



# Leadership Conference on Civil Rights

xc this page to Bruce & Paul

1629 "K" St., NW, Suite 1010  
Washington, D.C. 20006  
202/466-3311

fyj

4-15-94

- FOUNDERS**  
Arnold Aronson  
A. Philip Randolph\*  
Roy Wilkins\*
- OFFICERS**
- CHAIRPERSON**  
Benjamin L. Hooks
- VICE CHAIRPERSONS**  
Antonla Hernandez  
Judith L. Lichtman  
William L. Taylor
- SECRETARY**  
Dorothy Height
- TREASURER**  
Gerald W. McEntee
- LEGISLATIVE CHAIRPERSON**  
Jane O'Grady
- COUNSEL EMERITUS**  
Joseph L. Rauh, Jr.\*
- HONORARY CHAIRPERSONS:**  
Marvin Caplan  
Clarence M. Mitchell, Jr.\*
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*Lawyers' Committee For  
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Owen Bleber  
*International Union of  
United Automobile Workers*  
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*League of Women Voters*  
Horace Deets  
*American Association of Retired Persons*  
Jerome Ernst  
*National Catholic Conference  
for Interracial Justice*  
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Laura Murphy Lee  
*American Civil Liberties Union*  
Joseph Lowery  
*Southern Christian Leadership Conference*  
Leon Lynch  
*United Steelworkers of America*  
Karen Narasaki  
*Japanese American Citizens League*  
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Jackie DeFazio  
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Richard Womack  
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Harriett Woods  
*National Women's Political Caucus*  
Patrisha Wright  
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Raul Yzaguirre  
*National Council of La Raza*
- COMPLIANCE/ENFORCEMENT  
COMMITTEE**  
Charles Kamasaki, *Chairperson*
- STAFF**
- EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR**  
Ralph G. Neas
- ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT**  
Lisa M. Haywood
- POLICY/RESEARCH ASSOCIATE**  
Karen McGill Arrington

Dear Carol,

Great to see you at the Tony  
Coelho breakfast this morning. It  
meant a lot to all of us to have you  
there

Keep up the effective work.

And please say hello to Bruce and

Paul for me.

With best wishes,

Ralph

(\*Deceased)



# Leadership Conference on Civil Rights

1629 "K" St., NW, Suite 1010  
Washington, D.C. 20006  
202/466-3311

May 11, 1993

Contact: Ralph G. Neas (202/466-3311)

## THE LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS: 43 YEARS OF EFFECTIVE ADVOCACY

### A. LCCR - The Legislative Arm of the Civil Rights Movement

Today, President Bill Clinton, Vice President Al Gore, Attorney General Janet Reno, and dozens of Administration officials and Democratic and Republican members of Congress joined over 1000 guests in celebrating the 43rd birthday of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights (LCCR).

The Leadership Conference on Civil Rights is the nation's oldest, largest, and broadest coalition. Established in 1950, the nonpartisan coalition, which operates by consensus, consists of approximately 185 national organizations representing minorities, women, persons with disabilities, older Americans, labor, gays and lesbians, and major religious groups. Well over 50 million Americans pay dues to these LCCR organizations.

For 43 years, LCCR has been the legislative arm of the civil rights movement. Indeed, the Leadership Conference has coordinated the national campaigns on behalf of every major civil rights law since 1957.

### B. The Reagan-Bush Years : The Bipartisan Legislative Successes

Despite the fact that for the first time in decades two branches of the federal government were openly hostile to civil rights, the Leadership Conference was able to implement most of its broad and diverse legislative agenda during the Reagan-Bush administrations. In fact, those twelve years were marked, legislatively, by a bipartisan reaffirmation of civil rights laws and remedies and by a bipartisan repudiation of the right wing legal philosophy.

From 1981 through 1992, two dozen civil rights laws were enacted, including:

- o The 1982 Voting Rights Act Extension
- o The Martin Luther King Holiday Bill
- o The Civil Rights Restoration Act
- o The Japanese-American Redress Bill
- o The Fair Housing Amendments Act of 1988
- o The Americans with Disabilities Act
- o The Civil Rights Act of 1991

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<sup>1</sup> Approximately 45 national organizations joined LCCR during the Reagan-Bush years.

o The Language Assistance Improvement Act of 1992

In almost all of these legislative efforts, bipartisan majorities of well over 70% supported final passage.<sup>2</sup>

In addition, the Family and Medical Leave Act, vetoed previously by President Bush, was enacted into law in early 1993. The "Moter Voter" voter registration reform bill should be enacted into law shortly.<sup>3</sup>

Perhaps of nearly equal importance, the bipartisan congressional coalition did not allow the right wing to enact one major item on its regressive legislative agenda.

For a comprehensive summary of the congressional civil rights record during the Reagan-Bush years, please see the enclosed memorandum.

C. The Downside of The Reagan-Bush Years

Despite the considerable successes achieved by the civil rights coalition and its Congressional allies, there was also a tremendous downside to the Reagan-Bush years on civil rights matters. Rightwingers at the White House, the Justice Department, and elsewhere dismantled an effective civil rights enforcement mechanism in the Executive Branch. Using the issue of quotas as a smokescreen, the Justice Department relentlessly attempted to turn back the clock on civil rights enforcement with respect to voting, education, employment, housing and the Federal funding of programs. It will take years to repair the extensive damage and the resultant racial tensions.

Perhaps the most frustrating consequence of the Reagan-Bush presidencies was that they forced the nation to refight the civil rights battles that had been won during the 1960's and 1970's. While those battles were won once again, Congress, the civil rights community, and the nation had to devote an inordinate amount of time, energy, and resources in waging these rearguard actions. Consequently, while the legal achievements of the past 30 years were preserved, the nation by and large was unable to address with full strength the unfinished agenda of the civil rights movement—the quest for economic justice. That is a profound tragedy.

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<sup>2</sup> The principal legislative strategy for all the Leadership Conference efforts has been the enactment of the strongest possible bipartisan bill.

<sup>3</sup> Today, the Senate overcame a filibuster and joined the House of Representatives in passing a strong voter registration reform bill. President Clinton will sign this important civil rights measure in the near future.

Indeed, public and private studies show that the poor as a group are worse off today than they were in 1981. The plague of poverty has created a sizable underclass in the population, especially in our large urban areas. If we continue to ignore issues of educational, employment, and housing opportunity, the problems engendered by our neglect could endanger the stability and prosperity of our nation.

One of the worst consequences of the Reagan-Bush presidencies was a virtual takeover of the federal judiciary. Indeed, presidents Reagan and Bush appointed approximately two-thirds of the current federal judiciary. They used these appointments to name a large number of judges who were unsympathetic to the rights and interests of minorities, women, and the poor. There is no question that it is now much more difficult for victims of discrimination to get into court, to prove discrimination once they are in court, and to obtain effective remedies if they are able to prove discrimination.

While the Rehnquist-Scalia-Thomas wing of the Supreme Court commands enough support to erode well established civil rights precedents, it appears that they do not have the votes to overturn them. With a bit of luck, the right-wing influence on the court may have peaked during 1992 and the Court may start moving in a more progressive direction.

#### D. The LCCR Agenda For The 103rd Congress

With two branches of government once again controlled by progressives committed to equality of opportunity, we are confident that civil rights initiatives will continue to be successful.

##### 1. Legislative Agenda

###### a. Anti-Discrimination Measures

Priorities include the "Moter Voter" Bill, the Equal Remedies Act, the Justice for Wards Cove Workers Act, the Voting Rights Extension Act (legislation to overturn Supreme Court decision which weakened section 5 of the Voting Rights Act), legislation to prohibit discrimination against gays and lesbians, and the New Columbia Admissions Act.

###### b. Equal Economic Opportunity Issues

The Leadership Conference especially looks forward to working with Congress and the Clinton Administration in addressing economic opportunity issues, including health care reform; affordable housing;

economic security, particularly for women and children; child care; Head Start and other early educational opportunities; and economic empowerment issues, especially in the inner cities.

Economic opportunity is an area where there could be considerable common ground, not only between the civil rights community and the Administration, but also between the civil rights community and the business community, and even between the civil rights community and the "economic empowerment" wing of the Republican Party.

2. Executive Branch Enforcement of Civil Rights Laws

In addition to supporting legislation addressing economic opportunity issues and anti-discrimination measures, we believe that the Clinton Administration will fully and effectively enforce the civil rights laws presently on the books, including the spate of legislation enacted over the last several years.

But most importantly, we believe that President Clinton will also vigorously use the presidency as a bully pulpit to call for racial reconciliation and to exert moral leadership on behalf of equal opportunity issues, explaining why civil rights laws were enacted in the first place, why they are still needed, and why they benefit all Americans.

Lessons To Be Learned  
By Ralph G. Neas  
Executive Director  
Leadership Conference on Civil Rights  
4-11-94

Amidst the tumult of the past several weeks, there were two events that should have received more attention. Indeed, the successive announcements by Representatives Don Edwards and Hamilton Fish, senior members of the House Judiciary Committee, that they will retire at the end of 1994, were stunning. Their retirements will profoundly affect the House of Representatives and will certainly diminish the quality of legislative life on Capitol Hill.

The departures of Mr. Fish and Mr. Edwards from the House of Representatives in many ways will mark the end of a congressional era. Most importantly, Democrat Edwards and Republican Fish have been the managing partners of an historic bipartisan congressional coalition on civil rights. Together they have put together a legislative record that is legendary in its scope and breadth.

Virtually every civil rights law enacted over the past three decades bears their imprint. Even during the Reagan-Bush presidencies, when they faced an Executive Branch and a Judiciary Branch hostile to civil rights, Mr. Edwards and Mr. Fish managed to shepherd almost a score of civil rights laws through Congress and to overturn a dozen Supreme Court decisions which had

undermined our civil rights laws.

Among the most notable recent achievements were the Americans with Disabilities Act, the Civil Rights Act of 1991, the Fair Housing Act Amendments of 1988, the Civil Rights Restoration Act, the Japanese-American Redress Act, and the 1982 Voting Rights Act Extension. Because of their tireless efforts, millions of Americans have been given an equal opportunity in the areas of education, employment, voting, and housing.

Just as important, Representatives Fish and Edwards have made sure that legislative measures which would have undermined the Constitution were never enacted. Our nation has never had more able guardians of the Constitution.

But their colleagues in Congress and their supporters around the country will miss more than just their grasp of the substantive issues, their understanding of the legislative process, and their successful legislative strategies. For legislative skills alone do not account for why they have been so effective in the House of Representatives for so long. In fact, their other attributes are what truly sets them apart, providing standards of leadership that should serve as a model for everyone. And we need such standards now more than ever.

First, Mr. Edwards and Mr. Fish have always understood thoroughly the need for bipartisanship. They know how to build coalitions and forge a consensus. They know the art of the timely compromise. The numerical results of their victories amply demonstrate this commitment to bipartisanship. During the past fifteen years, almost all their bills garnered at least 70%

majorities and most of the time 90% majorities - an incredible record in any era.

Together, Don Edwards and Ham Fish have ensured that history will remember this past decade, at least legislatively, for its bipartisan reaffirmation of civil rights laws and remedies and a bipartisan rejection of a rightwing legal philosophy.

Second, while Mr. Fish and Mr. Edwards are passionate in their beliefs, they cherish civility. Their characteristic courteousness enables them to work well with everyone. Few in Washington can match their ability to command both the respect and the love of their peers. They are nice guys who have finished first time and again.

Third, Ham Fish and Don Edwards revere the institution in which they serve. They want to make the House of Representatives work. And while the House commands their primary allegiance, they also respect the other institutions that comprise the Federal Government. When the need arises they can be fierce partisans, but they also know that cooperation not confrontation must ultimately prevail if the complex machinery of government is to function at all.

Finally, and perhaps most significantly, Don Edwards and Ham Fish are courageous. They do what is fair and just, irrespective of what might be the ephemeral popular majority. Many times we have witnessed them standing up not only to their opponents on civil rights legislation, but also to the leaders of their own parties on matters of conscience.

Bipartisanship, civility, respect for the institutions of government, and courage are precisely the qualities that must be emulated if we as a nation are to resolve successfully the enormous problems that confront us. Without them, health care and all other types of comprehensive and needed reform will not have a chance of enactment. Don Edwards and Ham Fish may depart from the corridors of Congress next year, but we can make sure they never really leave by embracing the lessons they have so generously shared with us over the years.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT OF THE PRESIDENT

22-Apr-1994 10:48am

TO: FAX (9-395-7294, Mac Reed)  
FROM: Carol H. Rasco  
Economic and Domestic Policy  
SUBJECT: Memorandum on Civil Rights Working Group

TO: Mac Reed  
OMB  
FROM: Carol H. Rasco  
Assistant to the President for Domestic Policy  
SUBJ: "Civil Rights Working Group" memorandum  
DATE: April 22, 1994

I have received the above named memorandum and have the same questions I raised earlier when it was distributed.

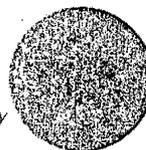
1. I find it puzzling why the Director of OMB is one of two chairs of this group. When I asked that question following the previous distribution I was told by OMB it was strictly because his presence would make agencies cooperate out of fear. I still question if this is the appropriate rationale for determining the leadership for this important group.

2. The memorandum states the group will be under the auspices of the Domestic Policy Council. When I asked previously what that meant in actuality since I had not been a part of the drafting process, I was told it could be taken out...I explained I was not asking that it be taken out, I simply wanted to know what it meant. I was then told it was done to keep Domestic Policy staff happy...we are delighted the group is being formed, simply puzzled with the answer given us and are still interested in understanding what "under the auspices" means.

Thank you.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
OFFICE OF DOMESTIC POLICY

**CAROL H. RASCO**  
*Assistant to the President for Domestic Policy*



To: \_\_\_\_\_

Draft response for POTUS  
and forward to CHR by: \_\_\_\_\_

Draft response for CHR by: \_\_\_\_\_

Please reply directly to the writer  
(copy to CHR) by: \_\_\_\_\_

Please advise by: \_\_\_\_\_

Let's discuss: \_\_\_\_\_

For your information: \_\_\_\_\_

Reply using form code: \_\_\_\_\_

File: \_\_\_\_\_

Send copy to (original to CHR): \_\_\_\_\_

Schedule ? :  Accept  Pending  Regret

Designee to attend: \_\_\_\_\_

Remarks: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT  
OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

April 19, 1994

APR 20 REC'D

MEMORANDUM FOR DESIGNATED AGENCY HEADS  
(SEE ATTACHED DISTRIBUTION LIST)

FROM: Robert G. Damus <sup>RGD</sup>  
General Counsel

SUBJECT: Proposed Memorandum Entitled "Civil Rights Working  
Group" and a press release

Attached are a proposed memorandum entitled "Civil Rights Working Group," and a press release that were prepared by this office. In January of this year, the memorandum was cleared by OMB through its interagency staffing process.

On behalf of the Director of the Office of Management and Budget, I would appreciate receiving any comments you may have concerning these proposals. If you have any comments or objections, they should be received no later than close of business, Friday, April 22, 1994. Please be advised that agencies that do not respond by the April 22, 1994, deadline will be recorded as not objecting to the proposal.

Comments or inquiries may be submitted by telephone to Mr. Mac Reed of this office (Phone: 395-3563; Fax: 395-7294).

Thank you.

Attachments - Distribution List  
Proposed Memorandum  
Press Release

cc: Alice Rivlin  
Chris Edley  
Gordon Adams  
John Angell  
Martha Foley  
T.J. Glauthier  
Joe Minarik  
Isabelle Sawhill  
Nancy-Ann Min  
Sally Katzen  
Steve Kelman  
Barry Toiv  
Jodie Torkelson

## DISTRIBUTION LIST

Honorable Janet Reno  
United States Attorney General

Honorable Carol Rasco  
Assistant to the President for  
Domestic Policy  
Office of Policy Development

Honorable Robert Rubin  
Assistant to the President for  
Economic Policy  
National Economic Council

Honorable Anthony Lake  
Assistant to the President for  
National Security Affairs

Honorable Lloyd Cutler  
Counsel to the President

Honorable John Podesta  
Assistant to the President  
and Staff Secretary

Honorable Jack Quinn  
Chief of Staff to the Vice President

**DRAFT**

April 15, 1994

**MEMORANDUM FOR HEADS OF EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES**

**SUBJECT: CIVIL RIGHTS WORKING GROUP**

I am writing to you about our responsibility to promote equal opportunity for all Americans. We have accomplished much in our pursuit of a society in which all our people can achieve their God-given potential. But we still have a long way to go.

Americans believe that, in spite of our differences of race and religion and national origin, there is in all of us a common core of humanity that obliges us to respect one another and to live in harmony and peace. We must build on this belief and give real meaning to civil rights by tearing down the all remaining barriers to equal opportunity -- in education, employment, housing, and every area of American life.

Throughout the nation, each of us must bring new energy to our efforts to promote an open and inclusive society. Those of us who are public servants have a special obligation. At the Federal level, we will do this by re-evaluating the civil rights missions, policies, and resources of every agency, so that they carry out their missions in a manner consistent with the Administration's commitment to equal opportunity. In reviewing our activities, we must seek not only to eliminate barriers to

equal access and opportunity, but also to identify opportunities for innovation. No Federal office should be exempt from the obligation to further the struggle for civil rights. And every state and local government should be encouraged to do the same.

On January 17, 1994, I issued an Executive Order establishing a Fair Housing Council to be chaired by the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development. Working across agencies and programs, this Council will bring new focus and leadership to the administration of the Federal Government's fair housing programs. On February 11, 1994, I issued an Executive Order directing agencies to develop strategies to identify, analyze and address environmental inequities that are the result of Federal policies. That order will increase public participation in the environmental decision-making process.

In addition to these efforts, I believe more can be done to exercise leadership for civil rights enforcement. That is why I hereby establish a Civil Rights Working Group, under the auspices of the Domestic Policy Council, to evaluate and improve the effectiveness of Federal civil rights enforcement missions and policies. The Civil Rights Working Group will identify barriers to equal access, impediments to effective enforcement of the law, and effective strategies to promote tolerance and understanding in our communities and work places. Most important, I expect the Working Group to develop new approaches to address these concerns.

The principal focus of the Working Group will be our civil rights enforcement efforts. We must recognize, however, that public and private enforcement resources will never be fully adequate to the task, and all of the remaining obstacles to opportunity cannot be removed through litigation alone. Therefore, I direct the Working Group to identify innovative strategies that can leverage our limited resources to provide new avenues for equal opportunity and equal rights. Among those potential strategies are new measures relying on civic education and voluntary efforts to engage citizens in overcoming the effects of past discrimination. These new strategies should be designed to complement our improved and reinvigorated enforcement efforts.

The Attorney General and the Director of the Office of Management and Budget will co-chair the Working Group. The following Administration officials will serve as members: the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of Commerce, the Secretary of Agriculture, the Secretary of the Interior, the Secretary of Education, the Secretary of Health and Human Services, the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, the Secretary of Labor, the Secretary of Transportation, the Secretary of the Veterans Affairs, the Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, and the Chair of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. I also have invited the Chair of the Commission on Civil Rights to participate in this crucial endeavor on an informal basis, respecting the independent and

critical voice we expect of that Commission. Finally, this membership list is not exclusive. I invite and encourage all Cabinet officers and agency heads to participate in the Working Group.

The Working Group will advise appropriate Administration officials and me on how we might modify Federal laws and policies to strengthen protection under the laws and on how to improve coordination of the vast array of Federal programs that directly or indirectly affect civil rights. I direct the Working Group to provide the Cabinet and me with a brief progress report no less than every six months, and specifically to:

- (a) examine each Federal agency with a significant civil rights mission and provide me with an evaluation of how well that mission is being implemented. These analyses should examine whether each agency uses the experience gained from enforcement activities of other agencies and other levels of government. Counterproductive and inconsistent practices should be identified and proposals for change recommended;
- (b) examine cross-cutting civil rights law enforcement challenges such as voting rights and equal access to government benefit programs and identify innovative means of coordinating and leveraging resources;

- (c) develop better measures of performance for Federal civil rights enforcement programs, taking into account the real impact of programs on the daily lives of all Americans; and
- (d) support and advise all agencies as we reinvent our strategies for the promotion of an open and inclusive society.

With this interagency effort, I underscore the commitment of this Administration to bring new energy and imagination to the opportunity agenda. In departments and agencies throughout the Federal Government, this work is already well underway. The Working Group will provide a mechanism to expand and accelerate that vital work. Their work will be among our greatest contributions to the people we serve.

**Draft Press Release****PRESIDENT CLINTON ESTABLISHES  
CIVIL RIGHTS WORKING GROUP**

President Clinton today signed a memorandum for the heads of executive departments and agencies establishing an interagency working group to evaluate and improve the effectiveness of the Federal government's civil rights enforcement missions and policies.

The memorandum directs the cabinet level working group to identify barriers to equal access, impediments to effective enforcement of the law, effective strategies to promote tolerance and understanding in communities and work places, and collaboratively develop new approaches that address these concerns.

President Clinton said, "Throughout the nation, each of us must bring new energy to our efforts to promote an open and inclusive society. At the Federal level, we will do this by re-evaluating the civil rights missions, policies and resources of every agency. We must seek not only to eliminate barriers to equal access and opportunity but also identify opportunities for innovation."

The working group will be co-chaired by the Attorney General and the Director of the Office of Management and Budget and will focus on the following:

- examine the missions of significant civil rights agencies and evaluate the effectiveness of how those missions are being implemented;
- review cross-cutting civil rights law enforcement challenges and identify innovative means of coordinating and leveraging resources;
- develop better civil rights enforcement performance measures; and
- provide support to agencies as they reinvent strategies to promote a more open and inclusive society.



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT  
OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

FAX TRANSMISSION

TO:

Non. Carol Raso

AGENCY/DEPT:

OPD

ROOM NO./BLDG.

\_\_\_\_\_

TELEPHONE:

6-22110

FAX NUMBER

6-2878

FROM:

Mar Reed

Office of the General Counsel

TELEPHONE NO.: (202) 395-5600

FAX NUMBER NO.: (202) 395-7294

DATE:

4-20-94

NO. OF PAGES (including cover):

9

MAY - 6 REC'D

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 6, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR BOB RUBIN

FROM: PAUL DIMOND, ELLEN SEIDMAN, PAUL WEINSTEIN

SUBJECT: CRA REGULATIONS

Gene Ludwig has done a first-rate job in keeping industry and the community/civil rights groups on the same page. Indications are that there are trade-offs on the last details of the regs that will be supported by all sides. The linchpin of these tradeoffs is the collection of information on small business loans with respect to race and gender, much as HMDA now requires for home mortgages. Gene believes he must have White House support to overcome the Fed's resistance and complete CRA reform in an expeditious manner.

The Fed has raised three concerns about the collection of this data: it may lead to "balkanization" of credit by race and sex; it may lead potential borrowers to lie about their ownership or otherwise obtain figureheads to put on their boards; and it might lead to unnecessary paperwork. These concerns are not supported by the actual facts.

**First**, the experience with the HMDA disclosure is that it revealed market niches that were not being served. Many regulated (and unregulated) financial institutions -- and Fannie Mae -- moved entrepreneurially to fill these gaps, on a safe and sound basis. The disclosure of home mortgage information has been a triumph for markets and free enterprise, and it poses no threat of credit allocation by race. Data on small business lending will lead to the same result: disclosure of market niches that some regulated and unregulated financial institutions will move to fill.

**Second**, although there is always the possibility of fronting or otherwise lying about ownership to make the statistics look good, there is considerably less incentive to do so here than in allocating scarce license (e.g., FCC, SSBIC). The stakes are not high enough in any single loan for borrower or lender in the small business loan: there are many sources, there is not a limited pool, and there is potential for expanding rather than allocating credit when all sources are considered. Moreover, several instances of "miscoding" of HMDA data by lenders have been publicized and banks properly called to account: analysis of disclosed information provides a further deterrent to such misconduct.

**Finally**, the paperwork burden of small business loans is minuscule compared to that already required by home mortgage disclosure because there are so many fewer small business loan requests. Indeed, the trade-offs that Gene is orchestrating include greater offsetting reductions in paperwork; and the major banks have already signalled to Gene that they are willing to accept the proposed trade-offs for this reason, as well.

Gene's proposed tradeoffs are the key to delivering a CRA reform that will garner the support of community groups, the banking industry, and Congress. We recommend full White House support for Gene in pushing this ball into the end zone.

cc: Carol Rasco

→ Panetta receipt confirmed  
by Sandy

→ Reno receipt confirmed by Roxie  
Helene Greenfield 6860  
514

edit, list my title, print on letterhead and fax to these two early on Thursday, please check to make sure their offices get this fax.

Further, if you have not heard from their offices by mid morning next Monday in response to my inquiry of them, please call them to get some feedback. Once you have heard from them, please have Pat call the appropriate offices to set up the meeting. This is all a priority unless Panetta and Reno or some other entity shuts it down. Please keep me posted. I need a cc for my meeting on Thursday afternoon with Donsia and group.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 16, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR ATTORNEY GENERAL JANET RENO  
OMB DIRECTOR LEON PANETTA

FROM: Carol H. Rasco *CHR*  
Assistant to the President for Domestic Policy

SUBJECT: Civil Rights Working Group

It is my understanding that the President will soon issue a long circulated memorandum on establishing a Civil Rights Working Group under the auspices of the Domestic Policy Council. In order to have the group "up and running" as quickly as possible after the memorandum is issued, I propose we meet soon to discuss the work ahead.

Will you please have your office call my assistant, Rosalyn Miller, at 456-2249 with your feeling as to whether the three of us should meet initially with the staff we will each appoint to work on this task, or shall I simply meet with your designated staff to begin the work? As soon as we hear from you, we will work quickly to set a meeting.

Thank you.

*file*

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 16, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR ATTORNEY GENERAL JANET RENO  
OMB DIRECTOR LEON PANETTA

FROM: Carol H. Rasco *CHR*  
Assistant to the President for Domestic Policy

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Thank you.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

FAX COVER SHEET

OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR DOMESTIC POLICY  
SECOND FLOOR, WEST WING  
THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON, DC 20500  
(202)456-2216 PHONE  
(202)456-2878 FAX

TO: Attorney General Reno / Attn: Roxie Lopez  
FAX #: 514-0468  
FROM: CAROL H. BASCO  
DATE: 6/16/94  
NUMBER OF PAGES (including cover sheet): 2  
COMMENTS:

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Roxie Miller at (202)456-2216.

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File: Congress

JUL 11 REC'D

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 7, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR CAROL RASCO

FROM: SUSAN BROPHY *SB*  
LEGISLATIVE AFFAIRS

SUBJECT: Presidential Correspondence

Enclosed please find a copy of the letter that was sent to the President from several members of Congress.

The President has requested that he see and sign every letter being sent to Capitol Hill. Since we did not want to respond to this letter without your guidance, I am requesting that your office draft a response and return it to LeeAnn Inadomi (WH-East Wing) **within 48 hours**. She will then print the letter in final form and have it sent to the President for his signature.

Thank you very much for your assistance with this matter. If you have any questions, please feel free to call LeeAnn at 456-7500.

Enclosure

*Attached*

*Sent to LeeAnn  
7/22*

José E. Serrano (D-NY)  
Chairman

Lucille Roybal-Allard (D-CA)  
Vice-Chair

Ed Pastor (D-AZ)  
Secretary-Treasurer



**Congress of the United States**  
**Congressional Hispanic Caucus**  
103rd Congress

E (Kika) de la Garza (D-TX)  
Ron de Lugo (D-VI)  
Solomon P. Ortiz (D-TX)  
Bill Richardson (D-NM)  
Esteban E. Torres (D-CA)  
Ileana Ros-Lehtinen (R-FL)  
Xavier Becerra (D-CA)  
Henry Bonilla (R-TX)  
Luis L. Diaz-Balart (R-FL) 33  
Luis Gutierrez (D-IL)  
Robert Menendez (D-NJ)  
Carlos Romero-Barceló (D-PR)  
Frank Tejeda (D-TX)  
Nydia Velázquez (D-NY)  
Robert Underwood (D-Guam)

Richard V. López  
Executive Director

June 13, 1994

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

Dear Mr. President:

As Members of the Congressional Hispanic Caucus, we support real welfare reform that will place low-income families on the path toward self-sufficiency. We strongly believe that welfare reform cannot serve that noble purpose if approached as a measure to attack legal immigrants.

In this regard, we must express our deep concern about the welfare reform proposal which the Administration plans to introduce. It is our understanding that the plan will retain essentially the same elements that were outlined in previous Working Group documents and in recent press accounts, including the two-year limit. We support the Administration's goal of providing improved education, job training, child care and child support enforcement. However, the Congressional Hispanic Caucus will actively oppose those provisions harmful to the goal of self-sufficiency of low-income Hispanics and other Americans.

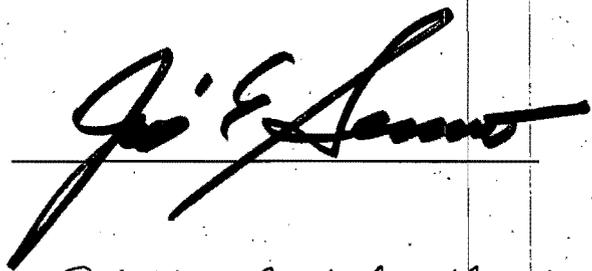
One of the main reasons that we cannot support several of the provisions in your proposal lies in the attack on programs that serve the poor, namely SSI, Food Stamps, AFDC, and emergency assistance. Changes to the deeming requirements for SSI, Food Stamp, and AFDC benefits for legal immigrants would significantly reduce the level of benefits to a group of people who have come to this country legally. The people we are talking about--often elderly, blind and disabled--are people whom we welcomed to this country and people who pay taxes into a system that seems determined to punish them for not being born in the United States.

Also, reductions in the Emergency Assistance program, which helps to keep families from being homeless, would significantly impact our inner cities.

Honorable William J. Clinton  
Page 2  
June 13, 1994

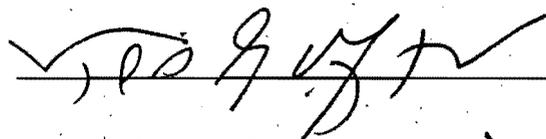
Furthermore, we are concerned about the effects of the education training, and job creation proposals on Latinos. Our communities will greatly benefit from increased education and training opportunities. However, we must provide opportunities for education and training beyond the high school level and placement into jobs that provide a living wage and benefits. We are not convinced that the Administration's proposal can guarantee the number of jobs even for its target population.

Sincerely,

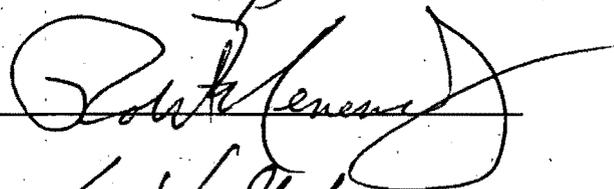




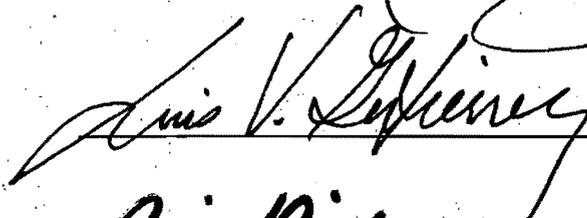


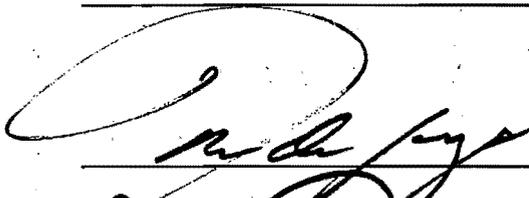






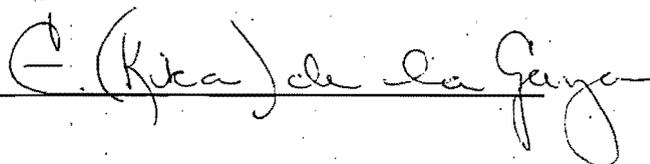












cc: Bruce Reed  
David Ellwood  
Mary Jo Bane  
Janet Murguia  
Susanna Valdez

THE WHITE HOUSE  
OFFICE OF DOMESTIC POLICY

CAROL H. RASCO  
Assistant to the President for Domestic Policy

JUL 15 REC'D

To: Bruce Reed

Draft response for POTUS  
and forward to CHR by: 7-18-94

Draft response for CHR by: \_\_\_\_\_

Please reply directly to the writer  
(copy to CHR) by: \_\_\_\_\_

Please advise by: \_\_\_\_\_

Let's discuss: \_\_\_\_\_

For your information: \_\_\_\_\_

Reply using form code: \_\_\_\_\_

File: \_\_\_\_\_

Send copy to (original to CHR): \_\_\_\_\_

Schedule?:  Accept  Pending  Regret

Designee to attend: \_\_\_\_\_

Remarks: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

July 20, 1994

COPY

The Honorable (Congressman's name)  
U.S. House of Representatives  
Washington, DC 20515

Dear (Congressman's name),

Thank you for your thoughtful letter on welfare reform. As you know, the current welfare system is decried by taxpayers but hated most by the very people who must turn to it for assistance. Your call for a system which places low-income families on the path to self-sufficiency is the centerpiece of our welfare reform plan, the Work and Responsibility Act of 1994.

The purpose of welfare reform is to empower people, not punish them. As I have said repeatedly, I oppose the financing provisions of the House Republican welfare reform bill, H.R. 3500, which would terminate all means-tested benefits for noncitizens, including those who have no other source of support and those who have spent many years in this country working and paying taxes. Such an across-the-board measure would deny basic health coverage to thousands of families and shift an enormous budgetary burden to the states.

My Administration worked to make our proposed financing package balanced, fair and equitable. In a time of severe budget constraints, we broadly sought possible spending cuts and developed a package based on legitimate reforms that make sound policy sense. Our proposal makes permanent the current provisions that hold family members financially responsible for those they sponsor to come to the United States for five years after their arrival. Additionally, for those sponsor families with an income above the median (currently \$40,000), immigrants they sponsor will be ineligible for benefits until they obtain citizenship. One other proposed savings about which you expressed concern, the Emergency Assistance program, is not an absolute cut but rather a cap on future growth, which will ensure that the dollars allocated for the program will be used to meet its intended purpose.

There is so much we can agree on. I was glad to hear of your support for our plan's provisions on improved education, job training, child care and child support enforcement. Furthermore, I agree with your strong emphasis on making work pay. We took a giant step in that direction last year by expanding the Earned Income Tax Credit, and I hope we will continue this year by passing universal health care coverage and more funds for child care for the working poor.

We hope these steps and general program flexibility will encourage private sector job creation. We have provided adequate funds in our plan to support the creation of 400,000 subsidized jobs by the year 2000 in order to meet the projected need. If for some unforeseen reason sufficient jobs are not available, recipients who have played by the rules will not be abandoned.

I look forward to working with you to address any other concerns you might have as we reform a broken welfare system. In the cooperative spirit of your letter, let's work together to fix it.

Sincerely,

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 4, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HEADS OF EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES

SUBJECT: Civil Rights Working Group

I am writing to you about our responsibility to promote equal opportunity for all Americans. We have accomplished much in our pursuit of a society in which all our people can achieve their God-given potential. But we still have a long way to go.

Americans believe that in spite of our differences, there is in all of us a common core of humanity that obliges us to respect one another and to live in harmony and peace. We must build on this belief and give real meaning to civil rights by tearing down all remaining barriers to equal opportunity -- in education, employment, housing, and every area of American life.

Throughout the Nation, each of us must bring new energy to our efforts to promote an open and inclusive society. Those of us who are public servants have a special obligation. At the Federal level, we will do this by re-evaluating the civil rights missions, policies, and resources of every agency, so that they carry out their missions in a manner consistent with the Administration's commitment to equal opportunity. In reviewing our activities, we must seek not only to eliminate barriers to equal access and opportunity, but also to identify opportunities for innovation. No Federal office should be exempt from the obligation to further the struggle for civil rights. And every State and local government should be encouraged to do the same.

On January 17, 1994, I issued an Executive order establishing a President's Fair Housing Council to be chaired by the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development. Working across agencies and programs, this Council will bring new focus and leadership to the administration of the Federal Government's fair housing programs. On February 11, 1994, I issued an Executive order directing agencies to develop strategies to identify, analyze, and address environmental inequities that are the result of Federal policies. That order will increase public participation in the environmental decision-making process.

In addition to these efforts, I believe more can be done to exercise leadership for civil rights enforcement. That is why I hereby establish a Civil Rights Working Group, under the auspices of the Domestic Policy Council, to evaluate and improve the effectiveness of Federal civil rights enforcement missions and policies. The Civil Rights Working Group will identify barriers to equal access, impediments to effective enforcement of the law, and effective strategies to promote tolerance and understanding in our communities and workplaces. Most important, I expect the Working Group to develop new approaches to address these issues.

The principal focus of the Working Group will be our civil rights enforcement efforts. We must recognize, however, that public and private enforcement resources will never be fully adequate to the task, and all of the remaining obstacles to opportunity cannot be removed through litigation alone. Therefore, I direct the Working Group to identify innovative strategies that can leverage our limited resources to provide new avenues for equal opportunity and equal rights. Among those potential strategies are new measures relying on civic education and voluntary efforts to engage citizens in overcoming the effects of past discrimination. These new strategies should be designed to complement our improved and reinvigorated enforcement efforts.

The Attorney General and the Director of the Office of Management and Budget will co-chair the Working Group. The following Administration officials will serve as members: the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of Commerce, the Secretary of Agriculture, the Secretary of the Interior, the Secretary of Education, the Secretary of Health and Human Services, the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, the Secretary of Labor, the Secretary of Transportation, the Secretary of Veterans Affairs, the Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, the Chair of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, the Assistant to the President for Economic Policy, the Assistant to the President for Domestic Policy, and the Assistant to the President and Director of Public Liaison. I also have invited the Chairperson of the Commission on Civil Rights to participate in this crucial endeavor on an informal basis, respecting the independent and critical voice we expect of that Commission. Finally, this membership list is not exclusive. I invite and encourage all Cabinet officers and agency heads to participate in the Working Group.

The Working Group will advise appropriate Administration officials and me on how we might modify Federal laws and policies to strengthen protection under the laws and on how to improve coordination of the vast array of Federal programs that directly or indirectly affect civil rights. I direct the Working Group to provide the Cabinet and me with a brief progress report no less than every 6 months, and specifically to:

- (a) examine each Federal agency with a significant civil rights mission and provide me with an evaluation of how well that mission is being implemented. These analyses should examine whether each agency uses the experience gained from enforcement activities of other agencies and other levels of government. Counterproductive and inconsistent practices should be identified and proposals for change recommended;
- (b) examine cross-cutting civil rights law enforcement challenges such as voting rights and equal access to government benefit programs and identify innovative means of coordinating and leveraging resources;
- (c) develop better measures of performance for Federal civil rights enforcement programs, taking into account the real impact of programs on the daily lives of all Americans; and
- (d) support and advise all agencies as we reinvent our strategies for the promotion of an open and inclusive society.

With this interagency effort, I underscore the commitment of this Administration to bring new energy and imagination to the opportunity agenda. In departments and agencies throughout the Federal Government, this work is already well underway. The Working Group will provide a mechanism to expand and accelerate that vital work. Its work will be among our greatest contributions to the people we serve.

*William S. Clinton*