RLM/RSM/bws-efr (Corres. #3415445)
(3.stella.fd)

cc: w/inc Bruce Reed, WW
cc: Scheduling, 187.5
cc: OPL, 122



208801

The National Italian American Foundation

The Ambassador Peter F. Secchia Building

1860-19th Street, N.W. • Washington, D.C. 20009-5501 • (202) 387-0600 • FAX (202) 387-0600

February 24, 1997

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The Honorable William J. Clinton
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

We are writing to formally request that you convene a White House Conference on Multi-Culturalism in the spring of the year 2000. We view this as a unique forum to present our nation with the challenges and opportunities associated with immigration, ethnicity and an increasingly diverse society in the 21st century.

Why is this conference important at this time?

We all realize that America today is strong and prosperous. We are fundamentally a positive and productive people. We are the only true superpower, our economy is prospering; and your Administration is preparing with great success for the 21st century. We are also now ready for great advances in the information superhighway, in the healing and theoretical sciences as well as in mass production.

Yet, despite these obvious successes of our society, the benefits are not necessarily shared by all Americans. We face a growing problem of persons being alienated from the basic institutions of our society which no longer respond to the needs of the average American. Many believe that these same institutions represent a negative force when dealing with those less fortunate.

Various aspects of this alienation and disaffection have been reported by Robert Putnam, Michael Sandel, and by your former Secretary of Labor Robert Reich. In his prophetic "The Work of Nations," Reich writes of the political secession of some four-fifths of the American public, who find their income stagnating while the upper one-fifth, those capable of successfully competing in the global marketplace, retreat into their own community enclaves, safe, protected, comfortable.

Those four-fifths of Americans, Reich suggests, are also retreating away from involvement in American institutional and community life. They sense that American progress and prosperity are for others, not for them or their children

MAR 6 1997

and their sense of civic involvement and allegiance is understandably lessened if not eliminated. We feel that America cannot be permitted to become segregated into "the have's" and "the have nots." We must again create what Bernard DeVoto called a transcendental nation, one united people between two oceans.

Bringing about unity -- one nation, one people, with loyalty to each other and their civic institutions -- is one of the great challenges in our history. You very properly addressed this issue in your inaugural address as you have throughout your Presidency and most notably in your eloquent address to race relations in Atlanta.

Though the challenges are great, so also are the opportunities. Daniel Boorstin has written that the great advances in American society occur when key aspects of our national life verged with new aspects, when there were encounters of geography, peoples, ideas. We are now at a time when there are new verges and our ability to successfully utilize those encounters will shape our success as a people in the 21st century.

Our proposal for a White House Conference on Multi-Culturalism can be a significant step in bringing what De Tocqueville called "the necessary belief of a people that they are intimately and substantively involved in the political life of their nation."

The main conference, as we suggest it, will take place in the spring of 2000. Beginning later this year and continuing through 1998 and 1999, a series of local, state and regional pre-conferences and seminars would precede the main event. These local sessions would involve individuals, community and advocacy groups who could help develop the agenda for the main conference through discussions about their problems and the development of solutions. We would hope this process would produce the substantive agenda for the main conference and a number of the eventual participants or delegates to the main conference. Our hope would be to model this process after your very successful and inclusive 1995 White House Conference on Aging.

We foresee a variety of issues that will be discussed under the theme of promoting multi-culturalism or the blending of many peoples into one people, one nation. To do so effectively, we must confront those major problems which serve to divide us and work for solutions which result in the majority of Americans believing they really do have a stake in our national and community success.

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

*Race
- Com -*

For Immediate Release

June 10, 1997

**LIST OF PARTICIPANTS IN A MEETING BETWEEN
THE PRESIDENT AND CIVIL RIGHTS LEADERS**

Antonia Hernandez
President and Legal Counsel Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund

Eli Wiesel
Nobel Peace Prize Winner

Reverend Joseph Lowery
President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference

Dr. Mary Berry
Chairperson, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights

Ralph Neas
Former Executive Director, Leadership Conference on Civil Rights

Wade Henderson
Executive Director, Leadership Conference on Civil Rights

Rhonda Whiting
Native American Affairs

William Julius Wilson
Malcolm-Weiner Professor of Social Policy

Reverend Dr. Joan Brown Campbell
General Secretary, National Council of the Churches of Christ in the USA

Cornel West
Professor, Harvard University

Rabbi David Saperstein
Director, Religious Action Center
Union of American Hebrew Congregations

Fidel Vargas
Former Mayor Baldwin Park, CA

Bob Johnson
President & CEO Black Entertainment Television

Karen Narasaki
Executive Director, National Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium

Elaine Jones
Executive Director, NAACP Legal Defense

Ronald Takaki
Professor U.C. Berkeley
Author on Race and Asian American Studies

Kweisi Mfume
President, NAACP

Bishop H.H. Brookins
Bishop of the 13th Episcopal District
AME Church

Carol Willis

Father Leo J. O'Donovan
President, Georgetown University

Charles Kamasaki
Vice President, National Council of La Raza

Jim Zogby
President, Arab American Institute

Taylor Branch
Author on Civil Rights and Historian

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

June 13, 1997

EXECUTIVE ORDER

PRESIDENT'S ADVISORY BOARD ON RACE

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America, including the Federal Advisory Committee Act, as amended (5 U.S.C. App.), and in order to establish a President's Advisory Board on Race, it is hereby ordered as follows:

Section 1. Establishment. (a) There is established the President's Advisory Board on Race. The Advisory Board shall comprise 7 members from outside the Federal Government to be appointed by the President. Members shall each have substantial experience and expertise in the areas to be considered by the Advisory Board. Members shall be representative of the diverse perspectives in the areas to be considered by the Advisory Board.

(b) The President shall designate a Chairperson from among the members of the Advisory Board.

Sec. 2. Functions. (a) The Advisory Board shall advise the President on matters involving race and racial reconciliation, including ways in which the President can:

(1) Promote a constructive national dialogue to confront and work through challenging issues that surround race;

(2) Increase the Nation's understanding of our recent history of race relations and the course our Nation is charting on issues of race relations and racial diversity;

(3) Bridge racial divides by encouraging leaders in communities throughout the Nation to develop and implement innovative approaches to calming racial tensions;

(4) Identify, develop, and implement solutions to problems in areas in which race has a substantial impact, such as education, economic opportunity, housing, health care, and the administration of justice.

(b) The Advisory Board also shall advise on such other matters as from time to time the President may refer to the Board.

(c) In carrying out its functions, the Advisory Board shall coordinate with the staff of the President's Initiative on Race.

Sec. 3. Administration. (a) To the extent permitted by law and subject to the availability of appropriations, the Department of Justice shall provide the financial and administrative support for the Advisory Board.

more

(OVER)

(b) The heads of executive agencies shall, to the extent permitted by law, provide to the Advisory Board such information as it may require for the purpose of carrying out its functions.

(c) The Chairperson may, from time to time, invite experts to submit information to the Advisory Board and may form subcommittees or working groups within the Advisory Board to review specific matters.

(d) Members of the Advisory Board shall serve without compensation but shall be allowed travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of subsistence, as authorized by law for persons serving intermittently in the Government service (5 U.S.C. 5701-5707).

Sec. 4. General. (a) Notwithstanding any other Executive order, the functions of the President under the Federal Advisory Committee Act, as amended, except that of reporting to the Congress, that are applicable to the Advisory Board shall be performed by the Attorney General, or his or her designee, in accordance with guidelines that have been issued by the Administrator of General Services.

(b) The Advisory Board shall terminate on September 30, 1998, unless extended by the President prior to such date.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

THE WHITE HOUSE,
June 13, 1997.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

June 13, 1997

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
IN MEETING WITH
THE ADVISORY BOARD TO THE
PRESIDENT ON RACE

The Oval Office

4:50 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: I'd like to begin by thanking this distinguished group of Americans for their willingness to serve on an advisory board to me to examine the state of race relations in America over the next year, to participate in making sure that the American people have facts, not myths, upon which to base their judgments and proceed, to launching a nationwide, honest discussion that we hope will be replicated in every community in this country and that will lead to some specific recommendations for further actions on our part as we move forward.

I think this is the right time to do this, because there is not a major crisis engulfing the nation that dominates the headlines every day, the economy is strong, crime is down, our position in the world is good. But if you look at where we are and where we're going, we will soon be, in the next few decades, a multiracial society in which no racial group is in a majority. And we are living in a world in which that gives us an enormous advantage in relating to other countries in the world since we have people from every country in the world here.

Already, we have five big school districts in America with children from over 100 different racial and ethnic groups; soon we'll have 12, within the next year or so. And also, if you look at the rest of the world, all the wonders of modern technology are being threatened by the rise of ethnic and racial and religious and tribal conflicts around the world, we'll be in a unique position to show people, not just tell people, but show people they don't have to give in to those darker impulses if we can create one America out of this incredible diversity we have.

So you all know this has been a big concern of mine for a long time, but I just believe that this is the right time for us to try to prepare for the new century and to take this time to look at it, and I have a very great group of people here, and there are hundreds, perhaps even thousands more who would like to participate in this debate, and we intend to give them the chance to do it.

Q How bad do you think race relations are in this country today? I mean, what are the real tensions?

THE PRESIDENT: I think they're much better than they used to be, but I think there is still discrimination, I think there is still both illegal discrimination and discrimination that may not rise to the level of illegality, but certainly undermines the quality of life and our ability to live and work together.

And I think there is still great disparity in real opportunity, particularly for racial minorities who are physically isolated from the rest of us in low-income areas with high crime rates and low rates of economic and educational opportunity.

MORE

I also believe there are glaringly different perceptions of the fairness of how various aspects of American society operates -- most clearly the criminal justice system, but a lot of other areas as well.

I also believe that we have not taken enough time to think about the implications of what it will mean when our racial questions are not primarily issues between African Americans and white Americans, although still there is a lot of unfinished business there, but of the entire texture of American diversity.

So I think that there are problems. I think things are better than they used to be, but I think that we have a lot of work to do in order to be one America.

Q Mr. President, we have an interesting phenomenon in that a lot of Americans work in integrated work environments, but they aren't friends. I mean, they are colleagues at work, but they're not friends at home, they don't socialize together, they don't voluntarily associate with each other. Is there anything that you can do about this, is there anything you should try to do about this?

THE PRESIDENT: It's certainly nothing you can legislate, but I think that one of the things that I would hope that the board and I will be able to do is to show America examples where people are working together outside the workplace as friends to build their communities, and to demonstrate that in cases where that has occurred, not only are communities stronger and social problems reduced, but the people involved are happier people.

I think that's one thing I hope we'll be able to talk about. It may be a little old-fashioned and Pollyanna, but I basically think that we'll all be happier as Americans if we know each other and we feel comfortable with each other and we're getting along with together. I think that it will make -- I think we'll have more fun. I think we'll feel better about ourselves -- not just we'll feel like we're good or noble or anything, but we'll feel like we're doing what makes sense and what ought to be the better part of human nature.

Q Mr. President, given how you've been criticized in the past on how you selected an Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights, Lani Guinier and how you've been criticized by your close friend, Marion Wright Edelman on welfare reform and how she essentially said it would leave poor minority children out in the dust and also how you struggled to come to a position on affirmative action that brought some rather tense moments between you and the Congressional Black Caucus and, lastly, how you were criticized on being in Texas, giving a speech on race relations on the day of The Million Man March, how much credibility do you think you honestly bring to the issue of race relations, and how much do you honestly think you can accomplish in relation to your goals?

THE PRESIDENT: I think I ought to congratulate you. In 30 seconds, you've probably got 100 percent of the criticisms that have been leveled against me.

Q Oh, there's a new one today. The Speaker --

Q Besides the Speaker saying that's -- (laughter) --

THE PRESIDENT: First of all, I was invited a long time ago to give that speech in Texas, and I think it was a very important speech. I've had -- secondly, more importantly, anybody who looks at my entire public life can see that it's been dominated by three things: economics, education and race.

If there is any issue I ought to have credibility on, it is this one, because it is a part of who I am and what I've done, and I don't feel the need to defend myself. I think all you have to do is look at the way I constitute my administration, look at the way that we've changed the Federal Bench and look at the policies I've advocated. And I'm very proud of the process through which we went to develop the affirmative action policy -- with Mr. Edley here, was a part of that -- and I think we did it right. After all, we not only had to come up with a position, we had to come up with a position in a way that we could defend it against those who thought we were wrong and who were determined to undo it, and we wanted to give everybody a chance to be a part of it; so I'm rather proud of that.

And on the welfare issue, time will prove whether Marion Edelman is right or I am. That's all I can tell you. All I can tell you is, even before the Welfare Reform Bill passed, we moved more people from welfare to work than at any time in American history and the Council of Economic Advisors says that 36 percent of them -- about 30 percent of them moved because of initiatives taken by states to help people move from welfare to work. We kept the guarantee for medical care, we kept the guarantee for nutrition for poor children, we kept the guarantee that the money had to be spent on poor people, we gave the states more money to spend on welfare than they would have today under the old system. They have 20 percent more money to spend on poor people today than they would have had if we hadn't changed the law -- today. And we're going to get, under the Budget Agreement, \$3 billion more to create jobs for people who don't have them. So let's -- give me a couple of years to see whether -- who is right on this. She was sincere and honest in her position and I'm sincere and honest in mine, and time will see who was right.

Q Mr. President -- going to be worried that this is going to be all talk and no action. Are there going to be concrete proposals that are going to come out of this? In what areas?

THE PRESIDENT: I expect there to be concrete proposals. I also wanted to say there will simultaneously be concrete proposals that will be debated in the context of the budget that will directly bear on this. For example, one of the things that troubles me about those in favor of getting rid of affirmative action is, I don't recall any of them coming up with any alternatives. Nor do I hear any voices assuming some responsibility for the apparent resegregation of higher education in Texas and California and some places as a result of it.

So, yes, I think we are duty-bound to come up with some policy, but I also think we're duty-bound to try to mobilize the energies and the attention of the rest of America so that everybody can be a part of this.

Q Does this mean you will specifically denounce Proposition 209 tomorrow?

THE PRESIDENT: I've already done that, but I will make my position on that issue clear again tomorrow.

Q I assume you've seen the Speaker's comment that he's looked at the Advisory Commission and assumes that it will come up with the, I think he said, same old, tired, liberal big government proposals. Would you like to disabuse him of that impression?

THE PRESIDENT: One of the things we did in 1993, which was not an old, tired, liberal, big government proposal -- Ronald Reagan said it was the best antipoverty program in American history with the earned income tax credit -- we doubled it in 1993 to help the working poor, to reward -- here is another thing I wanted to --

most minorities work for a living, they are not on welfare. And there are a lot of people out there working, not making much money. So the earned income tax credit says we're not going to tax people who work into poverty.

This new tax program that has been proposed by the Speaker's Ways and Means Committee would penalize the working poor and especially working poor mothers. So I would say that I'd be glad to have his advice, but this is a case where he needs to neaten up his own house a little bit and get those -- if he's for work and empowerment and not the big government solutions, then they ought to change that tax package and stop punishing the working poor.

Q What did you think of the Republican leaders all voting against the disaster bill? Wasn't that odd?

THE PRESIDENT: I'm just glad it passed. Mayor Owens, the Mayor of -- I visited out there in North Dakota called me last night after I signed it and said how glad she was the people were going to get their aid, and that's all I have to say. This never should have been political, and I don't want the politics to continue and I don't want to talk about victories or defeat here. People are going to get help; that's all that counts. We've got to go back to working on this budget and all these other issues.

THE PRESS: Thank you.

END

4:05 P.M. EDT

MORE

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

Embargoed For Release
Until 10:06 A.M. On
Saturday, March 29, 1997

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
TO THE NATION

THE PRESIDENT: Good morning. Spring is a season of renewal, not just of the world around us, but of the ideals inside us -- those that bind us together as a people. Millions of families will come together to celebrate Easter this weekend and Passover in the coming weeks, to reaffirm their faith in God and their commitment to our sacred values.

And in this season of renewal, I ask all Americans to reaffirm their commitment to this central ideal -- that we are many people, but one nation, bound together by shared values, rooted in the essential dignity and meaning of every American's life and liberty. That is the root of the American idea of a community of equal, free, responsible citizens and the American Dream to build the best possible future for our children.

The divide of race has been America's constant curse in pursuit of our ideals. The struggle to overcome it has been a defining part of our history. Racial and ethnic differences continue to divide and bedevil millions around the world. And as we become an ever more pluralistic society with people from every racial and ethnic group calling America home, our own future depends upon laying down the bitter fruits of hatred and lifting up the rich texture of our diversity and our common humanity.

We're not there yet, as we often see in the tragic stories in the news. Just last week in Chicago, a 13-year-old boy, riding his bike home from a basketball game, was brutally attacked and almost beaten to death -- apparently for no other reason but the color of his skin. Lenard Clark is black; the young men accused of attacking him are white. This weekend, I hope all Americans join Hillary and me in a prayer for Lenard and his family.

There is never an excuse for violence against innocent citizens. But this kind of savage, senseless assault, driven by nothing but hate, strikes at the very heart of America's ideals and threatens the promise of our future -- no matter which racial or ethnic identity of the attackers or the victims. We must stand together as a nation against all crimes of hate and say they are wrong. We must condemn hate crimes wherever they happen; we must commit ourselves to prevent them from happening again. And we must sow the seeds of harmony and respect among our people.

And let's be honest with ourselves: racism in America is not confined to acts of physical violence. Every day, African Americans and other minorities are forced to endure quiet acts of racism -- bigoted remarks, housing and job discrimination. Even many people who think they are not being racist, still hold to negative stereotypes, and sometimes act on them. These acts may not harm the body, but when a mother and her child go to the grocery store and are followed around by a suspicious clerk, it does violence to their souls.

MORE

We must stand against such quiet hatred just as surely as we condemn acts of physical violence, like those against Lenard Clark.

At the same time, black Americans must not look at the faces of Lenard Clark's attackers and see the face of white America. The acts of a few people must never become an excuse for blanket condemnation -- for bigotry begins with stereotyping, stereotyping blacks and whites, Jews and Arabs, Hispanics and Native Americans, Asians, immigrants in general. It is all too common today, but it is still wrong.

In Chicago, we see leaders of different races and political philosophies coming together to decry the crime against Lenard Clark. That is good and it is reason for hope.

The holidays of this season teach us that hope can spring forth from the darkest of times. Those of us who are Christians celebrate a risen God who died a painful, very human death to redeem the souls of all humanity without regard to race or station.

So as families come together to celebrate Easter and Passover, as parents reunite with their children, their brothers and sisters, and friends with each other, let us all take time to search our souls. Let us find the strength to reach across the lines that divide us on the surface and touch the common spirit that resides in every human heart.

And let us also remember there are some Americans who feel isolated from all of the rest of us in other ways -- sometimes with truly tragic consequences like the events just outside San Diego, which have so stunned us all this week. Our prayers are with their families, as well.

In this season of reflection, we must find kinship in our common humanity. In this season of renewal, we must renew our pledge to make America one nation under God. In this season of redemption, we must all rise up above our differences to walk forward together on common ground, toward common dreams.

Thanks for listening.

END