

~~cc Will's
article
to EK, Jose,
Tom~~



PROGRESSIVE POLICY INSTITUTE

Oct 15 '97

Will Marshall
President

Dear Bruce,

Good to see you + Bonita at
White Oak.

I thought Steve Holmes hit the
one on the far end of the bat.
Enclosed are my humble thoughts
about how the President could
energize the race panel by
refrain the debate.

By the way, if you all keep smoking
tobacco, I'm going into the bootlegging
business + make a fortune like Joe
Kennedy... so I can run for Obama's
election as first female President.

Best,
Will

The Hill

LARGEST
CIRCULATION
OF ANY
CAPITOL HILL
PUBLICATION

Vol. 4, No. 32

The Capitol Newspaper



Wednesday, September 3, 1997

Empowerment, not preferences, route to racial equality

The public response to President Clinton's call for a new dialogue on race so far has been underwhelming. Americans who have largely tuned out ritualistic posturing on the subject aren't likely to be moved by rehashing arguments for affirmative action or appointing yet another study commission. To truly engage Americans in a new conversation, the president needs to shift the ground of the conversation from victimization to opportunity.

For two decades, the civil rights debate has revolved around the idea that informal, and even unconscious, discrimination — in schools, housing, the workplace and universities — is the chief barrier to racial justice and the only way to overcome it is through group preferences in hiring, contracting, broadcast licensing and college admissions.

Few Americans — even those sympathetic to affirmative action — still embrace that view. Instead, the public increasingly sees the lack of economic opportunity and mobility among the minority poor as the real crux of racial inequality, and policies that empower them to work and otherwise develop their economic potential as the remedy.

Congress should consider the fresh evidence of public support for empowerment from a new national survey for the Democratic Leadership Council (DLC) conducted by White House pollster Mark Penn. When asked to choose the most effective way for the United States to promote racial equality today, respondents by a 3-1 margin picked "empowering low-income minorities to work, build up savings accounts, and start small businesses" over "expanding affirmative action programs." Democrats agreed by nearly identical margins, while black respondents picked empowerment over preferences by a more than 2-1 margin.

This does not mean that affirmative action is finished, even though the outlook is not good for preferential practices that face a triple threat from a skeptical

Supreme Court, a hostile Republican Congress and, if last year's vote on California's Proposition 209 is any guide, widespread popular opposition. It does suggest that Americans of all races are looking for alternatives

Will Marshall

THE INFLUENCE GAME



that help poor minorities overcome obstacles to upward mobility.

Penn concludes: "Affirmative action is not seen by most Americans as the primary vehicle for promoting racial equality — instead Americans see the long-term answer in programs that create work, the opportunity to open a small business, or build up savings, alongside improvement of the inner-city schools."

The DLC survey also challenges the cynical view in Washington that there's little public support for new efforts aimed at dealing with the problems of the inner cities. In fact, many Americans view the plight of high poverty urban neighborhoods as the unfinished business of the civil rights movement.

The poll found that 70 percent of the public agrees that our society has a "moral obligation to spend more money to assist poor areas in the inner cities." How the money is spent, however, matters greatly. Even Democrats overwhelmingly (70-23) favor spending the money to promote economic development rather than to expand traditional social programs.

Further confounding conventional left-right wisdom, the survey suggests that Americans view welfare reform as a cornerstone of a new strategy for empower-

ing poor citizens. It offers no support for the liberal contention that welfare reform is a thinly disguised assault on the poor by politicians eager to pander to a mean-spirited, and probably racist, public. It also shows that most Americans disagree with conservatives who equate merely reducing welfare spending with genuine welfare reform.

In fact, helping welfare recipients get jobs is near the top of the public's list of priorities, even if it means more government spending. Says Penn, "... Americans see moving one-million people from welfare to work (95 percent) as a primary national goal and creating a new employment system to accomplish the job as more important than just enforcing time limits."

All this suggests that Clinton really does have a striking opportunity to reframe and re-energize the debate over racial justice in America. Instead of arguing over the extent of vestigial discrimination facing upwardly mobile minorities — a debate that recalls medieval scholastics arguing over how many angels can fit on the head of a pin — our political leaders need to take concrete steps to help low-income Americans get a better education, find and keep jobs, save and build financial assets, upgrade their job and entrepreneurial skills, get access to capital and launch small enterprises.

This strategy for promoting racial equality would also be entirely consistent with Clinton's "New Democrat" approach to governing. In this view, government's role today is shifting from top-down redistribution of wealth to providing opportunities for all citizens to shape their own lives. If Congress really wants to rekindle the civil rights consensus, it should focus its energies on helping the minority poor break out of concentrated poverty and social isolation into the mainstream of American life.

Will Marshall is president of the Progressive Policy Institute.

10/12 NYT

Critics Say Clinton Panel About Race Lacks Focus

By STEVEN A. HOLMES

WASHINGTON, Oct. 11 — Three months after President Clinton appointed a seven-member advisory board to help develop a national dialogue on race, the initiative is being criticized for its slow start and lack of focus. Some critics say the board's desultory beginning even raises the question of whether the White House is using the panel to duck, rather than confront, the country's thorny racial issues.

Advocates, writers and academics involved in race relations issues — both on the right and on the left — have recently expressed disappointment with Mr. Clinton's Initiative on Race and Reconciliation. They say the panel has frittered away a quarter of its yearlong deadline and has yet to decide which of the myriad issues it will tackle.

"It's rudderless," said Ward Connerly, a black member of the University of California Board of Regents and a leader in the fight against race-based preferences.

Hugh Price, president of the National Urban League, said: "There is a shared sense that it's got to have some focus and take on some of the tough issues in the area of race. It's got to aim to do something."

Conservatives say that by avoiding affirmative action the panel is sidestepping the most-explosive racial issue. And some liberals say the panel's slow start is giving an impression that the body is little more than a veneer to cover White House indifference to racial issues.

Roger Wilkins, a professor of history at George Mason University, said the President's greatest risk would be to start an effort and then not follow through.

"If that happens," Mr. Wilkins said, "then people will say, even on race, where he is supposed to have some genuine feeling, when the rubber hits the road, Bill Clinton wasn't serious."

Members of the advisory board and its staff acknowledge the effort's slow start and the criticism.

"I am not surprised there is a degree of impatience about what we're doing and how fast we're doing it," said Judith Winston, the board's staff director.

While saying the criticism is premature, some board and staff members also acknowledge that they have been hampered by a lack of direction from the Administration.

"We are dependent on direction from the White House as to where we should be going," said Thomas H. Kean, a board member and former Republican Governor of New Jersey.

Conservatives who disagree with Mr. Clinton on affirmative action tend to be much more dismissive, pointing out that the panel does not include people who question race-based preference programs.

"If you want to do a serious commission, you need to get a variety of voices," said Abigail Thernstrom, a co-author with her husband, Stephen, of "America in Black and White: One Nation, Indivisible" and a critic of affirmative action. "It's monologue. Let's have a dialogue."

But liberals, who were hopeful that the panel's work would lead to better race relations, say its lack of focus reflects a lack of commitment by Mr. Clinton. They compare the board's work with the Administration's sharp focus on issues like free trade agreements with Latin America.

"What people are sensing now is a lack of energy," Mr. Wilkins said.

White House officials recently have taken steps to try to better coordinate the panel's efforts. On Friday Erskine B. Bowles, the White House chief of staff, convened a meeting with senior members of the President's staff to urge them to take the matter more seriously.

At the meeting, it was decided that people like Gene Sperling, head of the National Economic Council; Bruce N. Reed, Mr. Clinton's chief domestic policy adviser; Michael D. McCurry, the White House press secretary, and others would begin to work regularly with the staff of the advisory board.

Though Mr. Clinton announced the formation of the board, headed by John Hope Franklin, in a speech in San Diego in mid-June, the White House did not have a staff ready to step in to do the nitty-gritty research that such an effort requires. Indeed, the board's staff director, Ms. Winston, was not appointed until the first week in August and has only in the last few weeks assembled a staff.

Aware that the work has gotten off to a slow start, White House officials now say that the one-year deadline could be extended.

Ms. Winston said staff and board members were starting to work more efficiently. Individual board members have been looking at places that are successfully grappling with racial issues and hope to be able to recommend to Mr. Clinton ways those efforts can be duplicated.

"It's not how you start, it's how you finish," Ms. Winston said. "I think that on this issue to have a series of false starts would be more damaging than starting slow and doing it right."

Bruce -

Did you get this? A lot of
plan development going on.

Elena

Race Init.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: JUDITH A. WINSTON

THRU: ERSKINE BOWLES
SYLVIA MATTHEWS

SUBJECT: PRESIDENT'S INITIATIVE ON RACE WEEKLY REPORT --
OCTOBER 11 - 17

ADVISORY BOARD ACTIVITIES

American Council on Education Conference, Miami, FL. The Reverend Johnson Cook and Governor Winter spoke to 1500 college and university presidents, faculty members, administrators and students about the Initiative at the American Council on Education's "Educating One-Third of A Nation Conference". Governor Winter discussed the importance of diversity and inclusiveness in all aspects of higher education and the important role that colleges and universities play as models for society at large. The Reverend Johnson Cook discussed the importance of partnering with all communities in fostering positive interracial experiences on college and university campuses. She pointed out that the education community needs to recognize that other communities, such as the community of faith, already play an important role on college and university campuses and that all of these communities must work together if we are to achieve One America.

While at the Conference, Dr. Franklin and Governor Winter also addressed a group of college and university presidents. They urged them to commit to becoming partners in promoting the goals of the Initiative, holding dialogues, providing information on promising practices and increasing efforts to achieve more diversity on their campuses. The meeting was followed by a press conference. During the Conference, the ACE and the Association of American Colleges and Universities announced a year-long effort to encourage every college and university to conduct special programs focusing on race and other dimensions of diversity in American society.

Carnegie Corporation Meeting, New York, NY. Governor Kean chaired a meeting of researchers at the Carnegie Corporation. Much of the research they are undertaking will form the basis for a number of promising practices we will disseminate.

Meeting with Hispanic and Asian American leaders. Linda Chavez-Thompson and Initiative staff met with leaders from the Hispanic and Asian American communities. The discussion focused on the progress of the Initiative. Additionally, these leaders have agreed to on-going dialogue about our activities and their involvement.

OFFICE OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

OUTREACH

American Council on Education. Along with Reverend Johnson Cook and Governor Winter, I addressed the ACE's Conference on October 16. I was also the Keynote Speaker at the Opening Plenary Session and participated in the meeting with Dr. Franklin and Governor Winter and various college and university presidents. I discussed the goals, strategies, and challenges of the Initiative. Conference participants were asked to develop ideas for assisting the Initiative and to commit to implementing practical solutions for solving issues surrounding race at their schools.

Council of the Great City Schools, Detroit, MI. On October 17, Mike Wenger, Deputy Director for Outreach, participated in the Council of Great City Schools meeting which included a town hall meeting to discuss race and urban education. He elaborated on the goals of the Initiative and stressed the importance of our public schools in bridging our racial divisions. He encouraged the superintendents of public schools to become engaged in the Initiative and discussed ideas for how we can work as partners in carrying out Initiative activities and achieving Initiative goals.

Carnegie Foundation Meeting. On October 15, I spoke to a group of approximately 35 people, including Advisory Board member Governor Kean, who have been provided funding from the Carnegie Corporation to implement studies and programs which explore interracial and interethnic youth relations. I briefed them about the goals and progress of the Initiative and asked them to author papers based on their findings for use in our research.

Associated Press Managing Editors Association Conference. I was the keynote speakers at the ACME luncheon on Thursday. Approximately 275 members of the media were in attendance. I spoke at length about the role of the media in not only the Initiative but also in fostering and promoting racial harmony. I shared examples of newspapers from around the country that published articles focusing on the state of race relations in their communities and challenged those newspapers that have not yet

developed articles on race relations to do so. I also cited information from a survey which shows that many newsrooms reflect the racial schism which plagues America and urged them to find ways to close the divide within their own work environment.

U.S. Hispanic Leadership Conference, Chicago, IL. On October 11, I participated on a panel on race relations in America. I spoke to approximately 700 current and future leaders from the Hispanic community. I shared key demographic data about the nation's growing diversity and the implications of the data for our country if we do not bridge our racial divide. I suggested specific ways for the Hispanic community to take part in the Initiative and the dialogue on race and encouraged them to reach out to other communities as well as in their own communities where racial stereotypes and myths also reside.

PROMISING PRACTICES

Fairfax School District. In following up on your suggestion that we examine the Fairfax School District as a possible model, we contacted the Department of Education and obtained their commitment to assist in undertaking a case study of the district as a laboratory for One America in the 21st Century. The Census Bureau also will be assisting us by compiling general demographic information on the whole County of Fairfax. Linda Chavez Thompson has agreed to monitor this project on behalf of the Advisory Board and to report on the findings.

Hope in Cities. At Chris Edley's suggestion, we met with a representative of the Hope in Cities Program based in Richmond, Virginia. We discussed their dialogue program and are researching whether it is a promising practice that the Initiative should highlight.

RESEARCH AND POLICY PLANNING

Condensed Fact Book. We are continuing to meet with the heads of various statistical agencies to develop a condensed fact book that would include economic and social indicators and measures of success and will be broken down by race. We are in the process of determining which are the best indicators and measures to be included in the condensed fact book.

COMMUNICATION

On Wednesday, October 15 Linda Chavez-Thompson and Claire Gonzales met with staffers for members of the Congressional Hispanic Caucus (CHC). The meeting was coordinated by Esther Aguilera, Executive Director of the CHC. During the meeting, Ms. Chavez-Thompson expressed her desire to develop a regular meeting time to

ensure that the CHC voice was heard throughout the Initiative. Our division met with Kevin Moran to further discuss the PIR's web site. In coordination with Kevin, we developed a products list for the web site.

Two articles were published this week on the Initiative: Oct. 12 by Stephen Holmes of The New York Times; and Sept. 29 "Indian Leaders Object to Exclusion," Indian Country Today. In the Oct. 9 edition, Mike Wenger was featured in the article "Race effort is about walking 'in someone else's shoes'," St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

WORK TEAMS

Members of the Initiative and the White House staff have been working together in joint working groups. The teams met this week to refine further their workplans for the year and to develop a more specific timeline for initiating and completing activities. The following is a summary of their other activities for the week.

YOUTH OUTREACH.

This team will ensure that all activities have a youth outreach component. They will work to engage youths ages 13-25 in the Initiative and in working for racial reconciliation and racial justice.

The Youth Outreach Taskforce has scheduled the first Federal Agency Youth Task Force meeting Monday, October 20. It is in the process of preparing a draft of the President's "Call Young America To Action" letter which is due for review by October 20. They have also targeted November 14 as the date for a White House briefing for members of the media who specifically target Young America.

PROMISING PRACTICES.

This team will identify, verify, and highlight promising practices of racial inclusion and reconciliation currently used in communities around the country, and disseminate as many promising practices as possible through various channels to spur dialogue and action. A short term goal is to disseminate through the Internet promising efforts and initiatives in racial inclusion and reconciliation that have been initiated or reinvigorated because of your Initiative. A long term project is to publish a compendium or list of promising practices, and thereby promote the use of these practices across the nation as part of the on-going dialogue.

CABINET AFFAIRS.

The goal of this work team is to coordinate initiative activities with the Federal

agencies in five areas: outreach, policy, data collection, promising practices, and management practices. The team will also encourage and track each agency's efforts on the Initiative, and identify strategic opportunities for the Cabinet and Sub-Cabinet to amplify the key messages of the Initiative.

COMMUNICATIONS/PRESS.

The Communications work team will work to ensure the Initiative's success by coordinating media involvement and attention to the Initiative in all areas of activity. They will monitor and enforce consistency of message and accuracy of information. The content of communications products will be developed directly from information generated by the other work teams. It will work to convey your message to the American public on the progress of the Initiative and to provide information that encourages a national dialogue on race by implementing creative communication activities that attract the national media and use various press tactics to reach members of the public who might not otherwise be interested.

The team has developed a list of proposed short term, mid-term, and long term products for the Initiative. It also developed a plan for modifying the web site to better engage the public by making the site more interactive and dynamic.

POLICY.

This work team will develop and announce concrete policies and actions related to the Initiative, focusing on education and economic opportunity, but also including crime, health care, and civil rights enforcement.

This week the work team refined its proposed work plan for the year. They determined processes for proceeding as a group, flushed out policy proposals, and set a time line for accomplishments.

RECRUITING LEADERS/OUTREACH.

The goal of this work team is to recruit and nurture leaders who will sustain and expand the process of racial reconciliation begun by your Initiative.

It set goals and time lines for developing a set of proposed criteria for designating leaders, a process for vetting potential leaders, and a list of activities in which to encourage leaders to engage.

DIALOGUE IN COMMUNITIES.

This work team will focus on planning and executing town hall meetings, advisory

board meetings, and other events that will create national dialogues on race. The team will work with other teams, such as Cabinet Affairs, to coordinate strategies for dialogue by Cabinet and Sub-Cabinet level personnel.

The team is planning the first Presidential Town Hall meeting. It is undertaking research on potential themes, sites, and participants. Also, the team is developing a set of proposed activities for the remainder of the Initiative year and establishing time lines for completing these activities.

ADVISORY BOARD.

This work team will plan and coordinate advisory board activities. It will work to engage the Advisory Board more fully in Initiative activities.

It is conducting research to identify sites for future Advisory Board meetings and developing a schedule for the remaining meetings.

TOUGH MESSAGES.

This work team is identifying the tough issues and hard questions that you and the Advisory Board will raise and address and the messages that should result from raising those tough issues.

LIVING REPORT.

This work team is responsible for developing an outline and subsequent drafts of your report to the American people at the end of the Initiative year. This team will also ensure that you are receiving appropriate updates about the activities of the Advisory Board members, Initiative staff, and other working and contributing to the goals of the Initiative.

FEDERAL AGENCY ACTIVITIES

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

Equal Employment Opportunity Research Symposium: DoD will hold the second biannual Equal Opportunity/Equal Employment Opportunity (EO/EEO) Research Symposium from December 2-4 in Cocoa Beach, FL. The symposium includes researchers and EO/EEO professionals in and outside of DoD and will focus on race/ethnic issues. The symposium's objective is to build a network of social science professionals with interest in EO/EEO issues, share research results, and map strategic directions for future research in this area.

Celebrating Diversity in the Armed Forces: DoD will also sponsor a World-Wide Equal Opportunity Conference July 26-29, 1998, in Birmingham, AL. This conference celebrates the 50th Anniversary of Executive Order 9981, which directed racial integration of the armed forces. It will address the historical and future development of military race initiatives, race issues in the military and broader society, and the President's Initiative on Race.

DEPARTMENT OF ENERGY

Secretary Pena gave the closing address at the American Council of Education Conference on October 18. In that address he stressed the importance of diversity in education and the need for participants to work toward racial reconciliation and racial equality.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

The Attorney General will address the North Carolina Racial Reconciliation Conference: Charlotte, NC on October 27.

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

Census Bureau Awards Census 2000 Ad Contract: The Census Bureau announced the award of its paid advertising contract for Census 2000. The contract went to Young and Rubicam (Y&R) and a consortium of four partner agencies: The Bravo Group, a Y&R firm specializing in Hispanic outreach; Mosaica, a Y&R company expert in advertising to Asian audiences; J.Curtis & Company, a firm that targets African American audiences; and Gray and Gray, a Native American company.

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

Race Reconciliation Initiative: One of Secretary Herman's major goals is to provide and promote equal opportunity workplaces. To ensure that the Department of Labor has a diverse workforce in which all employees feel that they have an opportunity to succeed, the Secretary has established a Diversity Task Force comprised of senior-level officials whose task will be to: (1) assess the status of the Department's efforts in achieving a diverse workforce; (2) identify issues/challenges that may arise in achieving the Department's goals; and (3) present recommendations to the Secretary on how and what improvements are needed to achieve greater diversity and equal employment opportunity to the Department of Labor. The Diversity Task Force held its first meeting on October 9.

DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

HUD Supports President's *One America* by Continuing Crack Down on Housing Discrimination On October 13th, HUD announced the successful resolution of four Fair Housing complaints in Alabama, Pennsylvania, Arizona, and California. At the President's direction, HUD has pledged to double the number of enforcement actions from 1,085 to 2,170 during the President's second term.

The following enforcement agreements were obtained by HUD after individuals filed complaints alleging violations of the Fair Housing Act: A Realtor in Maplesville, AL agreed to pay \$5000 to Patricia Wilson. Wilson filed a complaint after a real estate agent asked her race when Wilson called to inquire about buying a home. A bank in Roslyn, PA agreed to pay Reed and Cora Brown \$10,000. The couple -- who had a good credit record -- filed a complaint when bank refused to allow them to submit a mortgage application and referred them to another lender that specializes in offering costly loans to homeowners with bad credit. A loan company in Phoenix, AZ agreed to pay Consuelo Salas \$4,000. Salas filed a complaint accusing the lender of charging her additional fees for her mortgage because she is Hispanic. Finally, a lender in Los Angeles, CA agreed to pay Johnnie Meadows \$3,000. Meadows filed a complaint accusing the lender of charging him an excessively high interest rate on a loan to repair earthquake damage to his home, because his home is located in a mostly black neighborhood.

DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION

African Aviation Initiative: On October 8, Secretary Slater announced an African aviation initiative at a round table meeting in Washington DC. At the round table, the Secretary amplified the messages related to the President's African Initiative. The Secretary was interviewed by USIA's Voice of America and its African wire service, the first of several planned to help promote DOT's African trade mission scheduled for December. *Jet* magazine, a leading African American monthly, also covered the day's events.

Update on Coast Guard Efforts: The Coast Guard has identified 40 interventions in support of its Work Force Cultural Audit that will help eliminate barriers and perceived inequities. Many of these interventions are already in progress, including diversity awareness training for the Coast Guard Auxiliary, enhanced leadership development programs, and civilian performance management assessments.

\$2 Million Partnership between Texaco, Inc., and Minority Natural Gas Business: On October 19, 1997, Texaco's CEO, Peter Bijur, will sign a partnership agreement with Helen Crawley, CEO of C&L Petroleum, a natural gas company, and founding member of DOE's Minority Oil and Gas Outreach Program. Under the terms of the partnership

agreement, Texaco has committed to providing the minority business with \$2 million in capital, developmental assistance, and other necessary support. Within the next few weeks, Secretary Peña will host a meeting with Mr. Bijur and Ms. Crawley to acknowledge this important new partnership.

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

DC Limited-English-Proficient Plan: On October 8, DOEd executed an agreement with DC Public Schools (DCPS) under which DCPS agreed to overhaul its programs for limited-English-proficient students.

VETERANS AFFAIRS

President's Initiative on Race: The Department of Veterans Affairs (VA) was represented by the Director, Affirmative Employment Service, at the Federal Agency Liaisons meeting held on October 7, 1997. VA is currently developing a plan which will involve all VA organizational elements in this initiative. VA has also appointed a representative for the Federal Agency Youth Task Force. The charge of this task force is to identify ideas and initiatives for young people that can be addressed by the President's Initiative on Race.

On October 15, Kathy Jurado, Assistant Secretary for Public and Intergovernmental Affairs, attended the U.S. Department of Interior, National Park Service Salute to Hispanics in the Military in Washington, DC. She discussed the President's Initiative on Race and the Administration's efforts to increase Hispanic employment in the Federal government.

SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

Lending Initiatives. SBA has an annual process for setting loan production goals for each of our 69 field offices. This year, with the advent of the Government Performance Results Act strategic plans, federal agencies are focusing on longer term goals. Administrator Alvarez has decided to set very aggressive goals – not only for are lending programs, but also for our procurement programs, our counseling and training programs, and for our welfare to work initiative. SBA will seek to increase opportunities for all small businesses, but it will also set aggressive sub-goals for business communities who are under served by the private markets or by SBA programs. Last month, SBA announced a marketing campaign aimed at increasing the participation of Hispanic Americans in our programs at a meeting of the U.S. Hispanic Chamber of Commerce in Houston. The campaign included partnerships with major Hispanic business and civic groups and marketing materials in Spanish. We plan to roll out similar marketing and outreach initiatives for African American businesses, women-owned businesses, and Native American-owned businesses over the next two

months. SBA would plan second event to highlight the Hispanic American Initiative.

Minority Enterprise Development Week. SBA's Office of Minority Enterprise Development and the Commerce Department's Minority Business Development Agency will cosponsor a conference November 20, 21, and 22 on minority enterprise development as part of the celebration of minority enterprise development week. We have put in a scheduling request to the President for this event.

OFFICE OF PERSONNEL MANAGEMENT

The President's Initiative on Race: On October 26, Acting Director LaChance will outline the Administration's actions on behalf of Hispanic-Americans at a conference of the Hispanic Association of Colleges and Universities in San Antonio. She will talk in particular about efforts to bring greater Hispanic representation to the federal workforce.

GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

GSA to Celebrate Hispanic Heritage Month: On Oct. 14, GSA celebrated Hispanic Heritage Month. The theme this year is Excellence in Education: Opportunities for Our Youth. Keynote speakers will be Nelson Alcalde, RA, National Capital Region, and Raphael Borrás, RA, Region 3.

Region 2 Sponsors Pre-Proposal Conference for African Burial Ground Design Competition - On October 6, Region 2 sponsored a pre-proposal conference for the design competition for the African Burial Ground Interpretive Center. Over 30 individuals from across the nation participated. Prospective entrants were also invited to a symposium at the Cooper-Hewitt Design Museum in NY City co-hosted by the NY Coalition of Black Architects and the American Institute of Architects, Minority Resources Committee.

Race Init.

DRAFT--DRAFT--DRAFT

October 20, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SYLVIA MATHEWS AND JUDY WINSTON

SUBJECT: President's Initiative on Race

*Bruce/Fore -
Have you seen? Pretty
exciting stuff. Fore -
could you figure out
where the Initiative
staff is in the
Fact book
mentioned in p. 3?
Thanks
Elean*

This memo provides events and announcements that we will make over the next 2½ months. Over the past few weeks, Erskine Bowles has convened White House staff and Race Initiative staff in an effort to pull together planning and implementation on concrete actions. In order to carry this out, working groups were established to achieve progress in these specific areas: 1) Policy; 2) Recruiting Leaders / Outreach; 3) Promising Practices; 4) Hard Questions; 5) Dialogue in Communities; 6) Living Report; and 7) Youth.

In the next few weeks, we would like to meet with you to discuss the goals and activities of the race initiative. Our meeting with you will allow you to provide input on those activities that we have planned.

OCTOBER

Promising Practices: By October 31, we will place ten promising practices on the web site. This placement will be the start of regular postings whereby promising practices will be added monthly basis. By December 3, we will add fifty more promising practices.

North Carolina Racial Reconciliation Conference: On October 27 and 28, the Governor of North Carolina, James Hunt, Jr., is hosting a conference on racial reconciliation. The conference grew out of federal funds set aside for thirteen southern states that experienced church arsons in 1996. On October 27, Attorney General Reno will address the conference and highlight the Race Initiative and the importance of the Justice Department's work to enforce the nation's civil rights laws, particularly those laws against hate crimes.

Secretary Glickman: On October 27, Secretary Glickman will give the keynote address at the Hispanic Association of Colleges and Universities' (HACU) 11th Annual Conference in San Antonio, Texas. HACU represents more than 200 accredited colleges and universities that collectively enroll two out of three Hispanic Americans attending college in this country. Also, on October 27, Secretary Glickman will address the 11th Annual Indian Agricultural Symposium hosted by

the Intertribal Agriculture Council in Chandler, Arizona. The Intertribal Agricultural Council is chartered by 84 tribes with a membership that represents 80 percent of all US acres owned by Indians and Indian tribes.

Inter-Agency Youth Taskforce: On October 20, the first meeting of the federal agency youth taskforce was convened at the White House. The youth taskforce consists of one youth representative per Cabinet agency. The youth taskforce will meet once a month. The taskforce members primary responsibilities will be to ensure youth involvement in the race initiative within their agencies and reach out to youth groups on behalf of the race initiative.

NOVEMBER

WH Conference on Hate Crimes: On November 10, we will host this conference which will be both symbolic--unequivocally signaling the Administration's opposition to and abhorrence of violence against those who may be different from others, and proactive--bringing key constituencies together to identify commonalities and possible solutions.

Pell Grant Policy: In mid-November, [NEC/DPC to add paragraph].

At the Table Discussions: On November 7, we will kick off "at the table" discussions hosted by Cabinet and Sub-Cabinet appointees. Much like the effort during the first term on women's issues, Presidential appointees will be encouraged to host *At the Table* sessions on their visits throughout the country. This is a great way to engage the Sub-Cabinet, generate press and promote dialogue in the communities on the topic of race. The information from the "at the tables" will be compiled into a report for the President. Also, promising practices and community leaders will be gathered and reported to the race initiative this way.

Challenge to Youth: By November 15, we will have prepared a letter from you and Dr. John Hope Franklin that provides a call to action young Americans across the country. Attached to this letter will be a "how to" action sheet. The letter will be targeted to community leaders, high school and college leaders and youth organizations. As part of this effort, we would like to conduct a White House briefing for members of the media who target young people through their magazines, radio stations and or newspapers. (i.e. Rolling Stone Magazine, Latina Essence, Ebony, VIBE, MTV, VHI, Univision, BET Teen Summit, Latina, Vanidades, Moderna, "A", Flip etc.) Further, during the week the letter is released, we recommend that you dedicate your radio address to his call to action to youth. We will use extra measures to ensure that college, hip-hop, and specialty radio stations are targeted for the radio address. As a follow-up, we would like to recommend that the Vice-President host an on-line Q&A. By the date the youth letter is released, we will develop a sub-link to the White House website that will be

on what? the letter?

By November 15, a letter!

devoted to young Americans titled: One America: KEEPIN' IT REAL.

Website: By November 1, new features will be added to the race initiative website that will make the site more dynamic and engaging, especially in ways that educate the public about our work and help people become actively in the Initiative. This feature will allow us to create a national on-line dialogue, giving the public an opportunity to share their best Initiative related thoughts and ideas with the rest of the country. At least five messages will be posted each week. Also, this website will include the Advisory Board Members with an on-going opportunity to talk directly to the entire American public. One member will be highlighted each week. After this initial period, board members will be offered the opportunity short letters updating the work and experiences they have had working on the Board. If the Advisory Board members are interested, this feature could also allow visitors to pose questions to them for responses. Also, we will add a "The Face of America" feature will post concrete, factual information (such as demographic data and research reflecting attitudes on race) that our Policy Planning and Research Division believes is important to our education outreach efforts. The information will be updated weekly. A calendar of events that highlight up-coming Initiative-related events will be added to the website. *uh oh*

Secretary Babbitt: Secretary Babbitt will serve as Chair if the National Congress of American Indians that is being held in Santa Fe, New Mexico November 16-21, 1997.

DECEMBER

Town Hall Meeting: On December 3, you will host a town hall meeting. By October --, you will receive a memo providing options for the location and theme of the town hall meeting. Generally speaking, this town hall meeting will be set up as a model meeting so that it may be replicated throughout the country. Among other things, it will highlight what is working in the community that the meeting takes place. *sh-*

Corporate Group: In December, we will convene a group of corporate CEOs for the race initiative. These CEOs will recruit other corporate leaders and work among their companies and industries to engage in actions that help build One America.

Health Disparities: In December, we will announce a "closing the gap" policy announcement on health disparities [Elena to insert paragraph].

Fact Book: By December 3, we will have developed a fact book, which will provide a the positive and negative statistics in which the race initiative hopes to impact. *mmmm*

MLK Bond: In mid-December, the Treasury Department will issue the \$100 savings

bond which will bear a portrait of Martin Luther King, Jr. This portrait will mark the first time that a minority portrait will mark government currency.

Interior Discussions: Beginning in December 1997, Interior will be convening the first of six panel discussions in targeted locations that will focus on the role race has played in our history, its influence on our cultural heritage, and DOI's role in educating the public about the nation's history in addressing race relations in the National Park System and the many other natural resources, tribal and cultural heritage challenges that the DOI finds in its trust.

Please red dot to Craig/Elena
Craig please call Sylvia

→ Craig
→

Cab. Tues - ED will provide statistics/data
File: RACE Initiative

Fairfax County

The following is a plan of action for following up on President Clinton's charge to the Advisory Board and the Initiative staff that we use Fairfax County (or a similarly diverse community) and its schools as a laboratory for studying the future of a more diverse America.

Goals:

Done to Bruce -
I have yet to
hook up w/
Sylvia on this
so don't
know

- Study Fairfax County's demographic trends and how those trends affect the racial composition of Fairfax County's schools and businesses
- Identify the practical issues raised by Fairfax County's increasing diversity; examine how those issues differ in the school, work, and community settings
- Identify promising practices being implemented to manage and accrue benefits from Fairfax County's increasing diversity; understand how those practices can be replicated elsewhere

Process:

what she
wants us to do.

Elena

- Contact Census Bureau, the Department of Education, and the Fairfax County school system to obtain demographic information on Fairfax County and its schools
- Identify school personnel and researchers who can describe and provide data on the impact of Fairfax County's increasing diversity on its schools
- Identify specific problems as well as promising practices being implemented to manage that diversity effectively; contract with area researchers to study the effects of Fairfax County's increasing diversity
- Consult with various communities including county council and school board members, school administrators, teachers, parents, students, business leaders, and employees to gain an understanding of the practical effects of Fairfax County's increasing diversity
- Ask Advisory Board members, specifically Linda Chavez-Thompson, and Initiative staff to meet with representatives of these groups and to conduct a town meeting to help Fairfax County understand and come to terms with its increasing diversity

for us to get information.

Leslie Norton
- LCT
- AB
- (Elena's) team
- ED

Products:

- Case study of Fairfax County including a detailed report of its shifting demographics and increasing racial diversity, issues raised by such increasing diversity, lessons learned in coping with that diversity, and listing of promising practices for dealing with that diversity effectively
- Diversity study kit, based on our efforts, to assist other communities in examining their demographic changes, understanding the likely effects of those changes, and developing ways to deal with those changes effectively

How do these trends affect the lives of parents/children

can't do it based on one community

Date: 10/20/97 Time: 16:00

Media hurting discussion of race, says director of Clinton race

Media hurting discussion-of-race, -says-director of Clinton race panel

Bruce -
Did you
see?
Ella

By emphasizing conflict in coverage of race relations, the news media are discouraging Americans from talking openly about racial issues, one of President Clinton's top advisers on race told news executives.

"It is important for us to foster an atmosphere in which it is safe to talk about race," said Judith Winston, executive director of Clinton's advisory board on race. "And to emphasize divisions as conflicts, it seems to me, is more silencing than not."

Ms. Winston praised several newspapers for promoting discussion of race in their own communities through in-depth reporting on racial issues and by sponsoring forums for readers to talk.

But she admonished news organizations for being too quick to characterize honest disagreements as conflicts.

As an example, she cited reports that members of Clinton's advisory board are divided over how much emphasis to place on the history of America's racial conflicts as opposed to focusing on current and impending problems.

"It is a classic example of your desire, most of your desires, to highlight conflict at the expense of a careful review of the facts," she said. "The dispute that you mischaracterized in the reports on the board's first meeting could best be described as differences of style rather than substance."

The media should consider their profound influence on Americans' attitudes about race in light of the number of stereotypes that still find their way into print and onto the airwaves, she said.

"We know this because we read newspapers and watch television shows where minorities are misrepresented and disproportionately portrayed as criminals, drug addicts and welfare recipients," Ms. Winston said.

She singled out The Times-Picayune of New Orleans, the Akron (Ohio) Beacon Journal, the Utica (N.Y.) Observer-Dispatch, the Detroit Free Press and The Atlanta Journal-Constitution for making extra efforts to do reporting that heals racial divisions.

Responding to critics who say Clinton's race panel is moving too slow and emphasizing talk over action, Ms. Winston said many Americans still need to be convinced that racial discrimination poses a serious problem.

She cited studies showing that many minorities still see discrimination as a major issue while many whites do not. In part that's because blatant racism has widely been replaced by more subtle forms of bias in which Americans focus on helping their own racial or ethnic group, she said.

Press urged to tell stories of 'real people' affected by welfare reform

A Clinton administration official who resigned in protest when the president signed the welfare reform bill urged editors to keep telling readers how "real people" are affected so policy makers can be persuaded the approach is wrong.

Peter Edelman called the 1996 law "the worst thing Bill Clinton has done."

The new welfare law, which took effect this summer, ended the

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

RACE
INITIATIVE

October 16, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR: PAUL BEGALA, RAHM EMANUEL, BOBBIE GREENE,
JOHN HILLEY, MIKE McCURRY, FRANKLIN RAINES,
BRUCE REED, DOUG SOSNIK, GENE SPERLING.

THROUGH: SYLVIA MATHEWS
Deputy Chief of Staff

FROM: NELSON REYNERI, JR.
Special Assistant to the Deputy Chief of Staff

SUBJECT: REQUEST FOR COMMENTS ON PRESIDENT'S
INITIATIVE ON RACE SUB-GROUPS' WORK
PLANS

Sylvia Mathews has asked me to forward the following document to you for your comments. They are the draft work plans from each of the President's Initiative on Race sub-groups.

We would like to receive your comments by COB Monday. You can E-mail them to me or send them to me at Room 145, OEOB. If you have any questions, or if I can be of any assistance, please do not hesitate to contact me at 456-2016.

Thank you for your attention to this matter.

Attachments

Working Groups for the President's Initiative on Race

A. Goal-related

1. 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

2. Living Report: Chris Edley, Judith Winston

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

3. 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

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

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

5. 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

6. Dialogue in Communities: Ann Lewis, Michael Wenger

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

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, Iliia Velez, Ann Walker, and Cecily Williams

B. Process-oriented

8. Cabinet Affairs: Goody Marshall, Michele Cavataio

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

9. Advisory Board: Minyon Moore, Judith Winston

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

10. Communications/Press: Ann Lewis, Claire Gonzales

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

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.**

RECRUITING LEADERS/OUTREACH

Current Members: Maria Echaveste, Mickey Ibarra, Mike Wenger, Lynn Cutler, Ben Johnson, Andrew Mayock, Janet Murguia, Tracey Thornton

Goal: To recruit and nurture leaders who reflect racial, ethnic, gender, geographic, socio-economic and political diversity and will sustain and expand the process of racial reconciliation begun by the President's Initiative on Race.

Work Plan:

A. Beginning in November and beginning with members of the "choir" and branching out from there, recruit 50 people per month to become leaders in our efforts to achieve racial reconciliation. By the end of October the following tasks will be accomplished:

1. Establish a set of criteria for the designation of leaders.
For example:
 - a. Prior Activities
 - b. Organizational Affiliation/Leadership
 - c. Pledge to Engage in On-going Racial Reconciliation Activities
 - d. Geographic/Racial/Ethnic/Gender/Political Diversity
 - e. Personal Commitment to the Principles of "One America" (to be developed)
 - f. Willingness to Be Visible in Support of the Principles of "One America"

2. Strategically determine communities to target with the goal of building a critical mass of leaders in the targeted communities. The communities targeted should reflect varying characteristics, such as:
 - a. Geographic and demographic diversity
 - b. Differences in the levels of existing activities
 - c. Varieties in the existing leadership structures
 - d. Presence of organizations willing to participate
 - e. Varying sizes (urban, suburban, smaller towns, rural)

3. Determine sectors from which potential leaders will be drawn in each community, while recognizing that the criteria for leadership will be different for each sector..
 - a. Education Community
 - b. Corporate Community
 - c. Labor Community
 - d. Small Business Community
 - e. Elected Officials (Governors, Mayors, County Officials, Congress, Tribal/Alaska Native Village Elected Officials)
 - f. Appointed Public Officials (e.g., Human Relations Commissioners)
 - g. Professional Organizations
 - h. Faith Community
 - i. Civic Groups/Community Leaders

- j. Advocacy/Non-Profit Sectors
- k. Entertainment Community
- l. American Indian/Alaska Native communities
- m. Farm Community
- n. Youth (there is a working group on youth)

4. Determine sources for identifying potential leaders.

- a. Contacts with People/Organizations We Know
- b. "Promising Practices"
- c. Contests (ex-school essay contests)
- d. Board member visits to locations.
- e. Volunteers
- f. Conferences and other events
- g. Members of Congress, Senators, State and Local Elected Officials

5. Establish a process for vetting potential leaders (involve White House Offices of Public Liaison, Inter-Governmental Affairs, and Legislative Affairs).

6. Establish a process for training and providing technical assistance to leaders, and develop materials to support their efforts.

B. Obtain commitment from leaders to participate in or conduct at least one activity per month to increase understanding and respect for differences among people from different racial/ethnic backgrounds. By November 17 the following tasks will be accomplished:

1. Develop a list of activities in which they are encouraged to engage and guidance for helping them to undertake such activities. Examples of activities are:

- a. Arranging organizational or community dialogues.
- b. Planning and implementing joint community activities which provide opportunities for inter-racial interaction/communication.
- c. Being a catalyst for exchanges among churches with congregations from different racial/ethnic backgrounds and among other local institutions with members from different racial/ethnic backgrounds.
- c. Promoting improved media attention to important racial issues.
- d. Engaging in "promising practices."
- e. Identifying other individuals in the community to participate in "One America" activities.

2. Establish a process for assessment and substantive feedback by leaders to their local communities and to the PIR.

C. Provide at least one nurturing activity per month to keep the leaders engaged and inspired.

1. Publish a regular newsletter on our web site featuring examples of "promising practices" and people to contact for more information (if budget permits, we will attempt to publish this on

paper).

2. Engage in occasional conference calls with groups of leaders.
3. Develop a list of ways in which leaders can be recognized for their activities.
4. Initiate a process for responding promptly to needs of leaders.
5. Promote local media coverage of activities.

Products:

- A. Identified cadre of leaders in various sectors who will sustain activities of the Initiative over the long-term, advise the President on racial matters, and improve race relations in a wide range of communities throughout the country.
- B. Increased racial sensitivity and heightened awareness among organizations in every sector.
- C. Feedback to inform President's Report.

Resources:

- A. White House (OPL, IGA, Cong. Affairs, etc.) lists.
- B. Lists from Cabinet officials.
- C. Interested organizations.
- D. Advisory Board members.
- E. State and local officials.

Promising Practices

Goals:

- To identify and highlight "Promising Practices" of racial dialogue and reconciliation currently used in communities around the country, and disseminate as many "promising" practices as possible through various channels to begin dialogue and action.
- To identify and highlight Promising Practices that have been initiated or reinvigorated because of the President's Initiative on Race through a variety of mediums.
- To publish a compendium or list of promising practices, and thereby promote the use of these practices in various parts of our nation as part of the ongoing dialogue of the President's Initiative on Race.

Process:

- Initially define promising practices: efforts and initiatives in families, communities, businesses, government agencies and other parts of society that encourage the positive participation of people of diverse backgrounds and promote inclusion and reconciliation.
- Organize activities around several broad aspects of society, including the business, government agencies, educational institutions, non-profit associations, the religious community, and the media.
- Immediately, identify promising efforts that the Initiative has received and disseminate them.
- Immediately, obtain the assistance/co-sponsorship of important organizations and leaders in the national search for promising practices.
- President announces the cooperation of important organizations in all of the sectors in his effort to compile a compendium of promising practices. He invites people to use the Internet and other mediums to submit candidates for dissemination on the Web and inclusion in his final report.

Products:

•Short term

1. Within two weeks, we will compile a list of several Promising Practices in each identified area. Additional examples will be added each week. These examples will be provided to the Advisory Board members for public discussion at the next meeting. The board members will also discuss their plans for engaging leaders in their area of professional affiliation about Promising Practices. The board will visit the site of a Promising Practice.
2. Secure the cooperation of several Promising Practices to provide a display of their efforts in a place adjoining the December 2nd meeting. The public will be invited to review these displays before and after the meeting.
3. Before the December 2nd town meeting, augment the Website to allow the public to submit Promising Practices and to review Promising Practices submitted by others.

•Long Term

1. The final report will include 1-2 page descriptions of several promising practices per sector as well as cross-sector examples.
2. By the final report, the President will have gained commitments from at leader in each of the sectors to devote significant additional resources to these activities.

Resources

This effort will include participation from diverse aspects of society, including:

business	government agencies	educational	non-profit associations	religious	media
small	local/regional	pre-school and K-12	unions	denominational	news
corporate	state, tribal, and federal	2-4 year colleges and universities	voluntary, advocacy and civic	ecumenical	arts and entertainment
associations (e.g. Chamber of Commerce)	associations of elected and appointed officials (e.g. Conference of Mayors)	associations that include many institutions (e.g. Association of American Colleges and Universities)	professional associations (e.g. National Association of Black Journalists)	associations (e.g. The National Conference)	sports

DIALOGUE IN COMMUNITIES

Current Members: Ann Lewis, Mike Wenger, Claire Gonzales, Beverly Barnes, Sidney Blumenthal, Paul Begala, Jacinta Ma, Nelson Reyneri

Goal: To meet the goals of the President's Initiative on Race, especially:

1. articulating the President's vision of a just, unified America;
 2. helping to educate all Americans about the facts of race in this country; and
 3. promoting a constructive dialogue in which we confront the difficult issues of race;
- through encouraging dialogue at every level from communities to the national level among people of different racial and ethnic backgrounds.

Work Plan:

The White House

A. Hold 3 or 4 Presidential Town Meetings from 10/97 thru 6/98, each focused on a specific theme or topic, in different regions of the country, being sure to be inclusive of the Hispanic, American Indian, Asian American, African-American, and white ethnic communities.

B. Hold at least five other Presidential Events from 10/97 thru 6/98 designed to demonstrate the President's commitment to the Initiative and to promote interaction and communication among people of different racial and ethnic backgrounds.

C. Hold 1 or 2 town hall meetings featuring the Vice President and the First Lady in different regions of the country, being sure to be inclusive of the Hispanic, American Indian, Asian American, African-American and white ethnic communities.

The Advisory Board

D. Partnering with interested and diverse organizations (ex-the National Voices Coalition, the Association of American Colleges & Universities, the Inter-Ethnic Affairs Institute of the National Italian-American Foundation) and taking into account the President's schedule where feasible, hold at least four Advisory Board town hall meetings from 10/97 thru 6/98 in communities around the country not covered by Presidential town meetings or Advisory Board meetings, each featuring at least one Advisory Board member as co-moderator with a more experienced moderator.

E. Develop a strategy for recognizing existing and on-going dialogue efforts, including recognizing and highlighting the most "promising practices"; holding a town hall meeting at one of the sites where dialogue is underway; encouraging display booths at town hall meetings or Advisory Board meetings; profiling "promising practices" on our web site; and sanctioning events in which the Advisory Board and PIR staff do not participate, receiving feedback from these events, and providing recognition to these events.

F. Develop a strategy for encouraging the development of new dialogues, including preparation of materials and "how to" kits based on successful efforts already underway.

Cabinet Departments

G. Work with Cabinet Affairs to engage Cabinet Secretaries in at least one activity per month and for receiving feedback from that activity and from other activities in which the Secretaries may engage during the month.

H. Work with Cabinet Affairs to develop a set of strategies (ex-"At the Table") for sub-Cabinet personnel, during their normal travels, to engage local community leaders in "conversations" about racial reconciliation, and prepare briefing materials and guidance for those who volunteer to participate.

Service

I. Develop a plan for service-related activities (from alliance mini-summits to community projects) which offer opportunities for both shared experiences and dialogues among people from different racial and ethnic backgrounds.

J. Establish a plan for 1) sanctioning and recognizing "One America" cities (like "All-American" cities) which are engaged in effective and on-going dialogues on race and 2) encouraging "One America" cities to share their successes with other cities (this activity will overlap with Recruiting Leadership/Outreach and with Promising Practices).

K. Explore the feasibility of partnering with an interested national organization(s) to create a National Day of Dialogue.

Products:

A. Specific feedback to inform President's Report.

B. Specific number of events and dialogues as outlined in work plan.

1. 8-10 Town Hall meetings (President=3-4, Vice President/First Lady=1-2, Advisory Board=4).

2. Five other Presidential events.

3. Recognize 25 on-going dialogues.

4. Sanction 25 new events/dialogues.

C. Materials/How to kits to facilitate new and on-going dialogues.

D. Participation by Cabinet Secretaries in 50 events.

E. Participation by sub-Cabinet personnel in 50 events.

F. Development of 10 service-related activities.

G. Development of criteria for "One America" cities and plan for recognizing them.

H. Development of calendar of events/activities (e.g., 3-month calendar of events for Advisory Board, President, Vice President/First Lady, Cabinet and PIR Staff)

I. Development of means of tracking dialogues

Resources:

A. Advisory Board members and their constituencies.

B. PIR staff.

C. White House staff.

D. White House volunteers in various locations.

E. Leaders, organizations and individuals anxious to participate in Initiative.

MEMORANDUM FOR ERSKINE BOWLES
JUDITH WINSTON
SYLVIA MATHEWS

FR: MINYON MOORE
MICHAEL SORRELL
Working Group Members

RE: ONE AMERICA - YOUTH STRATEGY

THEME: ONE AMERICA: KEEPIN' IT REAL

GOAL: TALK.....about issues that Young America face in their
real worlds;

- DIALOGUE

LISTEN.....to young America about how they
propose we *face the realities* of we what will
look like, but more importantly, be like in the
21st Century in relation to racial diversity;

- STUDY

TEACH.....Americans of all ages about the *efforts of*
young America to really respect, appreciate,
and celebrate diversity;

- ACTION

And

DO.....challenge Americans to build upon the existing
efforts of young America that are *taking real*
action in moving toward the goal of
One America.

- ACTION

PRIMARY MARKET: 13-25 years of age

SECONDARY MARKET: young professionals & young parents

ACTION POINTS:

- A:** Develop an internal federal agency youth taskforce, one young person per agency, that will work with their designated PIR liaison, and the White House youth working group. These youth agency liaisons will meet with the WH working group once a month. Their primary responsibilities will be to ensure youth involvement in the race initiative within their agencies.

Lead: Jon Jennings, Chandler Spaulding
Target date: First meeting/Oct. 22, 1997

- B:** We have developed a FOUR part strategy for the following action items:

(1) We recommend a letter to be sent out under the signature of the President and Dr. John Hope Franklin to *call to action* young Americans across the country to engage them in the dialogue of race within their communities. Attached to this letter will be a "how to" action sheet. The letter will be targeted to community leaders, high school and college leaders and youth organizations;

Lead: Minyon Moore & Kevin Moran
Work with WH Correspondence to draft letter for review by Oct. 17, 1997

List building team: Chris Lavery, Alison McLaurin, Elizabeth Harrington, Ilia V. Velez, Cecily Williams

Target Mail Date: Nov. 1 - 15

(2) We would like to conduct a White House briefing for members of the media who target young people through their magazines, radio stations and or newspapers. (i.e. Rolling Stone Magazine, Latina Essence, Ebony, VIBE, MTV, VHI, Univision, BET Teen Summit...)

Lead: Rob Nelson, Chris Lavery, Cecily Williams, Alison McLaurin, Ilia Velez, Ann Walker, PIR/WH Communications Committee

Target Date: Week of November 3rd

Briefers: To be determined

(3) The week that the letter hits we would like to recommend that the President dedicate his radio address to his *call to action* to youth. We will use extra measures to ensure that college, hip-hop, and specialty radio stations are targeted for this address;

Lead: Ann Walker, PIR/WH Communications Committee

Target Date: One week from the day the letter is mailed

(4) We would like to recommend that the Vice-President host an on-line Q&A.

Lead: Kevin Moran & Elizabeth Harrington

Target Date: Two weeks after the POTUS radio address

C: We would like to recommend that out of the four town hall meetings the President is conducting for PIR that one town hall meeting be dedicated to youth. In addition, we will spearhead regional town hall meetings to be attended by Cabinet and Advisory Board members as a follow-up to the Presidents town hall meetings.

Lead: Michael Sorrell, Angelique Pirozzi, Mona Pasquil
Minyon Moore, Ilia Velez, Andrew Mayock, Cecily
Williams, PIR/WH Dialogue & Youth Committee

Target Date: To be determined

D: We will develop a sub-link to the PIR/WH web-site that will be devoted to young Americans titled: **One America: KEEPIN' IT REAL**

Lead: Kevin Moran, Andrew Mayock, PIR/WH
Communications Committee

Target Date: As soon as possible

E: Ensure that the "How to" Kits being developed by the PIR staff has a special focus for youth.

Lead: Michael Sorrell, Chandler Spaulding

LONG TERM GOALS

1. Seek endorsements and partnerships from Corporate America to help elevate and raise the awareness of this initiative;

Lead: Jon Jennings, Minyon Moore, Michael Sorrell

2. Work with the entertainment and sports industry to engage celebrities in the race initiative; and

Lead: Minyon Moore, Rob Nelson, Ilia Velez, Chandler Spaulding, Michael Sorrell

3. To host a Youth Leadership Summit on Race as one of our culminating events.

Lead: One America: KEEPIN' IT REAL WORKING GROUP MEMBERS

ONE AMERICA: KEEPIN' IT REAL WORKING GROUP MEMBERS

Michael Sorrell

Minyon Moore

Ilia V. Velez

Chris Lavery

Cecily Williams

Kevin Moran

Jon Jennings

Mona Pasquil

Elizabeth Harrington

Andrew Mayock

Angelique Pirozzi

Ann Walker

Alison McLaurin

Rob Nelson

Chandler Spaulding

Cabinet Affairs/Federal Agency Working Group

Goals

- Coordinate with the Federal agencies in five areas: outreach, policy, data collection, promising practices, and management practices.
- Encourage and track each agency's efforts on this topic.
- Identify strategic opportunities for the Cabinet and Sub-Cabinet to amplify the key messages of the Initiative.

Process

- Conduct regular meetings and conference calls with the agency liaisons.
- Work with the Communications team to provide talking points, updates on the initiative, amplification opportunities, and coordination of policy announcements.
- Facilitate communications between the policy team and the Federal agencies in the development of race-related policies.

Products/Activities

Outreach

- Provide a weekly summary of race-related activities from all Cabinet departments and agencies.
- Integrate Race Initiative material into agency daily speeches and events.
- Receive from the agencies a memo on potential events and announcements between now and December 31.
- Work with Cabinet to pro-actively schedule events that highlight the Race Initiative and its progress i.e., host dinners, regional town halls, roundtable discussions, etc.
- Coordinate press outreach by the Cabinet and Sub-Cabinet i.e., press roundtables, editorial board meetings, etc.

Policy and Management Practices

- Identify potential policy announcements from the agencies similar to the HUD announcement increasing enforcement of the Fair Housing Act.
- Work with the PMC and NPR to identify a few key management strategies to pursue.
- Work with agencies to support data collection and dissemination of the "facts on race".

Promising Practices

- Identify and highlight local and regional promising practices.

Resources

- Staff members of PIR and Cabinet Affairs
- Cabinet Affairs systems (daily call for agencies chief of staff, weekly amplification call, bi-weekly agency chief of staff breakfast)
- President's Cabinet and Sub-Cabinet

*White House Working Group on
Communications and Media/Press
Work Plan Proposal*

The following plan includes a communications element for each of the distinct activity areas. The function of communications will be to ensure our success by providing the coordination of all areas of activity. We will be monitoring and enforcing consistency of message and accuracy of information. Communications products will be developed directly from information generated by the various activity areas for content.

GOALS

- To convey the President's message to the American Public on the progress of the President's Initiative on Race.
- To provide information that encourages a national dialogue on race by implementing creative communication activities that attract the national media and use various press tactics to reach members of the public who might otherwise not be interested.

PROCESS

1. Coordinate efforts with the Initiative's primary working groups throughout the Administration to enable effective delivery of our message to the public and media. We will work to provide important and helpful information on action, policy, and progress at various stages of activity.
2. Develop and implement a proactive communications strategy, which will reach and engage the general public via the media (print, TV, radio and the new media) and will focus on specific target audiences and regional and local markets.
 - Communicate with Surrogates by providing them with model speeches, regular press releases, weekly updates from our office, and President's speeches on race relations.
 - Communications Plan for Local Leaders which would include sample letters to the editor, talking points, background information and fact sheets.
 - Create Speakers Bureau to provide partnering organizations with speakers (surrogates and local leaders) for key events.

3. **Regular Communication Products and Events:**
 - Columnists Roundtable -(once every two months) to provide opportunity for pundits to interact with Advisory Board, Executive Director, and other key Initiative members.
 - Radio Press Conference calls including specialty radio (monthly)
 - Mailings
 - Weekly Update -blast fax "progress report"
 - Monthly Press briefings by Advisory Board, White House Staff, Cabinet Secretaries, and other Administration officials.

4. **Distributing Communications product ideas.**

The above mentioned Communication products should be directed to the specialty media/publications that regularly cover the following communities:

 - African American
 - Asian American/Pacific Islander
 - Latino
 - Native American
 - White Ethnic
 - College and Youth Press
 - Gay and Lesbian Publications that cover Race Issues

Additionally, products will be distributed to mainstream reporters who cover Race Issues.

5. **Resources:**
 - A. Advisory Board members and their constituencies.
 - B. PIR staff.
 - C. White House Staff.
 - D. Cabinet Affairs.
 - D. White House volunteers in various locations.
 - E. Leaders, organizations and individuals anxious to participate in Initiative.

6. **Communications products ideas attached.**

DRAFT

10/6/97

PROPOSED COMMUNICATIONS PRODUCT IDEAS

SHORT TERM PRODUCTS: 2-4 weeks

Message Piece - 1 page core message of the President's Initiative on Race
Produce as soon as possible. Target date for distribution of final: Friday, October 17.

General Information -Brochure (3 fold with perforated response card attached)
Will include general information about the Initiative and "How to get involved."

Weekly Update -Begin blast fax "progress report" last week of October.

Speaker's kit -

- set of documents for Surrogates which would include a model speech, regular press releases, weekly update, and President's speeches on race relations.
- set of documents for Local Leaders which would include sample letters to the editor, talking points, background information and fact sheets.

MID-TERM PRODUCTS: 4-8 weeks

COMPENDIUM of "Promising Practices"

Quick list of a few promising practices in various sectors. The list could be used by the President, the Advisory Board members, and the Initiative staff as concrete examples while the larger list is being developed. It could be updated periodically with fresh examples. Also could create a video with promising practices being practiced across the nation. [Content to come from Policy/Promising Practices Group]

WEBSITE -Daily/Weekly Facts on Race

Short summaries of interesting data on particular areas related to race which can be accessed by Website, list serve, and fax. This information can be assembled later as part of fact book. (SEE ATTACHMENT)

How-to-kits

How to start a conversation about race in your community. Provide interested members of communities with a variety of options, ideas, and helpful tools for ways in which they can lead a constructive dialogue locally. [Content to come from Outreach/Dialogue with Communities and Recruiting Leaders Groups]

PROPOSED LONG TERM -SPECIALIZED COMMUNICATIONS PRODUCTS

These products to be developed in cooperation with the appropriate Initiative Working Groups (e.g., Youth) and Federal Agencies.

EDUCATION/YOUTH FOCUS:

Educational Products "Creating Dialogue in the Classroom" (K-8)

Video for Teachers/Educators to use in the classroom as a starting point for discussion.

Dialogue guide which provides the educator with guidelines and possible questions to stimulate dialogue.

High School Debate Topic

High school debaters have a topic that they work on for one year. Work to make race relations this or next year's topic.

Essay Contest

President issues a challenge to grade schoolers to write the best essay on what it means to be an American in a diverse society. Top three essays get on WH Website. Winner gets to come to WH event? Time Magazine has said they would help sponsor this activity.

Higher Education Products:

Video for Professors/Educators to use in the classroom as a starting point for discussion.

Dialogue guide which provides the educator with guidelines and possible questions to stimulate dialogue.

WORKPLACE FOCUS:

"Creating Dialogue in the Workplace"

Much like the educational products for the classroom.

DRAFT
October 6, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR ANN LEWIS, JUDY WINSTON, AND CLAIRE GONZALES

**FROM: KEVIN MORAN
PIR COMMUNICATIONS STAFF
(DAVID CHAI, ALLISON KING, TAMARA MONOSOFF,
MARIA SOTO)**

SUBJECT: ONE AMERICA WEB SITE DEVELOPMENT OPTIONS

In an effort to enhance the One America home page --especially in ways that actively engage the public and make the site more interactive and dynamic --the Communications team has put together the attached list of proposed website development ideas that can be implemented in the short term. If we do even a portion of what is suggested, we will be well on our way to making a great site --one that will add significant value to PIR and one that will do quite a bit to foster real on-line dialogue.

Wherever possible, we developed ideas that involve a moderate amount of start up work and little effort to maintain. We also worked to develop ideas that provide real opportunities for a wide range of people to participate, but in ways that allow us to moderate the participation to ensure that the involvement stays within reasonable bounds. Please review the list and let us know which options you would like us to pursue and in what order. We are ready to start as soon as we get your sign-off.

(Also, just so you know, we are already working on some general site modifications, including: adding a visitor counter, redoing the top page to make What's New material more prominent, adding more photos, building an Advisory Board meeting site, etc...)

ONE AMERICA WEB SITE DEVELOPMENT OPTIONS

Talk of the Nation: Share the public's best thoughts and ideas on race by posting two or three e-mail messages every day. To help drive conversation, the Talk of the Nation section could pose specific questions each week. If these questions were coordinated with agenda items for upcoming meetings, this section could produce excellent fodder for Advisory Board members before Town Hall and Advisory Board meetings. (Indeed, when we announce our meetings, we could advertise the web site address in the Federal Register and in our press releases. We should take every opportunity to encourage people to visit the site and share their ideas to help engage more people in the process.)

Advisory Board Column: Help people get to know the Advisory Board members and better understand the work they are doing. Post a weekly letter from one of the Advisory Board members. The letter should be short (five to six paragraphs) and should focus on an issue or experience the member has dealt with while working with the Initiative. If they wanted we could offer people the opportunity to respond to these letters and could post and forward the feedback to the Board Members.

The Face of America: Create an educational element that provides demographic information about the racial and ethnic make up of the United States. (We talk much about using this Initiative to teach the facts of race...this would be a good concrete step toward doing so.) Much of this material is already available through the Census and organizations. We could use the Department of Education to format the material for schools and also to promote the element.

Profiles of Success: Highlight outstanding success stories in schools, businesses, government institutions, families, and other areas of our national community, where people are taking action to create "One America." (This could be PIR's equivalent of "Faces of Hope.") In the element we could ask the public to "nominate" stories for our consideration. This would also be a way for us to forward best practices...but in a less structured format.

PIR Staff Column: Help people get to know the staff of the President's Initiative on Race. Post a weekly column that highlights a different office or person in PIR. The column should give the public a personal feeling for the people who are driving the Initiative and should help the public understand how the Initiative is set up and what it is doing day to day. (If desired, the White House Photo Office could take digital photos of the PIR staff that could be posted with the columns.) The column idea dovetails with our original concept of a regular letter from the Director, but spreads the amount of work through the entire office.

Reflections: Create a series of week long exhibits that explore and reflect America's diversity through the arts. Invite well known poets, writers, painters, photographers, song writers, etc... to share pieces of work that highlight America's unity and

diversity. If done well these materials could be compiled at the end of the year as a book.

Reading List: Post a list of books on the subject of Race and reconciliation suggested by the Advisory Board members.

ADVISORY BOARD ACTIVITIES

Goal: To engage the Advisory Board in the active pursuit of the five goals of the President's Initiative on Race and in providing feedback to inform the President's Report.

Work Plan:

A. Hold at least nine formal Advisory Board meetings from 10/97 thru 6/98 in nine different venues around the country, chosen for their geographic, racial/ethnic, and age diversity, and insure that each meeting highlights a hard question as well as "promising practices."

B. Have each Advisory Board member make at least one visit per month to a different venue (cities, suburbs, rural areas, college campuses), preferably in the region in which they live, and engage in activities in those venues designed to initiate and build support for on-going dialogues in those venues.

C. Develop a specific outreach plan to each sector represented by an Advisory Board member designed to engage that sector in on-going activities to achieve racial reconciliation.

D. Develop a system for regularly collecting information from Advisory Board members on their individual activities as Advisory Board members.

E. Develop a plan for Advisory Board members to engage America's youth on a regular basis (the youth group is working on this, as well).

F. Have each Advisory Board member participate in at least one chat room activity.

G. Have individual members of the Advisory Board participate in editorial board discussions regarding the progress of the Initiative (the Sperling Group breakfast in Washington, D.C. would be an appropriate venue for an immediate one).

H. Have the Advisory Board conduct a follow-up meeting with the outreach group which met with the President in the Yellow Oval Room to discuss the Initiative.

Products:

1. Conduct of public Advisory Board activities in at least 50 venues around the country.

2. Participation in the Initiative in yet to be determined ways by the sectors represented by the Advisory Board members (labor, corporate, religious, academic, elected officials, professionals).

3. Documentary evidence of the enormous number activities in which Advisory Board members are engaged.
4. Feedback for the President's Report.
5. More direct relationship between Advisory Board members and the national media.
6. Specific involvement of people (and their ownership of some Board activities) who helped inform the President's decision to create this Initiative.

Bruce -

Race Initiative

FYI. I'm not sure if this has been sent yet.

Eileen

NOTE TO MEMBERS OF THE ADVISORY BOARD

Re: Upcoming Schedule and Plans for Developing the Advisory Board Work Plan

I want to follow-up on our recent conversations and provide you with some ideas on paper for proceeding between now and the next meeting of the Advisory Board. I have spoken with each member of the Board in general terms about this suggested framework and schedule, and I believe everyone is in agreement with the general structure that I outlined in my telephone conversations with you, and which is described below. I am anxious to receive your comments and ideas, both about the suggested structure for the subcommittees and the work of the subcommittees, and about any other matters related to the work plan for the Advisory Board.

As we discussed, I believe it would be useful for the Advisory Board to work in subcommittees between now and the next meeting, which I have suggested would be in mid-September. Subcommittee members could meet primarily through conference calls, although they certainly could meet in person if needed.

The President has set out **five major goals** for the Race Initiative and will be seeking the advice of the Advisory Board on how to achieve each of 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.

The Board's work plan will outline the process it will use to ensure it has all of the data and support it needs to advise the President fully and knowledgeably in each of the areas on which the Board's advice is sought. The subcommittees could be organized roughly around the five major goals or the three major activity themes of the Initiative, recognizing that there is overlap between the goals and the themes. The **three activity themes** and the areas they might

cover are:

A. Study -- This includes identifying the demographic data the Board wants to collect and use in support of any one of the five goals (i.e., determining the most effective ways to use demographic data as one of the many ways of providing race-related information that will educate, increase understanding, and dispel demographic myths and stereotypes), identifying what kind of data would be most effective to use (e.g., sector data -- education, economic opportunity, etc.; geographic data; class data), and how best to use it. It also could include developing a framework or criteria for identifying "best practices" in communities, companies, and other settings, and developing ideas for establishing a clearinghouse or other means to make this information readily available.

B. Dialogue -- This includes the challenge of outreach and having a national conversation about race, including organizing town meetings, developing parallel vehicles (e.g., conferences) for reaching other audiences, developing networks of leaders across and within communities, identifying the most effective way to reach people with the demographic data, and building partnerships with corporate, sports, or entertainment organizations. It also includes identifying the focus and ideas for kits and other materials to distribute to communities, churches, schools, and other organizations. In addition, the work of this subcommittee could include developing a communication and media plan for outreach, or this work could be part of a separate subcommittee. A critical challenge of the dialogue theme or activity is how to guide and measure effectiveness and to build on whatever the measure of success is.

C. Action -- This is the policy and program development component of the Initiative. It includes identifying ways to be a catalyst for the development of community improvement programs; determining whether to issue publications that would be educational, informative, and/or thought-provoking; identifying opportunities for federal, state, or local initiatives. It also could include developing a possible outline for the President's Report to the Nation, and determining what activities the Advisory Board could or should become engaged in that would fill in and support the framework for the President's Report.

I know that each of you fully appreciate that each of the goals and activity themes present a major challenge, especially in light of the time frame the President has set out for himself and the Board. Many of the people I have talked with during the last two weeks tend to advance immediately beyond the discussion of racial reconciliation to that of policy and program development aimed at effectively addressing the barriers confronting racial and ethnic minorities in this country, e.g., adequate funding for inner city schools; enhanced affirmative action strategies in the education and employment spheres. Others question how realistic, appropriate or wise, it is to move forward with recommendations for significant policy and program development without first attempting to build more of a consensus in the country about race and racial reconciliation. The Board's work plan must somehow balance these approaches and

concerns -- that is, the need to educate and promote a deeper understanding of the common bonds and values among racial groups and the history of race relations (across multiple racial groups) and the need to push forward on the policy and program development and action front.

In each of these areas, one useful activity would be to begin to identify organizations and experts that already have information, are engaged in outreach, and have developed programs and policy proposals so that the Board does not spend its time duplicating existing and valuable work of others.

If the Board is in general agreement on this framework (organizing a work plan through subcommittees based on the goals and themes outlined above) and the timetable (meet as subcommittees during August and early September with a full Board meeting in mid- to late-September), my staff will review the schedules of the Board members and check the availability of meeting space, and I will then contact you immediately to finalize the date of the next meeting.

I will be out of the office until Wednesday, when we will be in our new quarters. I will contact each of you then with the address, phone and fax numbers, as well as my e-mail address.

If you want to talk about any of the ideas in this note, please feel free to give me a call. Also, feel free to send comments by fax or e-mail once we have provided you with that information. I look forward to talking with you soon.

Judith A. Winston

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

RACE INITIATIVE

October 8, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR ERSKINE BOWLES
SYLVIA MATHEWS
PAUL BEGALA
RAHM EMANUEL
MICHAEL WALDMAN

FROM: SIDNEY BLUMENTHAL *SB*
SUBJECT: THE RACE INITIATIVE

No President in recent times has displayed a more instinctive and surer grasp of the race issue, and the public grants the President a special standing on it. If the Race Initiative founders (as the headline in the Washington Post of October 5 put it), the President will receive an additional portion of blame, precisely because of his presumed skill in navigating the complexities of the issue. After the President has done so much to settle race as a wedge issue exploited by the Republicans, it would be tragic to have it revived by a Race Initiative that was created to achieve positive results.

The Race Initiative is more than well-intentioned and worthy of the hard work of its participants. It has already reinvigorated many within the federal agencies and departments, inspiring them with new energy and giving them a focus for programs that were previously languishing in obscurity. If it does nothing else, awakening a sense of vitality within the government (particularly among its many minority members) and projecting the effectiveness of government itself through discussing "promising practices" (reinvention, indeed!) would be admirable achievements. But the internal benefits wrought by the initiative may fade if its public role is not more sharply defined and directed.

The initiative's problems, present and potential, cannot be resolved by redoubled efforts at managerial organization, the proliferation of committees or more draft outlines; nor can the initiative resolve its predicament through collegial team spirit, however essential that is to any effort, or the rededication of inter-agency cooperation.

The Race Initiative, as constituted, is both too broad and too narrow. According to the

Draft Work Plan of first quarter activities, the mission is as follows: "To build one American community which celebrates our differences yet is united by our shared values." This states the mission as all-inclusive and all-encompassing. Yet the activities of the initiative so far are to commission certain social science studies, plan for town halls and sketch an outline for a report whose content remains to be filled. The initiative asserts the need for overarching concepts, but without declaring them; it claims it will be the fount of legislation for the next decade, but without an agenda. Between the vast generalities and the verbal service to undesignated specifics lies a vacuum into which the initiative can easily drift. If it is sucked in, the initiative will likely discover that it has been transformed into a shock-troop defensive unit on affirmative action, though it is poorly fit to serve as that sort of political operation. When this inadvertent function becomes apparent the initiative can be stigmatized as about nothing but affirmative action. Whatever its subsequent contributions, they may be overshadowed.

The initiative's point must be clear, easily grasped and capable of accomplishment. The purpose of the initiative should be to gain support for a national consensus around the President's goals. The President's program should be organized around the following areas, all of which were articulated but not fleshed out in the Little Rock speech:

1. Acting swiftly and effectively on issues of discrimination, issues that can be addressed through the legal process, such as employment and housing. (The President's announcement at the last meeting of the Race Commission of \$15 million more in funding to act on housing discrimination is an example.)

2. Acting on a short, medium and long-term basis on the separation, exclusion and isolation of, first and foremost, the underclass from the middle class; blacks from whites; and the mutual isolation of racial and ethnic groups from each other. These problems require a multi-issue approach, principally focused on education and economics, but also including transportation, crime and the enforcement of paternal responsibility, as well as suasion to reduce inter-group suspicion. These steps involve concrete policies and positive action on all sides to bring every citizen into a common American life. The chief values to be emphasized here are equality of opportunity and shared responsibility--the responsibility of each individual citizen and the nation as a whole.

3. Framing the American identity so that its multicultural sources are understood as intrinsic to, not separate from, or outweighing, the whole. It must be stressed that the identity of the American nation at the beginning of the 21st century is neither the nativist old-stock model nor the disintegrative identity politics model. Crystallizing the 21st century American identity will provide the President the solid ground for a new patriotism.

Notes on American Identity: The idea of what it means to be an American can't be adduced from finding mere common denominators, sharing feelings or conference room psychodrama. There is a history that has placed us at this particular juncture. At the turn of the 20th century, the old-stock American identity was projected by denying the influence on our

culture of immigrants from eastern and central Europe. All true Americans, it was assumed, were to assimilate to an ideal of Americanism that was homogeneous and therefore pure. "Hyphenated Americans" were not considered real Americans. Needless to say, this version ran contrary to the early 19th century vision of the ideal American as described by Crèvecoeur as a combination of all stocks and, as a result, a more universal and freer type, unknown in previous history. In the early 20th century Randolph Bourne described his hope for a "transnational America" that included the immigrants, and Horace Kallen (a disciple of John Dewey) coined the term "cultural pluralism." Only with suburbanization, the advent of the baby boom generation in which a youth culture superseded ethnic differences among whites and the rise of the civil rights movement was it possible to pose the contemporary version of the question of American identity. Before then, whites outside the South simply didn't think of being "white" as much of a meaningful category. The shattering of the civil rights movement on the reefs of separation and exclusion (but not legal segregation) in the Northern cities, led not only to a fragmented Black Power movement but to that movement's visceral castigation of a honky white monolith. The idea of whites as "hyphenated Americans" disappeared almost completely. In its place came a parody, not of "cultural pluralism," or a beatific vision of "transnational America," but of hyphenation, elevated into identity politics.

Culturally, the two political parties could not be further apart than ever. The Republicans are fundamentally rooted in an old-stock model of American identity, which appears today not so much as a claim to the natural order as a form of identity politics itself. (The battle over Bill Weld's nomination should be understood in part as the implosion of the former Republican identity. The authority of the Yankee patrician was defeated by the populist/planter manque in a realignment of cultural archetypes. It will be increasingly difficult for moderate Republicans who adhere to a New England model of society and social status to maintain their support if their party rejects their sense of being and place. Unsurprisingly, for the first time, the congressional delegation from Massachusetts is all Democratic. This is an augury of what may yet sweep through Greater New England, that is, the entire Northern tier of states.) For their part, the Democrats, at worst, descend into a fragmentation of identity politics accelerated by interest-group narrowness, which allows the Republicans to portray them as out of the mainstream. (Remember which mainstream.) The Democrats, at best, represent a common American identity into which multicultural currents flow as tributaries.

The overwhelming majority of blacks still maintain the ideal of integration, but without losing the element of black pride. The reality we must acknowledge is not that blacks are the Other, or a detached minority that must be brought to adjust to the ways of the majority, like a benighted colonial enclave. Blacks, as the astute black writer Albert Murray, described them, are "omni-Americans." As James Baldwin wrote in his famous essay, his travels abroad and then returns home disabused him of any self-imposed illusion that he was anything but American to his marrow. By the same measure, there can be no such thing as a "white" American in the sense that there is a "white" European, because to be an American means to possess a culturally mingled and fused background.

The real problem of blacks in the new American nation is that the black-white template is becoming a subset of the multicultural template. Hispanics will surpass blacks in number; Asians are vaulting upward in social mobility. And identity politics itself is crumbling, for now at an intellectual level, but soon to filter through the society. David Hollinger, a historian at Berkeley, in his 1995 book, *Postethnic America*, locates this shift: "Ethno-racial distinctions remain involuntary as they serve to identify people who need protection from discrimination.... A truly postethnic America would be one in which the ethno-racial component in identity would loom less large than it now does in politics as well as culture, and in which affiliation by shared descent would be more voluntary than prescribed in every context." Nathan Glazer, the former neoconservative sociologist at Harvard, in his new book, *We Are All Multiculturalists Now*, endorses Hollinger's "postethnic" ideal, while acknowledging its difficulty for blacks. Still, he writes: "Let us have respect for identity in the context of a common culture, but let us avoid the fixing of lines of division on ethnic and racial bases. Let us accept the reality of exit from an ethnic-racial-religious group, as well as the right of differential attachment, as a common American way, and let us agree that ethnic and racial affiliation should be as voluntary as religious affiliation, and of as little concern to the state and public authority. Let us understand that more and more Americans want to be Americans simply, and nothing more, and let us celebrate that choice, and agree it would be better for America if more of us accepted that identity as our central one, as against ethnic and racial identities."

Two questions that have gained the most publicity in connection with the initiative should be quickly settled. The initiative should be freed from the politically immediate and pointlessly symbolic in order to focus on the important. The issues that should be cut off from the initiative are:

1. Affirmative action. The initiative is an awkwardly constructed vehicle to manage an urgent political issue, particularly affirmative action. As a political matter, affirmative action cannot be reasonably defended solely on racial grounds, but must include a strong representation of women's interest. Over the next 13 months, until the election of 1998, the Republican right will be trying to find ways to use affirmative action as its cutting-edge racial issue. What is demanded is a strong political and media operation. The matter should immediately be ceded to the Domestic Policy Council and to the political shop to begin to organize.

2. Apology for slavery and reparations. The danger to the initiative can be seen in the unproductive and negative response to the notion of an apology and reparations. Even after the last meeting of the commission, much of the reportage was directed at this question. If, in regards to the initiative, the affirmative action issue is a problem of appropriate political technology, this one is concerned completely with symbolism. Yet the demands for an apology and for reparations are misguided and, whatever the good intentions behind them, can only damage efforts at reconciliation and reconstruction. The apology would strike a false note, not least because it is a redundancy and an anachronism. Rather than serving as a demonstration of caring and understanding, it would act as a divisive flash point, especially for Northern Catholics, who feel no historical burden, and would provide an incentive for the therapeutic politics of victimization.

There is no historical justification for President Clinton to offer an apology for slavery in 1997 when President Lincoln made a statement of contrition to the Lord Almighty in 1865. Those words, in his Second Inaugural, are engraved in the marble of the Lincoln Memorial. In brief, the apology, far more eloquent than any starkly forced "apology," was delivered at the time. The reparation question is a primitive reiteration and distortion of the policy of the first Reconstruction--forty acres and a mule. If offered today, it would be a risible substitute for a complex policy approach needed to deal with the contemporary problem of separation. The way for the President to put this entire question to rest is to put it into perspective. If the President ever did decide to deliver such a statement, perhaps to the next commission meeting, it would, in fact, be useful in establishing the tasks and boundaries of the initiative. During the Civil War, he might say, Lincoln addressed the issue of national guilt and culpability. Quote the Second Inaugural. Afterwards, during the first Reconstruction, reparations in the form offered by the Freedmen's Bureau was truncated by the reaction. In the wake of its failure, the Jim Crow system of segregation was regularized. Breaking its bonds required a second Reconstruction, spearheaded by the civil rights movement. Standards of legal equality replaced segregation. But segregation has been replaced by economic and social separation. Those are the new bonds that must be broken. Hence, the initiative has been created to summon a consensus for modern solutions.

Finally, the commission should file its report in December 1998 and go out of existence. It should leave no lasting bureaucratic entity or else it will risk becoming a de facto mini-Department of Race. If it has done its work, a new momentum will have been established within the Administration, in all the departments and agencies, to advance the President's objectives. The initiative will then be acclaimed as one of the great successes of the Clinton era.

RACE

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 enrolments 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...

412
Race
Initiative

Old Thinking On Race

Some good news has gone unremarked. The Civil War is over. So is its once invaluable echo, the anarchism still called with a nostalgic impervious to the passage of time, "the civil rights movement."

That is the significance of the limp report by the president's advisory board on race relations, a body that in its 15 months of existence was almost unscathed by the happy fact that race is of steadily declining significance in a country where the three most admired citizens may be Michael Jordan, Oprah Winfrey, and Colin Powell. After more than 300 confabulations, including presidential town meetings, the board reached self-parody with its final recommendation that something like itself should be made immortal—that there should be a permanent presidential council on race.

But then, the board's beginning in 1987, was tinged with surrealism. Clinton traveled to the sort of place where talk about race is obsessive—a university (the University of California at San Diego)—and urged Americans to talk more about race.

The board was born amid solemn chatter about the wonderfulness of "diversity." (At UCSD Clinton said his life had been "immeasurably enriched" by "the beauty of the Koran" and "the piercing wisdom of the religions of the East and South Asia.") But the board preferred diversity that did not include robust skepticism about the racial spoils system of preferences.

Clinton's "mend it, don't end it" pledge regarding that system has not meant mending it noticeably. None of the federal government's 160 programs of preferences has been abolished. The Democratic Party and much of what is carelessly called "black leadership" have an interest in the myth that blacks (never mind that most consider themselves middle class) are, and for the foreseeable future shall be, wards of government.

Many black leaders had a stake in having the board see America in black and white. But that is perverse as Hispanics become America's largest minority and Asian Americans become one of the most rapidly growing minorities.

on race, Al Gore spoke for the constituency of gloom, aka the constituency of worrywart government. Invoking the specter of Bosnia and Rwanda, he stressed "a vulnerability in human nature to prejudice." If, as he says, this evil lies coiled in the human soul, then government must redouble its close supervision of Americans' thoughts and actions, lest America's Bosnian and Rwandan propensities might erupt.

The board dismissed the idea that racial equity is jeopardized when government classifies Americans by race and awards advantages to people in favored categories. Instead, the board stressed America's "history of white privilege" and "racial domination," and the supposition that all immigrants, including Irish, Polish, Jews and Catholics, share "a history of legally mandated and socially and economically imposed subordination to white, European-Americans, and their descendants." Think about that formulation.

Instead of honing almost everyone's sense of victimhood, and hence of entitlement, a sensible board would have stressed professor Glenn Loury's point: If the skin color of the people in blighted inner-city settings were magically changed, that would not measurably change their prospects.

Today the principal impediments to upward mobility are not institutionalized repressions but certain behaviors (principally illegitimacy) best understood in terms of class rather than race. But the board, comfortable with the old paradigm, refused to encourage minorities to let go of the notion that progress depends on making more rights.

Happily, old habits of mind do die. In his biography of Douglas MacArthur, "Old Soldiers Never Die," Geoffrey Perret writes that in 1925, when MacArthur, newly stationed in Atlanta, entered an Episcopal cathedral with his staff, heads turned, whispers passed from pew to pew and three-quarters of the congregation got up and walked out. They remembered his father's role in the Union capture of Atlanta.

In the 1920s, when George Patton's wife paid a call on MacArthur's mother, Mrs. Patton was told: "Ah, yes. Your husband's grandfather was a colonel in the 22nd [Virginia]. I believe. He was killed at Cedar Creek." Mrs. MacArthur showed Mrs. Patton a brooch set with what looked like an unusually smooth stone. "It is," said Mrs. MacArthur, "a piece of my brother's skull. He was wounded in the head at Antietam and sent the bone splinters back to his sisters. We had them mounted into brooches."

Sensibilities have changed. Memories of that war have long since lost their saliency. That is now happening, although the government does not know this, to the idea that "civil rights" should be the organizing idea when planning social progress.

A Long Way From the Back of the Bus

Race
Intimidation

Orlando Patterson offers a report card on the civil rights movement 40 years after Little Rock.

THE ORDEAL OF INTEGRATION

Progress and Resentment in America's "Racial" Crisis
By Orlando Patterson
231 pp. Washington: Civitas Counterpoint, \$26.95

By James Q. Wilson

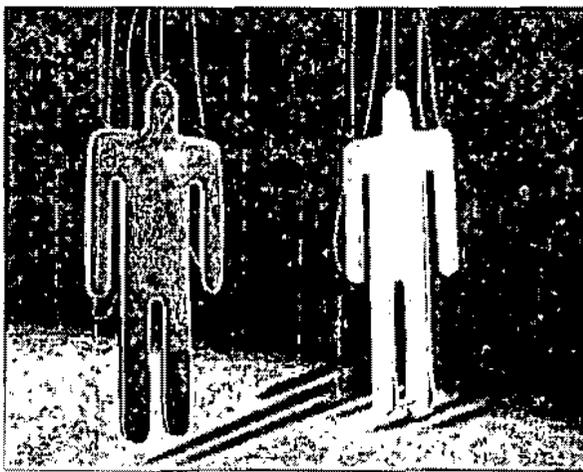
THREE decades after the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, it seems that an intellectual defense of racial integration still needs to be written. Although most Americans, black and white, now judge people as unique individuals and not as racial symbols (this is the chief lesson of our contemporary racial transgression), too many, including many prominent leaders, continue to believe that symbols are all that matter. Orlando Patterson, a professor of sociology at Harvard and the author of distinguished books on slavery and the emergence of human freedom, takes on these people with "The Ordeal of Integration," a book that is defiant, even angry, often right and sometimes wrong.

His main argument is that extremists on the left and right have denied the extraordinary progress that has been made by Afro-Americans (a term Patterson, for reasons I will explain, deliberately chooses to employ). While recognizing that problems remain, Patterson writes that the extent of the achievement of the last 40 years in American race relations "cannot be overstated." He fleshes out this judgment with a summary of Afro-American progress in education, economic achievement, popular entertainment and public attitudes. (A fuller, more systematic account of this progress — and of the shortcomings — can be found in Stephen and Abigail Thernstrom's recent book, "America in Black and White: One Nation, Inevitable.")

Among Afro-Americans, Patterson reports, the middle class is now larger than the poor. This is a remarkable change from just 50 years ago. In 1997, Afro-American families headed by a married couple earned 82 percent as much as their Euro-American (again, Patterson's term) counterparts; by 1993, that had risen to 87 percent. There is, of course, an Afro-American underclass that is fed by out-of-wedlock teenage births and that often expresses itself in crime and drug abuse. But that group is smaller than many imagine — perhaps 800,000 people in all. Patterson lauds its existence and describes its habits with painful honesty.

But the larger group is doing better than even it thinks. Fewer than 40 percent of Afro-Americans say they have ever faced discrimination in hiring, and 74 percent say they are satisfied with their lives. But a majority of Afro-Americans think that the quality of life for all

James Q. Wilson is the author of "Moral Judgments" and "The Moral Sense."



members of their group has become worse or remained the same, and nearly two-thirds think that baring discrimination abounds.

Patterson explains this conflict between what blacks think of their group and what they think of themselves in part by what he calls "liberal racialization." By this he means the tendency among some liberals who have condemned the use of race as a biological category to revive and give equal potential meaning to race as a social category. Since real racism exists, there is some truth in doing this. But when every misfortune is laid at the feet of a white majority, occasional abuses by individuals are perceived as racial oppression.

This perception of racism causes a weakening of the human spirit by denying to people a chance to improve themselves. Patterson quotes the philosopher Sidney Hook on this matter: "One feels haunted as a human being if one's actions are always excused or explained away on the ground that... one is really not responsible for them." Or in Patterson's words, "if one is not responsible for one's problems, one can claim no credit for one's achievements."

Patterson has no patience with Afro-American writers who invent absurd stories about the natural superiority of blacks or perpetuate the ancient segregationist claim that anyone is black if he or she has "one drop" of black blood. He is angry at white liberals who keep Afro-Americans in a perpetual trap of racial identity, forever subjected to whatever white society should decide for them. He cannot abide Andrew Hacker, whose book "Two Nations" gave, in Patterson's opinion, a wholly deterministic view of racial (or, in Patterson's language, ethnic) identity.

The intellectual heart of Patterson's book is his combination of the superiority of the doctrine of individual

moral autonomy, by which he means "dignity and the ethic of personal responsibility." At root this doctrine requires one to renounce the whole idea of race, because racial identity is a form of social determinism. It is for this reason that Patterson refers to the people generally called blacks as Afro-Americans, not differentiating a group from Irish-Americans or Italian-Americans. Race, to him, has no biological or mental significance; it is a construct, invented by segregationists to justify segregation and perpetuated today by both those who sympathize with Afro-Americans in a way that sustains their special, and thus specially suppressed, status and those who criticize government policies aimed at helping them. To be free is to be free of group identity, whoever defines that identity and no matter how much individual members of the group claim to cherish it. Patterson is so much the integrationist that he wants "race" removed from the census tabulation.

Despite his dislike of racial categories, however, Patterson supports affirmative action. Racial identity, which he has rejected as a census label or a mode of thinking, now suddenly reappears as important enough to warrant special treatment. Patterson's view is that no society can fail to acknowledge some group claims. (In America, for instance, these include preferences for veterans.) He is not altogether happy with what affirmative action has actually produced. On college campuses, he finds "ethnic separatism, alienating with periodic outbursts of ethnic, gender and other chauvinistic hostilities." Nonetheless, he would like the program to continue "for at least another 15 years," but to be limited to women and Afro-Americans, excluding first-generation African and Caribbean men and many that not all Hispanic men. It would be cut back in "about five years"

so that it no longer aided Afro-Americans and women from upper-middle-class backgrounds, and cut back again in 10 years so that only poor blacks and poor women would be helped. Fifteen years from today it would be ended, and replaced with a program that served all Americans from poor families, one that would continue so long as there is any poverty.

Nowhere does Patterson explain how all this would be done. What preferences would these groups get, and from whom? Why would white women benefit when they were never enslaved? How do you get bureaucrats to make the appropriate distinctions? Why, indeed, would one wish to preserve race as a category if racial identity is an undesirable form of social determinism? Can groups learn to live together as individuals if their access to opportunity is defined along racial lines?

There are compelling philosophical reasons to be skeptical of racial generalizations. A loose use of "race" denies the obvious fact that individual differences are vastly greater than group differences, however the group is defined.

Apart from his odd defenses of affirmative action, Patterson extends his hatred of racial categories to whoever tries to measure the traits of people who classify themselves as white or black. He shows his contempt of the authors of "The Bell Curve," Richard Herrnstein and Charles Murray, despite the fact that not only do their arguments in no way conform to what he imports to them, but their emphasis on individual autonomy is entirely consistent with his own views.

Patterson's position is this: Even though a gap exists between the average IQ of Afro- and Euro-Americans, that difference arises wholly from the culture and is diminishing. Herrnstein and Murray are at pains to make much the same point. Whether genes explain differences in intelligence seems to be a matter on which, as they put it, they "are relatively agnostic." Nevertheless, in an irritating display of unreasonable bitterness, Patterson calls Murray an "academic racist," and links him unfairly with Leonard Jeffries.

The great paradox in this book, and the reason I have taken up his peculiar criticism of "The Bell Curve," is that Patterson's central position — that racial integration pursued so as to make each individual a competent moral person, evaluated by others for what he or she has accomplished — is irrelevant to group differences in intelligence (or hair color, or life expectancy, or disease rates) however they are produced. Patterson rightly thinks that what matters to each person is judged. How that is done ought not to depend — and, increasingly, in fact, does not depend — on what group that person belongs to.

That is the core lesson of this country's long effort to create a just social system. Patterson understands this, but for reasons he does not explain, he cannot rest entirely comfortably with his own ideas.

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

Talking, Not Shouting, About Race

By John Hope Franklin

TOMORROW will be the first anniversary of President Clinton's announcement of a national Initiative on Race. When the President chose me and the other members of the advisory board a year ago, I was struck not only by how enormous our task was, but also by its historic implications.

Racial tension and violence have marred our nation since its very beginnings. And as a historian, I have spent most of my life examining race relations in America.

As an individual, I have endured my own experiences with racism. In spite of my work as a professor and writer, I am just another black face, often mistaken for the waiter or valet at some of America's finest restaurants and hotels.

I know that experiences like these have been shared by many people of color in this country. And this past year has taught me that Americans are eager to discuss how race affects

John Hope Franklin, a professor emeritus in history at Duke University, is the chairman of the advisory board for President Clinton's Initiative on Race.

their lives, be it in their neighborhoods, their schools or their workplaces. At public meetings we held across the country, hundreds of people turned out not only to listen to experts, but also to share their views and experiences. Those stories from Americans of Asian Pacific, Indian, Hispanic, African and European descent have been both heartwarming and heartbreaking. The meetings have validated the President's call for open, honest dialogues on race, and have inspired more candid conversations at the national and local levels.

We have learned how difficult it is to hold productive discussions about race under the glare of television lights and cameras, in large meetings among relative strangers, and among people who expect more than an advisory board can reasonably deliver. We have learned that many people don't know how to discuss an emotional topic like race. Accordingly, we created a "Dialogue Kit" to teach groups and individuals how to set up community meetings to discuss racial problems and find solutions in their local areas.

In spite of our efforts to be inclusive, critics have claimed that we did not have enough disparate voices at our meetings, or that we were simply preaching to the choir. Others have charged that the initiative has offered nothing more than monologues because some meetings lacked the

flameworks that characterize so many public discussions.

From the beginning, our interest was in promoting constructive dialogue, not in polarizing the debate. We have made every effort to include the full diversity of racial and political viewpoints.

But it has not been easy. Some minority communities, like Native Americans and Hispanics, have argued that they were ignored and should have had greater representation in certain meetings. Often, it has been difficult to get participation

Clinton's initiative,
one year and
many miles later.

from white Americans, perhaps because they feel that issues of race do not affect them. That is the continuing challenge — to convince Americans across all racial and ideological lines that, given our country's increasingly diverse population, we must try to find common solutions to the problems that divide us.

Indeed, when the President started the initiative on race, he asked the advisory board to recommend solu-

tions. How can we close the income gap; improve access to quality education, health care and housing, and reduce racial disparities in sentencing in the criminal justice system?

In response, the advisory board recommended several ideas. For example, we suggested an initiative to recruit and prepare teachers to work at schools in low-income areas. As a result, the Clinton Administration has proposed allocating \$350 million over the next five years to hire 35,000 new teachers for this purpose.

It was clear from our dialogues that many Americans also want to do more than just talk about race. They want to take action. This year has given us an opportunity to spotlight hundreds of programs, large and small, that are successfully bringing people of different racial backgrounds together. These initiatives could serve as blueprints for other communities, as well as for colleges, businesses and religious institutions.

While the members of the advisory board have not developed a magic solution to all of America's racial problems, we are proud of the work we have done in serving, as best we could, as the President's eyes and ears. But we will need the collective will and commitment of every American if we are to achieve the President's vision of one America in the 21st century. □

SATURDAY, JUNE 13, 1998

The New York Times

Race Initiative

How to Make Government Comprehensible

By Alan M. Siegel
and Irene A. Etzkorn

The drive announced last week by Vice President Al Gore to make "plain language" the rule in the Federal Government is well intentioned but toothless.

The Clinton Administration's approach, which includes a monthly award (the "Megeagris Gallopavo Garrullitas Terminatrix Encomium," or Gobbledygook Elimination Prize) for the Federal employee who finds the best example of garbled Government language, trivializes plain language and reduces serious work to amateur status.

The use of plain language in Government forms and reports is critical for people and businesses in need of benefits and services. And it is vital to helping people fulfill their obligations as residents of this country. Just last month, the United States Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit concluded that the Immigration and Naturalization Service violated the rights of plaintiffs who had been threatened with deportation. The plaintiffs, it turned out, had not responded properly to notices from the agency because they had been unable to understand the dense language in them.

Mr. Gore's call for plain language in Government is not the first. The Internal Revenue Service, the Department of Agriculture and the Census Bureau have all undertaken some plain-language reforms. Two decades ago President Jimmy Carter, in promising to cut down Government regulations, vowed to "make sure that those that are written are in plain English." Obviously, many slipped through the net.

If the Administration really wants plain language to take hold in Government, officials need to follow the steps taken by many businesses, which have found that writing prospectuses, bank statements and auto leases in plain language helps them build loyalty while saving time and money:

• **Make plain language mandatory.** An executive memorandum —

the type of proclamation issued last week — is not a Presidential order, and Federal agencies are not forced to comply. Given the inherent complexity of Federal agencies, it is unlikely that they will embrace plain language unless it is mandatory.

• **Set realistic deadlines.** Since every last form, letter, pamphlet and application can't be revised all at once, agencies should set priorities and organize the process into a set of manageable tasks. Communications affecting the most people should be worked on first. Don't spend time, at least initially, on obscure, little-used communications.

• **Don't be afraid to rock the boat.** Plain language is not just about changing language. It is about changing a way of thinking. Agencies should think "out of the box" — replace a letter with a phone call, if that's what would communicate most effectively.

• **Use qualitative testing.** Don't fall into the trap of using "readability

The plain-language initiative needs muscle.

ty tests," a quantitative approach that counts syllables and words and comes up with a reading grade level. Readability formulas give the same score whether a sentence is run forward or backward. New documents should be tested among the types of people who would be using them.

• **Use design effectively.** The appearance of a document can affect people's perception of its complexity, and even their willingness to read it. Reader-friendly layouts that highlight the action to be taken can help.

• **Appoint communications ombudsmen.** Ombudsmen can insure

quality and give the final word on when documents have been simplified. After new documents are introduced, they can monitor inquiries from the public and measure change to find out what techniques work. It's easy to slip back into legalese; ombudsmen would help keep that from happening.

The White House memorandum would have most people believing that simplifying language is an easy task. Twenty-five years of work with companies and government agencies has shown us it is not. If the Administration is serious about making Government more understandable and responsive, it must give the initiative more muscle.

Alan M. Siegel is chairman and chief executive and Irene A. Etzkorn is executive vice president of Siegel & Gale, a strategic communications firm that has been working in document simplification since the 1970's.

Grammatically Incorrect

By Ralph Schoenstein

MICROSOFT, N.J. Microsoft has many detractors, but no one has noticed its most egregious sin.

The company's word-processing program, Word for Windows 95, is ruining the English language. I have just discovered that Word's grammar check has a command of English equal to that of Tarzan.

I first asked Word to check, *She was a most unique woman; she was slightly pregnant.* The error was easy to find, two modified absolutes. When the check responded that the sentence was flawless, I knew English was partially dead.

Ralph Schoenstein is the author of "Superman and Son," a memoir.

My next offering, *I couldn't help but going,* used the gerund instead of the infinitive. The check replied, *Consider replacing with "could not" in a formal document.* As they say in Seattle, I couldn't help but being dismayed.

Eager to see if the check knew the difference between a conjunction and conjunctivitis, I wrote, *Due to the weather, they could not come.* The check seemed to think that the sentence was Churchillian. Although most people use "due to" incorrectly, I thought that a grammar guide on millions of computers should know that the sentence needed a conjunction instead.

Inspired to eloquent awfulness, I wrote, *Thinking it was open, the door was really closed.* The check replied, *The main clause may contain a verb in the passive voice.* But there is no passive voice here, just a thinking door.

Incredulous that Microsoft was helping millions of Americans sound

like Popeye, I went on to write, *If I was a better man, I would go.* Missing my failure to use the subjunctive, the check resorted to political correctness: *Gender-specific expression. Consider replacing with "person," "human being" or "individual."*

The check, of course, had a point. Every time I call myself a man, as opposed to a woman or a newt, I am being gender specific.

Giddy from all the grammatical goofiness, I wrote, *There were only three grown-ups between Judy, Jill, Eve-Lynn, Lori, Maria and Max.* Once again, the check approved, unaware that *between* cannot handle six people. That's why *among* was invented.

Deciding to meet the check half way, I stopped writing in English. *She shopped, like, sixteen times.* The check said the sentence was perfect.

Of course it was — not a single contraction.

The New York Times

SATURDAY, JUNE 13, 1998

Initiative on Race Ends Short of Its Soaring Goals

By MICHAEL A. FLETCHER
Washington Post Staff Writer

In the beginning, there was no staff, no concrete plan and no tangible goal, only President Clinton's enormous expectation that his Initiative on Race would help bridge the nation's racial divide and carve his special place in history.

But as the president's seven-member race panel prepares for its crowning event Friday, the release of its report to the nation, the soaring hopes that once accom-

panied its work have been mostly abandoned.

The advisory board report promises no significant new policy thrusts. The set of proposals expected to be forwarded to the president either restates previous board recommendations or endorses initiatives already embraced by the Clinton administration. And now, 15 months and 300 meetings after it began, many of those who have followed the commission's work say that if the president is to leave a lasting legacy on race, it will not be reflected in the work of this initiative.

"The board itself struggled to find a way for its own deliberations to be a useful teaching tool for the country," said Christopher Edley Jr., a Harvard University law professor who is one of the president's most trusted advisers on race. "They heard a lot of testimony, but I had hoped they would be a bit more visible."

The story of how the president's once ambitious race initiative has come to engender fast-shrinking expectations after its grand beginnings is in many ways testament to the

conundrum posed by the issue of race. But according to commission members and others who have followed its work, the group's struggles also reflect a series of internal miscommunications, ideological differences, political timidity, and even elements of racial tension among those charged with carrying out the initiative. The effort was further hampered when the president's expected lead role was eclipsed by the Monica Lewinsky scandal.

See INITIATIVE, A4, Col. 1

"Whether he did not do more because of his preoccupation with his personal problems, I don't know," said John Hope Franklin, the esteemed historian who chaired the advisory panel. "But I always felt that I had a job to do and went out and did it."

Few people involved in the race initiative still see their work in epic terms. They now call the commission's work the first small step in the enormous effort needed to have the nation come to terms with its fast-changing racial and ethnic reality. Indeed, one of the group's most touted recommendations will be to simply create another, permanent body to keep up the national dialogue on race.

Speaking at a news conference yesterday, Clinton rejected any suggestion that his race initiative has not been successful, or had been sidetracked by the Lewinsky scandal. "I don't think it's affected it at all," he said. "I expect this to be a central part of the work I do in the next two years. I expect this to be a central part of the work I do for the rest of my life."

Already, the president has recommended a broad patchwork of proposals that grew out of the work of his race advisory board. They include money to reduce class sizes in schools, improve educational achievement among Hispanics, and increase investment in inner-city and rural communities.

But even those proposals bear the special burden of race: many of them were packaged not as race initiatives but as education or community development legislation, a deliberate strategy aimed at avoiding the backlash that frequently accompanies race-based government programs. Even still, most of those proposals are languishing in Congress.

When Clinton shared his vision for the race initiative in a speech at the University of California at San Diego, he was venturing where none of his predecessors had ever gone. Historians pointed out that absent a pressing racial crisis, no American president had risked significant political capital in the interest of improving race relations, a fact that helped elevate Clinton's effort in the eyes of many onlookers.

Moreover, Clinton appeared uniquely suited to the difficult task, given his Southern roots, proven appeal among minorities and life-long interest in the subject. Pointing to projections showing that within 50 years, there would be no majority race in America, Clinton said the time was right "to lift the burden of race and redeem the promise of America."

But many observers were dubious from the beginning. Some doubted that the nation would be engaged by the effort, given the fact that polls find whites and minorities hold sharply divergent views about the importance of race.

Some conservatives said a conversation on race was an unnecessary diversion that implicitly ignored the nation's racial progress, while civil rights activists argued that just talking about race, without offering a coordinated program for addressing racial disparities, would be a waste of time.

"I was interested but skeptical. Interested because I thought it was generally a good idea but skeptical

because the president as a politician is dedicated to polling before doing," said Lani Guinier, a Harvard University law professor who promoted the idea of a national racial dialogue in a 1993 letter to Clinton but so far has been disappointed by the initiative's work.

While the president articulated the broad vision for a racial dialogue, it was left to his staff to develop a framework for action.

A month after his speech unveiling the initiative in June of 1997, Clinton appointed Judith A. Winston, a former acting undersecretary of education with a long civil rights history, as the effort's executive director. It was her job to

direct the activities to support the advisory board and to coordinate work with the White House.

That she was on the short list for the job, however, was news to Winston. "The first that I heard about any interest in me for this job was six days before the board's first meeting," Winston said.

As it turned out, the board got off on the wrong foot at its very first gathering. The session, held one month after their appointment, was the first opportunity some board members had to even meet one another. But as an expectant press corps looked on, board members found themselves disagreeing over how much to focus on the historic rift separating blacks and whites and the challenges posed by the nation's fast-growing Hispanic and Asian-American populations.

While the discussion was cordial, it pitted the board's only Asian American member, Angela E. Oh, who was pushing a more expansive view of race relations, against two black members, Franklin and Suzan Johnson Cook, who emphasized that African Americans were the nation's first victims of racism. The exchange created the perception of racial turmoil within the panel, even if the discussion ended in agreement. "That, of course, became the issue that the board then had to get beyond," Winston said.

Meanwhile, Winston set about the business of building her 35-person staff and forging relationships with the White House and the host of Cabinet agencies who would be interacting with the race panel.

Stung by the first meeting, staffers prepared carefully for the next advisory board session in late September. The idea was to have a panel of experts discuss the nation's shifting demographics and increasingly complex set of racial attitudes.

Members of the initiative staff say they also recommended that the president talk about race and education, in an effort to build on an event commemorating the 40th anniversary of the integration of Central High School in Little Rock, Ark., that was held days earlier. But White House aides firmly rejected that idea, according to initiative staff, deeming it politically risky because it veered uncomfortably close to the divisive issue of school busing.

Ultimately, it was decided that the president would discuss the common values shared by Americans.

But when Clinton arrived at the meeting, he offered some advice to his own advisory board, recommending that it examine the rich racial diversity in the Fairfax County school system. He never talked about values.

"I was completely perplexed," Winston said. Several weeks later, a stack of eight envelopes were delivered to her office. Inside, were hand-written notes from the president commenting on memos Winston had sent him months earlier outlining the initiative's plans.

"He would write things like 'this is not going to work. This is too bland.'" But rather than being delivered to Winston's new office at the race initiative, the missives were being sent to her old job at the Department of Education. "I had never received anything from the White House," she said. "I wasn't expecting anything."

Not long after that, Chief of Staff Erskine B. Bowles called a meeting where he reiterated the president's commitment to the initiative and instructed the staffs at the White House and within the initiative to work more closely together. After that, ideas moved more smoothly but by that time, the initiative was "already battling uphill," Winston said.

The initiative also received widespread criticism when it sponsored a closed-door meeting in Dallas last December with only blacks invited. Also that month withering attacks from critics who derided the effort as a liberal dialogue led Clinton to meet with a group of conservative activists at the White House.

With that matter resolved, it appeared that the initiative was positioned to capture the nation's attention. But in January, Clinton was sidetracked by the Lewinsky investigation, which has dominated the news since and made it nearly impossible for the president to employ the moral suasion needed to move the race issue forward. Many civil rights leaders and board members have complained.

To be sure, the efforts continued. The president met with members of Congress and Hispanic journalists, gave speeches and radio addresses and held two month-long town hall meetings pushing the effort. And the advisory board continued to host meetings.

But as its 15-month term draws to a close, even boosters of the effort say that if the race advisory board fostered racial progress represents only a start. "This isn't a single measure of success," said Sylvia Mathews, a former deputy chief of staff who spearheaded much of the White House work on the initiative. "Maybe I should have emphasized more. There is not one single answer because there is not one problem."

RACE
INITIATIVE

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1998

used. Fazul may have journeyed onward under another name, Harouna said.

Harouna, whose portfolio includes immigration, said Fazul had an unknown number of passports. The Sept. 2 police searches turned up not only the Kenyan national identity card but also a Pakistani passport in Fazul's name, he said.

Another senior Comoran official said the FBI also recovered a passport or other travel document in the name of the driver of the truck that carried the Nairobi bomb. The driver was believed killed in the blast.

"This was the Ali Baba's cave for the FBI," the official said.

Investigators have uncovered no evidence that Fazul made contact with other conspirators in the Comoros, according to Mognidahu. The commander also dismissed reports in African newspapers that several hundred pounds of TNT believed used in the bombings came through the Comoros.

A Secret Life

Fazul's Aug. 14 arrival from Nairobi on Air Madagascar jibes with an earlier FBI statement that, although participants in the bombing plot who were not expected to die in the act were instructed to leave the Kenyan capital before the bombing, one remained.

When he arrived in Moroni a week later, Fazul made no attempt to hide, according to neighbors, relatives and officials here. He was seen at a mosque and driving a Yamaha motorcycle like the one on the porch of the house that had

been owned by his late mother, a sizable masonry home in a neighborhood where other houses are made of galvanized tin or palm leaves.

Fazul stayed either there or at the home of his Comoran wife's family, where his father-in-law was in the last stages of a terminal illness. Airline records show Fazul had arranged for his father-in-law, Fazul Badroudin, to fly from Nairobi, where he had been hospitalized, back to Moroni on Aug. 7, the day of the bombings.

Two years earlier, Fazul had paid to fly his mother to Paris for medical treatment, according to a relative who asked not to be named. The relative said no one knew where Fazul got the money, or indeed how he supported his wife, Hamila, 21, and their children, a 4-year-old girl and a 2-year-old boy. When his mother died last year, the relative said, Fazul did not receive the news for two weeks because no one knew how to reach him. Comoran officials said relatives had a Sudanese address for Fazul even when he was living in Nairobi.

"He keeps his secrets," the relative said.

Harouna said Fazul misled even his wife. "He would tell her he was going 10 kilometers from here, and she would learn afterward that

he was abroad," he said. When Fazul left for Dubai on Aug. 22, however, his family saw him off at the Grand Comore airport, Mognidahu said.

The appearance of such nonchalance left the investigator wondering at the apparent windfall the suspect left behind. "You never know," he said. "He could have left with more important materials."

Neighbors said Fazul, whose name is sometimes spelled Fadhul or Faidhul, dressed in jeans and, occasionally, a turban. The relative said that when Fazul's father asked why he did not wear more traditional Muslim attire, Fazul replied by placing his hand on his heart. "Faith is here," he said, "not in clothes."

His wife, however, is cloaked head to foot in the black robes of strict Islam, according to neighbors and the male relative. "Even I have never seen her," he said.

Raised in the house of his mother, Fazul was an infant when his parents separated over his father's decision to take a second wife, according to relatives. The father, interviewed in his apartment in Moroni's central section, said he had rarely seen his son since childhood.

Classmates at the Islamic school Fazul attended until his mid-teens remembered him as an excellent student who kept to himself. He was tops in his class at Arabic and a favorite of his teachers, but was not out of the island's moderate Islamic mainstream.

"When he was here, he was like me," said Patrick Simpoha, a Muslim who occasionally drinks and goes to discos. "Maybe there, he got another feeling, another mind."

Joining the Brotherhood

"There" was Sudan, which offered Fazul a scholarship to study Islam. Comoran officials said such offers from fundamentalist Arab nations have grown increasingly tempting to the youths of this former French colony, as restrictive immigration laws have decreased the opportunities to attend college in France and French-speaking countries. The Fazul case has fueled anxiety here about the trend, with one senior government official suggesting that it has made the Comoros "a potential breeding ground for terrorists."

"Those who go to those countries can be led astray and do harm in many countries of the world," said Mhadjo Mliwa, a prominent restaurant owner. "The young Comoran can be manipulated."

Comoran Defense Minister Hamadi Ali Abdallah said the scholarship offer to Fazul was arranged through an Islamic brotherhood organization called *jabha*, or

"front." The group, which officials said is based in Nairobi, has promoted Muslim scholarships on the islands for about 15 years. Abdallah said its members come from abroad and sleep in mosques.

The islands' grand mufti, or top religious leader, said the group was at odds with the moderate tradition of a country officially called the Federal Islamic Republic of the Comoros.

"We are openly against this organization," said Said Tohir Ben Said Maoulana, the grand mufti. "They are looking for people who are not well in the mind, who are poor, who need new visions."

Sudan has become a hotbed of radical Islam since 1989, when the National Islamic Front took power. Its legal system was replaced

by the Islamic code, called *sharia*, and the United States accused the country of harboring terrorists—including, until 1996, bin Laden.

"My brother chose his path. There is nothing we can do about it," said Fazul's brother, Omar Mohammed, who was questioned for several days following the FBI's Sept. 2 searches. He said the agents know far more about his brother than he. "We know nothing of his life."

However, a senior Comoran official, speaking on condition of anonymity, insisted that Fazul wrote home of his involvement in al-Qaida while abroad. "He was very proud, proud of his associates, proud of his mission," the official said. "He was going to fight against injustice."

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1998

Race
Initiative

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 18, 1998

The New York Times

Clinton Panel on Race Urges Variety of Modest Measures

By STEVEN A. HOLMES

WASHINGTON, Sept. 17 — After 15 months of work, President Clinton's advisory board on race relations has produced a modest report whose chief recommendation is the creation of a permanent Presidential council on race.

The voluminous report breaks little new ground. Indeed, much of it is a compilation of observations and recommendations that the board made to Mr. Clinton earlier, as the members went about their work. While it is filled with policy suggestions on education, affirmative action, health, the criminal justice system and immigration, it underscores these four recommendations as major:

¶Creation of a permanent body, which would be known as the President's Council for One America, to promote harmony and dialogue among the nation's racial and ethnic groups.

¶The Government's development of an education program to keep the public informed about race in America.

¶A Presidential "call to arms" to leaders of government and the private sector to "make racial reconcil-

iation a reality."

¶Engagement of youth leaders in an effort to build bridges among the races.

A number of scholars and civil rights advocates said the board had squandered an opportunity to make a bold contribution to stimulating an informed discussion of race that moved beyond the familiar positions of liberals and conservatives.

"Those sound like a list of platitudes," Randall Kennedy, a Harvard Law School professor, said of the board's main recommendations. "My goodness, there is nothing substantive there. It's not like I'm searching for a fight, but that's not exactly giving people direction. Talk about lowest common denominator!"

For example, Professor Kennedy noted, the board called for the Justice Department to consider restricting the use of racial profiling by Federal law-enforcement agencies and urging local police departments to do the same. Professor Kennedy, who opposes racial profiling — the use of race as a factor in determining

Continued on Page A18

Continued From Page A1

the profiles of likely criminal suspects — said that if the board felt as he did, then it should have called for the practice to be outlawed.

Mr. Clinton is to receive the report at the board's final meeting, on Friday. White House officials said he would incorporate some of its recommendations in a larger report on race and ethnicity that he will issue by the end of the year.

The current report brings the final chapter in the troubled history of the seven-member board, which was headed by the noted black historian John Hope Franklin. Almost from its inception, in June 1997, the body, formally the Advisory Board to the President's Initiative on Race, was plagued by a lack of organization, a youthful staff with few policy experts, a lack of political experience and continued interference by White House officials who feared the political consequences of its work.

"There is timidity on this question," said a Republican member of the board, Thomas H. Kean, former Governor of New Jersey. "Race is very divisive. As the year wore on, people became — not the board, but people in the Administration — became concerned. We were not encouraged to be bold. My recommendations were much bolder than anything contained in this report."

For instance, Mr. Kean said, he would have challenged the news and entertainment industries to put an end to the perpetuation of racial stereotyping.

Another problem the board faced was that with public attention divert-

A troubled-plagued body wraps up its work.

ed by the Lewinsky episode, it was hamstrung in efforts to stimulate a nationwide dialogue on race, one of its major goals.

Dr. Franklin, the board's chairman, did not respond to a request today for an interview.

But Judith A. Winston, the executive director, said the board had been able to achieve a measure of success.

"We have done what the President asked us to do this initial year," she said. "Certainly the advisory board has carried out its mandate."

Ms. Winston and White House officials said the board had never been expected to be an independent body like the Kerner Commission, which investigated the nation's racial climate after the urban riots of the late 1960's and produced bold policy pronouncements. Instead, the panel was to serve as Mr. Clinton's "eyes and ears," gathering information that would help him develop his later report on race.

"He didn't want to create a commission that sort of went off and did things independently and on its own," said one White House official, who would speak only on the condition of anonymity. "He wanted to amplify and expand the people around him whose full-time job would be to focus on this issue. He knew he couldn't do it himself and

that his White House staff couldn't do it on a full-time basis."

But with expectations raised by Mr. Clinton himself when he began his race relations initiative with a speech at the University of California at San Diego in June 1997, there was a palpable sense of disappointment in the board's work among civil rights advocates and those who study the country's racial climate.

Beyond its main recommendations, the board's report did make other suggestions, many of which the panel had made before in letters to the President. It urged tighter enforcement of the nation's civil rights laws, an end to sentencing disparities for crimes involving crack on one hand and powder cocaine on the other, greater spending on teacher training and school construction in minority areas, and efforts to end income inequality.

It also reaffirmed its support for race- and sex-based affirmative action, declaring that "for far too many minorities, a level playing field remains a mirage."

Still, the board ducked making any recommendations on many other highly contentious issues that surround race, like busing to achieve school integration, the construction of scatter site public housing and the use of school vouchers to allow poor children to attend private schools.

"We were not able, in the short amount of time we had and the format we were working in, to cover the horizon," said one board member. Angela Oh, a Los Angeles lawyer.

ant when he grows up. "I would like to work in an office," he said, suddenly brightening.

Finding homes for the street children is not really a possibility, say the workers at the center. There are only a handful of very small orphanages in Zambia, including the Kabwata Orphanage; it was there that Calvin and Jackson, who had been sent to Lusaka by an aunt, ended up after three days without food. Eventually the police contacted Lorraine Miyanda, who runs the place, and she bent the rules to let the boys in. Usually the orphanage will not take children over the age of 10.

But Ms. Miyanda says she has little hope that anyone will ever take the boys into a new home. In many African countries there is little tradition of taking in children who are not blood relatives and formal adoption is extremely rare. Child advocates say that this may be a particular problem in the future because of the way AIDS tends to devastate whole families, particularly in villages.

"The extended family in Africa is far better than in the West about taking in relatives," said Mark Loudon, a South African who is writing a book on AIDS orphans. "There is no formality about taking care of cousins. They slip right into saying 'Mom.' In Africa you have 30 Moms. The problem is that AIDS doesn't usually take just one woman in a family; it tends to take all the wives of the brothers because the brothers tend to behave similarly."

The Caring Adults

Grandmothers Help, But When They Go . . .

In the last few years, dozens of fledgling organizations have sprung up in Zambia trying to help the children. But there is virtually no Government money available and many are staffed only by volunteers.

"It's not that the Government is unsympathetic," says Louis Mwewa, the coordinator of Children in Need, an umbrella organization that tried to represent the groups. "But we are a poor country and they do not have

money."

In Matero, one of Lusaka's poorer neighborhoods, where small houses with tin roofs stretch for miles, overwhelmed grandmothers and households that are headed by young siblings living on their own are easy to find. In one house Brenda Tembo, 52, cares for 14 of her grandchildren.

On a recent afternoon, no one in her household had eaten yet as there was no food in the house. Mrs. Tembo was waiting for someone to buy tomatoes from her vegetable stand before buying corn meal, which would feed more of them for less. There are five children in this household who should be in school, but there is no money for that.

There is barely enough room for all the children to lie down on the floor at night. The homemade plywood table and the three rickety chairs must be put outside when it is bedtime. "I am not alone like this," she said, pointing across the dirt road at another house. "Right over there, it is the same."

While the grandmothers struggle with the burden of feeding and clothing the children, some child advocates are more worried about those who are growing up in the sibling households, where chaos sometimes reigns.

Like the Banda girls, the Zulu siblings survive on the rent they receive from their parents' house in a neighborhood called Kuanda Square. The seven children live in the back in a tumbledown two-room structure. But recently the oldest boy got married and set up his own household, leaving less money for the rest of the children, who range in age from 19 to 11. The 19-year-old is known in the neighborhood as a drinker who regularly beats the younger ones.

On a recent visit, there was no food in the dank smelling house. Shoes and dirty clothes were laying about. But with the 19-year-old sitting silently nearby, no one complained of any difficulties. All but the youngest appeared to have found some way of making money, from working as a maid to selling sugar cane in the market. But each keeps that money for himself or herself, they said. The 11-year-old appears to survive on the generosity of the others, but it was clear they expected her to do most of the housework.

"Sometimes the laundry is difficult," the girl admitted, twisting the hem of her skirt nervously.

By 1991 the needs of the orphans in the Matero neighborhood had become so apparent that some local women banded together to try to help. They have registered 2,047 orphans in the neighborhood and assigned someone to look in on each household and help solve problems that crop up. To raise money for school fees, they make doormats, bake bread, sew and batik fabrics. Six days a week, they also give about 60 of the children a free meal, with the help of the local Catholic church.

So far this year the group, called Kwasha Mukwena, has promised to pay the school fees for 279 children — fees that range from less than \$10 for the younger children to about \$30 for the oldest. But they have only raised the money to pay for 132.

As the lunch hour drew near recently, the orphans began arriving in the carefully swept church yard. In the back, over an open fire, the women had made a vegetable and peanut stew to be eaten with a corn porridge. The children, in tattered clothing, were painfully obedient. Some, as young as five, carefully carried full plates to the room where even the toddlers ate without spilling a drop.

A dozen children also carried plastic boxes — a signal to the workers that they were having a particularly hard time. Before eating, these children put half their food in their boxes. Either they knew they would get no supper and were saving for later, or they had been told to bring food home for other children in the household or face punishment.

"It is not that people are so cruel," said Patricia Ngoma, who volunteers with the program. "But they have nothing themselves."

Clinton Again Confronts GOP on Youth Crime

By Peter Baker
Washington Post Staff Writer

Surrounded by friends and families of slain police officers in front of the Capitol, President Clinton challenged Congress yesterday to pass his proposals to fight juvenile crime rather than a Republican version that he derided as "a crime bill in name only."

For the second time in less than a week, Clinton publicly confronted the GOP leadership over the issue, raising the profile of the disagreement in an effort to capture the political high ground and increase pressure on lawmakers to embrace his ideas for expanding gun control and crime prevention programs.

A bipartisan House majority last week passed a GOP-sponsored measure aimed at trying virtually all violent children as young as 14 in adult courts. As the fight moves to the Senate next week, Clinton used a ceremony honoring law enforcement officers killed in the line of duty to demand that Congress pass "a smart, balanced juvenile justice bill that does more than talk tough."

Clinton wants to require that handguns be sold with child-safety locks, prohibit sale of guns to adults convicted of violent crimes as minors and launch initiatives to keep students out of trouble after school.

"Who can be against allowing a child to stay in school instead of on a street corner?" Clinton asked. "Who can be against teachers as children's role models instead of thugs? Who can be against adults to supervise children instead of a lawless world of gangs to guide them?"



BY FRANK JOHNSTON—THE WASHINGTON POST

President Clinton prepares to speak at a Capitol ceremony yesterday honoring the 116 law enforcement officers slain in the line of duty last year.

But a key Republican said the president was creating a bigger conflict than truly exists. Rep. Bill McCollum (R-Fla.), chairman of a House Judiciary crime subcommittee and sponsor of the bill that passed last week, said Clinton's plans could not be included in that measure for procedural reasons and predicted that "80 percent of the things he's mentioning here" ultimately will win support.

"I don't really think we really have this argument," McCollum said, "but

he's trying to score political points while, for technical reasons, he has the opportunity."

Democrats are not so sure. One Senate Democratic official said yesterday that Republicans were in strong position to pass their priorities while "there will be tough battles" over Clinton's and "if we're lucky we'll get bits and pieces."

As part of his address, the president announced that every agent for the FBI and the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms now carries a gun equipped

with a child-safety lock. Other federal law enforcement agents will follow suit by Oct. 15.

"We protect aspirin bottles in this country better than we protect guns from accidents by children," Clinton said.

The president also unveiled a federal form for firearm purchases intended to prevent "dangerous drifters who threaten our society" from obtaining handguns as easily as a Palestinian teacher did in February before shooting tourists at the Empire State Building.

Under the new system, noncitizens trying to buy a gun will have to provide photo identification and documents to prove they have resided in the state at least 90 days.

Clinton's remarks came at a ceremony honoring 116 law enforcement officers killed last year, lowest number since 1959. Among them were Anthony Wayne Simms, a D.C. police officer struck by a speeding pickup truck last May; Gregory Patton Fleenor, a Virginia state trooper whose car crashed into a tree during a search for a suspected drunk driver; and Timothy Clyde Minor, an officer for the Charles County Sheriff's Office killed last February.

In addition, D.C. Officer William Anthony Smith's name was added to the memorial eight years after he was killed in a dispute with a drug dealer, following a department determination that he died in the line of duty.

Staff writer Roberto Suro contributed to this report.

Clinton Seeking to Move Beyond Rhetoric on Race Issues, Aides Say

By John F. Harris
Washington Post Staff Writer

Two years ago, the issue of race in America had President Clinton on the defensive. Speaking in California, he urged a group of Democrats to be sensitive to the problems of the "angry, white male," and warned that if they were not flexible on the issue of affirmative action, Republicans would score "a cheap political victory."

These days, Clinton sees fewer perils and more possibilities in confronting racial divisions. The change reflects what White House advisers say is his belief that promoting racial reconciliation can be a principal legacy of his second term.

Today's ceremony at the White House, in which Clinton formally will apologize on behalf of the U.S. government for the experiments conducted on black victims of syphilis starting in the 1930s, is part of a series of high-profile events over the next month that Clinton will use to highlight race, presidential aides say.

But while Clinton is eager to embrace the racial issue, he is struggling to find concrete steps to move beyond mere rhetoric. White House aides for weeks have been debating whether Clinton should appoint a task force to study the race issue, and who should be on it.

Several civil rights leaders the White House has consulted have warned that a commission could be merely an exercise in public relations. Their suggestions for action—spending more money on civil rights enforcement, and the problems of the urban underclass—are things Clinton shows little inclination to do.

White House advisers and other Clinton intimates say the president believes his personal and political history give him special credibility in talking about America's racial divide. He grew up in Arkansas when segregation still reigned, and friends say moving the state beyond its racist past was an issue that engaged him from an early age. As a Democratic politician, he faced the practical problem of how to appeal to black voters in ways that did not scare off whites still seized by racist attitudes. All these things, say supporters, trained him in the politics of bridge-building.

"He clearly agrees with the widespread view that his personal history offers him a special opportunity and a special obligation to address this issue," said Harvard Law professor Christopher Edley Jr.

Two years ago, while working for the White House, Edley helped oversee Clinton's review of the government's affirmative action policies. That effort, he said, was "politically defensive," driven largely by fear Republicans would use preference policies as a wedge issue in the election. But he said the fact that Clinton was able to successfully navigate the problem—in the end, opting for a "mend, not end" policy instead of the sharp scaling back affirmative action he once considered—apparently has emboldened Clinton to confront race

issues more directly in his second term.

The question of how to do that is only partly answered.

At the University of California at San Diego on June 14, Clinton will unveil what White House aides are calling the "race initiative." Earlier this spring, the White House had considered a broader "race-plus" effort, which would have also considered the problems of other groups facing discrimination, such as homosexuals and the handicapped.

But at a meeting with advisers in the White House Cabinet Room several weeks ago, according to several people in attendance, Clinton signaled he wanted the initiative focused more narrowly on racial and

ethnic concerns. The other parts of what Clinton will announce next month in California are still being debated. A White House working group, including nearly two dozen aides and headed by Deputy Chief of Staff Sylvia Mathews, has been meeting weekly this spring.

At one point, Clinton weighed setting up a new commission based on the 1968 Kerner Commission, which studied urban rioting and warned that the country was divided into "two societies, one black one white, separate and unequal." Since then, that idea has faded, and the current expectation, according to people within and outside the administration familiar with the debate, is that Clinton will appoint a task force

made up less of prominent people and more of academics and others with backgrounds in studying discrimination.

Rather than issuing a high-profile Kerner-style report, the group would report to Clinton, who would offer conclusions in his own words.

White House aides cautioned that no final decision has been made, and it may be that all Clinton will do in California is make a speech, not announce his final plans.

Many are skeptical of the commission concept in any case. Deval L. Patrick, the top civil rights official at the Justice Department in Clinton's first term, applauded Clinton's efforts to "call the question" about race in America, but said it is the

president's direct actions that will do the most good.

"What are they supposed to do?" said Patrick of potential commission members. "What is the measure of success of a task force?"

Patrick said among the more concrete things Clinton could do to advance race relations would be to fill Patrick's old job, which is still vacant; increase funding for the government's civil rights enforcement agencies; or fight for more money to "soften" the harsh effects of last year's welfare overhaul.

Most of the policy measures the White House has decided on for now are less ambitious than what Patrick has in mind. Today's event, in which Clinton will apologize to the families and surviving victims of the notorious "Tuskegee experiment," is an example of how Clinton plans to meld symbolism and rhetorical statements with small policies.

Starting in 1932, the government sponsored an experiment at the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama in which 399 mostly uneducated blacks were lured with promises of free meals and medicine to participate in a study looking at the long-term effects of untreated syphilis.

As part of his apology, Clinton will announce a \$200,000 grant to help found a center for bioethics research at Tuskegee, and announce he is extending until 1999 an advisory commission on medical ethics that otherwise would have ended this fall.

Race

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, MAY 16, 1997

To ensure the pope's safety in a country whose name has become synonymous with terrorism, Lebanon will deploy some 20,000 police and soldiers in the streets of Beirut.

During the 32-hour visit, the pope will attend a rally for young people and conduct an outdoor mass that is expected to draw 300,000 people to the center of the city, which still shows the scars from the long civil war.

The Lebanon trip has symbolic importance because it brings the pope to the geographic threshold of his oft-stated desire to visit the Holy Land before the year 2000.

It also has political significance because the Vatican has shown a growing determination to pursue Middle East policy initiatives that are not always in accord with the rest of Western Europe or the United States.

Earlier this year, the Holy See annoyed the Western alliance by granting diplomatic recognition to Libya. This week, the pope accepted the credentials of Iran's new ambassador to the Vatican.

Both actions disappointed the United States, which has urged the international community to isolate the two countries it accuses of harboring terrorists. The Vatican's concern, however, is protecting the rights of vulnerable Catholic minorities, who number about 50,000 in Libya and 12,000 in Iran.

Clinton vows to seek easing of law ordering illegal immigrants deported By Robert A. Rankin Knight Ridder Newspapers (KRT)

SAN JOSE, Costa Rica President Clinton said Thursday that Central American immigrants in the United States deserve more-sensitive treatment than the new U.S. immigration law allows, and he vowed to work with Congress to grant them some form of dispensation.

The new law requires deportation of an estimated 5 million illegal immigrants in the United States, including roughly 300,000 refugees from El Salvador, Guatemala and Nicaragua, according to Doris Meissner, commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

Clinton argued that the history of political violence in Central America requires the United States to grant those 300,000 emigres special treatment.

His comments followed a brief, largely symbolic summit conference here with Central America's leaders, which they hailed as marking a new era of partnership with Washington based upon the spread of democracy through their region.

In the 1970s and 1980s, the United States was deeply involved in subsidizing military resistance to leftist revolutionaries in El Salvador, Nicaragua, Honduras, and Guatemala. The upheaval drove many to escape to the United States.

Tens of thousands of them now have deep roots in U.S. communities, have children born as U.S. citizens, and have long enjoyed legal status as Cold War refugees though not as legal immigrants for many years, Clinton noted.

Virtually all of them must be deported under the terms of last year's immigration law. The law permits Clinton to exempt only 4,000 from deportation. Clinton said he would delay enforcing that law until Oct. 1, and vowed he would not order "mass deportations."

INS Director Meissner later said that means the U.S. will not engage in "wholesale roundups," but "it is certainly the case that the level of removals will steadily increase" unless Congress rewrites the law.

The president said the immigration-reform law is "a good thing" in general because unless illegal immigration is curbed, the public will turn against legal immigration. "But we have to understand, these Central American countries are in a different category because of what they went through in the 1980s," Clinton said.

El Salvador's President Calderon Sol pressed Clinton during the summit conference to grant a general amnesty to his country's citizens who now live in the United States, arguing that Washington bears some responsibility for their plight by virtue of turning El Salvador into a Cold War battleground.

Calderon also said that sending home the estimated 100,000 Salvadorans who live illegally in the United States would be disruptive, and would damage its economy by cutting off the remittances they now send home from America.

The president did not respond directly to Calderon's plea for amnesty, Meissner said. Several of the Central American leaders were very concerned about the new immigration law and about its consequences for their nationals in the U.S., she said. But Meissner said it is premature to disclose what changes Clinton may seek.

Race
Clinton hinted that amnesty might be a possibility. "It is a moral obligation America owes Central American refugees. Washington opened U.S. doors wide to Southeast Asian refugees after the Vietnam War.

"In these nations where democracy has prevailed and we want to work with them to succeed, it seems to me we ought to be sensitive to the disruptions that were caused during those tough years," Clinton said.

President Calderon of El Salvador said Clinton's comments were "very encouraging" and made Thursday "a day of great hope for all Central Americans."

The region's leaders made clear that Clinton's warm embrace of them as partners seeking common goals of economic and political cooperation at the first such summit since 1968 gave this conference a symbolic significance far beyond the modest steps they announced.

The major action announced here was the signing of six "open skies" accords between Washington and El Salvador, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Honduras, and the Dominican Republic, and separately with Panama, which was not represented here. The pacts open air travel to free-market competition throughout the region and are intended to boost air service and lower fares for freight and passenger service between the United States and the region.

On Saturday, Clinton will attend a similar summit of leaders from Caribbean nations, where he will announce proposals to lower U.S. tariffs on select imports from their countries, including tuna, leather goods, and apparel.

President Clinton plans to fight racism, abuse, inaction in America By Jodi Enda Knight Ridder Newspapers (KRT)

WASHINGTON As President Clinton plots his path into the history books, he is billing himself as "the nation's harper."

Clinton plans to climb upon the presidential soapbox to goad Americans to be less racist, to urge them to embrace their differences and lift each other up. He intends to build upon the message of last month's summit in Philadelphia, to amplify that volunteering is good for the country and good for the soul.

His intention, the president says, is to "revolutionize the country," to change its very culture.

But as Clinton sets out on his course, he is treading on uncertain ground. Most presidents who changed the face of the nation did so during times of enormous crisis, such as the Civil War or the Great Depression. Most shepherded major change through momentous government action the likes of the Emancipation Proclamation, the New Deal or the Voting Rights Act.

Clinton has something else in mind, something that could secure his legacy or relegate him to the footnotes of history. He hopes to tackle some of the nation's most recalcitrant problems, from ethnic tension to needy children, through a combination of presidential leadership, business and community involvement and, possibly, some limited form of White House participation.

"I think it's going to be more interesting to be an American than ever before because of all this diversity," Clinton said in a recent interview. "But somehow, we have to find some ways of reaching across this divide. And we're worked quite hard on it. But I think the president always, constantly harping on it as sort of the nation's harper, if you will, is a very important part of this."

Hardly the stuff of Abraham Lincoln, Franklin Roosevelt or Lyndon Johnson.

The distinction here is that Clinton is trying to change attitudes and actions in areas of private behavior in lieu of doing anything big in government," said Paul Quirk, a University of Illinois political science professor.

Where his most revered predecessors attacked clear-cut problems with pointed government remedies, Clinton is going after their more ambiguous remnants with squishier solutions.

Still, while no one least of all the president himself expects him to rapidly transform the way Americans think and act, a number of experts do hold out hope that Clinton will make a difference over time.

"It may be that 20 years from now, sociologists will say a small change changed society," said Jeffrey Cohen, a political science professor at the University of Kansas. "There's always that potential."

Clinton plans to fight inaction, racism, abuse and neglect with a good dose of moral suasion, an ironic choice for a president who has served under an ethical cloud. Nevertheless, he picked his targets carefully to coincide with a set of core beliefs on which he has established moral standing.

In addition to fighting racism and promoting volunteerism, he will

EK - not too bad, as these go.

Inventors Dispute Consequences of By Frank James, Chicago Tribune

WASHINGTON - May 8—What might have been an obscure rewrite of patent law has turned into a noisy fight uniting inventors, Nobel prize winners and even conservative activist Phyllis Schlafly against a provision that they say would make small inventors vulnerable to large corporations.

The 21st Century Patent System Improvement Act would turn the patent office, now part of the Commerce Department, into a government-run corporation similar to the Postal Service. What riles its opponents is a requirement that a patent application be made public 18 months after filing — even before a patent is issued.

The Clinton administration and other supporters contend the change would reduce duplication in research efforts and provide for more efficient use of research funds, while still protecting an inventor's ideas. It would also bring the U.S. process in line with most other major nations, which publish patent applications after 18 months.

But critics worry that the change would open the door to their invention secrets being stolen and commercialized by others.

The bill recently passed the House, and its companion legislation was the topic of a Senate Judiciary Committee hearing Wednesday.

"This business of publishing in 18 months, long before you get a patent, has us frightened," said Robert Rines, one of the few living inventors enshrined in the National Inventors Hall of Fame in Akron for patented contributions to radar and sonar technologies.

Schlafly says the legislation is the most significant before Congress this session and hopes to testify against the proposed changes. She blames an alliance among the Clinton administration, large corporations and the Japanese who sought some of the changes to bring U.S. law more in line with other industrialized countries.

"America has 98 percent of the patents; let the rest of the world harmonize with us," she said. "It's collusion between the Japanese and multinationals who want to steal the rights of independent inventors."

Current law prohibits publication until a patent is assigned. That can take several years, giving an inventor time to find financing to produce and market an idea.

"Many of us cannot get a company going until we have a patent," said Rines, who is a patent lawyer and Massachusetts Institute of Technology professor.

"So the minute the Japanese or some ill-motivated big company in this country sees our disclosure in 18 months, they jump right in the market long before the little guy can get his company going... The little guy can't catch up," said Rines.

A Who's Who of American inventors has sided with Rines including Nobel laureate Gertrude Elion, inventor of leukemia fighting and transplant rejection drugs; Raymond Damadian, creator of magnetic resonance imaging; Wilson Greatbatch, inventor of the cardiac pacemaker; and Stephanie Kwoleck, who pioneered Kevlar, the bullet-stopping material used in protective vests.

The change is an overreaction, critics say, to a problem with the current system known in the trade as a "submarine patent." That's when a shrewd applicant deliberately drags out his secret application, quietly watching others unwittingly develop his technology, then surfaces to procure his patent and demand big royalty fees.

One example frequently cited is the case of Jerome Lemelson, an engineer who reportedly has collected royalties of \$500 million on a series of long-delayed patents, including one on a device that was the ancestor of bar-code scanners found at supermarkets.

Critics of the legislation say there have been fewer than 500 cases of submarine patents out of more than 2 million patents issued to date.

But that misses the point, said House sponsor Rep. Howard Coble (R-N.C.). "They are indeed a serious problem. The reason the numbers may not be enormous is because they're not recorded court cases. Many of these are settled out of court."

The recently approved House bill was amended to exempt small inventors and businesses as well as universities from the early-publication requirement. The Senate bill, however, has no such exclusion.

The bill's supporters include Judiciary Committee Chairman Henry Hyde (R-Ill.), who testified before the Senate panel Wednesday, and Bruce Lehman, commissioner of patents and trademarks.

Advocates say the legislation would protect small inventors, including their right, upon finally receiving a patent, to retroactively sue for royalties.

"There seems to be an odd expectation here that in making policies we're going to make everybody happy," said Lehman. "I think we know that doesn't happen. In a country of 250 million people, whichever way you turn there's going to be an element that doesn't like what you want."

"If the administration were to take a position, for example, opposed to 18 months' publication," Lehman added "all of those groups that want it, they would be coming down on me and accusing us of doing dastardly acts. You have to choose..."

He said the patent office chose to stick with the unique U.S. approach that awards patents to the first to invent, instead of the first to file, the case virtually everywhere else in the world.

A patent gives the creator of a novel product, process or technology exclusive right to the invention for a limited period. In the U.S., that is 17 years from the time the government issues the patent.

Coble said opponents of his legislation have spread a lot of misinformation.

"I had a guy to come up to me at a shopping center (in his North Carolina district)," Coble recalled. "He said 'Thanks a lot, Coble, for letting the Japanese steal our patents.' That was his greeting to me."

When Coble asked the man to tell him specifically what was wrong with the bill the man said he could not. "I said, 'Surely, you can. You just tore my face off. Tell me why you did it.'"

The man then said he had received a phone call from a stranger who told him as much. "This is the way a lot of this information was disseminated. And when I walked him through it, he said, 'Well, my gosh. Your bill sounds good to me.'"

Pope to visit Lebanon By Tom Hundley Chicago Tribune (KRT)

VATICAN CITY Pope John Paul II will embark on a two-day journey to Lebanon this weekend, fulfilling a longstanding promise to visit the dwindling Christian minority in a country still struggling to recover from its 15-year civil war.

The pope had planned to visit in 1994, but that trip was abruptly canceled when a bomb exploded in a Roman Catholic church on the outskirts of Beirut, killing 10.

The visit to Lebanon will be John Paul's third journey abroad in less than a month. He went to Bosnia in mid-April, and followed that with a trip to the Czech Republic. At the end of this month, he is scheduled for an extended visit to his native Poland.

Despite a series of health setbacks that have visibly sapped his strength, the pope, who celebrates his 77th birthday on May 18, appears determined to maintain the grinding travel schedule and high visibility that have been the hallmarks of his 19-year papacy.

The trip to Lebanon is the first by a modern pope, and it comes at a time when the government's efforts to rebuild that shattered nation have been frustrated by internal frictions and external occupiers.

The struggle for power and domination among Lebanon's Christian, Muslim and Druze communities was the root cause of the civil war that began in the mid-1970s, but the country soon became a battleground where regional rivalries between Israel, Syria, Iran and the Palestinians were played out in deadly earnest.

By the time it ended in 1990, the death toll was 150,000 and the country was in ruins.

Lebanon has always been of particular interest to the Vatican. When the country was granted independence by France in 1943, it had a Christian majority, mainly Maronite Catholics who were loyal to Rome and preferred speaking French to Arabic.

A constitution that gave them five seats in the parliament for every four for the Muslims allowed the Christians to maintain their dominance even though the Muslims soon outnumbered them by a wide margin.

Today, the power-sharing formula is roughly 50-50, even though Christians barely make up 30 percent of the population and their numbers continue to shrink.

Neither side is happy with the arrangement — the Muslims because it enables the Christians to wield influence disproportionate to their numbers, the Christians because they have "lost" the country that was once theirs.

The problems are compounded by the continued presence of some 30,000 Syrian troops in Lebanon and by Israel's refusal to budge from the large swath of territory along the border that it took control over in the aftermath of its 1982 invasion.

Christian politicians want the Syrians to leave. Prime Minister Rafik Hariri, a Muslim, says the Syrian troops are needed to enforce the peace agreement, but that the Israelis must go.

Leaders from both camps expect the pope to emphasize the unity and independence of Lebanon.

In a message released by the Vatican earlier this week, John Paul called on the people of Lebanon to "find the energy necessary to conquer divisions and surmount all the obstacles that present themselves."

large schools to adopt national education standards and to
from smoking.

Clinton has few options to leave an enduring mark, say observers of
history. He lacks the unifying force of war or crisis and is saddled with
an opposition Congress and a tight federal budget.

"He can't force people to do things, but he can nudge," said Robert
Bies, a business professor at Georgetown University here. "The
president is a social architect," he added. To be successful, Bies said,
he must "try to focus attention and signal priorities."

But talking isn't enough. "You need inspiration and organization,"
Bies said. "I think what Clinton can do is inspire by focusing
attention. But you need the follow-through. And without the
organization, it goes nowhere."

In addition to presidential prodding, White House aides say Clinton
is planning to address the racial schism with the help of a new
commission something less dramatic and more forward-looking than
the Kerner Commission that looked at racial strife in the 1960s. To
push ahead on volunteerism following the recent Presidents' Summit
for America's Future, he helped launch an independent organization
headed by retired Gen. Colin Powell.

Critics argue that all the commissions, all the summits, all the
speeches will amount to little without the tool that earlier presidents
used: government dollars.

"When one thinks of making America better, one thinks of the New
Deal and the Great Society, not televised summits," said Douglas
Brinkley, a history professor at the University of New Orleans. "Most
people would agree that volunteerism is good, talking openly about
race is positive. But, unfortunately, it stops at the water's edge. There's
nothing concrete and solid."

Brinkley contended that to get to the heart of society's ills, Clinton
should take aim at inner-city schools, not with national standards and
school uniforms, but with more books and teachers.

Robert Shapiro, a political-science professor at Columbia University
in New York, said he sees one way to fundamentally alter behavior.
"If you want to change the culture, you've got to change the attitudes
and beliefs and behaviors of new generations," he said. "You
basically work on children in schools, not adults."

Others, though, said Clinton's best weapon is a stage that allows him
to speak to everybody.

"The institution of the presidency has one resource that is
particularly useful, and that is focusing public attention," said Paul
Brace, a political science professor at Rice University in Houston.

"The bully pulpit can mobilize us as a nation. It can unify us."

Particularly when it comes to racism, said Cohen, the University of
Kansas professor, a southern-born president who is widely accepted in
minority communities could go a long way toward isolating "people
on the fringes."

"That's a very, very subtle process, but maybe only the president
can do anything about it," Cohen said. "He may be the only individual
who can."

Clinton would not be the first president to use the bully pulpit to
spur a change in the public mood. Theodore Roosevelt, who linked the
phrase to the presidency, guided a wary people through a shifting
economy. Franklin Roosevelt brought optimism to the dark days of the
Depression. John F. Kennedy inspired a generation to serve its country
and set its sights on outer space. Ronald Reagan lifted the spirits of
a nation torn by Vietnam, Watergate and the Iran hostage crisis.

But improving the national outlook was only part of what those
presidents did. They also spent money or changed laws, something
Clinton is hard-pressed to do.

The big question for this president may be whether people living in
a time of relative peace and comfort will see a need to change.

"It's hard to tell people to do things when things aren't bad," Brace
said. "That's why I wouldn't expect a miracle."

Senate approves \$5.6 billion disaster-aid bill for Midwestern cities By Bill Salisbury Knight Ridder Newspapers (KRT)

WASHINGTON The Senate approved a bill Thursday that would
provide \$5.6 billion of relief for victims of the Midwestern floods and
other disasters.

The lopsided 78-22 vote for the bill obscured the partisan wrangling
that had slowed progress of the "emergency" legislation. And the aid
may be delayed further by a dispute between Senate Republicans and
President Clinton over an unrelated provision.

The president has threatened to veto the measure because
Republicans tacked on language that would prevent government
shutdowns by automatically funding agencies at current levels if
appropriation bills aren't enacted by the start of a new fiscal year.

The government shutdowns in late 1995 and early 1996 gave
congressional Republicans a political black eye, and they want to
avoid getting another one. But the White House contends that this
provision would undercut budget negotiations by removing the need
for both sides to make compromises.

The author of the shutdown-prevention language, Sen. John
McCain, R-Ariz., said that while government has an obligation to
provide relief for victims of natural disasters, it should also protect
Americans from "man-made disasters." He argued that the
government shutdowns in late 1995 and early 1996 were "one of the
blackest chapters in American history."

But McCain signaled his willingness to negotiate a compromise with
the White House. "We are open for business," he said. "We'd like to
talk."

The House is scheduled to act on a companion disaster-aid bill next
week. The shutdown dispute could be resolved before a final version
is sent to the president's desk.

If it isn't, however, Senate Minority Leader Tom Daschle said he has
lined up enough votes to sustain a veto. After upholding a veto, said
the South Dakota Democrat, Congress could quickly pass a "clean"
disaster aid bill without the disputed language.

The bill would provide \$5.6 billion in aid for victims of last month's
floods and other disasters in 33 states. It also includes \$1.8 billion to
pay for the U.S. peacekeeping mission in Bosnia and enforcement of a
no-fly zone over Iraq.

On the eve of the Senate vote, mayors of two flood-ravaged
Midwestern cities roamed Capitol hallways, buttonholing lawmakers
and pleading for quick action on the disaster aid. Mayors Pat Owens
of Grand Forks, N.D., and Lynn Stauss of East Grand Forks, Minn.,
said they need firm answers on what the government will do before
they can let residents start restoring flooded homes and businesses.

Midwestern Democrats pleaded with the GOP majority to remove
the shutdown provision from the bill to prevent a delay in flood relief.
Speaking of the thousands of Red River valley families who lost their
homes and jobs in last month's devastating flood, Sen. Byron Dorgan,
D-N.D., said: "We should not, for their sake, further delay this bill
that delivers hope to those who so desperately need it."

A motion by Sen. Robert Byrd, D-W.Va., to remove the shutdown
provision was rejected, 55-45.

Republicans insisted a delay would not hurt flood victims. Texas
Sen. Kay Bailey Hutchison said the Federal Emergency Management
Agency has enough money on hand to meet their immediate needs.

Senators worked out compromises on two other disputed sections of
the bill.

One grants narrow exemptions to the Endangered Species Act for
communities threatened by floods to repair dikes and other
flood-control structures. Originally, western Republicans angered that
the law delayed repairs needed to protect human life and property
wrote broad exemptions into the bill that environmentalists criticized
as weakening protections for rare plants and animals.

The compromise provides for "narrow, targeted (exemptions to the
law) to meet true emergencies," said Sen. Dirk Kempthorne, R-Idaho.

The second compromise permits the Census Bureau to use a
sampling technique to estimate the number of Americans it misses in
its head count in 2000. Republicans had put in a provision to bar
sampling, fearing it would increase the count of Democratic-leaning
groups mainly poor, inner-city minorities and give them extra federal
aid and voting power. The Census Bureau said it needs the technique
to count people who are hard to reach in door-to-door surveys.

The compromise allows the bureau to proceed with plans for
sampling, but reserves for Congress the right to bar it before the
census is conducted.

The administration had threatened to veto the emergency spending
bill if it included the original endangered species and census language.
The compromises lift that veto threat, senators said.

One other disputed section remains in the bill. It would let states to build roads on federal lands, a provision adamantly opposed by Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt.

But the bill's sponsor, Appropriations Committee Chairman Ted Stevens, R-Alaska, suggested a compromise could be worked out when the bill goes to a House-Senate conference committee.

House passes anti-crime bill that would allow violent juveniles to be tried as adults By David Hess Knight Ridder Newspapers (KRT)

WASHINGTON A crackdown on juvenile offenders as young as 13 was approved by the House Thursday, as part of a \$1.5 billion package aimed at curbing the rise in violent crimes by the young.

The White House is cool to some of the tougher parts of the Republican-backed bill, which would give prosecutors more discretion to treat young offenders as adults. But negotiations are continuing between the administration and GOP-controlled Congress to reach a compromise.

The debate centered on an issue that has preoccupied Congress for most of the last decade: whether to emphasize punishment of young offenders or strive for more-comprehensive early intervention programs to steer kids away from criminal behavior.

Before passing the Republicans' measure, 286-132, the House defeated a substitute offered by Democrats and backed by President Clinton that would have set aside about 60 percent of the money for crime prevention and early intervention programs. The substitute was rejected 224-200.

Under the GOP bill, virtually all of the \$1.5 billion would go to states that agree to stricter prosecution and longer imprisonment of violent young offenders.

There was little dispute about the threat posed by violent juveniles. Conservatives and liberals alike agreed that the problem is real and growing, and expressed alarm at the rising incidence of violent offenses by younger and younger adolescents.

"The number of homicides committed by juveniles has increased five times the rate of those committed by adults," said Rep. Rod Blagojevich, D-Ill. "The Justice Department predicts that arrests for juveniles committing violent crimes will more than double during the next 15 years."

"This legislation is not about Dennis the Menace," said Rep. Roy Blunt, R-Mo. "It's about Billy the Kid."

But opponents countered that juvenile justice should be keyed to rehabilitation, and that treating adolescents as adult criminals virtually ensures that they will behave as sociopathic adults once released from detention.

"When you put kids in an adult prison," said Rep. Patrick Kennedy, D-R.I., "they come out meaner and harder than when they went in."

House Judiciary Committee Chairman Henry Hyde, R-Ill., argued that the government already is spending several billion dollars on various preventive programs, ranging from job training to gang interventions.

And Rep. Bill McCollum, R-Fla., the chief sponsor, insisted that juveniles have to realize, early on, that dangerous and destructive acts warrant swift and sure punishment.

"We've got to show these youngsters that there are serious consequences for their offenses, starting with the very first offense," McCollum said. "If we do assure consequences for those early crimes, then we are less likely to get more violent crimes from these juveniles later on."

Under McCollum's bill, U.S. attorneys would have more power than judges to decide whether to prosecute as adults 14- and 15-year-olds who commit serious federal crimes. Federal prosecutors also could prosecute 13-year-olds under special circumstances. Serious violent crimes were defined as murder, aggravated sexual assault and assault with a firearm, as well as serious drug offenses.

The bill also would provide \$1.5 billion for states that agree to:
Provide state and local prosecutors the discretion to treat as adults offenders a young as 15.

Impose a stiff sanction for the first delinquent act by a juvenile, then mete out increasingly harsher sanctions for any subsequent offenses.

Keep a public record of serious offenses committed by minors.

Require parents to cooperate with courts in administering non-jail punishment.

Only six states currently have laws that square with the requirements of McCollum's legislation and would be eligible to receive any grants: Colorado, Delaware, Georgia, Michigan, Mississippi and Nebraska.

The substitute offered by opponents would have set aside three-fifths of the \$1.5 billion for youth-oriented crime-prevention programs. The

remaining 40 percent could have been used by the states for their juvenile justice systems.

By laying stress on prevention rather than on punishment, Zoe Lofgren, D-Calif., communities could more effectively stop crime before it occurs and do so at a lower cost to taxpayers.

"It costs \$36,000 a year to incarcerate a juvenile offender," she said. "For less than a third of that, we can keep a kid out of jail permanently."

In rejecting the Clinton-backed alternative, the House also averted a noisy quarrel over the president's demand that child-proof locks be required on all handguns and that juveniles convicted of violent offenses be forever barred from possessing guns. McCollum initially had planned to include such provisions in his version of the bill, but was overruled by House Republican leaders sensitive to objections from the gun lobby.

"We didn't want any gun issue on the floor," said Rep. John Boehner, R-Ohio, the GOP caucus chairman. "When you bring gun issues out on the floor, you open things up to all kinds of bizarre happenings."

In this case, it might have brought down McCollum's bill, which Republican leaders have counted on as a powerful political issue in next year's elections.

Federal government at a crossroads, path chosen could determine Americans trust By Steven Thomma Knight Ridder Newspapers (KRT)

WASHINGTON The wall-to-wall grins told the story, and it wasn't just that the Congress and the White House had finally figured out how to balance the federal budget.

It was that these unnaturally giddy politicians had accomplished something so big, so bipartisan, seemingly so long on possibilities and short on petty politics, that they could dare to dream the public might at last stop sneering at them.

The budget agreement early this month brought the federal government to a crossroad and which path it follows could determine whether Americans will start trusting the government again.

One is the course glimpsed when the two political parties showed that they can work together on one of the government's most basic jobs, balancing its budget. It could lead Americans to the kind of relationship they had with their government a generation or two ago, when they trusted it to solve problems, not cause them.

But another path also lies just ahead, with months of investigations, scandal and partisan feuding that could poison the atmosphere of bipartisanship and lead back to gridlock and stalemate. That could fuel the erosion of trust that started with Vietnam and Watergate.

Hanging in the balance is the sentiment of people like Marianne Clark, 59, a homemaker from Nashville, Tenn., who applauded the budget deal because it appeared the two parties were finally putting the good of the country ahead of their own good.

Or Lee Montierth, 47, a scientist from Idaho Falls, Idaho, who thinks "it's damned overdue" for the government to start proving it can get the job done again.

"There's an inability of the government to accomplish anything," said Montierth, who does occasional contract work for the federal government.

When President Clinton and congressional leaders agreed on a plan to balance the budget for the first time in three decades, Rep. John Kasich, R-Ohio, the House Budget Committee chairman, called it a "golden moment" for the country because it might help reverse that kind of attitude.

Pollsters and analysts agree that balancing the budget could help, but caution that it took years for the government to lose the faith of the people and it will take years to regain it.

Americans once held high regard for a government that helped people through the Depression, won World War II, sent veterans to college, tore down barriers that kept minorities from voting, riding buses or going to good schools, built the interstate highway system, and reigned over years of prosperity.

Then came Vietnam. Watergate. The failure of Great Society welfare programs. Oil crises, inflation, stagnant wages, deficits and debt. Now, only 6 percent of Americans say they have "a lot" of trust in the federal government, according to a recent poll by the Pew Research Center for The People & The Press.

"Government started being seen as the heavy hand, not the helping hand, holding the country back, not moving it forward," said Mark Mellman, a Democratic pollster. "The budget being out of balance is a symbol of the government being unable to keep its own house in order."

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

July 14, 1997

**PRESIDENT NAMES JUDITH A. WINSTON AS EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF
THE PRESIDENT'S INITIATIVE ON RACE**

The President today announced the appointment of Judith A. Winston as Executive Director of One America in the 21st Century: The President's Initiative on Race.

Ms. Winston, of Washington, D.C., currently serves as General Counsel to the U.S. Department of Education and Acting Under Secretary of Education. Ms. Winston is responsible for the day-to-day oversight of management issues for the department. She also manages a staff that includes more than 85 attorneys whose responsibilities are to interpret laws affecting department operations, to draft and review regulations and legislation, and to advise the Secretary on policy issues. Prior to her appointments at the Department of Education, Ms. Winston served as an associate professor of law at American University, in Washington, D.C., where she taught civil procedure and civil rights courses. Formerly, Ms. Winston was the deputy director of the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under the Law. She was also deputy director for policy at the Women's Legal Defense Fund. She has served as executive assistant and legal counsel to the chair of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and as special assistant to the Director of the Office for Civil Rights, in the former U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Ms. Winston holds a B.A. from Howard University and a J.D. from the Georgetown University Law Center.

The Executive Director of the President's Initiative on Race will work with the President, the advisory board to the initiative, and the White House staff to coordinate the year-long effort to educate the nation about the facts surrounding the issue of race; to promote a constructive dialogue that honestly addresses those issues; to encourage leadership at all levels to help breach racial divides; and to develop and implement concrete solutions --policies, practices and programs --that involve all Americans in building one nation. The Executive Director will coordinate dialogue, study and actions designed to achieve those objectives. The Executive Director also will oversee the production of a report by the President to the American people on the findings and recommendations from the year's work.

