

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001, memo	Sylvia Mathews and Maria Echaveste to POTUS re: Reconciliation Outreach Efforts (3 pages)	5/21/97	P2, P5, P6/b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 Domestic Policy Council
 Bruce Reed (Subject File)
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FOLDER TITLE:

Race-Initiative [1]

rs72

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]

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

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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]

Policy

Goals:

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

Process:

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

Products

- See attached document for policy proposals currently under development.

Resources

- Budget commitments as noted on attached document

Education

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

Economic Empowerment

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

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

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

Health

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

Crime

- Community Policing Initiative -- Target funds from the COPS program to hire new police officers and support community organizations in underprotected high-crime, largely minority neighborhoods (e.g., public housing communities); also use COPS money to promote diversity training for police and establish citizen academies to help community residents understand police procedures; promote minority recruitment in law enforcement through existing grant program.
- Community Prosecuting Initiative -- Develop an initiative to give communities an incentive to experiment with community prosecution, which applies the principles of community policing -- neighborhood involvement and a focus on problem solving and prevention -- to this aspect of the criminal justice system.
- At-Risk Youth Prevention Efforts -- Devote \$75 million currently in CJS appropriations bill, which we proposed as part of the President's juvenile crime strategy, to targeted programs for at-risk and minority youth (convince DOJ to drop plans for distributing funds by formula); launch a new fight to get crime bill prevention programs funded in next year's budget process.
- Indian Country Law Enforcement Initiative -- In line with recommendations of Departments of Justice and Interior (due on October 31), transfer law enforcement authority from BIA to Justice and seek increased law enforcement resources specifically designated for Indian Country.

Civil Rights Enforcement

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

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

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

OUTREACH PLAN

OBJECTIVE:

Obtain input from and communicate with a broad range of individuals and organizations regarding the President's Initiative on Race, with respect to specific issues as developed by the working groups as well as the progress of the Initiative.

WORK PLAN:

A. Engage Corporate America in the Initiative

1. With Bob Thomas as the lead, utilize those who have volunteered such as Weldon Latham, Bob Johnson, Robert Haas, Sam Fried and others to recruit other business leaders.
2. Identify appropriate activities or meetings for these corporate leaders that would result in corporate CEO's taking a leadership role on the issue of diversity and race.
3. Encourage CEO's to help articulate rationale for value of diversity in economy and workplace.
4. Identify and promote promising corporate practices that foster diversity,

B. Obtain Broad Input Necessary for Policy Development of Appropriate Presidential Response to Hopwood and Prop. 209

1. Obtain input from those members of the Administration with higher education management experience regarding affirmative action in higher education.
2. Identify a group of individuals within the higher education community who would provide a broad range of views regarding importance of diversity and how to achieve it in higher education.
3. Identify individuals within traditional civil rights organizations who would provide thoughtful views regarding diversity and higher education.
4. Arrange series of meetings with above individuals over next two months to obtain input and views.

C. Engage Conservatives/Republicans in President's Initiative

1. Identify Conservatives/Republicans with history of commitment to diversity and inclusion.
2. Utilize Gov. Keane, other Republicans friendly to Administration and members of Administration to make calls and convene meetings for discussion.
3. Identify venues and opportunities to highlight participation of conservatives/Republicans in Initiative.

D. Communicate Regularly with Key Validators

1. Identify key organizations that media routinely turn to for reaction to Initiative and make regular calls/schedule occasional meetings to get input and feedback.
2. Provide talking points on progress of Initiative to key validators.

E. Support Effort to Recruit Leadership

1. Identify key organizations in each sector listed in the Recruiting Leadership work plan

for continued input and communication purposes.

2. Coordinate travel of Advisory Board members so as to broaden and expand the scope of our public outreach.

3. Suggest opportunities for Cabinet members and other Senior Administration personnel to expand scope of public outreach and communicating message of Initiative.

Working Groups for the President's Initiative on Race

A. Goal-related

1. Policy/Enforcement: Elena Kagan, Lin Liu, Gene Sperling

Group members: Jose Cerda, Michele Cavataio, Dawn Chirwa, Chris Edley, Thomas Freedman, Kordeman, Emil Parker, and Peter Rundlet

2. Recruiting Leaders/Outreach: Maria Echaveste, Mickey Ibarra, Michael Wenger

Group members: Ben Johnson, Lynn Cutler, Andrew Mayock, Janet Murguia, and Tracey Thornton

3. Promising Practices: Susan Liss, Lin Liu

Group members: David Campt, Michele Cavataio, Counsel intern, Lynn Cutler, Tom Janenda, Kevin Moran, Peter Rundlet, Michael Sorrell, and Ann Walker

4. Hard Questions: Chris Edley, Judith Winston

Group members: Paul Begala, Sidney Blumenthal, Terry Edmonds, Elena Kagan, Ann Lewis, Sylvia Mathews, Peter Rundlet, and Michael Waldman

5. Dialogue in Communities: Ann Lewis, Michael Wenger

Group members: Beverly Barnes, Paul Begala, Sidney Blumenthal, Jacinta Ma, and Nelson Reyneri

6. Living Report: Chris Edley, Judith Winston

Group members: Paul Begala, Sidney Blumenthal, Elena Kagan, Lin Liu, Sylvia Mathews, Peter Rundlet, and Michael Waldman

7. Youth: Minyon Moore, Michael Sorrell

Group members: Elizabeth Harrington, Jon Jennings, Chris Lavery, Andrew Mayock, Alison McLaurin, Kevin Moran, Rob Nelson, Mona Pasquil, Angelique Pirozzi, Chandler Spaulding, Ilia Velez, Ann Walker, and Cecily Williams

B. Process-oriented

8. Advisory Board: Minyon Moore, Judith Winston

Group members: Maria Echaveste, Chris Edley, Claire Gonzales, and Michael Wenger

9. Cabinet Affairs: Goody Marshall, Goody Marshall

Group members: David Beaubaire, Bibb Hubbard, Jon Jennings, and Andrew Mayock

10. Communications/Press: Ann Lewis, Claire Gonzales

Group members: Beverly Barnes, David Beaubaire, Ben Johnson, Estella Mendoza, and Nelson Reyneri

October 10, 1997

AGENDA

Presentations and Discussion on the Following Goals and Processes:

Goals

1. Policy
2. Recruiting Leaders / Outreach
3. Promising Practices
4. Hard Questions
5. Dialogue in Communities
6. Living Report
7. Youth

Processes

1. Advisory Board
2. Cabinet Affairs -
3. Communications / Press

Study Circles on Race Relations Connect Talk With Action

President Clinton's call for constructive dialogue on the difficult issue of race relations is already being answered. Over the last several years, study circle organizers in communities around the country have involved thousands of citizens in discussion and action on race.

In study circles—small-group, democratic, highly participatory discussions—people of all backgrounds and views exchange ideas and grapple with critical public issues. As citizens participate in community-wide study circle programs, they form new interracial networks, gain a deeper understanding of others' perspectives and concerns, discover common ground, and gain a greater desire and ability to take action—as individuals, as members of small groups, as members of large organizations in the community, and as voters.

Study circles create more than just talk. An evaluation of a program in the Cleveland area, where 700 citizens have participated, showed that people

changed their attitudes about race as a result of their study circle experiences. In Lima, Ohio, where over 2,000 citizens have taken part, participants have done everything from building new playgrounds to winning minority representation on a regional development board. In the week after the O.J. Simpson verdict, study circles took place at over 100 sites in Los Angeles, allowing people to address a tense situation in a civil and productive way.

Study Circle Program Examples

<p>Cleveland—More than 700 people have been involved in "Honest Conversations," sponsored by the National Conference in the communities of Shaker Heights, Beachwood, Euclid, and North Olmsted. An evaluation conducted by researchers from Case Western Reserve University showed that participants changed some of their attitudes about race as a result of the process. Contact: Sandi Holmes, (216) 752-3000.</p> <p>Wilmington/New Castle County, Del.—Almost 500 people are participating in a study circle program which began on Martin Luther King Day, 1997. The Dupont Company has pledged \$15,000 to fund this program, which was initiated by the YWCA. The Mayor, County Executive and Delaware Attorney General are members of the coalition formed for this effort, along with a host of other community organizations and businesses. Contact: Ruth Sokolowski, (302) 658-7161.</p>	<p>Springfield, Ohio—A study circle program, initiated by the city in 1993, is supported by a coalition which includes educational associations, local universities, county government, the school system, and the public library. It has involved 1,570 citizens so far, including students who co-facilitate study circles in the city's high schools. Contact: Selena Singletary, (937) 324-7380.</p> <p>Los Angeles—Hundreds of people participated in a Day of Dialogue at over 100 sites around the city only two weeks after the Simpson verdict. Sponsored and organized by the Los Angeles City Council and the Office of the City Attorney, community institutions from all sectors invited participants to talk about race relations. Since that time, successive rounds of study circles have focused on affirmative action and crime and violence. Contact: Carolyn Webb de Macias, (213) 485-7682.</p> <p>Lima, Ohio—The Mayor's office, the</p>
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"Study circles are making dramatic progress on race relations in cities all over the country," says former Senator Bill Bradley.

In Tampa, Florida, over 500 people have been involved in study circles on race relations; almost 500 have taken part in a program in Wilmington, Delaware; and in Springfield, Ohio, 1,570 residents have participated, including several hundred high school students.

Study circles aren't limited to race issues. Many communities are using them to get people involved in issues like crime and violence, education, criminal justice, and youth concerns. A program on education in toy Orford, New Hampshire, helped that town address the financial difficulties of its high school.

A program on crime in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, helped the police department implement a new community policing strate-

gy. In Oklahoma, a state-wide study circle program involving over 1,000 citizens enabled the state legislature to pass sweeping changes in the corrections system. At present, there are full-scale study circle programs underway in 36 communities across the country. Another 65 communities are in the process of planning such programs.

While each of these programs is unique and locally-driven, study circle organizers receive

free assistance and materials from the Study Circles Resource Center, which also works to connect this growing national network. SCRC is a project of the Topsfield Foundation, a nonprofit, nonpartisan private foundation working to advance deliberative democracy and improve the quality of public life in the United States.

Details: Sarah Campbell, (860) 928-2016; fax, (860) 928-3713; e-mail, scrc@ncca.com. ■

NLC Report Urges "Talk" About Racism

by Bill Barnes

"The racial tension in my community is palpable but we can't get anyone to talk about it."

That's what one city official said in a NLC focus group last year; others, from all over the nation, agreed. A new NLC publication, "Talking is the First Step," says that dialogue is critical to creating effective governance in racially and ethnically diverse communities.

"The challenge today," said NLC Executive Director Donald J. Borut, "is to cross boundaries, to acknowledge differences and bridge them, to engage and not to back off.

That is what this pamphlet is about."

More than 2,200 NLC member elected officials will receive the booklet this week.

The ten page pamphlet offers "talking points," acknowledges barriers and difficulties, and lists resources for moving forward. It says that local elected officials have unique and crucial roles to play, even if they are not "comfortable."

One official quoted in the pamphlet said "Elected officials must acknowledge that conflict exists; set the agenda; identify opportunities that we have to open up dialogue; and be willing to discuss racism."

"Talking is the First Step"

is the latest in an array of resources on diversity available to local officials. Next month, NLC will publish a 200-page guidebook, "Governing in a Diverse Community," that contains essays by city officials and scholars as well as descriptions of promising local initiatives. Training sessions and workshops on diversity also will be conducted at Congress of Cities in Philadelphia. NLC's work on this topic began in 1991 with the publication of "Diversity and Governance," a Futures Report adopted after a year of study by the NLC Advisory Council.

According to the most recent NLC opinion survey, municipal elected officials are

dissatisfied with the current level of discourse surrounding race/ethnic relations and racism.

Two-thirds (66 percent) of municipal elected officials say that their public discussions about race/ethnic relations and racism have been useful and constructive "never or almost never" or only "occasionally"—signifying a deep dissatisfaction with the current discourse surrounding race.

They also note that these discussions occur infrequently. Three-out-of-four (77 percent) say they are "never or almost never" or only "occasionally" involved in public discussions about race/ethnic relations or racism.

These city and town leaders say that when the issues of race/ethnic relations and racism do come up, it is usually as a part of other discussions on such "hot button" topics as crime and public safety, police community relations, or housing and community development.

In the 1996 focus groups, a broad mix of elected and appointed city and town officials said that "it's hard to talk publicly about race, ethnicity, and racism." ■

Additional copies of "Talking is the First Step" are available at no cost from NLC by contacting Lorraine Gloster: (fax) 202-626-3043 or (e-mail) gloster@nlc.org.

Date: 09/29/97 Time: 17:18

Clinton's race advisory board meets; may consider segregation

Bruce -
Did you see?

Elena

Race Initiative

WASHINGTON (AP) The debate over whether President Clinton should apologize for slavery is evolving into a call to apologize for another wrong: the rigid segregation endured by black Americans under Jim Crow laws.

That suggestion was offered in some of the 600 pieces of mail sent to the White House and the offices of Clinton's advisory board on race since June. The board, which Clinton charged with analyzing a slavery apology, will meet for the second time on Tuesday.

Race board chairman John Hope Franklin bolstered the suggestion Monday, saying in a radio interview that any presidential apology would have to extend beyond slavery and address segregation, because the institution of segregation endured for so many years after slavery ended.

"The most rigid apartheid laws this country has ever seen were passed in this century," Franklin told the American Urban Radio Network. "What are you going to do about all of the examples and practices of degradation and humiliation and segregation practiced in the 20th century? An apology for slavery is not going to do it."

Clinton appointed the board to spend a year gathering information on the country's racial climate that he will use to compile a report on race. The board's main activity is to conduct a series of town hall meetings where Americans can talk openly about race.

The White House said that, for now, it is unlikely that Clinton will apologize for segregation, the same response it gave to the suggestion for an apology for slavery.

"If you must do something now, today, the president doesn't think any kind of apology would be productive at this point," said spokesman Joe Lockhart. The matter will be referred to the race advisory board, Lockhart said.

Judith Winston, the advisory board's executive director, said the board would explore an appropriate response to the whole question of apologies, but was "not spending a lot of time on that."

Jim Crow laws, named for the black character in an 1830s-era song, were enacted by Southern states in the late 1800s. They required separate facilities for blacks and whites sometimes even separate Bibles in courtrooms and were bolstered by the Supreme Court's 1896 decision that upheld Louisiana's "separate but equal" facilities on railroads.

Segregation endured even after the Supreme Court's 1954 Brown v. Board of Education decision, which called for integration of schools. It was officially eliminated by the Civil Rights Act of 1964, although civil rights activists argue that its vestiges linger today in such areas as education and housing.

The White House shunned the slavery apology idea because it would touch off a demand for reparations government compensation to the descendants of African slaves. Clinton ruled out reparations in June, saying it would be impossible to determine who should be paid.

Privately, Clinton aides say an apology for Jim Crow seems more acceptable because it was a more narrowly focused racial action. An apology would provide a natural means for Clinton to defend affirmative action and other federal programs created as a remedy for inequality.

A sampling of the president's mail, provided to The Associated Press on the condition that the authors' names be concealed, showed some writers calling directly for an apology for segregation, while others proposed that Clinton address segregation in some form so that the country can start dealing with slavery's deeper wounds.

"It is time for a moral reckoning with segregation," said an Aug. 23 letter from a writer who identified himself as a historian at Stanford University. "I am convinced that multiracial democracy cannot be achieved until the nation faces up to its history of racial segregation."

Not all writers were pleased with the notion of an apology. "Let's just forget about white people, you know. Let's make them the minority," said a June 19 e-mail whose author signed off, "An Unhappy White Person."

Another letter, dated Aug. 14, proposed nominating a colonial-era New York cemetery as a "world heritage site" under a 1972 U.N. convention. The Negroes Burial Ground, unearthed in 1992, dates back to the 1750s and contains the graves of slaves and poor blacks.

"The proposal (is) premised on the notion that 'to apologize or not to apologize' need not necessarily be the question, ... and that, in any event, an 'apology' can take many forms," the letter said.

Even a student leader in Evanston, Ill., saw the need for Clinton to deal with the vestiges of segregation, saying he is devoting his term in office to trying to ease "residual segregation" at his school.

"There remain many school groups or activities and some classes that, in practice, are predominantly segregated," the student said.

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DRAFT WORK PLAN
PRESIDENT'S INITIATIVE ON RACE
September 4, 1997

The purpose of this draft work plan is to begin to lay the foundation for the work of the Race Initiative over the coming year. The plan identifies three key goals which essentially are a shorthand version of the President's five goals. We recognize that the elements of this plan will need to be constantly refined as we gather information. We hope that this draft work plan will give you a sense of the task before us.

Mission:

- To change the climate in our nation regarding race relations
- To build one American community which celebrates our differences yet is united by our shared values

Goals:

1. Public Outreach and Communication
2. Engage Leadership and Sustain Change
3. Identify Policy Recommendations, Disseminate Promising Practices, and Develop On-going Action Agenda

Race Initiative

*Bruce - FYI.
E. L. ...*

GOAL 1: Public Outreach and Communication

- To articulate the President's vision of a just, unified America
- To help educate all Americans about the facts of race in this country
- To promote a constructive dialogue in which we confront the difficult issues of race

The purpose of this goal is to identify key messages, target audiences and effective ways to communicate the President's vision of a just, unified America. A critical part of this goal is to share with the nation the real facts about race, especially the continued existence of racism, the disparities that exist among groups, and the positive hopes for change as we move into the 21st century. This goal encompasses the important task of creating a national conversation on race -- not a single conversation, but thousands of conversations around the nation at which Americans can talk honestly about the issues of race. We hope that these conversations, which include town meetings, will provide a forum for Americans to discover shared values and aspirations and increase tolerance and respect for differences.

STRATEGIES	SUB-STRATEGIES / TASKS	RESPONSIBLE STAFF/ TARGET DATE'	ACTUAL DATE
I. Assemble facts to inform the debate (e.g. data on education, economics, health, criminal justice, etc.)		Lin Liu	
	Federal Agencies provide data on demographics, trends, disparities, discrimination. Identify and assemble relevant race and issue data from non-federal sources. Analyze data to determine trends - progress, stagnation, regression - in areas the President has identified	1st Quarter	
	Develop, plan and communicate data relevant to race issues which illustrate key disparities/problems in American society. Plan would include dissemination - libraries, internet, schools, television	Liu/Gonzales ongoing	
	Identify what we want America to know at the end of a year, for example: • Accurate perception of racial composition of America • Accurate understanding of the link between disparities and discrimination	1st Quarter	

	Develop core message based on the facts for Advisory Board and others	Liu/Gonzales 1st Quarter	
2. Develop leadership outreach plan: national conversations, town meetings		Mike Wenger	
	Develop guidance for conducting productive conversations <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Develop "how to" kit for folks who want to host their own town meetings • Develop speaker's kit • Provide technical assistance on convening and conducting conversations on race thru www support, kits, curriculum, etc 	Wenger/Gonzales 1st Quarter 1st Quarter ongoing	
	Plan town meetings <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Identify town meeting sites and dates • Identify groups who can host town mtgs • Identify appropriate facilitators • Determine format 	1st Quarter 1st Quarter 1st Quarter 1st Quarter	
	Use Presidential bully pulpit <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Create 10 Presidential events with time line • Publicize and recognize acts of civic responsibility and courage in standing up to bigotry and intolerance • Encourage President to talk about race in every speech (continue to speak out against injustices and hate crimes, put to rest past injuries) 	1st Quarter ongoing ongoing ongoing	
	Identify key speaking opportunities/conferences for Cabinet and sub-Cabinet and provide necessary information and material <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • speeches, editorial boards • "At the Table" sessions • Cabinet-hosted dinners 	schedule during 1st Quarter	

	<p>Identify key speaking opportunities/conferences for Advisory Board and others and provide necessary information and material</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Activate peer networks • Host community forums <p>Create a world class web site that is attractive, current, quickly updatable, linked, and easy to find and includes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • information about the Advisory Board • schedules • interim documents • press releases • compiled web resource • online feedback or discussion • areas for interactive dialogue • promising practices 	ongoing	
3. Identify and develop consensus on issue line and methods for reaching specific sectors or communities	<p>Promote smaller scale conversations around the nation, for example:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • school-based activities • interfaith exchanges • dinners hosted by local political, business, community leaders <p>Obtain commitment of foundations, civic organizations, universities, youth organizations and others to sponsor "conversations"</p> <p>Identify and create a master list including every person or organization which has offered assistance and develop strategy for their involvement</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Congress, youth, business, non-profit, religious orgs 	Wenger 1st Quarter	
		ongoing	
		ongoing	
	Identify strategy to reach disengaged people	1st and 2nd Quarter	
	Recruit community leaders to convene local, multi-racial dialogues in carefully structured and facilitated settings for the purpose of honest conversation and problem solving	ongoing	
4. Develop a communications / media plan		Gonzales	

	Identify target audiences & effective messages	1st Quarter and ongoing	
	Develop editorial board strategy	1st Quarter	
	Develop regional and specialty media strategy, including minority-owned media and minority reporters		
	Develop and identify sponsors for Public Service Campaigns, for example: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • PSAs (radio, tv, print) • artistic exhibits • Campaign to stand up to bigotry 	1st and 2nd Quarter	
	Put special emphasis on media industry including discussion of racial portrayals/stereotyping and minority participation within the industry.	1st and 2nd Quarter	
	Engage arts and entertainment industry, e.g. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • unity concerts 	Gonzales/Wenger ongoing	
	Recognize and promote minority achievement in non-traditional areas (eg. Supreme Court Justices, Astronauts, federal, city and state leaders, etc)	Gonzales/Wenger ongoing	

GOAL 2: Engage Leadership and Sustain Change

The purpose of this goal is to engage America's leaders and citizens to participate in thoughtful dialogue and action concerning issues affected by race. Leaders can come from government, business, religious organizations, non-profits, student organizations and beyond. Leadership also includes the development of new leaders, especially reaching out to youth and to ordinary Americans who can play extraordinary roles. While government can and should play a role, much of the work must be done by the American people as citizen service. Leaders can encourage the exploration of race issues and the value of diversity by sponsoring events which serve as models of candid and constructive dialogue. They can also lead by example, incorporating the lessons learned by the dialogue and ensuring that race informs institutional decision making. An essential part of this goal is to ensure the sustainability of this initiative into the 21st century, recognizing that not every goal will be accomplished in one year.

STRATEGIES	SUB-STRATEGIES / TASKS	RESPONSIBLE STAFF/ TARGET DATE	ACTUAL DATE
Identify current and potential leaders to ensure the broadest participation possible	Identify "Ambassadors" in each sector (e.g. business, religious, political, youth) who can carry message to their peers	Wenger/Team 1st Quarter	
	Develop partnerships with national political and governmental organizations (e.g. US Conference of Mayors, NESL, NGA, etc.) willing to put racial reconciliation at top of agenda	1st and 2nd Quarter	
	Engage Congressional caucuses and other elected officials <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Identify opportunities for bipartisan participation • Encourage members to host town meetings 	Gonzales/Wenger 1st Quarter	
	Meet with leadership of major religious organizations and plan strategy with them	1st and 2nd Quarter	

	<p>Establish linkages with national business organizations (Chamber, BRF) and business leaders from minority and majority businesses</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Share best practices and solicit new ideas in human resource management • Encourage candid conversations about the implications of race in their work • Examine public and private efforts to integrate minority business into America's economic mainstream (access to capital, bonding, participating in exporting/importing, receiving private and public sector contracts, etc). • Examine the effectiveness of our current laws, policies and practices with respect to eliminating the remaining vestiges of discrimination in the work place. Do we need new laws? Do we have sufficient resources? • Identify activities business leaders could do to promote diversity in the work place, eliminate discrimination, etc. Stimulate corporations on a volunteer basis to examine their own practices and make improvements. 	1st and 2nd Quarter
	<p>Meet with and identify leadership roles for non-profits, foundations, civic and advocacy organizations</p>	1st and 2nd Quarter
	<p>Reach out to Universities, national student organizations</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Establish President's Council of University and College presidents and student body presidents to develop racial reconciliation initiatives on their campuses. 	1st and 2nd Quarter
	<p>Stimulate local school partnerships to develop programs, clubs, and extracurricular activities for youth and families</p>	1st and 2nd Quarter
	<p>Inspire ordinary Americans to take a leadership role and identify concrete ways that they can be involved in the Initiative.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Develop a kit to help ordinary citizens get involved 	1st and 2nd Quarter
<p>Lead by example: engage federal sector to identify and implement and best practices</p>		<p>1st 1st, 2nd, 3rd Quarter</p>

	Share best practices and solicit new ideas in human resource management and agency outreach strategies <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Work with President's Management Council • Talk to Federal employee Unions 		
	Encourage candid conversations about the implications of race in their work		
	Develop "Principles of Inclusion" to guide human resource management and policy making		

GOAL 3: Identify Policy Recommendations, Disseminate Promising Practices, and Develop On-going Action Agenda

Much of the work of this goal will provide the foundation for the President's report to the American people. Its purpose is to find, develop and recommend concrete solutions to race problems in critical areas such as education, economic opportunity, housing, criminal justice and health care. Through research and data collection, we must identify where we have made progress and where we still have a long way to go. We must recognize places where government has the power to help and where we need the power of the American people to make change. Through discussion and broad input, we must propose solutions, and we must provide communities with the tools to bridge social divides. Finally, a critical part of this goal is to hear from people around the country about the positive activities that are already happening and share these promising practices with the rest of the nation.

STRATEGIES	SUB-STRATEGIES / TASKS	RESPONSIBLE STAFF/ TARGET DATE	ACTUAL DATE
Identify critical problems/areas of disparities based on data collection		Liu 1st Quarter	
Survey current status of Administration policies and activities addressing identified problems (OMB)			
Work with Domestic Policy Council and others to formulate short and long term policy options.	Develop partnerships with Cabinet Departments, agencies, interagency councils (e.g. PHC, Civil Right's Interagency Council) to develop new policy and programmatic approaches to critical problem areas	ongoing	
	Ensure sufficient resources to carry out civil rights enforcement	1st, 2nd, 3rd quarters	
	Develop plan and appropriate materials to announce policy		
Encourage foundations to fund activities and research in identified areas of need		ongoing	
Develop and publish a periodic national report card on race relations		4th Quarter	

Establish award/recognition programs at different levels of government and in different sectors		3rd, 4th Quarters	
Establish and maintain clearinghouse of promising practices		2nd Quarter	
	Develop collection plan	2nd Quarter	
	Develop marketing and dissemination plan	3rd Quarter	
	Provide technical assistance on handling racial and intergroup conflicts to public officials, community leaders, students, parents and others.	2nd Quarter and ongoing	

End Notes

1. 1st quarter = Sept, Oct, Nov;
2nd quarter = Dec, Jan, Feb;
3rd quarter = Mar, Apr, May;
4th quarter = June, July, Aug

Draft Framework for Performance Measures

Below is an initial framework for thinking about performance measures. We believe that the development of performance measures is an especially sensitive area and that it will be important to proceed carefully. Furthermore, until we have fully assembled baseline data, it is difficult to establish performance targets, especially in the policy areas. The information below is intended to provide a sense of the general direction in which we are moving. The measures we have included are illustrative of the type of measures we are considering. Some of the measures are more output oriented than performance oriented, but we believe that output measures will also be an important gauge of our success.

(1) Changing Attitudes

- accurate perception of racial composition of America
- accurate perception of situation of minorities in America (e.g. education, jobs, etc.)
- public understands that significant discrimination exists
 - e.g. 38% of whites believe that "racism is a big problem in our society"
 - 68% of blacks believe that "racism is a big problem in our society"
- increase in percentage of respondents who say that race relations between blacks and whites in this country have improved over the past year.
- decreased stereotyping in media
- pre- and post surveys of town meeting participants

- # town meetings / month
- # conversations / month
- # of hits on website

(2) Building Partnerships and Leadership Support

- bipartisan and grassroots participation
- extensiveness of participation by sector (i.e. number of businesses who have committed X, number of mayors who will do Y)
- number of events taking place around the country that are posted on line

(3) Developing Policy

- successful identification of public and private data sources to better inform policy decisions and allocation of resources
- establishment of clearinghouse of best practices
- degree to which best practices are adopted around the country

Need measures in each area:

Criminal Justice

Education

Economic Opportunity (including housing)

Health

cc: Process

Race Initiative-general

DRAFT-DRAFT-DRAFT

Race Initiative

Goals Working Groups

1. **Policy - Kagan / Liu / Sperling**
Group members - Cerda, Chirwa, Edley, Freedman, Kordeman, Parker, Rundlet
2. **Recruiting Leaders / Outreach - Echaveste / Ibarra / Wenger**
Group members - Johnson, Cutler, Mayock, Murguia, Thornton
3. **Promising Practices - Liss / Liu**
Group members - Cavataio, Counsel intern, Cutler, Janenda, Moran, Rundlet, Sorrel, Walker
4. **Tough Messages - Edley / Winston**
Group members - Begala, Blumenthal, Edley, Edmonds, Kagan, Mathews, Rundlet, Waldman
5. **Dialogue in Communities - Gonzales / Lewis**
Group members - Barnes, Begala, Blumenthal, Hubbard, Ma, Reyneri, Wenger
6. **Living Report - Edley / Winston**
Group members - Begala, Blumenthal, Kagan, Liu, Mathews, Rundlet, Waldman
7. **Youth - Moore / Sorrel**
Group members - Jennings, Lewis, Moran, Mayock, Walker, Velez

Process Working Groups

1. **Advisory Board - Moore / Winston**
Group members - Echaveste, Edley, Gonzales, Wenger
2. **Cabinet Affairs - Cavataio / Marshall**
Group members - Beaubaire, Jennings, Hubbard, Mayock

Interagency Working Group - Marshall / Winston

3. Communications / Press - Gonzales / Lewis

Group members - Barnes, Beaubaire, Johnson, Mendoza, Reyneri

Race Initiative Advisory Board

~~File~~ RACE INITIATIVE

+ make extra copy
for me
(return)

Bruce -

I thought you'd
set a high cut
of this.

Steve

Brainstorming Session

One America: The President's Initiative on Race

Bob Thomas

9/8/97

Topics:

- Goal for the Initiative
- Outcome Choices for the Initiative
- Role of the Advisory Board
- Overview
- Subcommittee Subtleties
- "Test" Hypothesis or "Discover" Hypothesis
- 9/30 Meeting with the President
- Issues/Input for President's Final Report

What is the desired goal for the President's Initiative on Race?

The Staff for the Initiative has undertaken a significant task of supporting the President in engaging the country in a national conversation on race. However, what might be the desired outcomes of this conversation? For example, there could be a range of desired outcomes:

- Managing public attitude on race (see Example 1)
- An alignment of existing/planned programs and policies (see Example 2)
- A full transition plan to move the country into the 21st Century all the while overcoming racially charged attitudes (see Example 3)

What is the role of the Advisory Board in the President's plan for the Initiative?

As the Staff for *One America: The President's Initiative on Race* begins its process to create a work plan and developing work processes, a major issue appears to lack certain definition: what is the role of the Advisory Board and what is its relation to the Initiative and the Initiative Staff?

- Example A: Is the Initiative Staff progress to be guided by the direction of the Advisory Board or is the Initiative Staff a function of the White House staff and therefore directed by the President?
- Example B: Is the Advisory Board to review Initiative Staff progress and assessments and report to the President or is the Initiative Staff to present progress to the President and the Advisory Board so the Board may advise the President?
- Example C: Is the Board's role to lead the Initiative Staff in the broader focus of the President's theme of a "just, unified America" which involves many issues which are beyond race?

Memo:

The following points have already been provided to the Advisory Board and are listed here only for review purposes and reference.

Five Major Goals are stated for One America, for each of which the President will seek the advice of the Advisory Board regarding how to achieve them:

- To articulate the President's vision of a just, unified America
- To help educate all Americans about the facts of race in this country
- To promote a constructive dialogue in which we confront the difficult issues of race
- To encourage leadership at the federal, state, local, community and individual levels to help bridge racial divides; and
- To identify and develop solutions in critical areas such as education, economic opportunity, the administration of justice, housing, crime and health care.

Activity Themes for process:

Study

Dialogue

Action

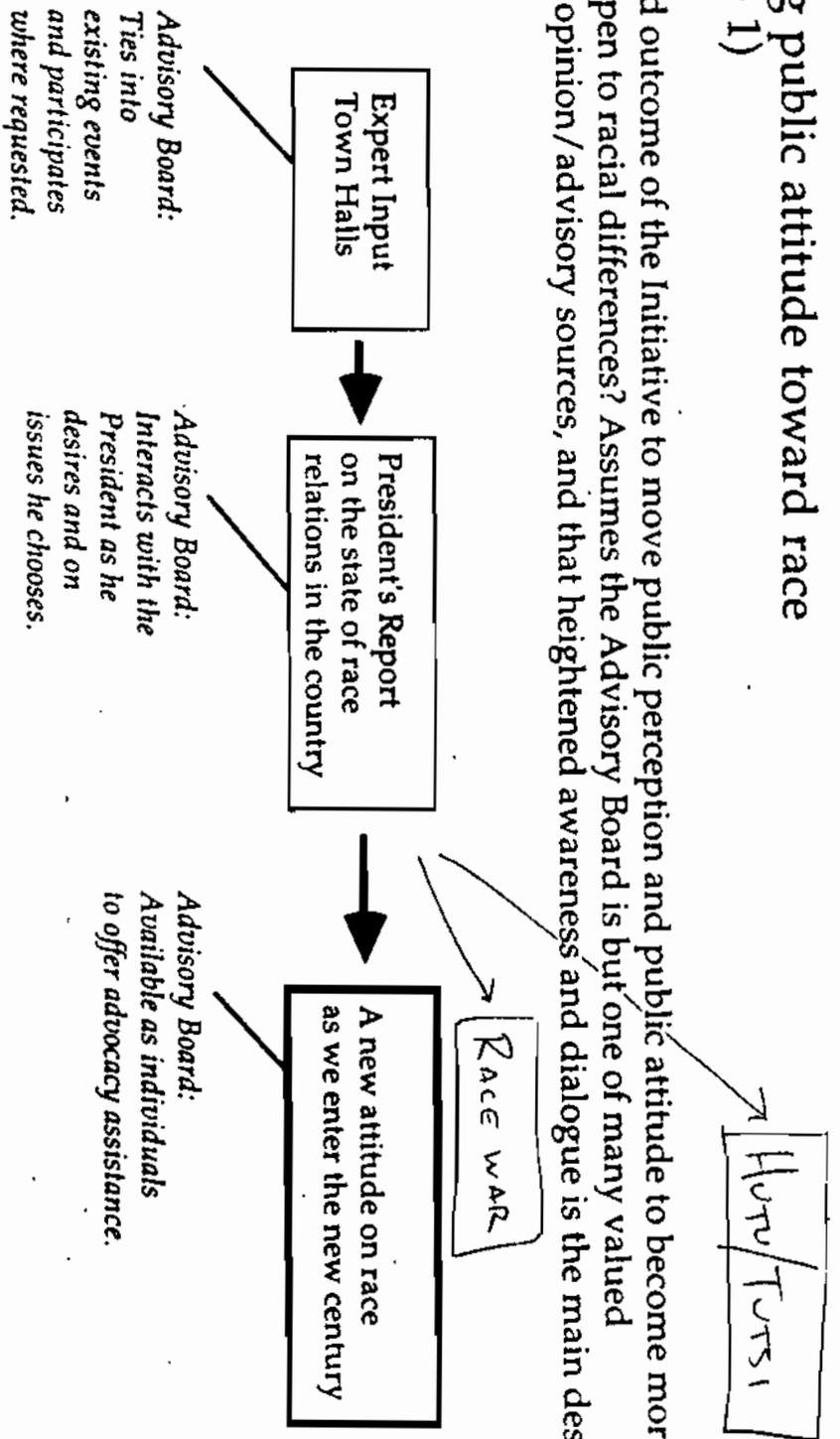
Refined Goals:

1. Public Outreach and Communication
2. Engage Leadership and Sustained Change
3. Identify Policy Recommendation, Disseminate Best Practices and Develop On-going Action Agenda

Outcome Choices for the Initiative

Managing public attitude toward race (Example 1)

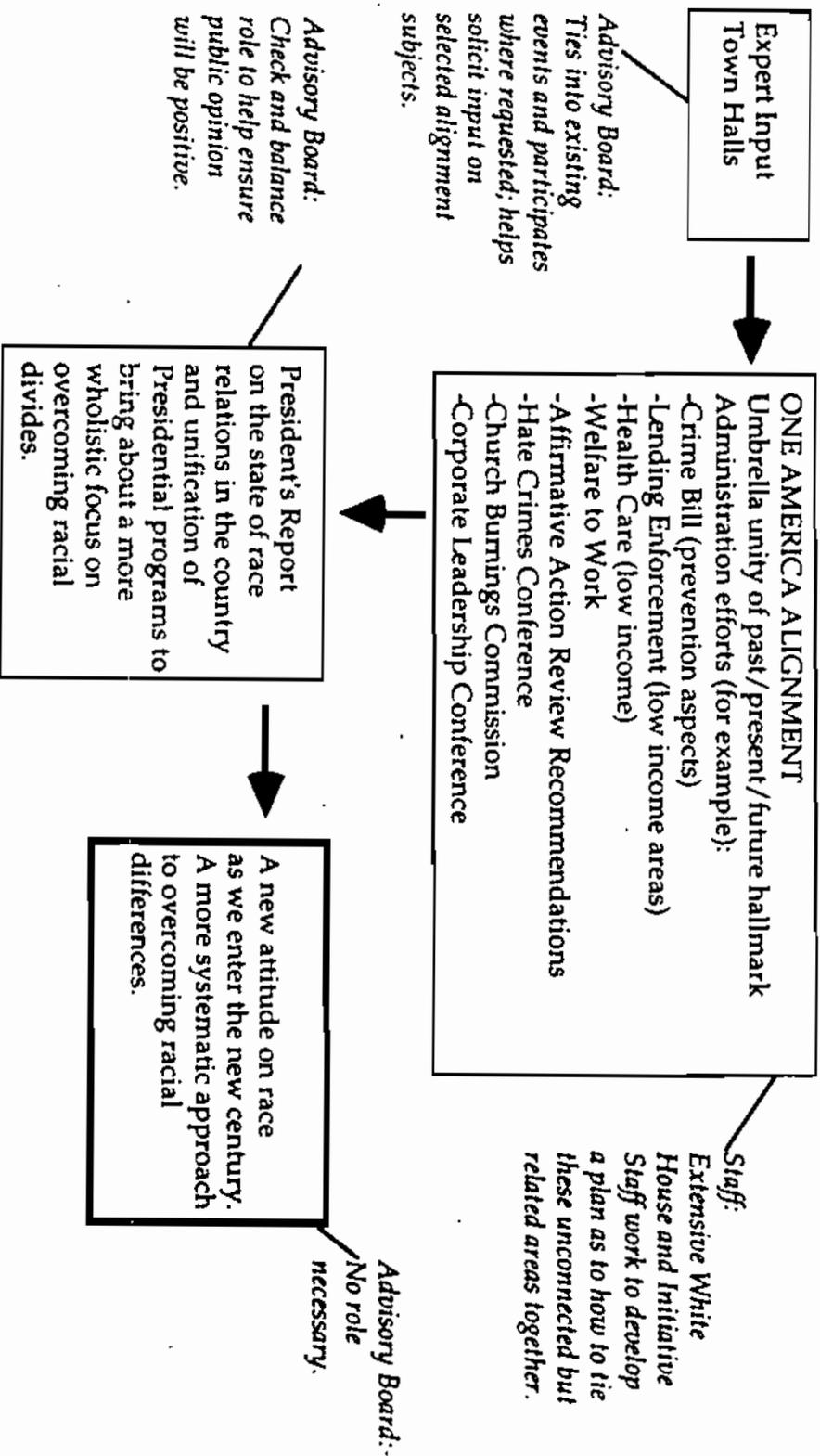
Is the desired outcome of the Initiative to move public perception and public attitude to become more aware and open to racial differences? Assumes the Advisory Board is but one of many valued Presidential opinion/advisory sources, and that heightened awareness and dialogue is the main desired outcome.



Note: Examples A or B (pages 10 or 11) of the Advisory Board's role would seem to fit best with this desired outcome.

Alignment of administration efforts to foster racial reconciliation (Example 2)

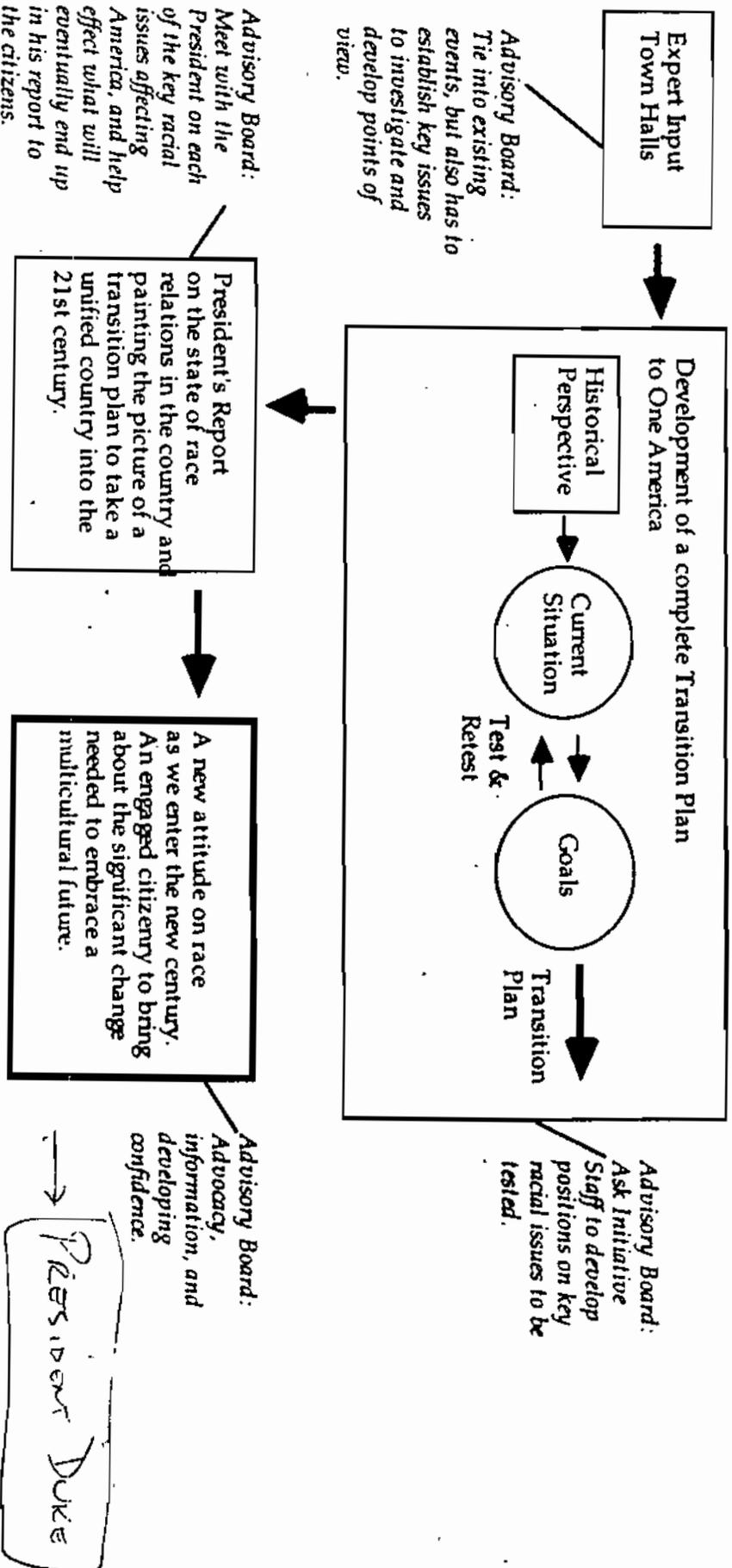
Is the desired outcome of the Initiative to create a deeper understanding of racial divisions so there can be a greater synchronicity of Administration efforts developing momentum to overcome those racial differences? Assumes that the President/White House staff believe the ingredients for racial harmony already exist, and that the main desired outcome is to perceptually "connect the dots" so that their synergies can be optimized.



Note: Examples A or B (pages 10 or 11) of the Advisory Board's role would seem to fit best with this desired outcome.

Full transition plan for a unified America (Example 3)

Is the desired outcome of the Initiative to create the blueprint for a transition plan to move the country into a multicultural future that will displace racial differences in its wake? Assumes the President's main desired outcome is to leave a landmark legacy of racial relations that will need nurturing well into the 21st Century.



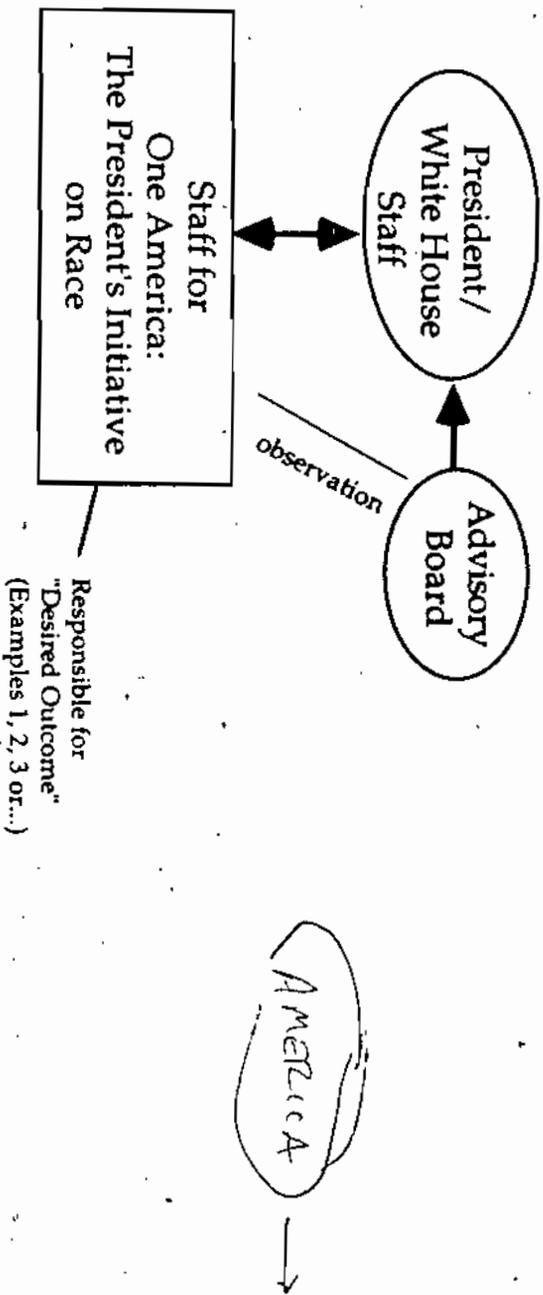
Note: Example C (page 12) of the Advisory Board's role would seem to fit best with this desired outcome.

Role of the Advisory Board

Role of the Initiative Staff

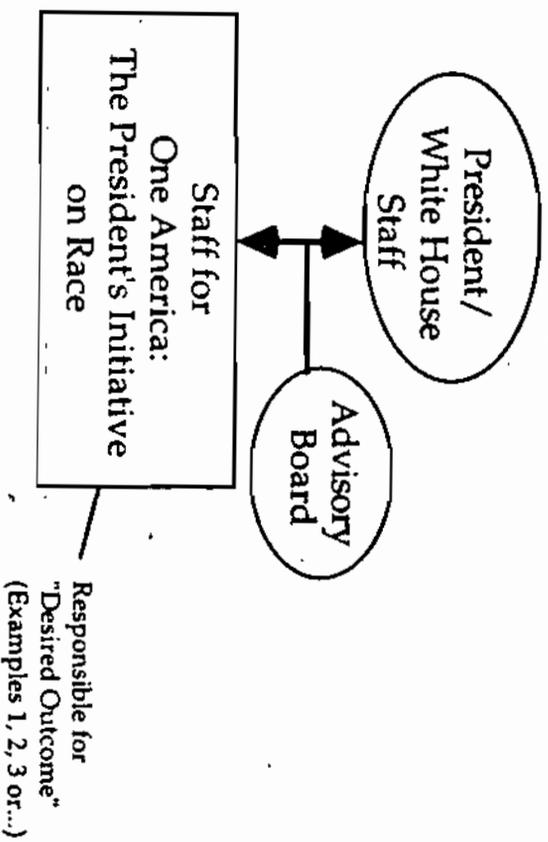
Role as Advisor to the President? (Example A)

Is the Advisory Board's primary function to observe the progress of the Initiative Staff and report its observations to the President? Assumes Initiative Staff gets its vision and work plan direction either internally or from the President/White House staff.



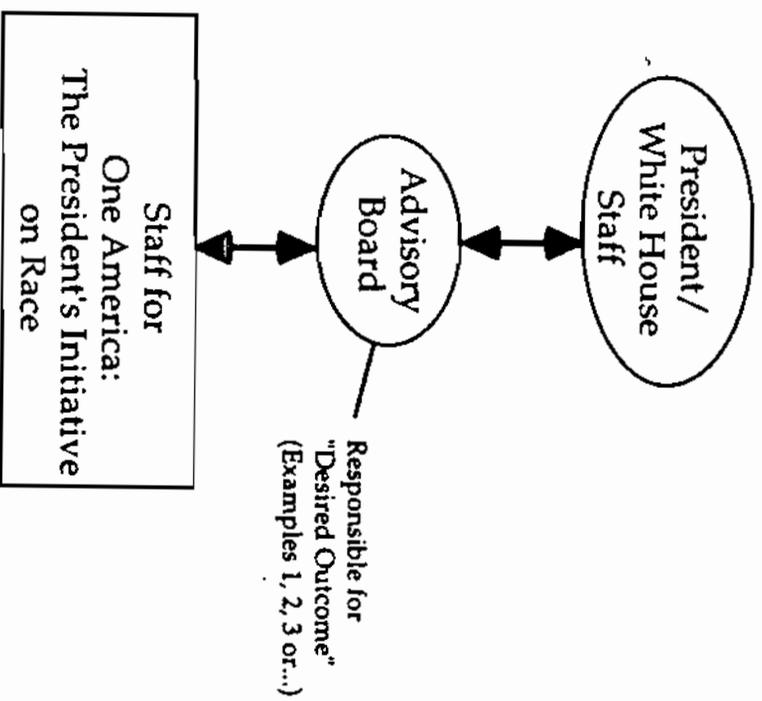
Role as Listener/Communicator/Advocate/Advisor to the President and Initiative Staff? (Example B)

Is the Advisory Board's primary function to be the highly visible, symbolic eyes/ears/voices/arms/legs for both the President and the Initiative Staff? Assume the Initiative Staff gets its vision and work plan direction either internally or from the President/White House staff.



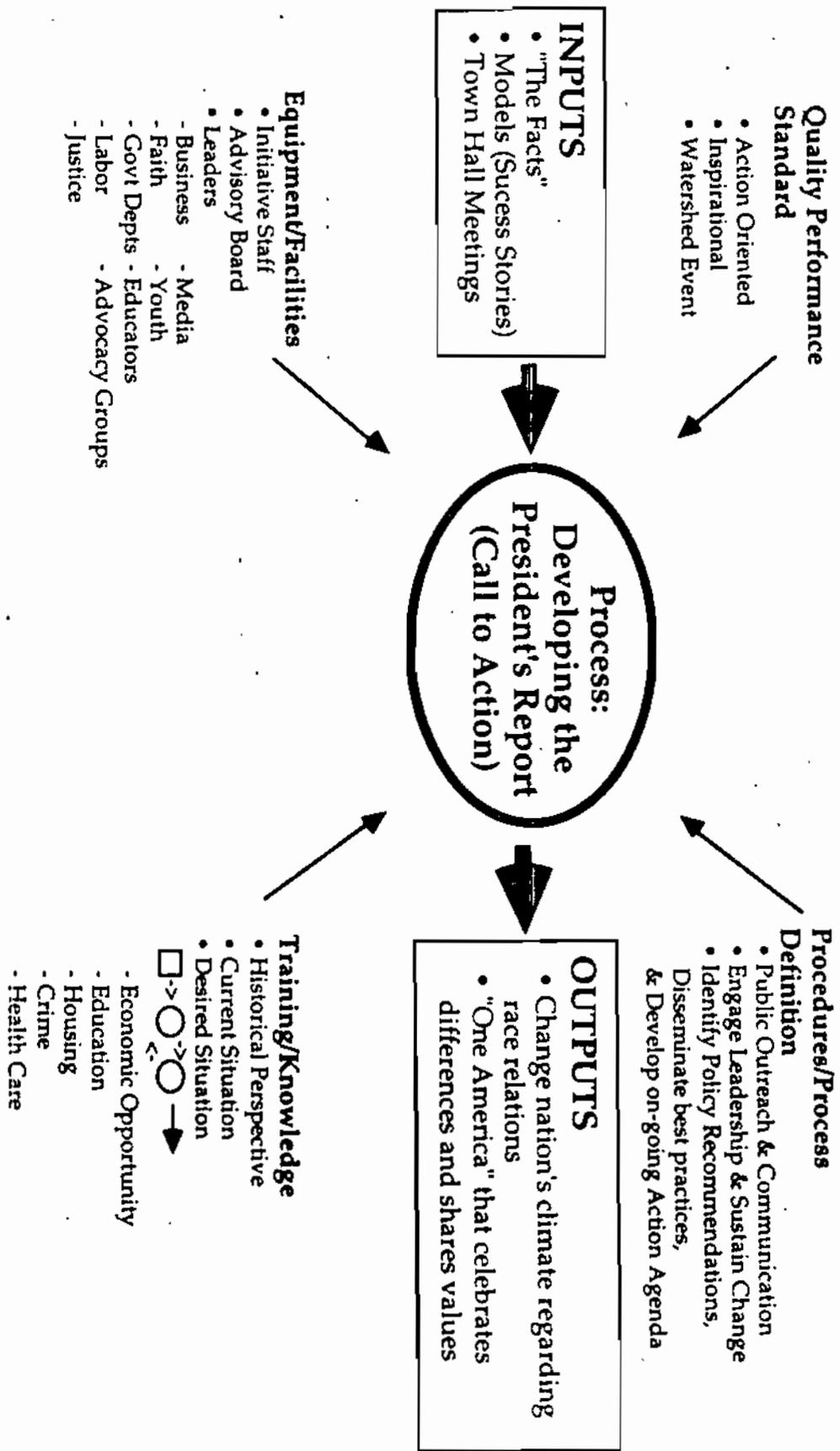
Role as Leadership of the "One America Initiative"? (Example C)

Is the Advisory Board expected to lead the Initiative Staff and direct the work plan process to accomplish the desired outcomes? Assumes the Advisory Board can take the responsibility for achieving the selected "desired outcome".



Overview

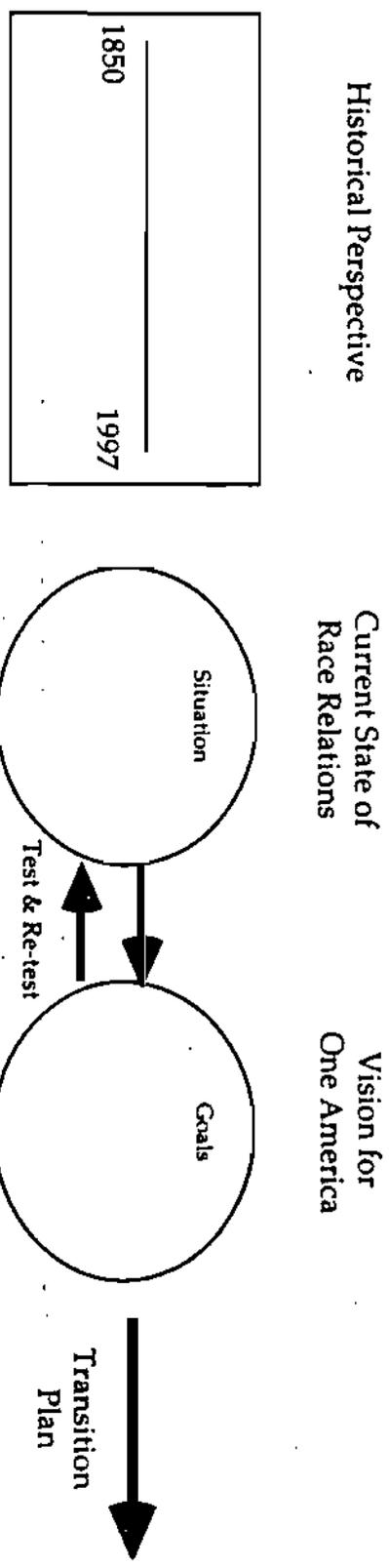
Process Overview



This chart depicts a potential process of development of the President's Report to the Nation on Race Relations using a standard Total Quality Management tool.

Model for Understanding Major Issues

Issues that emerge from the staff data collection will combine to create an Historical Perspective and will largely define the Current State of race relations. Town halls meetings and narrative evidence will further define the Current State and the Advisory Board's perspective. Town hall meetings and narrative evidence will also provide modeling and success stories which lead to the start of defining Goals for a Transition Plan leading to a new and better era of race relations.

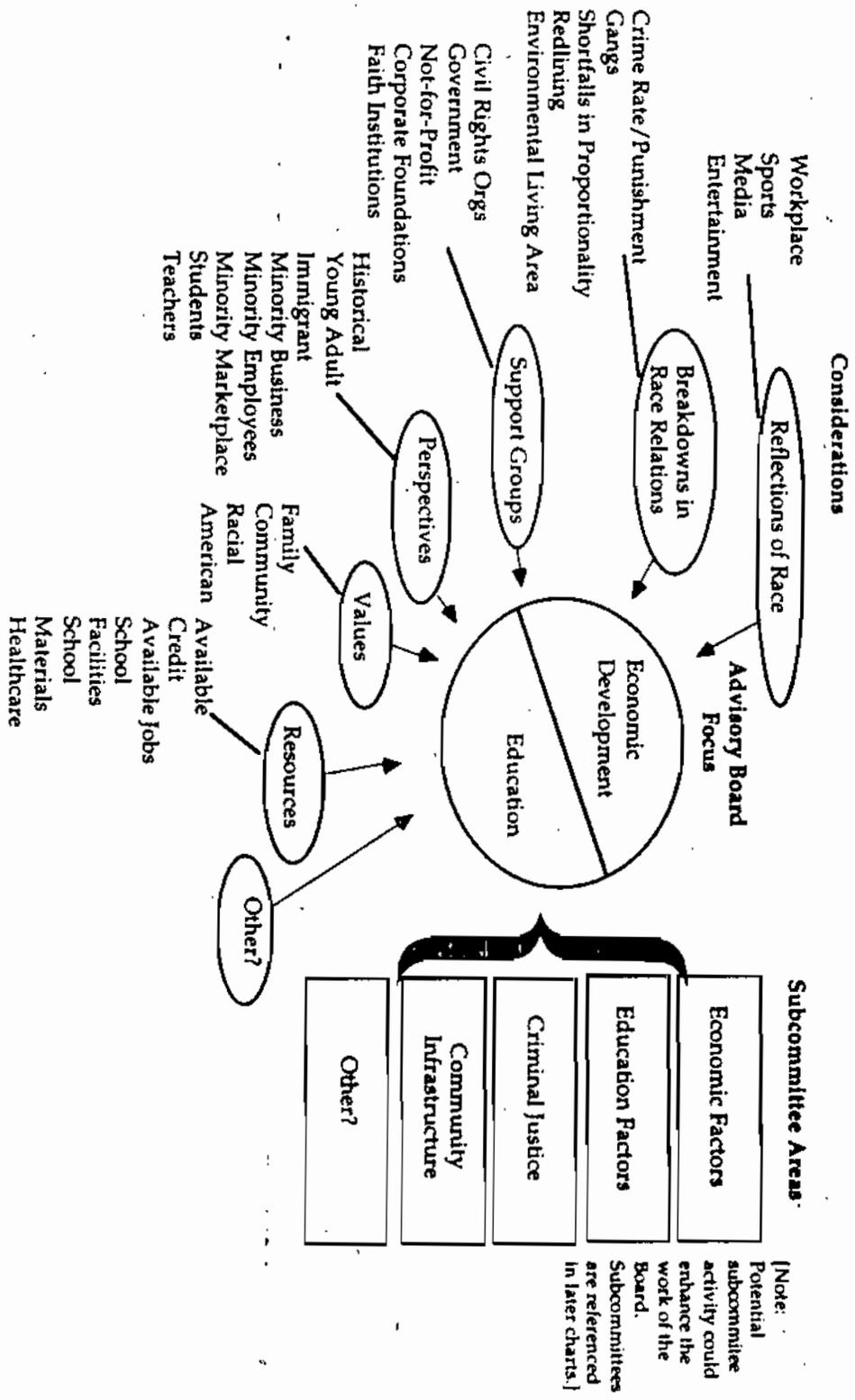


Subcommittees

Formal Subcommittees Established 8/12/97

- **Public Education, Communication and National Conversations**
- **Leadership and Sustained Change**
- **Policy Recommendations and Dissemination of Best Practices**

Early Subcommittee Rationale/Recommendation



"Subcommittee" Differences/Discussion

- Formal, established structure is process-oriented, and will deal with "factors" as they are required
- Early recommended structure was "factor" oriented, and would have dealt with process sequentially

Note: No attempt here to change the decision - just to understand the implications

"Test" Hypothesis

- OR -

"Discover" Hypothesis

Now What?

- Study historical perspectives, study current facts and perceptions, engage in dialogue, and conduct Town Hall meetings to eventually develop points of view on the issues

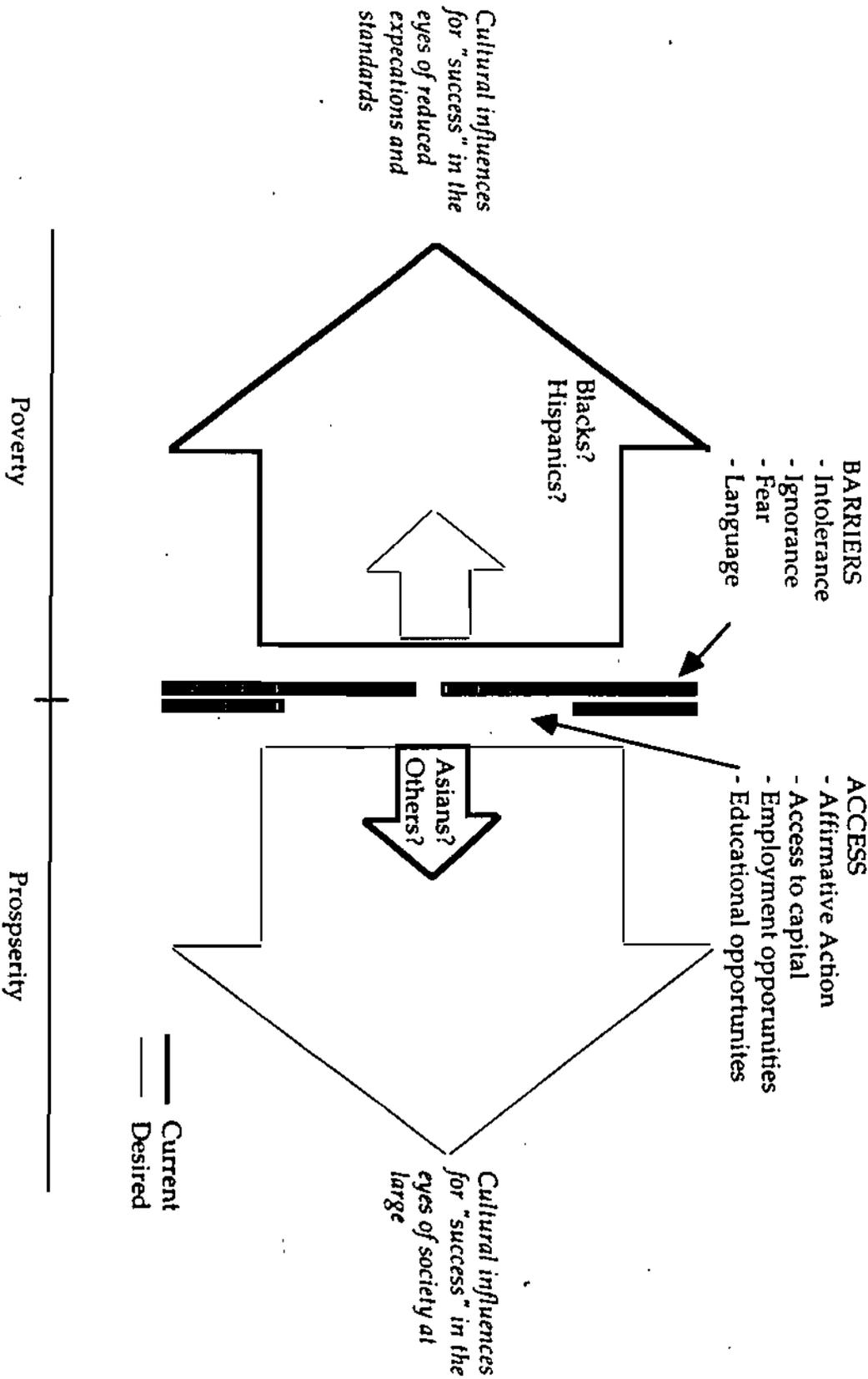
- OR -

- Based on “ideal” principles, develop points of view on the issues to be tested against the historical perspective, current facts and perceptions, dialogue with key leaders and general public input to refine points of view

Differences

- The way public perception and informed awareness is managed
- The use of “trial balloons”
- The use of the Advisory Board and individual members
- Whether the “vision” directs the “process”, or the “process” determines the “vision”

Example of Test Hypothesis: Linkage of Poverty to Racial Inequality



- Memo:**
- Subissues -
 - Working Poor
 - Criminal Records
 - Cultural Influences
 - Models
 - Etc.

- Memo:**
- Need -
 - Facts
 - Projections
 - Assessments
 - Sequential Trial Balloons

- Memo:**
- Outcome Possibilities -
 - Traditional Methods
 - New Methods

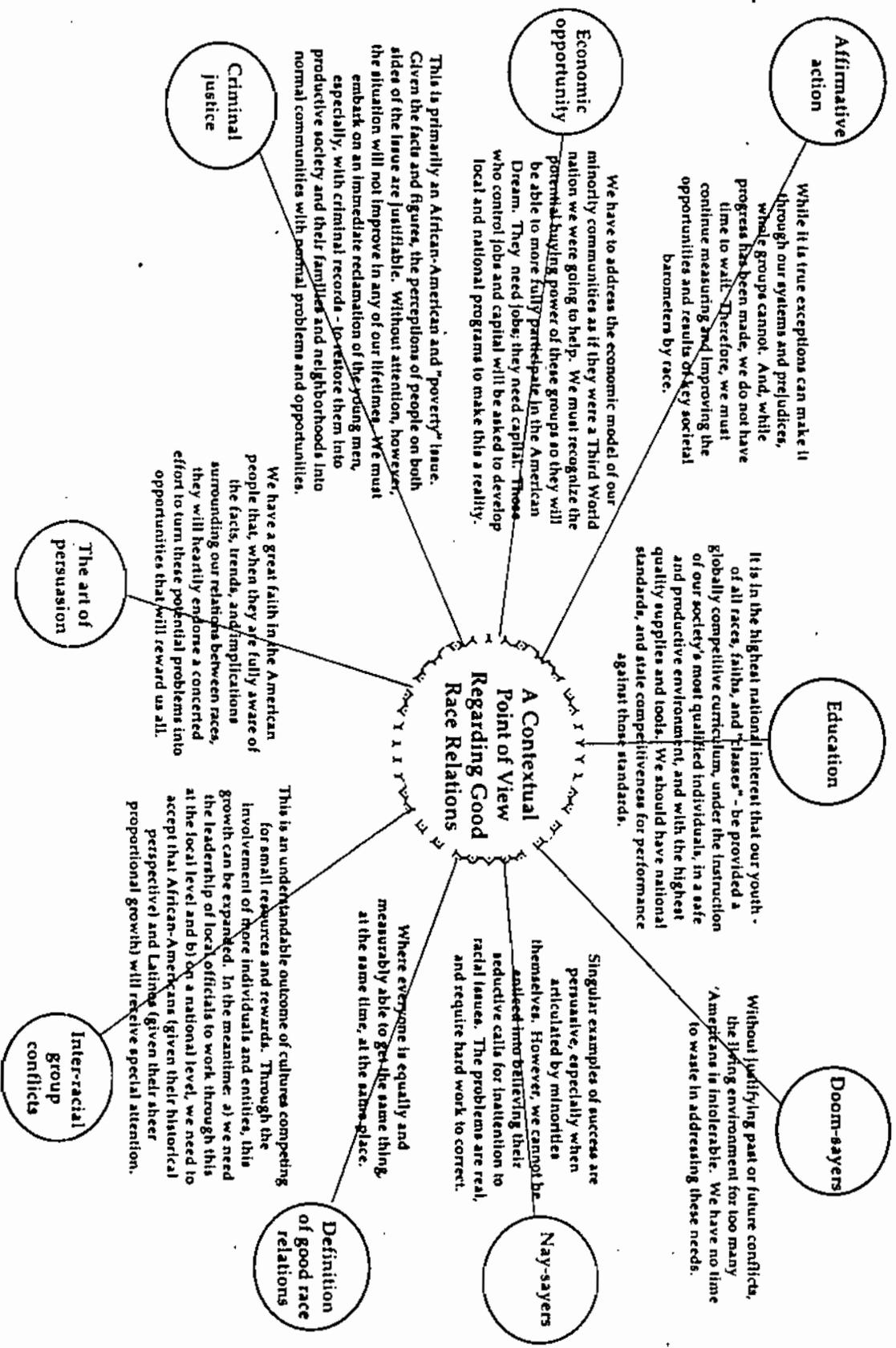
9/30 Meeting with the President

9/30/97 Meeting with the President

- Review outcome/conclusions from this meeting
- Review work to date
- Recommend next steps
- Review possible focus areas/requirements of "final" report for concurrence/and direction

**Focus Areas
and
Test Hypothesis for the
President's Report
to the American People
on Race Relations**

Focus Areas/Test Hypothesis



**Backup:
Focus Areas
Thoughts**

Focus Area: Education Thoughts

- U.S. standard vs. states' standards?
- Students vs. teachers?
- Minimum support/materials?
- Integration/segregation (separate but equal)
- Safety (inside/outside)
- Drug influence
- Health, nutrition influence
- Bilingual education
- Ebonics
- Access to higher/specialized education

Focus Area: Doom-sayers Thoughts

- "The inner cities are ready to explode again."
- "There is a retreat against minority - favorable laws/policies which will backfire into violence."
- "There is such a prejudice against the poor in America that it will destroy our economic strength from within."

Focus Area: Nay-sayers Thoughts

- "There's been a lot of improvement."
- "If protection is needed, it should be based on class, not race."
- "The youth would say the groups we are involved with are well adjusted and racially mixed."
- "I made it - so can you."
- "The minority groups in some areas need good doctors, teachers and such - not necessarily minority doctors, etc."
- "All this talk will just stir things up."

Focus Area: Definition of "Good" Racial Relations Thoughts

- Measurements of:
 - Perceptions
 - Results
 - Opportunities available
 - Success
 - Behavior
 - Differences

- Absence of:
 - Hate crimes
 - Violence
 -
 -

- Presence of:
 -
 -
 -
 -

Focus Area: Inter-racial Group Conflicts Thoughts

- African-American there first with longer history of suffering, injustice
- Latinos joined by language; huge growth projection
 - : Color less contrasting
 - Can be target marketed easily
- Asians have culture of success therefore we have haves/have nots in minority groups, therefore a fight for scarce resources, empathy and support

Focus Area: The Art of Persuasion Thoughts

- Facts vs. perceptions
- Facts vs. fears
- Facts vs. ignorance/unawareness
- Modeling: draw mental/physical picture - examples, analogies, diagrams, etc.
- Vision for the future
- Leadership: choices, tradeoffs, direction
- Put the historical events into perspective
- State the benefits of good race relations. For example: buying power up, cost of safety down

Focus Area: Criminal Justice Thoughts

- Fairness of perceptions
- Factual percentages of those with criminal records
 - Where centered? By gender, race, geography, etc.
 - Linkage with poverty or culture of poverty
 - Impact on eligibility for economic opportunity
- Impact of gangs/role of gangs
- Impact of organized crime
- Drug related crime perception/effect
- "Environmental" rights for safety suspended?

Focus Area: Economic Opportunity Thoughts

- Access to capital for entrepreneurs
- Access to jobs for workers
- Access to promotions
- Access to positions of responsibility including Profit & Loss
- Exceptions to the rule vs. "any one person can make it"
- The working poor
- Effect of poverty on internal minority group culture and external perception
- Forecast of job growth, etc. with "as is" conditions vs. population/age growth trends of minority groups
- Environmental neglect of minority communities

Focus Area: Affirmative Action Thoughts

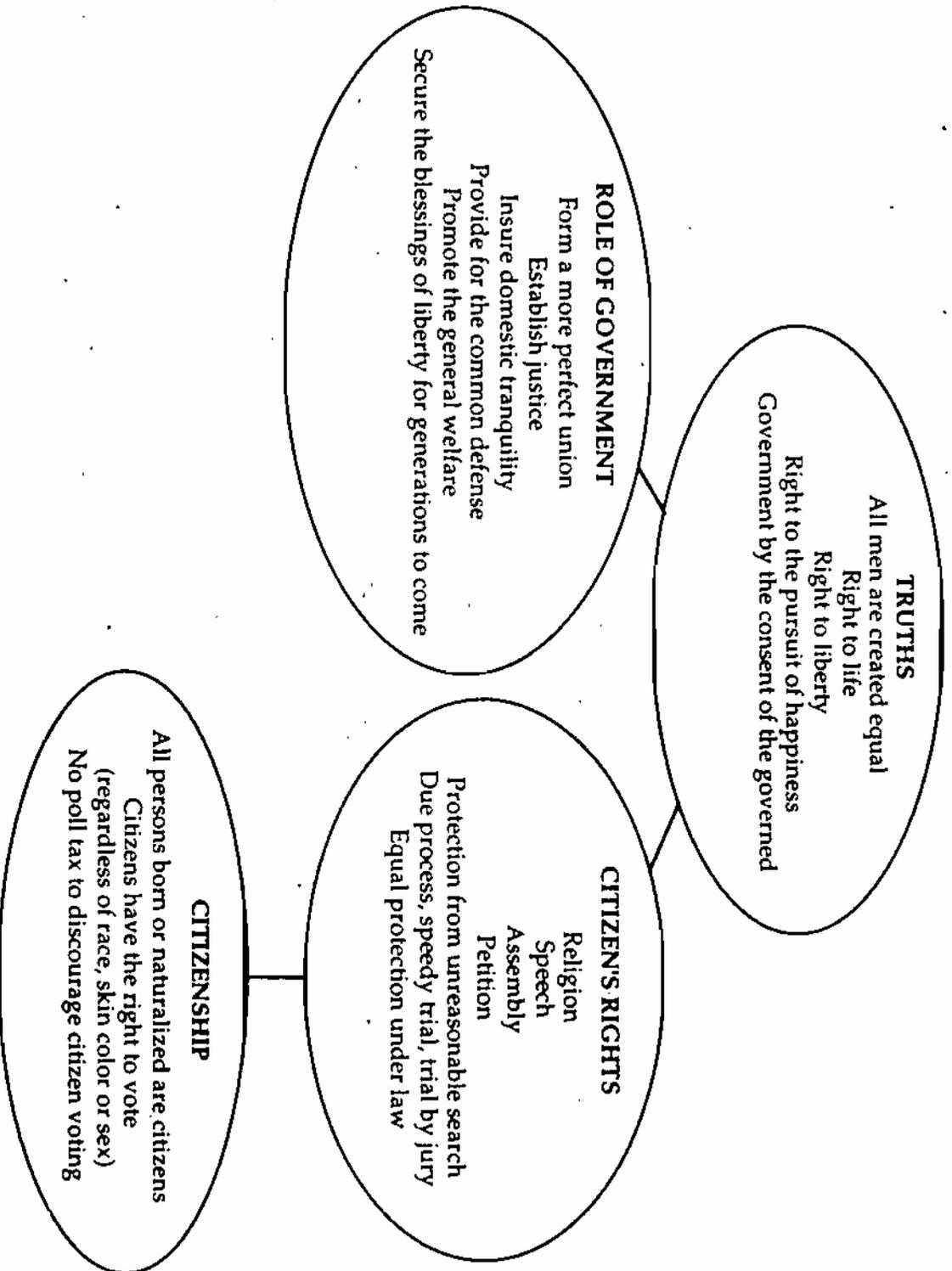
- Prop 209
- Prop 187
- Ward Connerly/Pete Wilson
- Protected classes vs. protected races
- What is equal opportunity?
- When does fairness come into conflict with natural
- What is the objective/and when?

Backup: Ideals

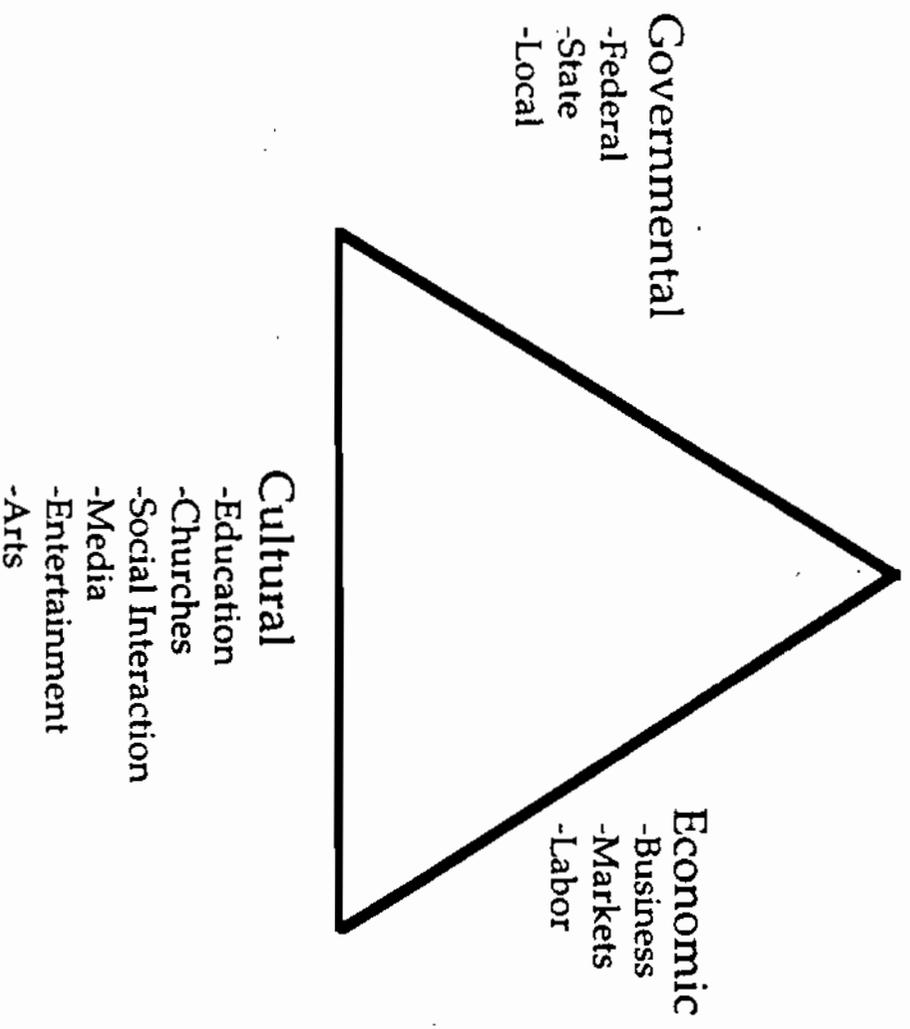
Our ideals & attitude are about equality
and opportunity.

Inequality and lack of access
undermines our ideals.

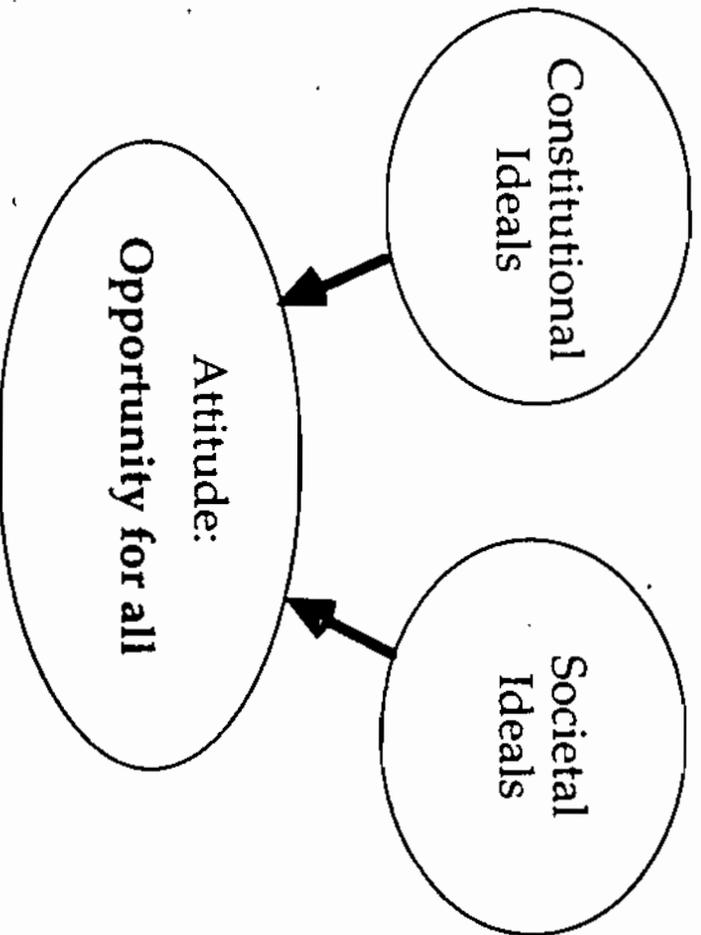
Constitutional Ideal



Societal Ideal: Balance

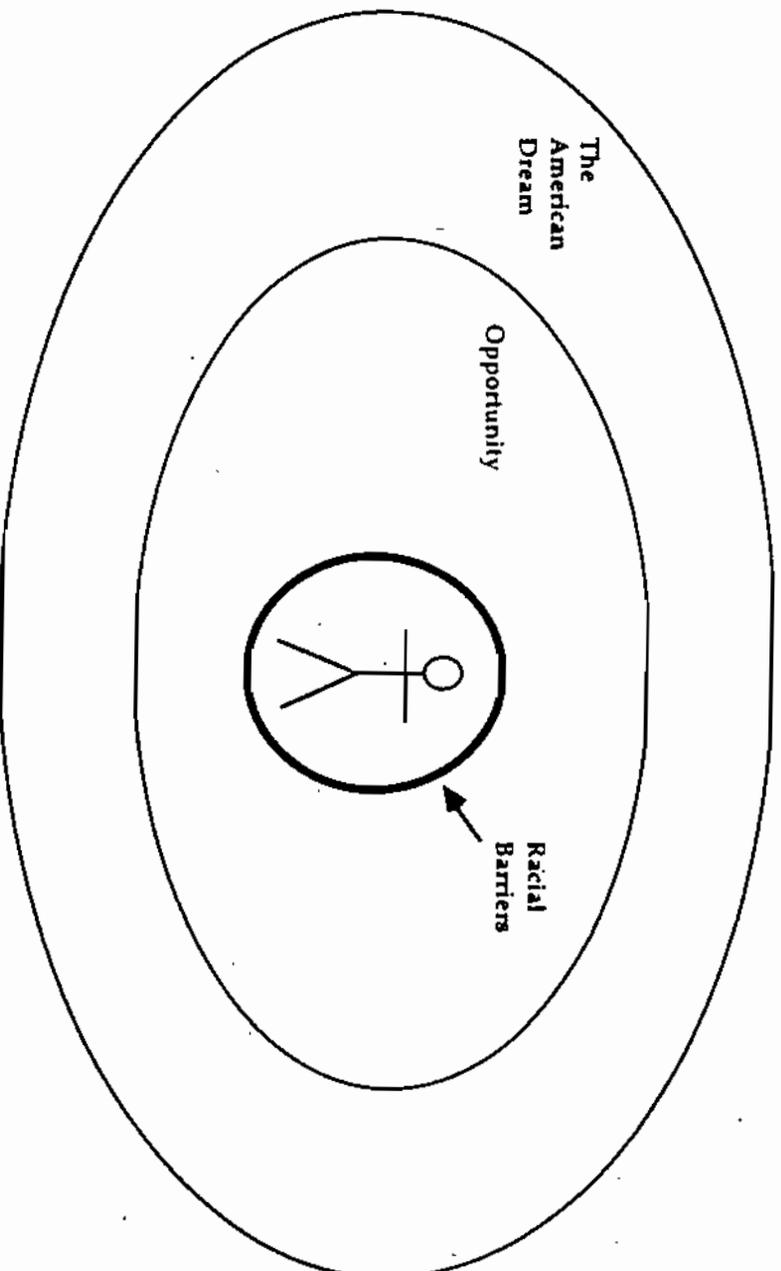


American Attitude



But, is there really "opportunity for all" in a racially divided America?

Racial disharmony ⇔ Inequality ⇔ Unequal opportunity



Racial barriers to opportunity create inequality...
Inequality denies the ideal of opportunity for all...
That denial causes society to be out of balance...

There is overwhelming evidence that ethnic and racial injustices in jobs and opportunities have historically permeated America, and continue to be insurmountable barriers to millions of Americans. It is equality that because of affirmative action -- at private and governmental levels -- millions of Americans have been able to achieve laudable success. We believe that programs that are inclusive, and designed to eliminate real or artificial barriers based on race, are not only good for American but are central to building a tranquil and productive society. We recommend leaders of America (the President, governmental, faith, business, educational and other leaders) engage in a conscious campaign to make Americans understand that we all will bear the fruits of a future made healthier by affirmative action.

Affirmative Action

This is a problem where both the facts and perceptions have a profound effect on all Americans, but perhaps especially upon the African American and Hispanic families and communities. Emotion and misperception have blinded the country as to the extent poverty and economic inequality intensify crime and crime-related problems. Without attention, this problem will not improve in any our lifetime. We must embark on any immediate reclamation of these affected individuals (statistically emphasis required for young males) with criminal records, to restore them into productive society, and their families into normal communities. Without these efforts, seeds of self-destructive behavior will continue to grow into broad behavior patterns that hold back entire communities.

Criminal Justice

Inter-Racial Group Conflicts

We must resist any temptation for separatism and instead encourage meaningful and productive contact between all races. As a result of a long history of discrimination, African Americans and Hispanic groups may receive a higher degree of attention for the same period of time due to their being part of a large number of racial and ethnic discrimination. This same may hold true regionally for Asian, Native American and other minority groups. We, therefore, call upon local leaders to address the unique and special concerns of all minority groups in their communities.

Healthy Race Relations

Where everyone is equally and measurably able to get the same thing, at the same time, at the same place

Economic Opportunity

Minority "markets" are a significant and growing -- through under utilized -- segment of American society. We must recognize the potential aggregate buying power of minority groups, and the ways in which, by reaching their potential, they can lift the level of life for all Americans. Those who control jobs and capital must be given meaningful incentives to provide assistance to these groups and provide access for these groups. Special attention must be paid to those who comprise the "working poor," and those who are relegated to "environmental living areas." Poverty is a powerful enhancer of any race relations problem and concerted steps must be taken to support those who can reverse the effects poverty has placed upon them.

Education

It is in the highest national interest that our youth -- of all races, faith and "classes" -- be provided a globally competitive curriculum and overall educational experience. Minimum standards must be set nationally for pupil and teacher, and the teaching profession must be enhanced and supported to encourage the highest quality possible. Students deserve to have equal access to technologically modern supplies, tools and equipment, a safe and drug-free environment; adequate facilities; and sufficient nutrition. We recommend these resources be supplied by a consortium of government, private enterprise and applicable foundations. Finally, as English is the language of economic success in America, students should be taught in English. Transitional efforts should be undertaken to support those whom English is a not their first language, but it is in the best interests of the students long-term productivity to expect them to learn within the English-language parameters.

The Art of Communication

Without justifying past or future racial conflicts, the living environment for many Americans is intolerable. We have no time to waste in addressing their needs. We have great faith in the American people, that when they are fully aware of the facts, trends and implications surrounding our relations between races, they will support a concerted effort to turn these potential problems into opportunities that will reward us all. To help achieve this goal, we call upon all noted communicators and media leaders to use their considerable skills and influence to advance the contextual point of view regarding healthy race relations.

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Race Init Policy

last 2 pages to

Race Init Policy - Administration of
Justice - Civil Rights Enforcement
CHRISTOPHER F. EDLEY, JR.
Professor of Law

HARVARD LAW SCHOOL

CAMBRIDGE • MASSACHUSETTS • 02138



GRISWOLD HALL 405
(617) 495-4614
FAX: (617) 496-5156
edley@law.harvard.edu

Race Init Policy

To: John Hope Franklin
Minyon Moore
Sylvia Mathews
Elena Kagan

From: Christopher Edley, Jr.

7/4/97.
Bruce -
I think I may
never have given this
to you.
Elena

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

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

Task 1: Outreach

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

Task 2: Defining and Identifying Effective Leadership

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

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

Task 3: Hard Questions for Community Conversations

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

Task 4: Assembling Research Data on Race in America

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- back affirmative action. Events in California and elsewhere might provide important case studies for the quality of discourse on race, with lessons for the future. The Board might commission such a study – a “content analysis” of the Proposition 209 campaign, for example – to identify the good, bad and ugly in public advocacy, journalism and campaign tactics.
- Ultimately, it is important to distinguish between “mending” efforts and “rollback” efforts, and the Board should try to illuminate the distinction.

Task 7: National Report Card on Race

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

HARD QUESTIONS

draft 1

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

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7/7/97

To: Sylvia Mathews
Elena Kagan
Michael Waldman

From: Christopher Edley, Jr.

Re: POTUS Speeches, Week of July 14th

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

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

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

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

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

- *Must we do something about the increasing concentrations of minority kids in failing high-poverty public schools?* The declines in racially isolated schools that were one hallmark of the civil rights struggle have turned around, and racially identifiable schools for minorities are quite often associated with concentrated poverty. These schools struggle to provide a decent education, but far too many fail. Are we committed to racial and economic integration? Should we be? What if it conflicts with traditions of local control and local finance?
- *Have minority communities been well-served by the school reform efforts of the past generation? Why not?* Something isn’t working to produce the needed changes as quickly as needed to save children and their communities. Why? If local political action hasn’t worked well enough, and market-oriented schemes are snake oil, and expert-driven bureaucratic reforms seem spotty and sluggish – how do we explain all of that failure, why is it fair to be so patient, and what is to be done?
- *Standards-based school reform, with tests and tough love, is intended to foment change. But if tests create high expectations and accountability for students, what will create high expectations and accountability for schools and educators?* The conventional response is that parents will get the test results and rise up and use their political power to effect change. But that hasn’t worked with countless other problems facing poor and minority communities, in part because state and local politics simply don’t work well for these groups. Look at the facts and stop pretending otherwise, if you are serious about helping. The “political incentive” solution, like the “market incentive” solution, will only work *some* of the time.

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

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

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

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

the network of activities by state human rights commissions.

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

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

Good luck.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 15, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: ERSKINE BOWLES
 SYLVIA MATHEWS
 JUDITH WINSTON

FROM: BRUCE REED
 ELENA KAGAN *ERK*

SUBJECT: RACE INITIATIVE POLICY PROCESS

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

Research and Investigation

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

Interagency Policy Development Process

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Participating agencies are: Education, Interior.

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

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

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

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

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

Participating agencies are: HHS, Interior.

This Week's Policy Announcement

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

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

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

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

Draft CEA Research Agenda

Part I: Demography

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

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

1. Economic status
 - a. Income and Poverty
 - b. Labor markets
 - employment, unemployment, non-employment
 - hours
 - wages and non-wage compensation
 - occupation/industry
 - non-wage characteristics of jobs (e.g., working conditions, health risks)
 - disability
 - c. Wealth/credit
 - financial
 - business ownership
 - home ownership
 - retirement wealth
 - credit and credit institutions
2. Educational status
 - a. Enrollment
 - Drop out rates; college enrollment and completion rates
 - b. Quality of schooling
 - c. Achievement
 - d. Training
3. Health status and health care
 - a. Health status
 - Pregnancy and infancy
 - Child hood and young adulthood
 - Adulthood
 - Older ages
 - {Specific diseases or conditions}
 - b. Health care
 - Insurance
 - Availability of health services
 - Health behaviors

4. Political status

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

5. Criminal justice

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

6. Family organization

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

7. Impact of immigration

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

Part III: Race relations

1. Racial attitudes and behaviors

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

2. Racial segregation

Residences

Schools

Workplaces

Other

3. Bias crimes, etc.

4. Developments in the 1990s

Rodney King beating trials and riots

OJ Simpson trials

The Bell Curve controversy

Challenge to Affirmative Action in California

Part IV: Discrimination

1. Measurement/methods: econometric vs. audit studies

2. Links between discrimination and outcomes.

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

3. Causes of discriminatory behavior

4. Consequences of discrimination for society

Has the nature of discrimination changed?

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 13, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: ERSKINE BOWLES
 SYLVIA MATHEWS
 JUDITH WINSTON

FROM: BRUCE REED
 ELENA KAGAN

SUBJECT: RACE INITIATIVE POLICY PROCESS

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Participating agencies are: Education, Interior.

3. **Administration of Justice** (chaired by Elena Kagan). This group will look at issues and policies relating to (1) criminal law enforcement and prevention, including the underprotection of minority communities (including Indian reservations), police force composition and practices (including diversity issues and community policing), after-school and other youth programs, and sentencing schemes; and (2) enforcement of civil

rights laws, including responses to Proposition 209 and Hopwood, reduction of the EEOC complaint backlog and other EEOC reforms, enhanced efforts on housing and lending discrimination, affirmative action issues generally, and hate crimes initiatives (for November conference).

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

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

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

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

Participating agencies are: HHS, Interior.

First Policy Announcement

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

In this part of your speech, you also can commission your new Advisory Board, as its first task, to investigate and report to you on integration in institutions of higher education. Here, you would refer again to the effects of Proposition 209 and Hopwood and direct the Board to work closely with the Attorney General and Secretary of Education and present you with recommendations on this issue at your first quarterly meeting. A draft directive of this kind is attached to this memo.

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

predominantly poor and minority schools in inner city and rural areas. Justice Marshall also used to say that "green follows white"; this part of your speech can inveigh against the neglect (financial and otherwise) of predominantly minority schools, in part because of their racial composition. Here, you should make a strong statement about the importance of national standards and tests to improve the quality of education. But you should make an equally strong statement about providing students with the tools and opportunities to help them meet those standards -- better teaching, improved infrastructure and new technologies, and mechanisms to take over failing schools, including by turning them into charters (Rosa Parks is now trying to establish a charter school in Detroit).

As a down payment on a broader effort to improve inner city and rural schools, you can announce a new proposal to improve teaching in these institutions. The quality of teaching in inner city and rural schools is much lower than in the rest of the nation; in particular, the teachers in these schools are far less well trained than in others. To address this situation, Title V of the Department of Education's proposed reauthorization of the Higher Education Act, which will be submitted to Congress later this summer, proposes a new initiative to recruit, prepare, and retain teachers in urban and poor rural communities. This program would provide between \$250 and \$400 million over five years (we are still working out the exact funding with OMB) for two purposes: (1) to strengthen teacher training programs that operate in partnership with -- and place large numbers of graduates in -- urban or poor rural schools; and (2) to provide scholarships to talented and diverse individuals, chosen in tandem by institutions of higher education and eligible school districts, who will commit to teach in urban and poor rural areas for at least three years after graduation.

Draft CEA Research Agenda

Part I: Demography

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

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

1. Economic status
 - a. Income and Poverty
 - b. Labor markets
 - employment, unemployment, non-employment hours
 - wages and non-wage compensation
 - occupation/industry
 - non-wage characteristics of jobs (e.g., working conditions, health risks)
 - disability
 - c. Wealth/credit
 - financial
 - business ownership
 - home ownership
 - retirement wealth
 - credit and credit institutions
2. Educational status
 - a. Enrollment
 - Drop out rates; college enrollment and completion rates
 - b. Quality of schooling
 - c. Achievement
 - d. Training
3. Health status and health care
 - a. Health status
 - Pregnancy and infancy
 - Child hood and young adulthood
 - Adulthood
 - Older ages
 - {Specific diseases or conditions}
 - b. Health care
 - Insurance
 - Availability of health services
 - Health behaviors

4. Political status

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

5. Criminal justice

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

6. Family organization

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

7. Impact of immigration

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

Part III: Race relations

1. Racial attitudes and behaviors

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

2. Racial segregation

- Residences
- Schools
- Workplaces
- Other

3. Bias crimes, etc.

4. Developments in the 1990s

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

Part IV: Discrimination

1. Measurement/methods: econometric vs. audit studies

2. Links between discrimination and outcomes.

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

3. Causes of discriminatory behavior

4. Consequences of discrimination for society

Has the nature of discrimination changed?

Draft Directive

The dismantling of traditional affirmative action programs in California and Texas has precipitated a dramatic decline both in applications by minority students to leading institutions of higher education and in admissions of minority students to those institutions. These declines should be of enormous and immediate concern to the nation. After years of effort to open the doors of higher education to all of our people, we face the troubling specter of the resegregation of public institutions of higher education.

This development diminishes the prospects of talented minority students deprived of the opportunity to attend these institutions. It deprives our communities of minority teachers, doctors, lawyers, and business people. It deprives the students who do attend these schools of an educational environment enriched by the inclusion of all segments of our population. It will deny our youth access to differing experiences and perspectives that they will need for a future in a diverse country and a global economy. In the end, excluding large numbers of our people from the benefits of higher education will prevent the nation from moving into the future as a unified America with the strongest, most talented workforce that we are capable of producing.

It is imperative that we fully understand the scope, the causes, and the consequences of this problem and that we find a cure. We must examine the practices that are preventing the full incorporation of minority students into our institutions of higher education and determine whether those practices make sense as a matter of educational policy. Where possible, we must explore creative means to open access to higher education. I therefore direct my Advisory Board on the Initiative on Race to work with the Secretary of Education and the Attorney General to gather the facts surrounding minority admissions to institutions of higher education, with particular emphasis on public institutions in California and Texas. This examination will include collection of data regarding trends in admissions; study of the admissions criteria and practices used by institutions, including comparison of those that produce diverse student bodies and those that do not; review of the steps identified by state officials, educators, and other experts to address this problem; and recommendations regarding actions that the federal government can take. I direct the Advisory Board to report to me personally on this matter at its first quarterly meeting.

Part I: Demography

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3. Components of change: birth, death and immigration
4. Projections

Bruce -
From CEA on
an agenda for
study.
I think it's
pretty good.

Elena

Race Inst.

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4. Consequences of discrimination for society
Has the nature of discrimination changed?

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

Strange Bedfellow

Not Just Talk

A five-point program for better race relations.

By Jacob Weisberg

T

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

strange bedfellow

Not Just Talk

A five-point program for better race relations.

By Jacob Weisberg
(1,181 words; posted Saturday, June 21)



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FVI:
EK,
JC



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Illustrations by Robert Neubecker.

Previous Strange Bedfellow columns



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RACE

LOS ANGELES TIMES / WASHINGTON EDITION

National Perspective

In the Competition for This Award, It's an Insult Just to Be Nominated

RONALD BROWNSTEIN

WASHINGTON OUTLOOK

In the normal course of things, it is through that post-praise. But in Washington this year, it would be difficult to collect enough compliments to complete a couplet. Usually failure sinks itself away. But with a few notable exceptions (the budget deal, the agreement with Russia to expand NATO), failure in the capital has been more vivid than success. It's time to give failure its due.

In that spirit, we present here the first Jacques Chirac award for the year's most despicable miscalculation in American politics. Chirac, of course, is the conservative French president who set the global standard for political miscalculation this spring when he called for early and watched disoriented voters sweep into power a Socialist prime minister unambiguously opposed to almost everything Chirac wants to do. What a stroke. Given a chance to be ornery, the French seized it. Haven't Chirac ever asked for directions in Paris street?

No one in the American political arena has come anything quite so stupid this year. But it's only June. That's why the following is just a preliminary list of nominees for the Chirac. The competition will remain open until December 31. It's a bit's early, isn't it?

In the legal category, Robert Bennett, President Clinton's lawyer in the Paula Jones case, has taken a clear lead for his suggestion that he would expose Jones' "reputation"—and by implication her sex life—if she pursued her day in court. Bennett was so busy proving himself a toad that he didn't notice whose garden he was fertilizing. Fifty-seven percent of Clinton's 1996 votes came from

women. As Bennett quickly discovered before he backed off, any political success dependent on women's support can't go too court with a defense that amounts to "she asked for it."

Vice President Al Gore makes the list for the year's most damaging press conference. After Bob Woodward subjected his campaign fund-raising to a full body search in the Washington Post last March, Gore rushed to the microphone and vocally harangued himself with the word. So vociferous was Gore's repeated insistence that he "controlling legal authority" prohibited him from divulging for dollars that listeners were left wondering if there wasn't some other authority—allegedly

It's too early to place Clinton's initiative on race in the certain crack-up category, but its wheels are already wobbling.

For sheer clumsiness, even Gore couldn't match the congressional Republican's severely into disaster on the bill to aid flood victims in the Midwest and Oklahoma. In a complex alchemy, the Republicans managed to transform a natural disaster into a political disaster. By attaching to the relief bill unrelated provisions that Clinton opposed, GOP leaders like Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott displayed an unapologetic urge to relieve the mistakes they made in the last Congress.

Self-delusion, it turns out, is not a vice unless it's one. First, Republicans were skewered for holding the disaster aid hostage. Then, when Clinton called their bluff and evoked the bill, the GOP failed to plan forward on the legislation, which averaged the party's base. It was the getting hit by a swinging door on both sides of the head.

Under fire from the right for coming to Clinton on disaster relief, House Republicans soon found on producing a law still as objectionable to them as possible. That keeps students of history, House Speaker Newt Gingrich, recently brushed aside Clinton's complaint: "If the president wants to veto the first major tax cut in 10 years," Gingrich huffed, "then we'll let him explain why."

Uma Thurman haven't we been on this one before? In 1984, didn't Republicans say there was no way Clinton could veto the first balanced budget in a quarter-century? Clinton not only rebuffed their plea, he clearly bludgeoned them to death with it. Unless the House accedes to the Senate's more bipartisan approach, the GOP is heading for another collision with Clinton more likely to end with their faces on the windshield than his.

It's too early to place Clinton's initiative on race in the certain crack-up category, but its wheels are already wobbling. The problem is he appears to be skittering the dialogue in a way more likely to harden than bridge the racial and ideological differences that have polarized the country on these issues.

Clinton is forgetting things he once knew. His most important contributions to the racial dialogue have come when he offers a new vision of reconciliation based on mutual responsibility and common standards. He liberalized standards from their impingement on crime, for instance, by recognizing that "tough law enforcement" wasn't a concession to racism, but an extension of civil rights to law-abiding, law-abiding citizens victimized by violence. None of that bravado was evident in his San Diego speech, without clear disavowal, it drifted toward conventional liberal formulations that provoked the predictable denunciation from conservatives and pointed ominously toward a year spent debating old requirements.

Even in this thicket of failure, our final entry—Hollywood—and the



television received hand out in the rating system for an industry man. Clinton's Hollywood impudently derided painter's groups to flag stores with a word. Hollywood's action with the president—it calls for arrests were better taking steps to help raising the friend by laborer make Larry Flynt from... prevail



RENDERING BY THE EAGLE

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Ronald Reagan's political career appears



Los Angeles Times

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National Perspective

Firms on Economy's Cutting Edge Show Government How It Can Excel

RONALD BROWNSTEIN WASHINGTON OUTLOOK

What makes government work? Increasingly, the answer is a model drawn from the experience of companies on the economy's cutting edge.

For the past decade, American business has been reshaping itself around the rebuilding advance of computer and communications technology. To take advantage of the new tools, the most innovative companies are joining the curvilinear pyramids that defined corporate America through the age of mass production. In its place, they are constructing flexible organizations that push power through the ranks to encourage constant innovation and adaptation.

This new approach is built on a series of interlinked principles: sharing information; decentralizing authority; establishing precise standards of performance; rigorously measuring results in the old system; computers were held together by a dozen or so mainframes that passed information from bottom to top and decisions in the opposite direction. The new system relies on concrete benchmarks of progress and a free flow of information to hold together organizations where decision-making power has scattered in all directions.

This managerial revolution has helped ignite the recovery of American competitiveness in industries from computers to autos. Now, some public policy entrepreneurs are applying these principles to government—the ultimate bureaucratic dinosaur—will equally powerful results.

As New York City police commissioner from 1994 until his resignation last summer, William J. Bratton presided over the city's epic drop in crime. Many factors contributed, but none were more important than his reorganization of the police department

around these insights.

Bratton radically devolved authority to the department's 76 precinct commanders—he had them held them to an unprecedented level of accountability based on new measurements. When Bratton became commissioner, the city gathered crime statistics only on an "as far, slightly" basis, says Jack Maple, his deputy commissioner. As one of their first acts, Maple and Bratton instituted an exhaustive statistical operation that tracked crime on a daily basis.

With the enhanced intelligence, Bratton launched twice-weekly "crime control" meetings in which precinct commanders faced with the question—what trends in their jurisdiction—which were displayed on maps down to the block level. The

This managerial revolution has helped ignite the recovery of American competitiveness in industries from computers to autos.

collection of such detailed data changed the frame of discussion. Crime was no longer some amorphous social plague—it was a tangible, identifiable problem with a specific address. Why were robberies up on this block? Why were rapes rising in this precinct? Just asking the question in that way proved short-term pressure for improvement. "We looked the commanders to come up with plans to know's down crime," says Maple, who's now greasing the wheels of a consultant to the New Orleans police. In Indianapolis, Republican Mayor Stephen Goldsmith has reformed the delivery of city services around these same ideas. Like Bratton, Goldsmith began by watching on better measurement of his operations. For all the talk that cities collect, Goldsmith says, "Almost no mayor knows how

much it costs to fill up a parking or collect a lot of trash."

With help from an outside accounting firm, Goldsmith acquired those numbers—then used them to decentralize control over the delivery of city services. Using the cost data as the benchmark, he spent a decade of payoffs—from trash collection to parking—to competitive from outside contractors.

The results have been stunning. In some instances, city departments, streamlining their own operations, won the contracts in other instances, private firms offered the best bid. Goldsmith even allowed neighborhood neighborhood groups to manage city parks.

Private firms and city employees alike agreed to contracts that set rigorous standards for performance—which have "leveraged" further efficiencies. In all, Goldsmith says, the city has saved an average of 25% on each of the services it has opened to competition—restoring funds for investment in police and infrastructure.

Some of the same lessons are evident in vanguard thinking about education. Reformers from President Clinton to Texas Gov. George W. Bush are hoping to seed innovation by increasing local control of schools and proliferating charter schools, which operate free from most state rules. There, Clinton wants to measure these diverse experiments against a common standard by establishing national tests in math and reading.

That would be a good start. But few institutions are more trapped in the centralized, hierarchical model than the schools. The typical school district is both bureaucratic and blind: it does not reward individual teachers for creative individual actions, yet "doesn't have a clue" how much of its money actually gets into the classroom, says Sherie T. Spelman, an expert in school finance at the accounting firm Coopers & Lybrand.

Spelman, who addressed Vice President Al Gore's conference on the family and education last week, has developed a quietly subversive



weapon for the accounting profession: a system of "horizontal" data. Districts that so find that only their money goes with the rest of the school are forced to correct errors, a process that creates a change.

That's why the encouraged fan "how" are in education high-tech force enter unyielded fact could prove the kitchen, demographic data on



Illustration by

WILLIAM BRADFORD HUIE FOR THE TIMES

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And why Goldsmith, starting this fall,
 is mailing Indianapolis parents con-
 siderations of how their schools' ac-
 demic scores stack up with local and
 national averages.

All of this points toward a vision of
 school reform that pushes money and
 authority down to the school level—
 but then provides parents the
 information to hold teachers and prin-
 cipals accountable for performance.
 Creating that connection between
 authority and accountability can pro-
 duce electric results—as Franklin
 Goldsmith, and some of America's
 finest entrepreneurs can attest.

Franklin Goldsmith's column appears
 in this section every Monday.

ONE AMERICA IN THE 21ST CENTURY: THE PRESIDENT'S INITIATIVE ON RACE

"In the end, more than anything else, our world leadership grows out of the power of our example here at home, out of our ability to remain strong as one America...We are the world's most diverse democracy, and the world looks to us to show that it is possible to live and advance together across those kinds of differences...Building one America is our most important mission...money cannot buy it. Power cannot compel it. Technology cannot create it. It can only come from the human spirit."

--President Clinton, February 4, 1997

WHAT IS THE PRESIDENT'S RACE INITIATIVE?

This initiative is a year-long effort, led by the President, to present to the nation his vision of a stronger, more just and more united American community, offering opportunity and fairness for all Americans. The President's initiative will combine constructive dialogue, study, and action. It will examine the current state of race relations and our common future, look at the laws and policies that can help to ensure that we remain One America, and enlist individuals, communities, businesses and government at all levels in an effort to understand our differences as we appreciate the values that unite us.

WHY A MAJOR INITIATIVE ON RACE, AND WHY NOW?

President Clinton's personal, life-long commitment. Growing up in the South, the President saw for himself the great harm caused by racial discrimination, and the difference that can be achieved by changing both policies and attitudes. That longstanding, deeply personal commitment has led him to make this initiative one of his major second-term priorities. He knows that America can reach its full potential only by enlisting the full energies of all our people, and giving all our citizens, of every background, the chance to make the most of their own God-given talents.

Not a crisis, but an opportunity. This effort builds on the President's record throughout his first term (defending affirmative action, major speeches on race and reconciliation, etc.). But unlike previous Presidential efforts in this area, President Clinton's initiative is the result not of a crisis, but of a unique opportunity:

America is strong enough to look to the future. Having moved aggressively in the first term to get the country back on the right track --reversing the rising tide of crime, welfare, budget deficits, unemployment and income inequality --the President believes that it is time for America to address these issues as we prepare for the 21st Century.

Many "wedge" issues have been defused. On many of the issues that had been used to divide the country --such as crime and welfare --the President has begun to change the terms of the debate, pointing to solutions instead of pointing fingers, and defusing tensions so that an honest dialogue about race can begin.

Responsibility, community and citizenship. This initiative will encourage Americans to take responsibility --for ourselves and our families, for our community and at home with one another. It is a call to citizenship, because the President believes that being a good citizen includes recognizing the promise of America --an America free of destructive bigotry, a nation that welcomes those who play by the rules, serve their community, and reach out to make all Americans feel at home. This is a great nation, and the true measure of our greatness is in the human heart.

WHAT ARE THE INITIATIVE'S GOALS AND METHODS?

The initiative will have five central goals:

- 1) To articulate the President's vision of racial reconciliation and a just, unified America;
- 2) To help educate the nation about the facts surrounding the issue of race;
- 3) To promote a constructive dialogue, to confront and work through the difficult and controversial issues surrounding race;
- 4) To recruit and encourage leadership at all levels to help bridge racial divides;
- 5) To find, develop, and implement solutions in critical areas such as education, economic opportunity, housing, health care, crime and the administration of justice --for individuals, communities, corporations and government at all levels.

The President hopes to achieve these goals through the following methods:

Presidential leadership. The President will begin a national examination of race and reconciliation --explaining why the goal of One America is so important to preparing for the 21st Century, addressing the facts about race, encouraging others to discuss difficult racial issues that we too often avoid, and reaching out to Americans of every race to get them engaged in the process. Unlike previous national efforts, this initiative will be led directly and personally by the President throughout.

Dialogue, study and action --increasing our understanding of race, and proposing and promoting policies and solutions that can make a difference.

Dialogue. Can help to inform, and to build support for constructive solutions to the issues of race. For an entire generation growing up after the civil rights movement, there has been little or no public articulation of the values and ideals of racial reconciliation. (And too often the rhetoric has been negative, helping to confirm derogatory stereotypes.) This initiative will employ the power of the Presidency to encourage open, candid debate about difficult issues and to highlight actions by individuals, communities, businesses and government that are working in this area now.

Study. The issues to be addressed will include: different perceptions and experiences of Americans of different races, confronting harmful stereotypes and examining serious problems. While the initiative will be largely forward-looking, it is also important to help educate Americans about the past --so that the nation has a clear sense of what has come before, recognizing the unique experience of African Americans throughout our history.

Action. Throughout this effort, attention will go to policies that can make a difference and solutions that can be implemented by individuals, community groups, state and local governments and the federal government. Examples of issues to be addressed include the lack of economic progress among Hispanic Americans and the greatly reduced number of black and Hispanic students in California. This nation has made real progress, but we know that there is more that must be done.

- An example of dialogue, study and action is the President's 5/16 apology to the survivors of the Tuskegee Study, which was combined with concrete actions and further study (establishing a bioethics center at Tuskegee; studying ways to involve minority communities in research and health care; new training materials for medical researchers on ethics and how to apply them to diverse populations; new postgraduate fellowships in bioethicists for minorities).

ELEMENTS OF THE PRESIDENT'S INITIATIVE

Advisory Board. This small, diverse group will advise the President and assist him in outreach efforts and consultations with experts. They were chosen based on their outstanding leadership on this issue, and their contributions to America's ongoing dialogue about race and reconciliation.

Significant Presidential events/actions throughout the year. Events held throughout the year will include town hall meetings in different regions of the country, meetings with the advisory board, and other events which will enable the President to carry out his goals for the initiative.

Outreach, consultation and leadership recruitment. The effort will include outreach to community leaders, religious leaders, state and local elected officials, members of Congress, business leaders and individuals, encouraging them to become involved in reconciliation and community-building projects.

The President's Report to the American People, to be issued next summer, in which the President will:

- Present his vision of One America, including an illustration and assessment of the growing diversity of our nation, and of his consultations with his advisory board;
- Reflect the work that has occurred during the year, including the conversations and suggestions made at town hall meetings and other venues;
- Report on how the nation has evolved on the issue of race over the past 30 years, including the studies commissioned for the initiative;
- Provide recommendations and solutions that enable individuals, communities, businesses, organizations and government to address difficult issues and build on our best possibilities.

RACE INITIATIVE Qs & As

THE INITIATIVE

Q: Is systemic racism and bigotry still a crucial problem for the United States? Is race still an impediment to opportunity and progress in America?

A: America is moving closer to fulfilling its fundamental promise of equality and the opportunity of advancement for all. President Clinton has worked to restore the American dream by expanding the economy, investing in education and making our communities safer. However, more needs to be done. We face new challenges and a very different America in the next century.

For instance, there are four school systems in the country right now, including one across the river (in Virginia) where the school children represent over 150 nations and speak over 100 different languages all in a single district. We should embrace such diversity.

Unfortunately, there are some disturbing examples of going backward: the lack of economic progress among Hispanic Americans; the greatly reduced number of African-American and Hispanic students in California and Texas universities; and the young, African-American boy in Chicago who was dragged from his bicycle and beaten just because of his color.

Q: How was this initiative developed? Who did the President call on among the White House staff?

A: The President charged Erksine Bowles and Sylvia Mathews with developing the parameters of an initiative that would move to fulfill America's promise of opportunity and fairness for all Americans, and that would promote unity while preserving cultural differences.

Sylvia convened an internal working group of approximately 25 individuals from different offices within the White House and from different races. The group met regularly starting in March, and daily for the past few weeks. Erskine and other members of the senior staff participated periodically in the working group meetings. The President received regular updates on the group's direction and progress.

Q: How can the President ask others to "get their houses in order" on this subject, when the White House itself lacks diversity, especially in its upper ranks?

A: President Clinton is proud of the record diversity of his Administration. He has appointed more African Americans, Hispanics and Asian Americans than any other President.

Cabinet: 15% African American [Alexis Herman (Labor), Rodney Slater (Transportation), Jesse Brown (Veterans Affairs) and Frank Raines (OMB)]; 12% Hispanic [Bill Richardson (UN), Aida Alvarez (SBA), Federico Pena (Energy)].

Presidential Appointments: 13% African American (twice as many as any previous Administration); 8% Hispanic; 3% Asian American; 1% Native American.

Q: Isn't this just the President's reactionary position after the Administration has neglected to take stronger stances on behalf of minorities?

A: The President wants *this issue* to get more media attention. The President has consistently said he had three goals in running for the office: to keep the American Dream alive for everyone who wanted to work for it; to keep America a force in the world for peace and democracy; and to keep us "One America," a nation coming together instead of coming apart.

The Administration has made real progress on issues of economic opportunity, strengthening families, reducing crime rates, and foreign policy (the first two goals).

Economic policies that have helped the entire country have also helped minorities.

- The unemployment rate for Hispanic Americans in May was about 7 percent, down from 11 percent when President Clinton took office.
- The African-American poverty rate dropped to 29 percent in 1995 -- its lowest level since data was collected.
- The Administration has approved more than \$2 billion in Small Business Administration loans to Asian Americans.

The time is right to move forward more aggressively on the President's third goal. Already the President has taken action in this area with his apology, on behalf of the federal government, to the victims of the Tuskegee experiment and his commitment to a White House conference on hate crimes. In addition, an interagency group is exploring how to address the problem of declining diversity in student bodies.

PRESIDENT'S COMMITMENT

Q: The President seems to waiver in his commitment to this issue. One day he asks the Supreme Court not to hear an affirmative action case and the next day he announces an initiative on improving race relations. How serious is he about this initiative?

A: The President is very serious about this initiative. He has been steadfast throughout his life and professional career in his pursuit of equality and opportunity for all.

- The President's experiences with discrimination are rooted in the South's legacy of slavery.

- As a candidate, the President has consistently said one of his main goals in running for the office was to keep the American Dream alive for everyone who wanted to work for it and to keep us "one America," a nation coming together instead of coming apart.
- As President, he has been a constant voice in pressing racial healing and unity. For instance: speeches in Memphis, Tennessee, in 1993 and Austin, Texas, in 1995; inaugural and State of the Union addresses this year; and remarks at the Jackie Robinson anniversary commemoration.

President Clinton's personal history and conviction to lead this country in finding strength in our diversity make him well-suited to help forge alliances and reconcile differences among us. The President will be actively involved in the initiative and will help provide its intellectual leadership.

Q: Does the President really expect this initiative to make a difference or is it just a way for him to get more media attention?

A: This initiative will attempt to identify and create solutions for improving race relations and the circumstances of Americans of all races. Those solutions will be designed for individuals, communities, religious congregations, educational and non-profit organizations, businesses, state and local governments, and other groups to implement. The Administration will develop wholly new policy and refocus existing policy. Some policies will respond to information arising as the initiative moves forward. Other policies will attempt to address longstanding problems in new and creative ways.

EXPECTATIONS

Q: Will this initiative address the serious imbalances in opportunity that can be attributed to race?

A: This initiative will study the imbalances in opportunity that can be attributed to race, open channels for discussion about those imbalances and create or refocus policy to address those imbalances.

We will strive to identify and create solutions for improving race relations and the circumstances of Americans of all races. Those solutions will be designed for individuals, communities, religious congregations, educational and non-profit organizations, businesses, state and local governments, and other groups to implement.

Q: How can the President hope to improve race relations and the lot of minorities without dedicating significant funds to the problems that arise from racism?

A: Different times call for different solutions. The choice is not between massive programs and nothing. Much can be done within the confines of tighter federal spending that we face today and going forward. Funds can be reallocated, as they were, in the balanced

budget agreement, to provide health coverage to five million uninsured children. And we can seek creative ways to generate new funds, not just from federal and state spending.

Q: What can we expect to see change as a result of this initiative?

A: We will promote a better understanding of and a greater respect for both the similarities and differences between people of different races.

We will challenge leaders and “doers” will step forward, in communities throughout the nation, to find and put into practice ideas to improve race relations and stimulate opportunity for all.

We will identify and disseminate proven practices for promoting racial harmony.

We will analyze critical issues affecting race relations in this country and propose government actions and policies to address these issues.

Q: How does the President intend to keep this from becoming just a big talk fest?

A: The effort will be a balance of study, dialogue and action -- including fact finding and policy.

We will seek to promote honest dialogue on the issues of race and to develop real solutions that can be implemented by individuals, communities, religious congregations, educational and non-profit organizations, businesses, state and local governments, and other groups. We will undertake fact finding (e.g.: what are the stereotypes and what are the facts), dialogue and policy/action (e.g.: best practices, positions on minority enrollment in higher education) concurrently and through an iterative process.

Q: Civil rights groups have expressed dissatisfaction that they have not been consulted and dismay at the lack of substance to the initiative. How do you respond?

A: In the process of defining this initiative, we sought comments and ideas from numerous individuals and organizations. More importantly, we have created plenty of opportunities for future consultation. This is only the beginning of an initiative that will be a uniquely inclusive and broad-ranging year-long effort. We encourage those willing to engage in tough, honest dialogue to join us.

The President is prepared to design wholly new policy and to refocus existing policy. We will look for and implement solutions in areas such as economic opportunity, housing, health care, crime and the administration of justice. We have said all along that we will not outline a full set of proposals and recommendations at the outset. The Administration will unfold policy changes and developments over the course of the year.

LOGISTICS

Q: When will the advisory board hold its first meeting? When will it conclude its work?

A: The advisory board will meet for the first time in the next six weeks or so. An exact date has not yet been determined. At this point, the board will likely disband after the President submits his report to the American people.

Q: When can we expect to see the first action or policy recommendations from the advisory board?

A: As a result of this initiative, we expect the President to implement wholly new policies as well as to reshape existing policies. The Administration's actions and policy changes will take place over the course of the year-long initiative. We cannot say when the first announcement will be. It will be several weeks before the advisory board, the initiative staff and Administration representatives start working.

ADVISORY BOARD

Q: Why did the President appoint an advisory board rather than an independent commission?

A: This initiative is designed to use presidential leadership to prepare the American people for the next century. President Clinton's personal history and conviction to lead this country in recognizing the strength in our diversity make him well-suited to help forge new alliances among citizens. The President will be actively involved in the initiative and will help provide its intellectual leadership. He will also involve the American people in an unprecedented way.

The board members will serve as partners in the initiative by reaching out to various communities, amplifying the President's efforts and recruiting more leaders on this issue. The advisory board members were selected based on the concept that they would excel in these responsibilities and be respected, if not well known, in what is a Presidentially-led effort.

Q: Wouldn't you have been better off with individuals with name recognition?

A: In identifying an advisory board, the working group sought individuals who could reach out on behalf of the President to various communities, provide guidance and analysis on topics concerning race and recruit more leaders to implement solutions that will improve race relations.

We also looked for a group of individuals who would provide diversity on a number of fronts, be respected in their fields and work well together exemplifying the relationships we hope the whole initiative will engender.

Many of the advisory board's members are familiar ones, especially in their communities or areas of expertise.

Q: How much is this initiative going to cost?

A: We are working with the appropriators on a Justice Department reprogramming of funds for the initiative. The approximate cost of the initiative is \$2.9 million.

Q: What is the \$2.9 million for?

A: The funding will enable us to bring the advisory board to the American people and for providing staff who will study the issues and reach out to the American people.

Q: Why are there no Native Americans on the advisory board?

A: The advisory board is small in number. These individuals represent diversity in race, age, gender, background and political perspective. There will be many, many opportunities (for example: staff appointments, Presidential town hall meetings, advisory board outreach) over the course of the initiative for the President and the advisory board to work with and hear from individuals whose diversity is not reflected on the board.

Race

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

June 7, 1997

**RADIO ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO THE NATION**

THE PRESIDENT: Good morning. This morning I want to talk about one of America's greatest challenges and greatest opportunities -- conquering the forces of hatred and division that still exist in our society so that we can move forward into the 21st century as one America.

We are clearly the world's most diverse democracy, bound together across all of our differences by a belief in the basic dignity of every human being's life and liberty and the right of every American who lives by our laws and lives up to his or her responsibilities to share in the full promise of the greatest nation on Earth.

Especially as we move into a new century with its global economic and its global society, our rich diversity is a powerful strength, if we respect it. We are clearly stronger as a nation when we use the full talents of all of our people, regardless of race or religious faith, national origin or sexual orientation, gender or disability. Much of America's story is really the stories of wave after wave of citizens struggling over our full history for full equality of opportunity and dignified treatment.

We stand today in sharp contrast to the racial, ethnic, tribal and religious conflicts which continue to claim so many lives all around the world. But we have still not purged ourselves of all bigotry and intolerance. We still have our ugly words and awful violence, our burned churches and bombed buildings.

In a predominantly white suburb of Atlanta, Georgia last month, an African American couple was greeted with racial epithets as they moved into their new home. Just a week later, their home was sprayed with gunfire in the middle of the night. In a recent incident right here in Washington, D.C., three men accosted a gay man in a park, forced him at gunpoint to go under a bridge and beat him viciously while using anti-gay epithets. Last fall in Los Angeles, a Jewish student's dormitory room was bombed with a quarter stick of dynamite and a swastika was drawn near the door.

Such hate crimes, committed solely because the victims have a different skin color or a different faith or are gays or lesbians, leave deep scars not only on the victims, but on our larger community. They weaken the sense that we are one people with common values and a common future. They tear us apart when we should be moving closer together. They are acts of violence against America itself. And even a small number of Americans who harbor and act upon hatred and intolerance can do enormous damage to our efforts to bind together our increasingly diverse society into one nation realizing its full promise.

As part of our preparation for the new century, it is time for us to mount an all-out assault on hate crimes, to punish them swiftly and severely, and to do more to prevent them from happening in the first place. We must begin with a deeper understanding of the problem itself.

That is why I'm convening a special White House conference on hate crimes this November 10th. We'll bring to the White House victims of hate crimes and their families to understand why the impact of these acts runs so much deeper than the crimes themselves. We'll bring together law enforcement experts and leading officials from Congress and the Justice Department to take a serious look at the existing laws against hate crime and consider ways to improve enforcement and to strengthen them. We'll bring together community and religious leaders to talk about solutions that are already making a real difference in communities all across our nation.

In preparation for the conference, Attorney General Reno has begun a thorough review of the laws concerning hate crimes and the ways in which the federal government can make a difference to help us to build a more vigorous plan of action. But, of course, the fight against hatred and intolerance must be waged not just through our laws, but in our hearts as well.

A newborn child today does not know how to hate or stereotype another human being; that behavior must be learned. And intolerance does not generally begin with criminal acts. Instead, it begins with quiet acts of indignity: the bigoted remark, the African American who is followed around the grocery store by a suspicious clerk, the gay or lesbian who is denied a job, the Hispanic or Asian who is targeted because of unfair stereotypes. To truly move forward as one community, it is just not enough to prevent acts of violence to our bodies, we must prevent acts of violence to our spirits.

By convening the very first White House Conference on Hate Crimes this November, America can confront the dark forces of division that still exist. We can shine the bright light of justice, humanity and harmony on them. We'll take a serious look at the laws and remedies that can make a difference in preventing hate crimes. We'll have the frank and open dialogue we need to build one America across all difference and diversity. And, together, we will move closer to the day when acts of hatred are no longer a stain on our community or our conscience; closer to the day when we can redeem for ourselves and show to the world the 220-year-old promise of our founders, that we are "One nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all."

Thanks for listening.



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To: Bruce Reed

From: Mark Penn

Date: 5542

Fax Number: 4562878

Number of Pages, including cover: _____

Comments:

If you have not received all the pages that are indicated, or are having problems with the reception of the materials, please contact our office. (202) 842-0500

To: Bruce Reed

From: Mark Penn

Here is what I sent. You could probably turn it into a good section. Let me know if you think this is on the right track.

I just reviewed the latest draft of the race speech and make the following basic suggestion.

The biggest problem of the speech is that while it announces the advisory board and justifies it, it does not give some clear agenda of issues and problems that you will tackle.

By revising the "What we Must do" section along these lines, we can try to infuse much more of your basic philosophy that 1) much of the racial problem is in people's hearts and minds and 2) your basic approach of opportunity and responsibility is the best way to deal with the stubborn problems of poverty related to race and 3) and perhaps most importantly, the speech should address a series of potential wedge issues beyond just affirmative action or this will go down as an affirmative action speech not a race speech.

To accomplish this end I am suggesting replacing the What We Must Do section along this kind of outline:

1. We must take the next steps in reducing all of the racial wrongs we all agree are wrong and yet persist in our society. Some of the answers are in stronger government action; most will be in the values we hold as a people.

We know it is wrong for people to face racial discrimination at work. And yet the last few years tell us that even in the largest and most bureaucratic corporations with all of the right rules, it can and does happen.

So we must devise a plan for clearing up the long backlog of cases involving employment discrimination, and we must speed passage of a new law that will extend even greater protections to those at work, making all forms of employment discrimination illegal. If you do a good job, you should get the rewards of your work, with no questions asked.

We know it is wrong for people to be steered away from the neighborhoods of their choice. But it still happens every day, and patterns of housing segregation remain an obstacle to a truly integrated society.

And it is wrong for people to face racial epithets and tauntings, and yet this happens every day in our school yards, our locker rooms, and even our our boardrooms.

For many of these problems, we must look not just towards government action, which is at best only a temporary stopgap, but towards permanent and lasting changes in our attitudes towards people of different races. No laws can ever eradicate this behavior; we know it is wrong; and so the effort we are embarking upon must truly make us more conscious of our thoughts and actions that can be so casual, and yet so hurtful and destructive to the fabric of our society.

2. We must strengthen our efforts to find new ways to deal with some of the stubborn problems that have left too many minorities out of the mainstream of our society. But we must be careful to approach these undertakings not with big new programs but by creating opportunity and demanding responsibility.

For 30 years we have made intensive efforts to desegregate our schools, eliminate the isolation of the inner cities and break the culture of welfare and poverty.

We have made progress but we cannot afford 30 years from now to have a country with this much poverty, this much segregation, and this much despair in our cities.

The shifting patterns of population and growth leave us with more and more schools in our inner cities that have few or no white students. This legal resegregation of the public schools threatens the very premise of Brown Vs. Board, and the concentration of new immigrants in our urban areas places yet a new set of stresses on those schools. There are no easy or fast solutions to this problem, but we cannot ignore how persistent it remains nor how central it is to the racial problems in America. Another generation of segregated students can too easily lead to a new generation of divided Americans.

But we have learned that the solutions that work are not big new government programs, but new approaches that provide people with the opportunities they need to make the most of their own lives. Our new approaches are working:

- We have seen a record reduction in poverty (figures)
- We are eliminating the old-style housing projects that breed more crime than hope

- Welfare rolls already down 2 million. We are reforming welfare to move 1 million off onto jobs, so that they can head strong, independent families.

As we near the 21st Century, we must continue to expand this approach of creating opportunity and demanding responsibility as the solution to these problems – we must make sure that the new educational tools are as available in the inner cities as everywhere else, that we encourage competition among schools to provide public school choice through new charter schools, and that we expand empowerment zones to stimulate the jobs we need. Every child in the inner city needs the opportunity through our schools to make the most of his own life. We must not, in dismantling old programs that did not work, fall into the trap of failing to create the opportunities that people need to succeed in these new times

3. We must come closer to resolving the issues that threaten to divide us, that left unchecked could become new wedge issues that divide rather than unite Americans.

At the heart of the controversy of what we should do about race is Affirmative Action. Many in this state voted to abandon affirmative action last year, with no intention of hurting fellow citizens – and the results have been sobering. African American and Latino enrollments at this university and all across America are plummeting for the first time in decades.

But many minorities who do not score as high on standardized entrance tests, it turns out, do just as well in our colleges and universities. And when those colleges and universities fail to reflect the diversity of our society, they fail to serve the needs of all Americans. Educational opportunities for minorities are at the heart of creating one America in a 21st century. Of course, we are working for the day when programs of affirmative action will no longer be necessary to ensure diversity. But today, Affirmative Action, properly fine-tuned, needs to be a part of what we do to correct the racial problems we have in America.

Discrimination against those who are new immigrants in this country legally, often of other races, cannot be tolerated. They have become an easy target of racism. This is a nation of laws, and we have tough new laws against those who are here illegally. But those who are here legally – on a track towards citizenship -- are entitled to a set of clear rights and responsibilities.

They must receive equal treatment in housing, equal treatment in job opportunities, in enjoying the basic freedoms we hold dear. And they are entitled to the help they need to become full, productive citizens of this country, and my new budget restores those benefits to our legal immigrants. They are the backbone of a growing nation.

We must recognize that too many people live in fear and distrust of our police and our judicial system. Some believe that it is an unfair system, often singling out the members of one race. Others believe the opposite – that the system fails to enforce our laws fairly and consistently. It is perhaps the greatest area of division in our society today -- people of different races simply see the same situation in different terms.

Even the fairest system in the world needs to have the full confidence of people of all races as we enter the 21st Century. So we must redouble our efforts to ensure diversity throughout our police and justice system, encouraging programs that bring more qualified minority officers, prosecutors and judges into the system. And we must use the next year to better understand why so many people have so many differing views on our system of justice.

Possibly also talk about two smaller issues:

Some ideas designed to foster better learning among minorities may simply to divide us more rather than to create wider diversity. For example, the teaching of Ebonics is not the right way to uplift Afro-American students. Instead, we are embarking upon ambitious new programs to bring 1 million kids into Headstart, and establish a system of national standards implemented on the local level, that will make our student body second to none in the world today.

And in the area of adoption we have recently taken historic steps to eliminate the barriers towards multi-racial adoptions, and this is even more important in the new world of diversity we are entering – giving every fit parent a chance to adopt a child. Some believe that multiracial adoption goes too far, but we cannot let racial barriers leave children without the love and comfort of a permanent parent. Experience is showing that these families can be a model for the rest of us.

Then transition back into the current draft:

We must begin a national examination of the progress we have made in racial reconciliation, so that together we can agree on the steps that will create One America in the 21st Century.

This means that this nation must embark on a process of dialogue and discovery, one unprecedented in American history. Often times, America has looked at itself and the racial issue only in times of deep crisis. Today, we can say we do it not because we are in a crisis, but so that we can avoid another such a time in our history. We must prepare ourselves now for the new challenges of an even more diverse America.

Over the coming year, I will work with a distinguished panel....

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Sylvia Mathews and Maria Echaveste to POTUS re: Reconciliation Outreach Efforts (3 pages)	5/21/97	P2, P5, P6/b(6)

**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-Initiative [1]

ts72

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]

File:
Race

~~Boruck~~ -
Katie is now trying to
make this a part of
the race initiative!
(see last bullet)
Elena

THE METROPOLITAN INITIATIVE

Background:

- Initiative emerged from the sustainable communities work of the President's Council on Sustainable Development;
- Part of an emerging consensus in support of "forging metropolitan solutions to urban and regional problems" (see attachment).

Basic Assumption:

- The time is right for bold experiments to bring together cities and their suburbs to produce economic prosperity, social equity, and environmental quality.

Three Specific Questions:

We want to launch 4 to 6 pilots to address three specific questions:

- 1) How can we help create **smart citizens** by using federal information and technical assistance programs to give people in a region the tools to solve local problems?
- 2) How can we promote **smart money** by targeting existing federal spending to effectively address the needs of a metropolitan region?
- 3) How can we encourage **smart regulation** that meets federal goals in a manner consistent with the unique circumstances of metropolitan regions?

Explicit Goals:

- To redefine the relationship between the federal government and metropolitan regions;
- To identify the common ground that exists between cities and suburbs by creating regional partnerships to clean up brownfields, reduce traffic congestion, move people from welfare to work, prevent crime, and curb urban sprawl.

Implicit Goal:

This implicit goal could be made explicit:

- To promote racial healing by engaging urban and suburban constituencies in a partnership to identify common ground on issues related to economic security and quality of life.

**The Brookings Institution
National Issues Forum**

Forging Metropolitan Solutions to Urban and Regional Problems

Wednesday, May 28, 1997

**PRELIMINARY AGENDA
as of May 15, 1997**

9:30 - 10:00 Welcome and Introductory Remarks

- ❖ The Honorable Michael H. Armacost, President, The Brookings Institution
- ❖ Bruce Katz, Director, Center on Urban and Metropolitan Policy, Senior Fellow, Brookings Institution

10:00 - 12:00 Metropolitan Collaborations: "The Current Wave of Metropolitan Solutions"

- ❖ Mayor Madeline Cain, Mayor of Lakewood, Ohio
- ❖ Sam Fulwood, Health and Human Services and Congress staff writer for the *Los Angeles Times* (moderator)
- ❖ Elmer W. Johnson, Kirkland & Ellis, Project Director, Metropolis Project, Commercial Club of Chicago, American Academy of Arts and Sciences
- ❖ Myron Orfield, Minnesota State Representative; author, *Metropolitics: A Regional Agenda for Community and Stability*
- ❖ Tom Wolf, President, Wolf Organization and Better York Inc.

12:00- 12:45 Lunch Break

12:45 - 1:30 Lunch Speaker

- ❖ Parris Glendening, Governor of the State of Maryland

1:30 - 1:45 Question and Answer Session for Governor Glendening

1:45 - 3:15 Metropolitan Collaborations: "What the Federal Government Can Do"

- ❖ Scott Bernstein, President, Center for Neighborhood Technology
- ❖ Maureen Bunyan, President, MCB Communications, Inc. (moderator)
- ❖ Hank Dittmar, Executive Director of the Surface Transportation Policy Project
- ❖ Anthony Downs, Senior Fellow, Brookings Institution
- ❖ Marge Turner, Urban Institute

3:15 - 3:30 Closing Remarks

- ❖ Angela Blackwell, Senior Vice President of the Rockefeller Foundation

MEMORANDUM TO SYLVIA MATHEWS

DRAFT

File: Race

FROM: ANN WALKER
DAWN CHIRWA

cc: ANN LEWIS
JODI TORKELESON
JENNIFER PALMIERI

RE: RACE TOWN HALL MEETINGS

Following is an overview of thoughts regarding the proposed Town Hall meetings on race and reconciliation. The last town hall meeting the President did (not taking into account the Town hall-style" debate in San Diego) was two years ago in Billings.

FUNDING

We have spoken with Michael Deich in OMB who confirms that he has been working on costs for the town halls and is ready to present the numbers to the Department of Justice at our Friday meeting. In general, the town hall meetings should be budgeted at \$60,000 to \$100,000 each. This will include the costs of building a set, transportation for any experts or other specialists (over and above Commission members) we want to bring to the town hall, satellite feeds, printing costs for informational material, etc. This does not include any costs incurred for hosting a dinner the evening before any of the town halls. We thought that the President might want to host such a dinner before the very first town hall. We could then have various Cabinet members hold any other dinners.

These costs can be reduced if we find a network affiliate to co-sponsor and help pay for satellite costs -- satellite costs alone can amount to approximately \$10,000. The downside to this option is that we loose some control over the content and audience if we partner with a local affiliate. We need to weigh these pros and cons in determining the best route to take. However, given the relatively controversial nature of the issues to be discussed we would recommend against an option that would reduce our control over the town halls.

SCHEDULE

The race initiative plan included a proposal for four town hall meetings to be held throughout the year. If we are still looking at a one year plan -- beginning in June of 1997 and concluding in June 1998 -- our proposed schedule for town hall meetings is as follows:

- **September 25 - Little Rock, AR**
In conjunction with the Anniversary of the Desegregation of Schools
- **December - TBD**
- **Late February/Early March - TBD**

- **Early May - TBD**

Holding the last town hall meeting in early May will allow the Commission time to include the comments/responses from this meeting in the final report due to the President in June. Our thoughts are that we would try to have one town hall meeting in each region of the country:

- Northeast (NJ or New York)
- Midwest (possibly Ohio or Illinois)
- West (Seattle, Arizona, Utah)
- South (this would be Little Rock)

As stated earlier, the Little Rock town hall meeting might be preceded by a dinner hosted by the President the night before the event in Little Rock (September 24). This would be for participants and "influencers" as well as some of the people who will be in Little Rock for the anniversary events.

MEDIA

We would like to have as much coverage of the town hall meetings as possible -- live televised coverage by one of the networks would be optimal but we should look into the feasibility of "selling" this concept and generating interest. If live network coverage is not possible, we will explore live regional coverage by the local affiliates. CNN is also an outlet to consider as they have expressed interest in the race initiative.

AUDIENCE

It is best to limit the size of the audience to under 200 people. We should determine how many people we want to have in the audience -- broken down by observers and participants. We also need to look at outreach to determine how participants will be selected and by whom -- White House, local host group, media?

NEXT STEPS

(1) Decide on 'themes' for the town hall meetings -- e.g. one town hall on race and education, one on race and the justice system, etc. (or whether to abandon the idea of themes). The initial proposal included themes for the town halls such as education, justice, economic issues/employment, youth, but, if we intend to preserve themes for the individual town halls, we need to more fully discuss which themes would be best explored in which regions or at what particular time. For example, the town hall in Little Rock on the anniversary of the desegregation of the public high school lends itself to an education theme. (2) Decide on locations to hold the town hall within each particular region. (3) Confirm funding availability with the Department of Justice (to be discussed at Friday's meeting).

Please get back to us with your thoughts.

MEMORANDUM TO ERSKINE BOWLES

RACE

FROM: SYLVIA MATHEWS and ANGUS KING
RE: CBC Follow up
DATE: 29 May 1997

Legislative Affairs is going to write a letter responding to the concerns that arose during the President's meeting with the Congressional Black Caucus. On many of the issues, they wanted to know who the point person in the White House was for a particular matter. On others, they wanted answers which will be included in the letter. Below is a list of assignments for the letter:

For Rep. Clyburn, on civil rights and race relations:

- **SBA 8 (a):** Richard Hayes is the WH point person on 8 (a), and he should speak with him.
- **WH Point person:** Elena Kagan is the WH point person on affirmative action in education; Dawn Chirwa is the point person for affirmative action in general.

For Rep. Rangel / Owens / Ford / Brown, on the budget:

- **K-12:** Gene Sperling is the point person on K-12 education, until it gets beyond tax issues, at which point it falls under Bruce Reed.
- **School construction:** Gene is also the lead on school construction issues.
- **DSH:** Frank Raines and Chris Jennings are the lead for Disproportionate Share Hospitals.

For Rep. Wynn, on economic development and SBA 8(a):

- **SBA 8(a):** Again, Richard Hayes is the point person on SBA 8(a).

For Rep. Scott, on juvenile justice:

- **DoJ testimony:** Andy Blocker will track down the DoJ testimony concerning jail time for status offenders.
- **WH point person, cocaine sentencing:** Bruce Reed and Jose Cerda are the WH point people for the issue as a whole, including cocaine sentencing. They will provide a clarifying paragraph for the letter on whether legislative changes are required to change sentencing standards.

For Reps. Dixon / Watt / E.B. Johnson, on Presidential appointments:

- **Monthly reports:** Nash is going to give reports to them every three months.
- **Civil rights division:** Nash promised a name for the head of the Civil Rights Division within the next ten days; Podesta will be informed of this.
- **Judicial appointments:** Counsel's office (Chuck Ruff and Jon Yarowski) will provide information on all judicial districts and circuits; they will also provide Chairman Waters with a list of districts and circuits where we still need Senatorial input. Podesta will be informed of this.
- **WH Senior Staff:** It will not be mentioned in the letter, but at your June 1 Monday senior staff meeting, you should relay to everyone that consideration of minority candidates should be a priority.

For Reps. Payne / McKinney, on foreign policy:

- **New Zaire / Congo:** Bill Danvers of the NSC will write a response regarding a special envoy to the new Zaire / Congo.
- **Africa and Caribbean meetings:** Danvers will work out the details of two separate meetings on Africa and the Caribbean. Dan Tarullo will definitely attend the meetings; Danvers will work with Susan Rice to determine other participants.
- **G-8 briefing:** Dan Tarullo will brief them on the G-8, especially concerning Africa issues that may arise.
- **Caribbean Summit follow up:** Danvers will determine who their point of contact is for the Caribbean Summit follow-up. He will also get a firm answer as to whether or not a follow-up summit in America was actually promised.
- **G-8 Congressional delegation:** We need closure from Victoria Radd concerning Congressional participation in the G-8 and/or events surrounding it. Members of the CBC will be in Denver for a town hall meeting on Africa with Mayor Webb, but it takes place June 13-14, a full week prior to the G-8 summit.

Other issues:

Black farmers: Goody Marshall will continue Cabinet Affairs' tracking of this issue. Sylvia Mathews is also working on how we can do a public statement supporting the farmers as part of the race initiative.

Race initiative: Janet Murguia is calling Rep. Clyburn to bring him up to speed on the race initiative and solicit CBC input.

- Janet and the rest of legislative affairs are preparing a memo detailing our outreach plans for the initiative.

Chaka Fattah: Gene Sperling is following up on his idea on 6th grade Pell Grants.

Letters POTUS received in conjunction with the meeting:

- Cong. Sheila Jackson Lee wrote about Texas State University. Legislative Affairs has dealt with this issue, and will respond with the Department of Education's help.
- Cong. Eva Clayton wrote about black farmers. Legislative affairs will coordinate the response.
- Cong. Brown wrote about DSH. Legislative affairs will coordinate the response.
- Cong. McKinney wrote concerning a special envoy to the new Zaire / Congo. Bill Danvers in the NSC will prepare a response.

Consultation with the caucuses: Gene also mentioned, and it was widely seconded, that we should work with the caucuses more proactively. His observation was that by seeking their input from the start, rather than merely responding to individual concerns, we could protect ourselves from complaints of exclusion from those who do not come forward on their own. We will seek to do that in Sylvia's bi-monthly WH minority issues meetings which are used to identify and work on minority issues on the horizon.

cc: John Podesta
Bruce Reed ✓
Gene Sperling
Frank Raines
John Hilley
Chuck Ruff
Dan Tarullo
Bob Nash
Goody Marshall
Victoria Radd
Bill Danvers
Richard Hayes
Elena Kagan
Dawn Chirwa
Janet Murguia
Jon Yarowsky
Chris Jennings
Andy Blocker
Jose Cerda

Race

INITIATIVE GOALS

John Hope Franklin's quote from his book, *The Color Line*, provides a helpful prelude to the listing of our goals:

It is too much to claim that the president of the United States, by his words and deeds, can unilaterally determine the course of history during his administration and countless subsequent years. It is not too much to assert, however, that the president of the United States, through his utterances and the policies he pursues, can greatly influence the national climate in which people live and work as well as their attitudes regarding the direction the social order should take.

If we achieve nothing more than talk, that will be too little. If we propose nothing but policy ideas that are merely small gestures along the way, that also will be too little. But if ten years from now, people can look back and see that America's commitment to her ideals was renewed and reinvigorated and that the post-Martin Luther King generation shouldered its fair burden in this historical struggle, then this effort will have been a success. We believe the following goals and actions will move us towards that success.

I. Articulate your own sense of racial reconciliation and why we believe that it is correct.

- **Vision:** This goal is the overarching and framing concept that will shape this effort. In your speeches, your events, your report and all that the Advisory Board does, we will lay out your vision of what a just and unified America looks and feels like in the next century, how we fulfill the promise of opportunity and fairness for *all* Americans, and how we promote unity and yet preserve cultures. While your vision is well-formed, over the course of the year we hope to build on it and to articulate it to the American people.

II. Teach the Nation about the Facts Surrounding Race. Increase the nation's understanding of race and the myriad perceptions about race by providing facts on the recent history of race relations, current racial and demographic statistics and a demographic analysis of the future of the country.

- **Differing Perceptions and a Historical Perspective:** Many Americans have very different perceptions about whether or not, or to what degree there is a racial problem. An entire generation of young people grew up after the civil rights movement. Their public impressions of race are shaped by the Reagan and Bush Administrations and the public dialogue of that period. Moreover, in the past thirty years there have been changes in the demographic make-up of the nation. While the initiative should be largely prospective, it is important that the nation have a clear sense of what has come before. Black/white tensions continue to be our unique and painful legacy, and there should be a discussion of the history of slavery. However, race is no longer only a black/white issue, and our nation is only going to continue to become more diverse. Therefore, there should be discussion of the treatment of Native Americans, Hispanics (particularly migrant workers) and Asian Americans. We want to teach people about such things as the racism in America today, the significant contributions of different racial groups, the country's current demographic make-up (e.g. there are school districts that contain 100 different racial and ethnic groups) and the future demographic make-up of our country.

- **How to teach:** Use your public events, the Advisory Board's public events and your report to teach the American people. Engage the media to assist in teaching facts on race, as they can be a powerful ally in delivering the facts and studying the issues. Also, create a report that will be a "living document," which can be distributed electronically and as a video to be used as a teaching tool in schools and community groups across the country.

III. Promote constructive dialogue to confront and work through the controversial issues that surround race. Use the Office of the Presidency, your ability to discuss race, the Advisory Board and your report to focus Americans' attention on race. Encourage others to talk about difficult racial issues that we too often avoid. Highlight actions by individuals, communities, businesses and governments that improve race relations and promote greater understanding. Some critics will belittle the call for dialogue, but dialogue has a profound effect and consequence on race in America, especially if we are willing to talk about the tough issues. Five examples of the influence of dialogue follow:

- **Tuskegee:** This public apology was widely reported to the American people and did two things: 1) the act of the apology, in conjunction with the policy steps to encourage minority participation in research, had a widespread effect throughout the community -- it prompted numerous positive discussions in the media and elsewhere on race and health care; and 2) it informed many white Americans of a tragic incident of racism that occurred in the nation's not so distant past, that had lasting detrimental effects on African American attitudes towards health care and scientific research.
- **"Welfare Queen":** The rhetorical picture painted by President Reagan in the 1980's created negative attitudes that seeped into the American consciousness and affected policy making in ways we still experience today.
- **Willie Horton:** The Willie Horton ads during the 1988 campaign lent national legitimacy to the perception of black men as violent criminals.
- **"White Hands" Ad:** This campaign advertisement which aired during the Helms-Gantt campaign reenforced misperceptions about affirmative action.
- **Martin Luther King, Jr.:** President Kennedy set a positive tone on civil rights by challenging Americans to overcome racial prejudices, and he began to create the national climate which led ultimately to ground-breaking civil rights legislation. A significant example of the importance of dialogue took place with a single phone call - the call from Attorney General Robert Kennedy to Martin Luther King, Jr. as he sat in jail in Birmingham. This call helped to legitimize King's use of civil disobedience at a time when supporters of segregation were attempting to gain public support by painting King and other civil rights leaders as criminals.

IV. Recruit and Encourage Leadership. To ensure a lasting and reverberating impact of your effort, we will recruit leaders in communities throughout the nation that will help bridge racial divides. The Advisory Board and your executive director will reach out to mayors, governors, educators, business leaders and others to engage them in our effort and provide them with tools to lead in their own communities. Already, our focus on race is stimulating further leadership. Congressman Gephardt has announced that he wants to hold a one day conference on race with the Democratic Caucus. The initiative staff will evaluate a number of ideas to encourage and reward leadership. For example, one idea we have received is to invite foundations and corporations to join the Congress in establishing a "Reconciliation Fund" that would provide grants for innovative approaches to racial tensions that draw in broad segments of the population. Another is the idea of a Baldrige-type award to recognize and encourage leadership.

V. Find, develop and implement solutions in areas such as education, economic opportunity, housing, health care, crime and the administration of justice. These solutions should be for use by individuals, communities, corporations and government at all levels to address the difficult issues surrounding race and to build on the possibilities of a diverse democracy.

- **Best Practices:** One way to find solutions is to collect and disseminate best practices for promoting racial harmony. In our outreach to mayors about this initiative, we are finding several examples where communities are building bridges among racial groups. Other examples we have received include:
 - **Education - Students Talk About Race (STAR):** STAR is a program in North Carolina which has trained over 3,000 college students to be mentors and teachers to students in middle school and high school classes (over 35,000 students). The college students lead discussions about racial and ethnic tensions and lingering discrimination.
 - **Local Government - Can't We All Just Get Along?:** This program, led by Mayor Berger of Lima, Ohio, the Ohio State University at Lima and the Study Circles Resource Center, emphasizes racial reconciliation through small group discussions facilitated by trained discussion leaders. The purpose is to counter negative racist attitudes and actions by introducing individuals from different demographic groups in a structured setting that encourages them to examine their own views on race and listen to others' views. This program has led to such results as a multiracial unity choir, school-business partnerships and a new soup kitchen.
 - **Religion - Reconciliation Initiative:** This program was founded in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania by the pastor of the Covenant Church, which has a denomination that is 50 percent white and 50 percent African American. Through seminars and other methods, the church's pastor and parishioners work with other religious organizations to help implement solutions that will help other religious organizations become more multi-cultural.

- **Media - Listening to African American Voices:** A Korean-language call-in program on a radio station in California recently began regularly featuring a African-American guest who talks about race. This segment was added after a months-long dispute between a Korean hat shop owner and an African American who accused the shop owner of discrimination.
- **Policy Development:** One of the principal ways of developing solutions is to identify the critical issues affecting race relations in this country and to propose governmental actions and policies addressing those issues. We believe we must articulate this goal forcefully from the outset.

In discussing policy initiatives, however, we must make two points clear. First, the Administration's policy will unfold over the whole course of the initiative. We will not lay down a full set of proposals in the San Diego speech or shortly thereafter; to the contrary, we will announce policies in stages throughout the year, with some of the larger ideas reserved for the President's Report to the American People. This approach will emphasize the way in which the Administration's policy is responding to the dialogue you have set in motion and the ideas arising from it.

Secondly, different times demand different kinds of solutions, in this area as in many others. The policy that the Administration intends to develop will not be a federal response similar to that of the Great Society. No one should expect massive new programs run by the federal government that involve the expenditure of large sums of money. We must make this point as strongly as possible to prevent commentators from contrasting, to our disadvantage, the size of our initiatives to earlier ones.

The Domestic Policy Council, working in close coordination with the executive director will have primary responsibility for the development of policy. In an effort to magnify our policy development capabilities on the issue of race, we are going to pursue two ideas. The first is to hire Chris Edley as a consultant and senior adviser to help guide the policy process. The second is to hire an African American Special Assistant in either DPC or NEC or shared by both. (Your feedback on these personnel ideas would be appreciated.)

In general, the DPC wants both to develop wholly new policy initiatives and to refocus or better target existing Administration initiatives to address race-related issues (e.g., the COPS and EZ programs). To accomplish these objectives, the DPC intends to establish interagency working groups, focused on particular issue areas, that will identify the most critical problems in each area and propose both administrative and legislative solutions to them. Although the DPC will not make any final decisions until we have named an executive director, the DPC currently intends to form groups on employment opportunity (with the NEC), education, housing, health, and the administration of justice (including both criminal justice and civil rights law).

Some of the policies announced during the year will respond to issues arising as the initiative moves forward. For example, one of the priority items for the DPC is to develop an action plan responding to the dramatic decreases in minority enrollment in the Texas and California higher education systems -- and the more general slowing of recent gains by minorities in college enrollment. Although work in this area has just begun, the interagency group is exploring whether and how to pressure or persuade colleges and universities to adopt new recruitment tools (including educational partnerships with certain schools) and/or facially race-neutral admission rules that effectively will achieve a racially diverse student body.

Other policies announced during the year will attempt to address longstanding problems in new and creative ways --ways that go beyond or reorient current polarized (and increasingly sterile) debates. For example, we might profitably reconceive the race issue in criminal justice as one that is --not in whole, but in part --about law enforcement authorities' failure to protect minority communities from criminality. We might respond to this understanding by using the COPS program to increase police resources in underserved communities, expand the number of minority police officers serving those communities and improve diversity training for all police officers. Similarly, we must recast the debate over educational opportunity within minority communities, as we already have started to do, by emphasizing the importance of creating national standards and then of providing students in these communities with the tools to meet them. For example, we work to ensure that these students get their fair share of the most experienced and qualified teachers through a combination of policies, involving scholarships and loan forgiveness, enhanced training programs, and reforms in teacher licensing and certification.

Draft as of 5/16/97

RACE/RECONCILIATION COMMUNICATIONS STRATEGY PLAN

OBJECTIVES

- *Emphasizing the importance and necessity of the race and reconciliation initiative
Through the communications roll out to as wide an audience as possible.*
- *Illustrate the President's long-term commitment to, and understanding of, the issue of
race in America.*
- *Develop the message to reflect accurately and appropriately the scope and nature of the
President's initiative, ensuring that our means of communication are as accurate and
inclusive as the initiative itself will be.*

Following is an outline of the communications strategy including press, surrogate and outreach plans and timelines. This is intended for planning purposes only.

Week of May 12: Lay the Ground Work

Event

Tuskegee Apology

The Tuskegee story will be the hook for many reporters to write about the race initiative from a historical perspective.

Press: Dr. David Satcher will go to the stakeout. Identify Administration spokesperson to put this in context of the larger race initiative (or brief Satcher).

Morgan State Commencement

Press: Side-bar/feature stories on Terry Edmonds, first African-American speech writer for a U.S. President, Morgan State alumni.

Media

Finalize Press Plan

Identify key reporters and publications (particularly minority journalists and outlets) for inclusion in roll out.

Materials

Develop and Distribute Internal Talking Points

Submit POTUS memo requesting surrogate approval and suggestions.

Outreach

Identify Surrogates

Validate the President's commitment to this issue and provide thoughts and anecdotes. These should be people from various disciplines (activists, religious, friends, family, political) who can address this issue in context of stages of the President's life.

•Childhood:	Mack McLarty, David Leopoulos, Mrs. Leopoulos,Carolyn Staley, Roger Clinton
•College/Law School:	William Coleman, Phil Verveer
•U of Ark. Fayetteville:	L.T. Simes, Carol Willis, Diane Blair
•Governor:	Rodney Slater, Lottie Shackelford, Maria Haley, Freddie and Victor Nixon, Tony Campolo, Ernie Green, Secretary Riley
•To Present:	Henry Cisneros, Jesse Jackson, Taylor Branch, Maggie Williams, Bob Matsui, Vernon Jordan
•Administration:	Ann Lewis, Minyon Moore, Maria Estevestez, Alexis Herman
•Process	Erskine Bowles, Sylvia Mathews, Bob Nash, Rahm Emmanuel, Ann Lewis

(We need to look at diversifying this entire list a bit more -- Asian Americans, Hispanics)

Week of May 19: Continue Laying the Ground Work

Materials

Submit Scheduling Request for POTUS Press Block- 3 hours

Prepare Target Media Lists

Focus on minority journalists, both mainstream press and targeted outlets.

Research/Speechwriters Meet With POTUS

The aim of this meeting is to get the POTUS perspective, in his voice, on racial issues (or Week of June 2nd).

Develop and Finalize Surrogate List

Prepare Cabinet Commencement Talking Points

Plan Media Background Dinners

Identify hosts and participants.

Outreach

Reach Out to Potential Surrogates and Finalize List

Develop Outreach Lists

Include groups/individuals that should be brought into the White House for meetings/briefings prior to the speech. Using "consult" list and our list of 30 "influences", identify those who would be helpful in our efforts. Roundtable discussions will be an important opportunity to brief and obtain thoughts of the preeminent thinkers in this field. They will likely be contacted by the media to analyze/pontificate.

- **Academics/Researchers** (Ron Walters, Cornell West, Ronald Takaki)
- **Activists** (MALDEF, NAACP, Urban League, LaRaza, Southwest Voter)
- **Clergy/Religious Organizations** (National Council of Churches, Progressive Fundamentalist)
- **Intergovernmental Outreach** (Gov. Gary Locke, Dennis Archer, Willie Brown)
- **Congressional Affairs List** (CBC, Congressional Hispanic Caucus)

Week of May 26th: Create Support Materials

Foreign Travel

POTUS Travels to The Hague, Paris, and London

Materials

Obtain Input From Outside "Thinkers" for Speech

Working off lists developed for consults and commission.

Draft Outline/Themes of Speech

Update/Draft Accomplishment Documents

African-Americans, Hispanic-Americans, Asian-Americans, and Native-Americans

Prepare White House/Personnel Administration Charts and Numbers

Create Demographic Illustrations/Graphs

Workforce changes, regional shifts, ect.

List Status of Current Activities

Justice, Procurement, ect.

Develop California Specific Press and Outreach Lists

Draft Q&A's

Draft Surrogate Talking Points

Week of June 2nd: Obtain Consensus

Event

Announce White House Conference on Hate Crimes

Media

Work With News Outlets

Focus on 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.

Materials

Confirm Internally and Work on Details of Town Hall Meetings

Develop Town Hall Meetings Communications Outline

Little Rock could be site of first Town Hall in September to commemorate the anniversary of Central High School desegregation.

Circulate First Draft of Speech

Small internal group

Identify Op Ed Writers and Placement Targets

Finalize and Schedule POTUS Media Briefings/Interviews

This includes the week prior to speech focusing on inclusion and minority journalists/outlets.

Outreach

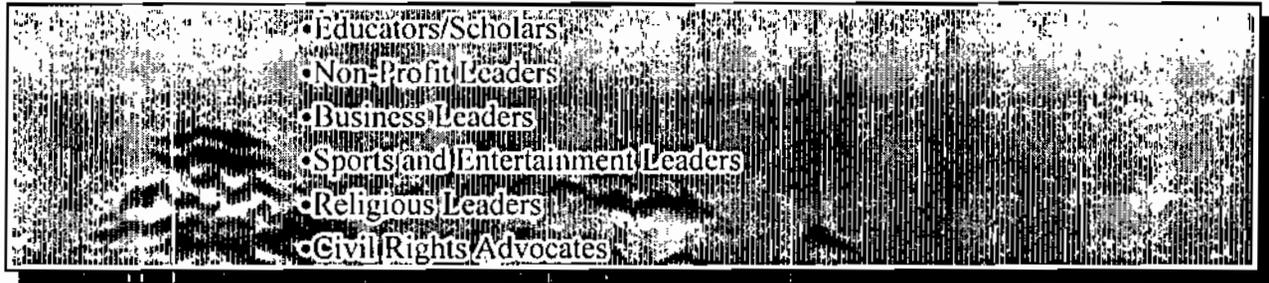
Invite Key "Thinkers" to Private White House Dinner

Provides POTUS with opportunity to get input from outside thinkers off the record.

Conduct Media Background Dinners

Schedule Private Meetings with POTUS.

Following is a list of potential invitees by subject areas:



Event

Speech at UCSD June 14

Media

Schedule and Conduct Media Interviews with Surrogates

Hold White House Background Briefings

Preview race initiative to key audiences.

Identify Sunday Talkers

POTUS Interviews

The following is a sampling of possibilities, please submit suggestions. Trotter Group, WSJ (Frisby), NBC (Bloom- Maybe they would run on Sunday evening), AP (Sonya Ross), USA Today (DeWayne Wickham), Asian-American outlets, Hispanic Regional Publications, Univision, and American Urban Radio Network

Embargoed Briefing for White House Press Corps on Friday, June 13

Morning Shows -- Rodney Slater and Henry Cisneros to discuss POTUS background.

Background Briefing for Pundits (Reaching Out to Minority Pundits)

Background Briefing for Sunday Show Pundits and Columnists
Friday, June 13.

News Magazine Set-up for Early Deadlines

Possible Rodney Slater interview with Newsweek (and others? On POTUS background on civil rights).

Materials

Revise/Edit/Finalize Speech

Speech Prep

Review Op Eds

Qs and As Needed for the Day of Speech

Given that deadlines are on early Saturday, we may need to do an embargoed briefing on Friday. Sylvia, Ann L., etc., should also be prepared to brief on Saturday as well. Distribute commission bios profiles.

Outreach

Hold Private Briefings/Dinner with POTUS and Outside Thinkers

Post-Speech Activities

Media

Draft and submit NAACP Crisis Magazine Article

Due July 12th

Op-eds from validators

Specialty Press Mailing

Editorial Board and specialty press mailing of speech and background materials

Regional conference calls

Calls will be with beat reporters in large ethnic and minority markets

Book Guests on National and Regional Radio and TV Shows

The shows will be booked in targeted markets (ie-Tom Joyner; Jesse Jackson; 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

Tongs- Will Also be Competing with Summit of Eights

Guests for Sunday morning shows on June 15

Commission Members Fan Out to Monday AM Shows

Event

July

National Association of Black Journalists Convention.

September

40th Anniversary of the desegregation of Central High School -
event/attendance in Little Rock.



RACE

Los Angeles Times

WASHINGTON BUREAU

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Rivals Woo Racial Coalition by Different Paths

Democrats: Brown invokes civil rights agenda of the '60s; Clinton emphasizes personal responsibility and a spirit of reconciliation.

By RONALD BROWNSTEIN , TIMES POLITICAL WRITER

Los Angeles Times Tuesday April 7, 1992

Home Edition Part A Page 16 Column 1 National Desk

28 inches; 386 words

NEW YORK--In their struggle for black votes in today's New York presidential primary, Bill Clinton and Edmund G. (Jerry) Brown Jr. have highlighted a profound generational division among Democrats about how to build an interracial coalition that can take back the White House.

Brown has embraced the agenda forged by the leading civil rights organizations during the late 1960s--and fiercely defended since--that stresses the obligations of the majority white society to minorities on issues ranging from social spending to affirmative action. For many voters, both white and black, Brown's commitment to that approach is symbolized by his association with the Rev. Jesse Jackson, who the former California governor has picked as his preferred running mate.

By contrast, Clinton, reflecting a tough reassessment of the '60s vision among some liberals, has offered a message of mutual obligation: He has called on government to provide more opportunity, but demanded greater "personal responsibility" from Wall Street executives and welfare recipients alike. Clinton also delivers in almost every speech an impassioned plea for racial reconciliation.

With that carefully balanced appeal, the Arkansas governor has had striking success through the early primaries in reassembling the traditional Democratic coalition of blacks and working-class whites--an alliance that has collapsed in recent national campaigns, partly over racially tinged issues such as busing, affirmative action, welfare and crime.

Today's vote in New York offers the sternest test yet of Clinton's ability to maintain his black support in the face of the more traditional civil rights appeal Brown has embraced both rhetorically and through his link with Jackson. But it will also test Brown's ability to attract white voters while so closely aligned with Jackson--a polarizing figure in New York--and the liberal racial agenda he symbolizes.

With its diverse Democratic electorate, dominated by roughly equal shares of blacks, Jews and white Catholics, and its history of racially conscious voting, New York has presented Brown and Clinton with the same excruciating balancing act that will face the party's nominee in November: winning blacks without alienating whites, and vice versa.

So far, each candidate has articulated different messages on racial issues that reflect divergent visions of how to rebuild a majority coalition.

Brown has placed himself squarely in the tracks of the leading civil rights organizations, which argue that the gaps between white and black America are explained almost entirely by racism, past and present, and require targeted government assistance to eradicate.

Clinton's view more closely reflects a contrary intellectual tradition, with roots in Daniel Patrick Moynihan's controversial 1965 study on the growth of single-parent families in the black community and the work of black sociologist William Julius Wilson, who maintains broad economic changes, such as the decline of low-skill manufacturing jobs, now hurt blacks more than embedded racism.

Like these theorists, Clinton downplays programs targeted specifically at minorities in favor of race-neutral initiatives, such as increased education and training, and argues that government aid alone won't end inner-city distress unless accompanied by changes in the personal behavior of the poor.

The contrast between these visions was vividly illustrated when Brown and Clinton met in a New York City debate on March 29.

When Brown was asked how to deal with high rates of crime and out-of-wedlock births among the inner-city poor, he dismissed cultural factors and attributed the problems to social neglect.

"If you bring people down, if you treat them like second-rate human beings, you get exactly what is happening," Brown declared. "When a little child is born in a neighborhood with crack dealers, of course he has a propensity to turn to crime. You have to create a reason not to be drug dependent, not to have children out of wedlock, and you do that through economic security."

Clinton also emphasized the need for government to make new investments in urban needs, but broke from Brown by insisting public initiatives alone would not be sufficient. He re-emphasized that theme Sunday at a black church in Brooklyn.

"If I become President, it is my solemn duty to try to provide more opportunity for the people of this country," Clinton said as the congregation applauded. "But if I become President, you have responsibilities too. For no politician can do anything for a people they are not willing to do for themselves."

This philosophical divide between Brown and Clinton governs their approaches to issues with racial overtones.

Asked in the March 29 debate about programs that set aside a guaranteed percentage of government contracts for minorities, Clinton said he could support such initiatives only if "price and quality (are) the determining consideration." Brown endorsed such efforts without qualification.

Clinton has called for government to increase spending on training and education of welfare recipients, and then, after two years on the rolls, require them to take public service jobs if none are available in the private sector. Brown's welfare reform plan would allow, but not require, recipients to convert their grant into a voucher that could be used to supplement pay in private employment.

On another issue, Clinton has said that while he would not have signed a controversial New Jersey welfare reform, which denies further benefits to women who have additional out-of-wedlock children while on public assistance, he would, as President, grant the state a waiver to experiment with the approach. Brown has denounced the idea and said he would not allow the state to implement it.

Many civil rights leaders and Jackson allies have bridled against Clinton's use of the personal responsibility theme, viewing it as a code word for stoking white resentment. But through the early primaries, Clinton has won the vast majority of both black votes and endorsements from leading black politicians. On Sunday, half a dozen black members of the U.S. House campaigned for him in black churches across New York City.

"Middle-class blacks are the most conservative people in America in terms of their social values," said Mitchell Moss, director of the urban research center at New York University. "They are the ones who are at greatest risk of crime; they are the ones who have made it on their own. Clinton is appealing to the values they live by."

Looking toward a general election, many political analysts argue that Clinton's blend of the liberal opportunity message with conservative calls for responsibility leaves him well-positioned to maintain black support while winning back middle- and working-class whites, who believe the party has asked them to subsidize self-destructive behavior among the poor. But first, Clinton must prove in New York that he can sustain his coalition against Brown's impassioned assault.

Descriptors: PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS -- 1992 -- NEW YORK (STATE)
PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES
BROWN, EDMUND G JR (JERRY)
CLINTON, BILL
BLACKS

RACE

Date: 05/22/97 Time: 08:42

CPresident looking for ways to spark racial reconciliation

WASHINGTON (AP) A White House conference on race is among the options President Clinton is considering as a way of sparking the campaign on racial reconciliation that he wants to leave as a presidential legacy.

with fellow
Linda Chavez Thompson
Angela Oh
John Hope Franklin
Tom Kean
Wm Winter

During a meeting Wednesday with members of the Congressional Black Caucus, the president raised the idea of a conference after noting that the issues caucus members were discussing urban school renovations, public hospital closings, the plight of black farmers and U.S. policy in Africa all harked back to America's widening racial divide.

"He made it very clear that he thought the country was suffering on this race question," said Rep. Jim Clyburn, D-S.C. "He would like to see some really serious discussions take place to get us moving in the right direction on this."

The White House did not comment on the caucus meeting. Officials confirmed privately that a White House conference was discussed, but said Clinton has not made a final decision.

Rep. Maxine Waters, D-Calif., head of the caucus, said members told the president that they felt his recent apology to the victims of the Tuskegee Syphilis Study was significant and necessary, and they complimented him on other actions he's taken, such as his defense of affirmative action.

"The president led us into discussion about elevating this subject matter," Waters said, "and creating a discussion in America that helps people to understand what is happening."

Clyburn said Clinton was alarmed by figures released last week showing large drops in minority college enrollments in Texas and California. In California, the number of blacks and Hispanics admitted to the University of California's law school fell 81 percent and 50 percent, respectively, in the first year of race-neutral admission policies.

He said Clinton expressed interest in finding ways to avoid a "slippery slope" on affirmative action that would cause minorities to lose ground economically. The president did not use the term "White House conference" on race, Clyburn said, but did say "we ought to have some kind of discussion. I think we may elevate this to a White House conference."

The president has pledged a major initiative on race, and he plans to start it with an address on the subject June 14 at the University of California at San Diego.

A White House task force is crafting the president's plan, and details of it have been kept secret. The caucus meeting provided the first public discussion of a conference on race.

Clinton also is considering town hall meetings and other once-a-month presidential events to highlight race issues and is looking to form a commission to examine multiracial and multiethnic issues facing the nation.

Black caucus members told Clinton they did not want a commission that replicates the 1968 Kerner Commission, which examined a spate of urban riots and concluded that blacks and whites in the United States lived in two "separate and unequal" societies.

Waters said Clinton "tried to outline what he did want, what he did not want" regarding a commission. She did not provide details of what Clinton said.

"The only thing we can share with you is the president is moving forward in the formulation of a commission," she said.

RACE

MEMORANDUM

TO: ELENA KAGAN
CC: BRUCE REED
FROM: TOM FREEDMAN, MARY L. SMITH
RE: EEOC REFORM
DATE: JUNE 6, 1997

SUMMARY

Attached is a concise history and description of the workings of the EEOC, a categorization of its problems, including case backlog and limited authority, and potential ameliorating reforms.

I. BACKGROUND

The EEOC was created in 1964 to investigate employment discrimination charges relating to race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. Since that time, the EEOC has become responsible for administering additional laws: (1) the Equal Pay Act of 1963, (2) the Age Discrimination in Employment Act of 1967, (3) the Equal Employment Act of 1972, (4) Section 501 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, (5) the Americans With Disabilities Act (ADA) of 1990, and (6) the Civil Rights Act of 1991.

Critics of the Commission assert that the 1964 Civil Rights Bill did not provide the EEOC with sufficient remedies for victims of discrimination because of Southern opposition to the bill. Numerous commentators, including Bill Bradley, Shelby Steele, and Jesse Jackson, have noted the delays and ineffectiveness associated with the Commission, the major administrative enforcement mechanism designed to remedy discrimination in our country. They note that the Commission's failure to promptly and effectively remedy claims of discrimination demoralizes individual victims of prejudice and sabotages national efforts at creating a society based on equal opportunity.

II. PROCESS

("EEOC Process Chart" attached)

- Plaintiff has 180 days to file a charge of discrimination with EEOC.
- EEOC investigates whether there is cause to believe discrimination occurred
 - However, even if EEOC investigation is not completed, 180 days after the charge is filed, a plaintiff can request a "right to sue" letter, which permits the filing of the case in federal court
 - Plaintiff has 90 days to file complaint in federal court after receiving "right to sue" letter
- If the EEOC does investigation, then it either issues a "cause" finding or a "no cause" finding
 - "Cause" finding issued: EEOC encourages the parties to enter into conciliation procedures which either result in a settlement or if no settlement, the plaintiff is given a "right to sue" letter
 - "No cause" finding issued: potential plaintiff is given a "right to sue" letter and the EEOC's determination of "no cause" is entitled to no deference in court

III. STRUCTURE

- EEOC carries out its mission through 50 field offices that receive, investigate, and resolve charges of discrimination in the private sector, and it coordinates these activities in the public sector.
- A 5-member commission heads the EEOC. The President appoints the members, with the consent of the Senate, for rotating 5-year terms. No more than 3 members can be from the same political party. The President designates one member to serve as Chairman and another as Vice Chairman. The current chairman is Gilbert F. Casellas.

IV. CURRENT STATUS

- For 1998, the EEOC has requested a budget of \$246 million, an increase of \$6 million, or 2.65 over the current level for 1997.
- During 1994, the EEOC issued 36,377 determinations following a full investigation, and 94.7% or 34,451 resulted in "no cause" findings in favor of the defendant. There were only 1,926 determinations of "cause," a mere 5.3% of the total determinations.
- In 1992, the EEOC filed 347 substantive lawsuits, 26% involved sex discrimination, 21% involved age discrimination, and 19% concerned race discrimination. The majority, 53% involved unlawful termination, 18% concerned discriminatory hiring.

V. PROBLEMS

- **Backlog.** The backlog of cases or number of charges awaiting investigation. At one time the backlog was over 100,000 cases, but recently Mr. Casellas testified before Congress that this backlog has been reduced to 75,000.
- **Delay.** The increasing time it takes EEOC to investigate and process charges. In 1994, the EEOC stated that the average investigation of a claim took 328 days and that its backlog would take 18.8 months to clear. Attorneys at DOJ report that it is not uncommon to commence cases after 5 years have elapsed since the the incident that prompted the original complaint.
- **Scope.** The limited number of litigation actions and systemic investigations initiated by the EEOC. In 1992, the EEOC filed 347 substantive lawsuits.
- **Impact.** The EEOC spends its time and effort collecting statements, investigating charges, and issuing determinations. But these determinations are without legal impart.

VI. POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS

- **Resources.** More funding for staff to address the backlog
- **Authority.** Give the EEOC "cease and desist" authority, that is, authority to issue injunctions in cases of egregious violations
- **Authority.** Give judicial deference to an EEOC determination of "cause" or "no cause," permitting only appellate review based on a "substantial evidence" standard of review
- **Authority.** Encourage binding ADR on an accelerated schedule before EEOC does investigation
- **Possible Criminalization.** Strengthen inducements to changing behavior, as the Army has done. Criminalize job discrimination in the strongest cases, where there is profound damage and willful violations of the law with direct economic impact. Professors Moskos and Butler note in their study of the military that "racist behavior ends a person's career. That racial remarks are rarely heard among Army NCOs and officers, even in allwhite groups, reflects how strictly this norm is adhered to....criminalizing racial discrimination has, in a manner of speaking, been accomplished de facto in the military."

- **Structure.** Transform the EEOC structure, streamlining its decisionmaking into something more similar to the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB). Key components include: General Counsel appointed by the President and consent of the Senate responsible for overseeing investigation and prosecution of unfair labor practices; regional field officers appointed by the General Counsel; minimal backlog; consider use of Administrative Law Judge (ALJ); and
- **Structure.** Improve quality of EEOC training and staff

VII. POTENTIAL CRITICISMS OF PROPOSALS

- More bureaucracy and ineffective.
- Interferes too much in private employers relationships. Making the EEOC's determinations binding will cause an uproar among businesses.
- Does not solve the problems.
- Denies complainants their day in court.

VIII. SOLUTIONS THE EEOC HAS ADOPTED ALREADY

- In 1996, the EEOC adopted a national enforcement plan that sets priorities for the processing of charges and litigation on the national and local level. Priority is placed on class-action lawsuits, claims that involve allegations of company-wide discrimination, and those that are likely to develop key legal principles. The reforms mark a fundamental change for the agency because it no longer fully investigates every charge it receives. Instead, charges are prioritized so those with little merit are dismissed without a probe while priority cases are investigated.
- The EEOC beefed up its mediation strategy, using many volunteer mediators under the Administrative Dispute Resolution Act.
- The agency is also targeting high-profile cases to bring suit such as the Mitsubishi sexual harassment suit in Illinois.

IX. CRITICISMS OF EXISTING SOLUTIONS

- The priority system creates incentives to dismiss cases and avoid investigations.
- EEOC gets involved in court cases only in big cases after private attorneys have made some progress.