

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Christopher Edley to Colleagues re: Draft Memorandum on the President's Race Report (19 pages)	09/04/98	P5
002. report	DPC Race Initiative Proposals (4 pages)	10/18/97	P5

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 Domestic Policy Council
 Cynthia Rice (Subject Files)
 OA/Box Number: 15431

FOLDER TITLE:

Race Initiatives

rx58

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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

Race Initiative

PART III: THE OPPORTUNITY WE DESERVE

[Introduction to Part III]
[Section 1, Education]

...

2. COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND JOBS:
HARNESSING MARKETS FOR DISTRESSED COMMUNITIES

A. INTRODUCTION

In December of 1997, I paid a visit to an area of the South Bronx that had once been close to the economic equivalent of a third world country: the people living there were under-employed and under-housed and the financial community had traditionally under-invested in them. When President Reagan visited the area in the 1980, he compared it to London in the Blitz. For many it seemed like a community beyond hope or repair.

The transformation I saw two years ago was remarkable. The South Bronx had gone from decay and chaos to development and pride; from a fragmented collection of individuals struggling to survive to a cohesive community of citizens, working to build a better life for everyone. It was the kind of meeting that made me proud to be president and even prouder to be an American.

How did it happen? The people of the South Bronx simply shattered the conventional wisdom about the poor, and they worked hard to create economic opportunity, fueled by partnerships between the public and private sectors. They began by asking the right questions: "Why shouldn't I be able to work in my hometown? Why shouldn't people be able to get decent housing? Why shouldn't our children be able to walk the streets here? Why shouldn't we have decent schools here?" Over time, they got the right answers. Their story demonstrates something I have always believed in my heart. Most Americans--rich, poor or middle class--are brimming with initiative and desire to take responsibility and work hard.

But they need what I call the tools of opportunity—these include access to credit, capital and jobs. The people of the South Bronx did not do it on their own. They requested and received help from a number of sources, including local and federal programs, financial institutions, and technical assistance providers, and linked that assistance to their own sweat equity. Without a critical level of credit and financing,

To: Cynthia
Paul
From: Andrea
March 29, 1999
A few comments,
but this is still
missing the
employment
section so we may
have more to
say then.
Paul, you may
have more
substantive feedback
on the housing/finance
stuff.

— did the bits of above include a meeting? The reference is unclear.

however, all their efforts would have been in vain.

One of the big lessons of the Great Depression was that the markets were not working well in the housing field. Although we realized that home ownership was a cornerstone of the American Dream, that dream was out of reach for too many of our people. For those old enough to remember, only about 40 percent of all Americans owned their own homes in 1940. Anyone who has read or seen *The Grapes of Wrath* remembers the tragedy of the Dust Bowl and homeowners unable to refinance when their five-year mortgages came due. This was also true for those living in cities, on Indian reservations, and in other invisibly poor communities. America created a number of major Federally financed innovations during the Depression to help overcome this tragedy. The Federal Housing Administration was created to help provide low-cost, easily financed long-term home mortgages—the FHA program. We created the thirty-year mortgages that made it possible for millions more Americans to own their home. The Home Loan Bank System was also created in response to that devastating time and to help more people keep their homes by providing financial support for local banks that were making mortgage loans. And other new institutions have grown up, both public and private, to create vast new financial markets with mechanisms that pull the creativity and resources of Wall Street into housing for our people. Today, roughly two-thirds of all households, compared with 40 percent in 1940, own their own homes, and millions more see the goal of home ownership within their reach. This is a great American success story, and it has been great news for communities because home ownership provides social and economic anchors not just for families, but for neighborhoods.

But there is a different story being played out in many minority communities. When it comes to buying a home in America, race appears to matter. A recent HUD analysis reveals that while 73 percent of all white families own their home only roughly 45 percent of Hispanic and African Americans are that lucky. And it isn't because they don't want to or don't try. We must turn this around.

Moreover, the problem is far broader than the failure of housing markets to work well in these communities. The markets also fail to draw needed investment capital to fuel businesses and job creation, and they fail to provide the personal financial services—from checking counts to insurance to micro-lending for entrepreneurs—that can be the gateways to economic mobility security.

The truth is that today, whole communities, long cut off from America's opportunity, are starting to come back. Jesse Jackson has called access to capital the fourth movement of America's "freedom symphony" (ending slavery, Jim Crow, and disenfranchisement were the first three.¹ But simply having freedom or rights without the tools and resources to act on them is a cruel hoax. It is morally wrong, during the greatest peacetime expansion in American history, for poor African American, Hispanic, Asian

and Native American families to still be on the outside looking in.

I believe we need a bold and comprehensive vision to give them a chance to succeed. Most fundamentally, since so many of these distressed communities are communities of color, we must overcome the fears and stereotypes about race and poverty that have kept lenders and investors from giving these communities a hand up. In addition, however, we should do for financial markets in our distressed communities what we began doing for housing markets in decades past. We must face the challenge of harnessing the full power of markets to bring development and opportunity to our neediest communities, just as our nation invented the institutions, incentives and market structures to transform housing and home ownership into a central part of America's dream.

B. A NATIONAL COMMUNITY INVESTMENT SYSTEM

Today, the United States has a financial system that is the broadest, deepest, and most innovative in the world. Yet there is still a shortage of capital for jobs and homes in inner cities and distressed rural communities. And minority borrowers—whether they be American Indian, Vietnamese, Puerto Rican, or African American—are still less likely than similarly situated white applicants to obtain a home mortgage loan, or to get financing to start a small business. That is not right, either for the individuals involved, or for our country. Just think of the reduced social costs, the increased productivity, the lives saved, if we can bring these communities and their residents fully into our economic mainstream. I firmly believe that we will never reach our full economic and moral potential as a nation unless and until we deal with these problems.

Some Components of the Housing System

- *FHA* (Federal Housing Administration) provides government-subsidized mortgage insurance for the low and moderate priced market; the insurance provides some protection for lenders against default by the home owner.
- *Federal Home Loan Bank System* was chartered by Congress to provide financial help for community banks, making it easier for them to raise the cash to participate in the mortgage-lending business.
- *FNMA* (Federal National Mortgage Agency, or "Fannie Mae"), chartered by Congress to create a so-called "secondary market" to bring private capital into the mortgage market, replenishes bank reserves that would otherwise be tied up in long-term mortgages.
- Mortgage interest rate deduction helps make home ownership more affordable by reducing the after-tax cost of borrowing.
- Low Income Housing Tax Credit provides a tax credit for investors to encourage construction of affordable housing.
- The Community Reinvestment Act (CRA) requires banks and other depository institutions to keep records and do minimal levels of lending in needy communities within their territory.
- Antidiscrimination laws and regulations, both federal and state, combine with CRA to improve fairness in access to credit.

Beginning in the Great Depression, we set out to make the dream of home ownership a reality for millions of Americans by creating a set of interrelated institutions and policies, from the FHA to Fannie Mae, and from special tax breaks we now take for granted to antidiscrimination regulations. (See the text box describing some of these.) These policies played a major role in creating and sustaining the middle class. Despite all the problems that remain in bringing housing to all who need it, the private-public framework of housing policy, started over fifty years ago, represents a magnificent chapter in the evolution of social and economic policy.

Now, however, we need comparable imagination and boldness to create a **National Community Investment System**. We can create a system not only to help increase home ownership and support the construction of affordable housing, but also to expand community development and bring the economic mainstream flowing to neighborhoods that have been left high and dry behind long-standing dams of segregation, discrimination and even hopelessness. The dams have been crumbling, but the years ahead must bring them completely down. The markets of the economic mainstream, if harnessed effectively, can bring a flood of empowerment, entrepreneurialism and jobs. I think it is a crucial component of our workplan to build One America.

The private sector has a role to play, for as Robert Kennedy once said, "To ignore the potential contribution of private enterprise is to fight the war on poverty with a single platoon while great armies are left to stand aside."² We need to unleash the power of mainstream financial markets, **linked to effective non-profit partners**, so that people in distressed communities have a chance to get loans that will allow them to start good businesses, build and buy decent homes, and raise their families in dignity. As I have said on many occasions, there needs to be a new partnership between Washington and communities and individuals of this country—there needs to be a way of doing business at *all* levels of government that creates the conditions for people to seize opportunities for themselves. We have embarked on an empowerment strategy to help restore the American Dream in distressed areas by focusing on helping people help themselves. That is what our new **National Community Investment System** would do by combining existing ideas and resources with new initiatives to spur growth and investment. The key pieces of the system would, first, build upon *our* what we've been doing:

- Further strengthen the Community Reinvestment Act and improve antidiscrimination compliance;
- Further expand support for Community Development Financial Institutions (CDFIs) and related non-profit technical assistance providers that work alongside mainstream institutions to bring loans and investment to distressed communities; this should come particularly through incentives to draw private capital into CDFIs;

- Sustain and strengthen the Small Business Administration's targeted efforts in distressed communities, and with entrepreneurs most likely to be underserved by traditional financial institutions; and
- Develop still more effective federal and state tax credits to spur low income housing, redevelopment, reclaiming of "brownfields," and expansion of Empowerment Zones.

do we want to
 mention WOT +
 WTW tax
 credits?
 hiring and retention
 of welfare recipients
 and other
 disadvantaged
 individuals

And, second, fill out the National Community Investment Structure with new measures:

- Follow-through on the *New Markets Initiative* we have proposed for equity capital to spur business growth, including tax incentives and creation of a domestic analogue to the Overseas Private Investment Corporation, which helps U.S. businesses take advantage of uncertain new markets abroad; and
- Create better tools to support mainstream financial institutions, and others, that invest in distressed communities; this might include combinations of credit subsidy, insurance, and tax incentives to attract new sources of capital and to create secondary markets, all analogous to the creativity we've applied in housing markets.

Let me explain some of these in a bit more.

(1) Building Blocks From Our Record

In a sense, the foundation for the system is the *Community Reinvestment Act (CRA)*, which encourages mainstream financial institutions to help meet the needs of their communities, consistent with safe and sound banking practices. CRA is helping to restore healthy markets in distressed communities, helping to build homes, create jobs, and restore hope all across the country. In 1997 alone, large commercial banks made \$18.6 billion in community development investments. Lending to minority and low income borrowers is on the rise. Since 1993, home mortgage lending to African Americans has increased by 58 percent, to Hispanics by 62 percent, and to low and moderate income borrowers by 38 percent, well above increases in the overall market. Lastly, since 1992, nonprofit community groups estimate that the private sector has pledged over \$1 trillion in loans going forward for affordable home ownership and community development. While it is very difficult to say how much of this activity would never have occurred without the CRA, the structure of accountability is a modest regulatory imposition in comparison with the dividends. The CRA is an invaluable tool.

Looking to the future, however, and a more ambitious community investment system, how can CRA be improved? How should it fit with similar state-level efforts, and with new tools

that might be developed within a National Community Investment System? I have asked the Secretary of the Treasury and the Secretary of HUD to prepare a comprehensive, forward-looking look at the future of the CRA, in consultation with federal and state regulators of financial institutions, with industry representatives and with both elected and public interest representatives of communities.

CDFIs. Beyond CRA, however, we have already recognized the need for new institutions and missions. During my 1992 campaign for President, I pledged to help create a nationwide network of Community Development Financial Institutions, or CDFIs, to work alongside mainstream institutions in expanding access to capital to low income communities. Today, that vision is turning into a reality, with the Treasury Department's CDFI Fund. The Fund has invested \$125 million thus far in community development banks, thrifts, credit unions, loan funds, micro-funds and venture capital firms whose primary mission is serving low and moderate income communities. These locally-based financial institutions, in turn, use their superior local knowledge and community development expertise to make profitable loans in inner city and rural small businesses, affordable home ownership strategies, and community infrastructure -- bringing mainstream financial institutions into these communities along the way. The Fund has also made \$58 million in awards to mainstream banks, leveraging 10 times that amount in private sector investment. We're going to expand funding for CDFI, and give it new tools to grow micro-businesses in these communities.

SBA. These new tools will complement the work that the Small Business Administration is doing through its Hispanic and African American small business technical assistance training efforts. Their ability to target lending to inner city and rural distressed areas is among the more important building blocks in constructing a National Community Investment System.³

Tax Incentives. We have also harnessed the power of the private sector through targeted tax incentives. We made permanent the low income housing tax credit, which creates nearly 90,000 units of affordable housing each year. And we have proposed expanding it by 40 percent, to help create another 180,000 units of affordable housing over the next five years. Such tax credit investments typically qualify as Community Reinvestment (CRA) loans and can constitute a major basis for linking resources and incentives into a comprehensive system which acknowledges the enormous help which financial institutions have, and can, play in rebuilding distressed communities. Also, with Vice President Gore's leadership, we have enacted two rounds of Empowerment Zones, which are helping to bring growth and opportunity to some of the most economically distressed communities in our nation. We have also passed a brownfields tax incentive to help clean up nearly 11,000 environmentally contaminated sites in our inner cities and rural areas, and bring them back to life again -- and I have proposed to Congress that this incentive be a permanent part of our tax code.

also Tribal Business Centers (TBCs)

Betsy Meyer is correct

(2) New Directions for the New Challenges

But our **National Community Investment System** must take more direct action to harness the power of the private market to provide equity capital to businesses often left out of the mainstream. In my budget for next year, I have proposed a "New Markets Initiative," some key pieces of which are:

- A "New Markets Tax Credit," to help spur \$6 billion in private sector investment for business growth in low and moderate income rural and urban communities. Businesses in our nation's inner cities and isolated rural communities often lack access to equity capital to grow and succeed. To help attract new capital to these businesses, we would provide a 25 percent tax credit on the amount invested in a wide range of specialized investment funds focused on bringing growth to our nation's distressed communities.
- A program to support private-sector run "America's Private Investment Companies." Modeled on the successful investment program overseas, the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC), this effort involves government guarantees of private sector loans to leverage equity capital for investment in larger businesses.
- "New Market Venture Capital Firms" to provide needed capital and technical assistance to smaller firms in these communities.
- Under Vice President Gore's leadership, we're also launching a new initiative, BusinessLINC, to help link larger businesses to smaller firms to provide technical assistance, joint venturing and contracting opportunities, especially to firms that are isolated from mainstream business networks. In total, this initiative will mean more than \$15 billion in equity capital and other public and private sector support for these communities.

This is a useful start, but looking years ahead, and comparing our efforts with those of a generation ago to remake the housing market, we must do more. For example, banks that make business and other job-creating loans in distressed areas need the same kind of help that we have long given to mortgage lenders – the kind of assistance that helped build the middle class, the suburbs, and our modern American dream of home ownership.

That means various tools to provide credit enhancements or subsidies for such lending. For example, to increase dramatically the levels of community development lending, lenders must be able to take the borrower's commitment to pay off the loan and turn around and sell that commitment to investors on a secondary market in the same way that banks can sell home mortgages on a secondary market. It's that secondary market that allows the lending bank to replenish its resources and make still more loans. The lending risk can be divided up, shared between the lender, the investors from the secondary market, and various levels of government. Another thing to explore is using state federal tax incentives to draw more debt and equity capital into community development. Our proposal for a *New Markets Tax Credit* is a step in that

direction, and additional flexible incentives will be needed. Finally, all of this has should be considered in relation to the current set of housing-related institutions and incentives, such as the Federal Home Loan Bank Board System, and the housing-related government sponsored enterprises that make the secondary mortgage markets work. What expanded role should these institutions have in meeting the 21st century challenge of development in distressed urban and rural communities?

Finally, the National Community Investment System should be constructed to reflect the lessons of our work to promote community empowerment. First and foremost, we must recognize that public, democratically defined incentives, leadership and vision can be important, but only private resources and energy, tied to personal initiative and drive, can give us the widespread and enduring success every community deserves.

Complementing that private engagement, local community growth strategies have to be linked to regional growth opportunities, since it is regional economies which are the major engines of our prosperity. Local communities – both the public and private actors – need information and technical expertise to analyze and harness economic growth throughout their regions. Regional transportation planning is one of the building blocks for this cooperation but even more can be done to include housing, jobs, and community reinvestment plans as well.

Regional leadership must work with the private sector and with non-profit agencies to provide technical assistance and mentoring to small businesses to overcome barriers to entering the mainstream economy. And we need national and regional institutions that can help local community-based organizations provide low income families with the necessary skills and to connect them to available jobs throughout their local economy, as we are trying to do, for example, in the Welfare-to-Work Partnership.

Can this build on one-stop career centers under the workforce development Act?

I believe that to continue and improve our prosperity in the 21st century, we need to bring all American communities into the economic mainstream. The workplan I have outlined here will help bring growth and opportunity to America's economically distressed communities. Now, while the economy is so strong, is the right time to act. We cannot afford to miss this chance to invest in the opportunity we deserve.

C. BREAKING THE BACK OF HYPER-UNEMPLOYMENT.

Is this really what we want to call this?

[...]

1. Andrew Brownstein, "Move Beyond Color," Jackson Says," *Times Union*, A1 (February 2, 1999)

2. [Cite RFK quote.]

still missing this section

3. Such partnering builds upon recent collaboration between the Treasury Department and the Small Business Administration in their new program, Business LINC, which encourages partnerships between small and larger businesses especially in distressed communities. Such mentoring is essential in allowing new, minority owned firms the chance at a level playing field of information and access.



Julie A. Fernandes

11/30/98 05:16:36 PM

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Record Type: Record

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

cc:

Subject: Econ Dev. & Race -- Jobs proposal

We are meeting on **Wednesday, December 2nd at 2pm in Room 211** to discuss the *Jobs Gap Challenge Program* that is one of the policy initiatives related to the race book. Please let me know if you do not have the latest version of the proposal.

I hope to see you there.

julie

Message Sent To:

Francis S. Redburn/OMB/EOP
Michelle A. Enger/OMB/EOP
John M. Goering/PIR/EOP
Cynthia A. Rice/OPD/EOP
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Andrea Kane

11/30/98 01:16:33

PM

Record Type: Record

To: Francis S. Redburn/OMB/EOP, Julie A. Fernandes/OPD/EOP, Michelle A. Enger/OMB/EOP, John M. Goering/PIR/EOP

cc: Cynthia A. Rice/OPD/EOP, Maureen H. Walsh/OMB/EOP, Kim C. Nakahara/OMB/EOP

Subject: Re: Latest Draft of major POTUS Race Policy Proposals 

Julie, I think it would be useful to reconvene on the employment proposal. This discussion should include the labor branch at OMB as well (Larry Matlack/Maureen Walsh). Given the "transit to opportunity" transportation idea, we should also include transportation folks (David Tornquist, Kim Nakahara). Right now, I'm available any time til 4 tomorrow, wed afternoon, thurs after 3, or after 11 on Friday

Andrea Kane

11/30/98 01:08:40 PM

Record Type: Record

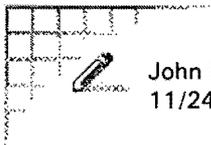
To: Cynthia A. Rice/OPD/EOP

cc:

Subject: Latest Draft of major POTUS Race Policy Proposals

as discussed.

----- Forwarded by Andrea Kane/OPD/EOP on 11/30/98 01:09 PM -----



John M. Goering
11/24/98 12:33:35 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Francis S. Redburn/OMB/EOP, Julie A. Fernandes/OPD/EOP, Michelle A. Enger/OMB/EOP

cc: Andrea Kane/OPD/EOP

Subject: Latest Draft of major POTUS Race Policy Proposals

Chris wanted to be sure you had a copy of the latest summary version of the key policy proposals for the race book. These are the major issues/mountain-tops and not the additional issues which we have discussed which will be part of the longer policy chapter. Josh Gotbaum, at this morning's meeting, indicated he would start an OMB process re these issues. John

----- Forwarded by John M. Goering/PIR/EOP on 11/24/98 12:22 PM -----



"Christopher Edley, Jr." <edley @ law.harvard.edu >
11/24/98 12:23:59 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Jane T. Price-Smith/PIR/EOP, John M. Goering/PIR/EOP, Scott R. Palmer/PIR/EOP

cc: aedmonds1 @ home.com, terry.edmonds @ ssa.gov, James T. Edmonds/PIR/EOP

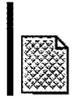
Subject: RE-corrected memorandum from this morning

[Sorry; forgot to plug in a number]

Attached is a revised memo, with Josh's title. A few other changes, the only one of substance being a list of fall-back budget options for education, and the mention that the GSE PAYGO investment could be scaled.

John & Scott -- please share with appropriate colleagues to get the wheels rolling on refinements.

Jenny -- please get this to Josh Gotbaum/Vicky Wachino. Thanks.



- maria3.wpd

November 23, 1998
(corrected)

To: Maria Echaveste
Assistant to the President and Deputy Chief of Staff

Josh Gotbaum
Executive Associate Director, OMB

From: Christopher Edley, Jr.
Professor of Law

Subject: Proposed Major Policy Initiatives Related to the Race Book

Below and in the attachment, I offer some elaboration of the four ideas included in my November 11th memorandum to the President, in an effort to assist you and your staff colleagues in framing choices for him. As you know, I hope the President's report/book on race will avoid the laundry-list approach so characteristic of past race-related commissions.

(1) Educational achievement: The President's vision of One America with racial and ethnic justice requires that the nation undertake a more focused, dramatic and sustained effort to tackle the intolerable education achievement disparities between poor and rich, between minority and non-minority. The era of excuses is over -- for everyone.

Recommendation: The President should propose a **Compact for Equal Opportunity in Education** -- quite simply, a new covenant to benefit America's children. In those states and school districts willing to enter into this covenant:

- The federal government will offer new grant-in-aid support and greatly expanded flexibility in the use of current federal funding.
- In return, the state or school district would agree to establish a strong system of accountability for results in closing the measurable achievement gaps between minority and non-minority and between poor and non-poor students in public schools.
- The federal government would not dictate the means used; the state or district could even propose its own goals and timetables, with all the public scrutiny that entails. But the decision to award the federal funds and enter into a Compact would be based on a public review of the applicant's comprehensive strategy by an independent, diverse, peer review panel, including experts in successful school reform strategies.

The Compact bears some similarities to the tiny Comprehensive School Reform Demonstration Program (also known as Obey-Porter; \$145 million in FY 1999), but is far more

substantial in scale, less prescriptive, focused on systems (and preferably metro areas) rather than individual school sites, and with accountability for results. The undertaking parallels the President's announced goal of narrowing health disparities. Instead of a formula program like Title I, this substantial "honey pot" would not attract participation from all jurisdictions initially, which is fine.

Flexibility should spur innovation, replication, and tailoring of approaches to fit local needs. We would expect *but would not require* that each Compact for Equal Opportunity in Education include such things as: (a) strategies for breaking through the red tape of various federal, state and local programs in education as well as related fields, and ways to build partnerships across jurisdictional lines of school districts and local government agencies; (b) ways to engage businesses and other local institutions; (c) a strategies focused on quality teachers; (d) creative responses to the needs of immigrant children with limited English skills; (e) ways to promote higher expectations for achievement and to take aggressive action when there is failure; (f) reduce disparities in resources; and (g) plans for accountability at all levels, so that performance is measured fairly and has consequences.

Budget: In FY 2000, a substantial round of planning and startup grants could be funded for \$250 million, with a five-year total of \$15 billion reaching approximately the size of Title I (\$7 billion) in the final year. This is the only expensive discretionary proposal I plan to present to the President.

(2) Jobs: We must break the back of the endemic hyper-unemployment of young adults (18-30) in our most distressed poor communities, eventually eliminating the racial and regional disparities in joblessness.

Recommendation: Propose a **Jobs Gap Challenge Program** for states and metro area jurisdictions to raise the employment rate of young adults in distressed neighborhoods through regional strategies:

- Provide incremental new resources and greatly enhanced flexibility with categorical federal and state programs, for interested regional alliances willing to accept *accountability* for creatively tackling the especially difficult problems of young adult unemployment.
- Flexibly link programs in education, training, job search, transportation, employer networking, day care, housing assistance, drug treatment, and many more. But results must matter.
- Must include public-private partnerships, and strong involvement of schools, parents and community groups.

This builds on the Youth Opportunities Initiative within the Workforce Investment Act of 1998, and the \$250 million FY99 appropriation for target grants for comprehensive out-of-school youth employment. But, returning to the President's broader vision of 1992 and 1993, this must be

more than pilots and demonstrations, with resources and administrative incentives sufficient to promote the reinvention of federal, state and local delivery systems.

Budget: In FY 2000, expand the Labor Department's program by \$250 million, add a complementary HUD program stressing regional approaches at \$250 million, a \$250 million "Transit-to-opportunity" program to permit coordinated, saturation attack on the problem of spacial mismatch between inner city workers and suburban jobs. This integrated package would grow to approximately the size of the CDBG program in the out years, for a five-year total of \$10 billion.

Lesser budget options include: (a) trimming to do fewer grantees while maintaining sufficient sweetness to leverage systemic change; (b) trimming to be a modest Title I supplement while introducing stronger statutory and administrative enforcement of accountability in Title I, including funding sanctions; (c) minimal investment level in the budget, but statement of the ambitious, longer term vision in the President's book.

(3) Economic Development: We can do more to harness the power of financial institutions and markets to create opportunity in distressed communities here at home, just as we try to do abroad through a variety of US and multilateral programs.

Recommendation: Launch a major refocusing of the large housing-related GSEs -- FNMA, Freddie Mac and the Federal Home Loan Bank Board System. In particular, the FHLBB should have a new mission: working side-by-side with CDFIs to fuel economic revitalization in our most distressed communities through affordable financing of a range of community development and job-creating projects. In general, these entities commonly assert that they are "private" and must therefore not be expected to make uneconomic, tightly targeted investments. On the other hand, their profitability flows from their access to a government guarantee or a discount Fed window. The FHLBB is the most egregious at playing loose with the public purpose, making much of its profit through arbitrage. Specifically, the President could propose to:

- Adopt new regulatory and statutory provisions: to press the GSEs to focus their housing activity on severely distressed communities; to give the GSEs more effective tools to promote targeted lending for community development purposes.
- Re-charter the FHLBB system to stem abuses (especially arbitrage) and focus on investments and technical assistance that implement *comprehensive strategies for community economic development*, analogous to IMF and World Bank missions in developing nations.
- Make the fiscal impact of implicit Federal subsidies on-budget, on the PAYGO side; for example, FHLBB capital reserves for community development activities could be raised from private investors by offering deep tax incentives.

Budget: To be determined, but could be fashioned on the mandatory side for inclusion in

a tax bill, whenever there is one. Could be scaled.

(4) Combating Discrimination and Hate : The fight against ordinary discrimination is not finished. Last year’s budget included an increase for some civil rights law enforcement agencies, to help those standing in line waiting for justice.

Recommendation: Sustain that investment and extend it to other enforcers of our basic rights. Specifically:

- New investments for the DOJ Civil Rights Division and the Offices for Civil Rights at the Departments of Education and HHS.
- With the investments, re-engineer enforcement activity to emphasize voluntary compliance, technical assistance, education and dispute resolution.
- Build a DOJ grant-in-aid program to support state attorneys general in their civil rights work, analogous to the HUD grants to public and nonprofit fair housing enforcers.
- Major increase in the DOJ Community Relations Service to meet the demand for crisis dispute resolution, while building its work in prevention and community dialogue.
- Restructure and rehabilitate the US Civil Rights Commission, especially its capacity for conducting investigatory hearings and issuing reports.
- Build a federal capacity for authoritative time series data on the extent discrimination in various sectors, starting with housing and entry-level employment.

Budget: Total \$100 million in FY 2000. We took unnecessary political criticism for not “rounding up” last year’s investment request to \$100 million from \$86 million.

Budget Summary (\$ M)

	FY 2000 NDD	5-yr NDD	5-yr PAYGO
Compact for Equal Opportunity in Education	250	15,000	--
Jobs Gap Challenge	750	10,000	???
Econ. Dev./GSE reform	--	--	5,000
Civil Rights Enforcement & Research	100	750	--

▶ **Julie A. Fernandes**
09/22/98 03:54:29 PM
.....

Record Type: Record

To: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message
cc:
Subject: Econ. Dev. and Race -- ROOM C HANGE

This meeting has been moved to **Room 211**. Thanks.

julie

----- Forwarded by Julie A. Fernandes/OPD/EOP on 09/22/98 04:14 PM -----

▶ **Julie A. Fernandes**
09/22/98 02:57:59 PM
.....

Record Type: Record

To: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message
cc:
Subject: Econ. Dev. and Race

All:

At last week's meeting, we decided that we need to do two things: (1) come up with the two or three most significant goals (or challenges) in the area of economic development and race; and (2) think about one or two bold approaches to meeting each of these goals. These approaches could be grouped by theme (tax policy; metropolitanism; local flexibility) or not. In thinking about this, we should remember to consider federal, state, local, and private strategies/approaches to address these challenges.

What we hope to come up with would be a more focused version of the outline that we developed a couple of weeks ago. We also want to flesh out some of the approaches, keeping in mind that our focus is on economic development strategies that meet our goal of diminishing racial disparities (i.e., though we will still have unemployment, our goal may be to not have disproportionate unemployment in minority communities; our approaches would target that specific problem).

I have scheduled this follow-up meeting for **Thursday, September 24th at 5:00pm in Room 180**. I hope to see you there.

julie

p.s. I am again attaching the prior version of our outline.



Message Sent To:

Paul J. Weinstein Jr./OPD/EOP
Jonathan Orszag/OPD/EOP
Emil E. Parker/OPD/EOP
Francis S. Redburn/OMB/EOP
John M. Goering/PIR/EOP
Cynthia A. Rice/OPD/EOP
Andrea Kane/OPD/EOP
Larry R. Matlack/OMB/EOP
Debra J. Bond/OMB/EOP
Joslyn G. Mack/OMB/EOP
edley @ law.harvard.edu @ inet

Message Sent To:

Paul J. Weinstein Jr./OPD/EOP
Jonathan Orszag/OPD/EOP
Emil E. Parker/OPD/EOP
Francis S. Redburn/OMB/EOP
John M. Goering/PIR/EOP
Cynthia A. Rice/OPD/EOP
Andrea Kane/OPD/EOP
Larry R. Matlack/OMB/EOP
Debra J. Bond/OMB/EOP
Joslyn G. Mack/OMB/EOP
edley @ law.harvard.edu @ inet
Michelle A. Enger/OMB/EOP

▶ **Julie A. Fernandes**
09/15/98 08:14:19 PM
.....

Record Type: Record

To: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message
cc: edley @ law.harvard.edu @ inet
Subject: Econ. Dev. and Race

I spoke with Edley this afternoon and he would like us to take our conversations to the next step. First, he would like us to identify, of the larger outline that we created, which are the two or three biggest approaches, perhaps with a focus on employability and access rather than place-based strategies. Second, he would like us to think more creatively about what we (the government?) have been doing wrong in this area over the past 25 years. For example, in the education arena, they are asking the question of whether we should challenge the (legal) presumption that the federal government can only act in the education arena (except for 14th amendment concerns) by using conditions on spending. Bold thinking is the call.

I have scheduled our meeting on this for **Thursday, September 17th at 5:00pm in Room 211**. I hope to see you there.

I am attaching our outline from the last meeting.

julie



Message Sent To:
Paul J. Weinstein Jr./OPD/EOP
Jonathan Orszag/OPD/EOP
Cecilia E. Rouse/OPD/EOP
Emil E. Parker/OPD/EOP
Francis S. Redburn/OMB/EOP
Andrea Kane/OPD/EOP
Cynthia A. Rice/OPD/EOP
John M. Goering/PIR/EOP

Draft/September 8, 1998

**President's Book on Race
Chapter 6: Workplan**

Section 6.3: Economic Development and Job Opportunities

Outline

Introduction/Context

- Continuing Racial disparities and discrimination exist in the economy as a whole and within cities:
 - (1) Wage disparities, higher levels of unemployment, and low net wealth consistently shortchange large numbers of racial and/or ethnic minorities. Employment discrimination affects a significant number of all job searches.
 - (2) Concentrated poverty and racial segregation constitute major barriers to the reduction of place-based racial disadvantages.
- Building One America requires developing economic equity and opportunity programs that treat Americans of all races fairly. To do so, we must develop long-term, comprehensive programs linking the public and private sectors in rebuilding the economies of minority communities and increasing opportunities for economic advancement for all.
- The following are some broad themes as well as potential approaches:

A. Employment Opportunities: Strengthen Policies which Increase Employment Rates for Minorities

1. Target job creation in low income and minority communities
 - a. Incentives to private industry for job creation in low income and minority communities and creation of public service jobs where necessary.
 - b. Incentives for employers to hire disadvantaged workers (such as the long-term unemployed).
 - c. Infrastructure improvements in urban and rural low income and minority areas, including remediation and development of brownfields.
2. Ensure that individuals acquire the skills required by the marketplace, particularly young people.
3. Improve access to jobs.
 - a. Link low-income and minority workers to areas of job growth through innovative transportation programs (like DOT's Job Access program).
 - b. Improve the flow of information to minority communities about job opportunities in areas of high growth.
 - c. Improve access to child care for low-income and entry-level workers.
4. Vigorously enforce fair employment laws, including those affecting public sector employment.

B. Strengthen Policies Which Ensure That All Families Earn a Living Wage So That No Family with a Working Parent Must Live in Poverty

1. Increase the minimum wage.
2. Support enforcement of worker protections including wage and hour and equal pay laws.
3. Encourage state and local governments to enact direct earning subsidies to workers.

Draft/September 8, 1998

4. Increase the availability of affordable, quality child care for low and middle-income working families.
5. Expand health insurance coverage for low and middle-income working families and assistance to enable people with disabilities to work.
6. Encourage life-long learning and skills upgrading.
7. Increase child support enforcement.

C. Assure that Every American Has the Opportunity to Purchase a Home or to Rent Affordable Housing

1. Increase financial support for individuals to purchase and/or rehabilitate housing (through tax incentives, direct spending, individual development accounts, etc.).
2. Increase financial support for access to decent, affordable housing for renters.
 - a. Increase the availability of housing vouchers.
 - b. Further develop regional housing counseling and referral agencies.
3. Aggressively enforce fair housing and fair lending laws (e.g., through the use of pattern and practice investigations, disparate impact cases and increased testing); enhance enforcement and/or strengthen laws that promote access to mortgage loans for minorities (e.g., ECOA, the Home Mortgage Disclosure Act, and the Community Reinvestment Act).
4. Integration
 - a. Support voluntary efforts to establish and maintain economically and racially integrated communities, including incentives to public housing agencies to reduce the concentration of housing assistance recipients in high-poverty areas and promote more dispersed housing choices.
 - b. Increase regional housing counseling efforts to encourage low-income and/or minority families to consider a wider more diverse range of neighborhoods when they make their housing decisions.

Draft/September 8, 1998

D. Further Reduce Disparities in Access to Credit, Capital and Financial Assistance from Traditional and Non-traditional Sources

1. Increase access to credit to create and expand businesses in low income and minority areas.
 - a. Promote micro-credit development lending.
 - b. Promote distressed communities as a new frontier for retail and financial institutions, so that we bring capital and jobs back to these communities.
 - c. Enforce the fair lending laws (see above).
 - d. Increase support for financial institutions focusing on these communities (community development banks).
 - e. Enhance support of venture capital funds specializing in this type of investing.
2. Increase access to banking and credit services within minority communities, such as through un-banked initiatives.
3. Link aggressive civil rights enforcement to urban revitalization by structuring settlements to develop affected communities; press for more aggressive systemic investigations which would promote revitalization as part of the case settlements.

POSSIBLE STRUCTURE OF AN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT INITIATIVE

Challenge:

Raise the employment rates of young adults in neighborhoods of concentrated poverty (over 40 percent poor) to the metropolitan or rural county average within [five] years.

- Regional public and private sectors must work together to develop and execute a coordinated strategy.
- Local employers must collectively commit to hire, within one year of high school or post-high school education, all graduates of these neighborhoods who meet a specified educational performance standard.

Federal Promise:

Of all areas that accept the challenge, the [ten] that produce the strongest and most credible plans will receive:

- Additional youth training funds, welfare to work grants, welfare to work housing vouchers, points for competitive education and training funds, and other bonus funds.
- Flexibility to pool and use funds received from a long list of education, employment and training, and housing/community development programs.

For progress in closing the employment rate gap between the targeted population and the total population, regional jurisdictions would receive flexible grants each year thereafter, equal to *one* percent of specified education, employment and training, and housing/community development grants each year for each 20 percentage point reduction in the gap, as long as the increase is sustained.

Areas that achieve the goal will receive additional funding for the following ten years equal to *five* percent of their annual Community Development Block Grant.

Monitoring and Evaluation:

Separate funding will be provided for a formal, long-term impact evaluation of each local strategy. Surveys conducted as part of the evaluation will also be used to independently determine baseline employment rates and subsequent changes in employment rates of the targeted population.

Why this structure?

- Builds on Empowerment Zones (a few areas, poverty area focus, reliance on communities to define strategy and integrate resources, large private sector role, emphasis on employment)
- Attempts to strengthen EZ model:
 - sharpens and quantifies the goal
 - rewards strong performance based on reliable, standardized measures
 - leverages existing spending rather than seeking substantial short-term new spending or tax benefits
 - allows more flexible combined use of existing programs (Hatfield)
 - enhances national learning/local imitation through selection of promising models, rigorous evaluation, visible progress
 - promotes regional cooperation to link employment growth centers with distressed urban and suburban areas.
- Boldness can be increased as resources permit by:
 - adding more communities in subsequent rounds
 - adding incentives
 - adding goals/expanding target populations
- Reinforcing discrete FY 2000 budget proposals can be shaped to fit into and further strengthen this approach.

Draft/September 8, 1998

**President's Book on Race
Chapter 6: Workplan**

Section 6.3: Economic Development and Job Opportunities

Outline

Introduction/Context

- Continuing Racial disparities and discrimination exist in the economy as a whole and within cities:
 - (1) Wage disparities, higher levels of unemployment, and low net wealth consistently shortchange large numbers of racial and/or ethnic minorities. Employment discrimination affects roughly one-quarter of all job searches.
 - (2) Concentrated poverty and racial segregation constitute major barriers to the reduction of place-based racial disadvantages.
- Building One America requires developing economic equity and opportunity programs that treat Americans of all races fairly. To do so, we must develop long-term, comprehensive programs linking the public and private sectors in rebuilding the economies of minority communities and increasing opportunities for economic advancement for all.
- The following are some broad themes as well as potential approaches:

**President's Book on Race
Chapter 6: Workplan**

Section 6.3: Economic Development and Job Opportunities

Outline

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- Continuing Racial disparities and discrimination exist in the economy as a whole and within cities:
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 - (2) Concentrated poverty and racial segregation constitute major barriers to the reduction of place based racial disadvantages.
- Building One America requires developing economic equity and opportunity programs that treat Americans of all races fairly. To do so, we must develop long-term, comprehensive programs linking the public and private sectors in rebuilding the economies of minority communities and increasing opportunities for economic advancement for all.

NOTE: THE ITEMS LISTED UNDER THE THEMES SHOULD BE PRESENTED AS POTENTIAL APPROACHES FOR THE WORKPLAN, NOT POLICY OPTIONS (MUCH LESS VETTED POLICY OPTIONS) FOR FY 2000 BUDGET.

A. Employment Opportunities: Strengthen Policies Which Increase Employment Rates for Minorities

1. Vigorously enforcement of fair employment laws, including those affecting public sector employment (e.g., through fair employment testing)
2. Additional tax incentives along the lines of the low-income housing tax credit or the EZ tax incentives to stimulate job creation in less advantaged areas
23. Other incentives (tax or nontax) for employers to hire disadvantaged

add public sector employment ↑

*(B) ~~free~~ ensure prepared skills for workplace
market place*

individuals; this approach could include consolidating existing tax incentives

Linking inner-city residents and rural residents with suburban jobs by building on HUD's Bridges to Work and DOT's new Job Access and ~~Reverse Commute~~ programs

5. Further/stronger support for remediation and development of contaminated brownfields *PM*

6. Public service employment (e.g., for populations such as disadvantaged young men not served by welfare-to-work programs)

7. Federally funded efforts to create jobs and increase property values by improving local public infrastructure *Jobs Creation*

B. Strengthen Policies Which Ensure That All Families Earn a Living Wage So That No Family with a Working Parent Must Live in Poverty

1. Increasing the minimum wage (or at least ensuring that it keeps pace with inflation) *and supporting local*

2. Encouraging/supporting local living wage campaigns

3. Boosting ~~existing, or creating new,~~ earnings subsidies (e.g., the EITC) tied to the worker rather than the employer

4. Greatly increasing the availability of publicly subsidized child care for low and middle-income working families *affordable*

5. Expansion of health insurance coverage for parents in low and middle-income working families

C. ~~Assure that Every American Has the Opportunity to Purchase a Home or to Rent Affordable Housing Near Areas of Employment~~

1. Increasing support for public construction of affordable housing, through tax incentives, direct spending or both *rent, rent, rent*

2. Aggressive enforcement of fair housing and fair lending laws (e.g., through the use of systemic investigations (?), disparate impact cases and

*check case
and information*
4!
part of 2
part 2
part of 2

7. Lifelong learning & skills upgrading
8. Subsidies for people with disabilities to go to work

combine w/ 7 & 9 + 6
Financial
Separate into home + rent

6. Child support

Enforce worker part of laws equal pay laws

increased testing)

Amur

3. Increasing voluntary housing counseling efforts (including programs funded at the State and local levels as well as at the Federal level) to encourage low-income and/or minority families to consider a wider range of neighborhoods when they make their housing decisions

4. Providing incentives to public housing agencies to reduce the concentration of housing assistance recipients in high-poverty areas

5. Support of voluntary efforts to ~~establish and maintain integrated communities~~ *negative scattered site* (e.g., programs providing below market-rate loans to minorities and whites moving to areas in which their group is underrepresented, relative to its share of the metropolitan population)

6. Promotion of asset/wealth development for low-income individuals (e.g., through individual development accounts)

Building on HUD's welfare-to-work housing voucher proposal/program

Enhanced enforcement and/or strengthening of laws that promote access to mortgage loans for minorities (e.g., the Home Mortgage Disclosure Act and the Community Reinvestment Act)

9. Tax credits or other incentives to promote purchase and/or rehabilitation of residential properties in low-income communities.

D. Further Reduce Disparities in Access to Credit, Capital and Financial Assistance from Traditional and Non-traditional Sources

1. Expansion of CRA on a voluntary or legislative basis to some or all of the nonbank financial institutions currently not covered

2. Promotion of access to debt capital for businesses in disadvantaged areas through, e.g., enhanced support (from State, local and private as well as Federal sources) of financial institutions focusing on these communities or securitization of economic development loans

3. Promotion of access to equity capital for businesses in disadvantaged areas through, e.g., enhanced support of venture capital funds specializing in this type of investing

① Financial support owning profits

② Financial support to rent

③ Integration *voluntary opportunities*

④ Fair housing

9. -

Access to credit

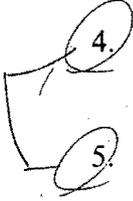
*Access to credit
Access to capital*

*Unbanked
→ Fair lending laws*

→ Access for individual to bank or financial (one nearby)

→ Access to credit/capital to create business

Put under map in A



4. Support of regional development planning through building on DOT's Metropolitan Planning Organizations

5. Support of other efforts to promote regional thinking

E. Link Civil Rights Law Enforcement and Education More Closely to Community Economic Development Programs

"move to subcategory of D"



1. Linking civil rights enforcement to urban revitalization by structuring settlements to develop affected communities; press for more aggressive systemic investigations (?)

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Christopher Edley to Colleagues re: Draft Memorandum on the President's Race Report (19 pages)	09/04/98	P5

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

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Domestic Policy Council
Cynthia Rice (Subject Files)
OA/Box Number: 15431

FOLDER TITLE:

Race Initiatives

rx58

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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

**President's Book on Race
Chapter 6: Workplan**

Section 6.3: Economic Development and Job Opportunities

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- Building One America requires developing economic equity and opportunity programs that treat Americans of all races fairly. To do so, we must develop long-term, comprehensive programs linking the public and private sectors in rebuilding the economies of minority communities and increasing opportunities for economic advancement for all.
 - A. Employment Opportunities: Strengthen Policies which Increase Employment Rates for Minorities**
 1. Ensure that welfare to work transitions have positive effects
 2. Vigorously enforce fair employment laws, including those affecting public sector employment
 3. Strengthen and consolidate all local and Federal job training programs
 - B. Strengthen Policies which Ensure that all families earn a Living Wage so that No family with a Working Parent Must Live in poverty**
 - C. Assure that Every American Has the Opportunity to Purchase a Home or to Rent Affordable Housing Near Areas of Employment**
 1. Increase the Allocation of Mortgage Revenue Bonds
 2. Asset Development for Section 8 recipients

Draft/September 2, 1998

3. Low Income and Minority Community Tax Credit: (Builds on Fannie Mae, Ford Foundation, North Carolina 5 year initiative)
4. Regional Welfare-to-Work Training and Vouchers
5. Aggressively enforce fair housing and fair lending laws, including through the use of systemic investigations and disparate impact cases

D. Further Reduce Disparities in Access to Credit, Capital and Financial; Assistance from traditional and non-traditional Sources

1. Expand CRA to Non-Depository lenders and tie more closely to fair lending Laws; brownfields included
2. Community development financing options
3. Promote regional development planning, by building on DOT's Metropolitan Planning Agencies

E. Link Civil Rights law Enforcement and Education More Closely to Community Economic Development Programs

1. Link civil rights enforcement to urban revitalization by structuring settlements to develop affected communities; press for more aggressive systemic investigations

Decisions

**THE PRESIDENT'S INITIATIVE ON RACE:
Taking Action To Help Build One America**

**SUMMARY OF MAJOR EVENTS / ANNOUNCEMENTS
AS OF SEPTEMBER 3, 1998**

DEVELOPING POLICY THAT OFFERS OPPORTUNITY TO ALL THOSE WHO WORK FOR IT

Civil Rights

Increased Civil Rights Enforcement: On Martin Luther King Jr. Day, January 19, 1998, Vice President Gore announced the Administration's proposal for the largest single increase in funding to enforce existing civil rights laws in nearly two decades. Through new reforms and heightened commitment to enforcement, the Administration will seek to prevent discrimination before it occurs and to punish those who do discriminate in employment, education, housing and health care, and against those with disabilities. The Clinton Administration's FY 1999 budget contains \$602 million for civil rights enforcement agencies and offices -- an increase of \$86 million over last year's funding.

Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC): The cornerstone of the improved civil rights enforcement effort is a \$37 million increase (15 percent) for the EEOC. Through increased use of mediation, improved information technology and an expanded investigative staff, the EEOC will reduce the average time for resolving private-sector complaints from over 9.4 months to 6 months and cut the backlog of cases from 64,000 to 28,000, by the year 2000.

Housing & Urban Development (HUD) -- Fair Housing: To respond to the increase in reported cases of serious fair housing violations, HUD will double the number of its civil rights enforcement actions by the year 2000. HUD also has committed \$15 million to 67 fair housing centers around the country to assist in fighting housing discrimination this year. In addition, the President's budget proposes \$10 million for a targeted enforcement initiative that will use paired testing -- identical applicants of different races or genders approaching Realtors or landlords -- to detect and eliminate housing discrimination. Also, Secretary Cuomo now focuses on one race-based housing discrimination case each week and conducts a community forum around each case to turn the negative experience into a positive one that helps bring the community together.

Coordination of Civil Rights: An additional \$1 million will allow the Department of Justice's Civil Rights Division to enhance coordination of federal civil rights enforcement policy among agencies. Improved coordination will lead to more consistent enforcement of civil rights laws, broader dissemination of best practices and improved data collection.

Education

Hispanic Education Action Plan. Nearly one in three Hispanics between 25 and 29 years old left school without a diploma or GED. To correct this situation, President Clinton announced an unprecedented \$600 million in the FY 99 budget to help Latino youngsters master the basics of reading and math. The funding will also pay for programs to help them learn English, stay in school, prepare for college and, ultimately, succeed in college.

Reducing Class Size In Early Grades. The President proposed a \$12.4 billion, seven-year initiative to help local schools reduce class size in grades 1-3 from a national average of 22 to 18 students. Through this program, local schools will be able to hire an additional 100,000 well-prepared teachers. Funding also will be provided to states for teacher training and to require new teachers to pass state competency tests.

Education Opportunity Zones. The President proposed \$1.5 billion, over five years, to bolster reform efforts by high-poverty urban and rural school districts that demonstrate both a commitment to and a track record in improving educational achievement. Funds will be used to improve accountability, turn around failing schools, recognize outstanding teachers, deal with ineffective ones and expand public school choice. Added investments in these communities will accelerate progress and provide successful models of system-wide, standards-based reform.

Getting Good Teachers to Underserved Areas. Responding to the need for a diverse and excellent teaching force, President Clinton proposed a \$350 million program to attract talented people of all backgrounds to teach at low-income schools across the nation. The funding also will be used to dramatically improve the quality of training given to future teachers. This new program will help bring nearly 35,000 new teachers into high-poverty schools in urban and rural areas over the next five years. In addition, it will upgrade the quality of teacher preparation at institutions of higher education that work in partnership with inner-city and poor rural area schools.

High Hopes for America's Youth. The High Hopes initiative would provide \$140 million in FY 1999 to encourage degree-granting colleges to establish partnerships with middle and junior high schools with large numbers of low-income children. Working with parents, community members, religious groups, and businesses, these partnerships provide information about what it means and takes to go to college as well as about available support services -- such as mentoring, tutoring, college visits, summer programs, after-school activities, and counseling -- to help young people stay in school, study hard and go on to college.

School Construction and Modernization. To address the crucial issue of school construction, the President proposed federal tax credits to pay interest on nearly \$22 billion in bonds to build and renovate public schools -- largely in the 100 - 120 school districts with the greatest number of low-income children. This more than doubles the assistance proposed last year. In addition, the President's FY 1999 budget proposes a 59 percent increase in funding for construction, facilities improvement, and repair of Native American schools.

Economic Opportunity

Increasing Capital to Minority Businesses. Vice President Gore announced an unprecedented agreement between SBA and the "Big Three" U.S. automakers to increase subcontracting awards to minority businesses by nearly \$3 billion over the next three years -- a 50 percent increase over current levels.

Tapping the Potential of America's Urban and Rural Communities. The President's FY 99 budget includes \$400 million -- nearly triple the FY 98 appropriation -- for a new Community Empowerment Fund (CEF) that is expected to leverage an estimated \$2 billion in private-sector loans to help communities invest in businesses and create jobs.

Supporting Minority Business Communities. Vice President Gore unveiled aggressive plans to increase lending and business services to the African-American and Hispanic business community, nationwide. The SBA has set a goal of providing an estimated total of \$1.86 billion in loans to African-American small businesses over a three-year period and \$2.5 billion worth of loans to Hispanic-owned businesses by the year 2000.

Empowerment Zones (Round II). The President's FY 99 budget provides \$150 million a year for 10 years to fund 15 new urban Empowerment Zones (EZS) and \$20 million a year for 10 years to fund five new rural EZS. The funds will be used for economic and social development activities in distressed communities.

Access to Jobs. The Access to Jobs initiative, proposed by President Clinton, will provide resources to assist states and communities that develop solutions -- such as vanpools and late-night and weekend service -- to help individuals with job-related transportation needs. Access to Jobs will leverage other transportation resources by requiring a dollar-for-dollar match. The transportation bill passed by Congress provides up to \$150 million a year for this initiative.

Welfare-to-Work Housing Vouchers. The President's FY 99 budget includes \$283 million for 50,000 new vouchers exclusively for people who need housing assistance to make the transition from welfare to work. Local

agencies would have flexibility to design and operate the welfare-to-work voucher program within broad national guidelines, encouraging maximum local creativity and innovation. Families could use the housing vouchers to move closer to a new job or secure more stable housing.

Community Development Financial Institutions (CDFI). The Administration has requested a \$45 million increase in CDFI funding (from \$80 million to \$125 million) to allow the Fund to provide additional financial assistance and expand its training and technical assistance initiative.

Opportunity Areas for Out of School Youth. Proposed in the President's FY 1998 budget, the Youth Opportunity Areas Initiative will provide \$250 million in seed-capital grants to Empowerment Zones, Enterprise Communities and other high-poverty areas to boost the employment rate among out-of-school youth. The Administration is working with Congress to ensure enactment of job training reform legislation that will secure funding for this important initiative.

Expanded Youthbuild. This program provides high school dropouts between the ages of 16 and 24 with academic and job-skills training, as well as apprenticeships building and rehabilitating affordable housing. The President's FY 99 budget requests \$45 million for Youthbuild.

Housing

Expand Low Income Housing Tax Credit by 40 Percent. The Internal Revenue Service (IRS) annually allocates to each state low-income housing tax credits equal to \$1.25 per resident. This limit has not been adjusted since the credit was created in 1986. As a result, the purchasing power of the credit has declined by 40 percent. To adjust for that, the President's FY 99 budget calls for increasing the limit by 40 percent to \$1.75 per capita, at a cost of \$1.6 billion over five years. This expansion of credit will help to develop as many as 180,000 additional affordable rental units over the next five years.

"Play-by-the-Rules" Homeownership Initiative. The FY 99 budget for the Neighborhood Reinvestment Corporation includes \$25 million for a new initiative that would make homeownership more accessible to families who have a good rental history but have difficulty purchasing a home. Under this initiative, 10,000 lower-income and minority families who are currently renting would be provided with homeownership counseling and training, assistance with down payments or closing costs, or second mortgage loans for debt reduction.

Homeownership Zones. The President's FY 99 budget includes \$25 million for Homeownership Zones, abandoned housing and distressed neighborhoods that communities could use the funding to reclaim. Funds could be used for property acquisition, demolition, site preparation, housing construction or rehabilitation, homeownership counseling, relocation, and activities to further fair housing and homeownership.

Regional Opportunity Counseling. Under this program, public housing authorities partner with nonprofit organizations to provide counseling to Section 8 certificate and voucher holders to ensure that they are aware of the full range of housing options. This program recruits landlords to accept Section 8 families. HUD allocated \$36.7 million for 16 regional opportunity counseling sites in FY 96. Last year, the President unsuccessfully requested an additional \$20 million to expand the program to new sites. The Administration has again requested a \$20 million increase in funding for FY 99.

Incentive to Reduce Concentrations of Housing Certificate and Voucher Families. The President's FY 99 budget provides HUD the option to offer bonuses to Public Housing Authorities (PHAs) for increasing the number of Section 8 voucher and certificate holders who move to less-distressed areas. These bonuses would encourage PHAs to identify more housing options for voucher and certificate holders.

Crime

Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS) Grants to Underserved Areas. The President announced a COPS program to increase police presence and community policing in neighborhoods where the need is greatest.

Under this initiative, 18 cities will share \$106 million to hire 620 new community policing officers. The pilot cities were selected following an analysis of crime, demographic and economic data. The 18 cities chosen face some of the highest per population levels of crime and/or economic distress in the United States.

Community Prosecutors: The President's FY 99 budget includes \$50 million for grants to promote community prosecution, which builds on effective community policing strategies. The funds will enable local prosecutors across the country to play a more active role in crime fighting by spending more time in their neighborhoods, both helping to solve crimes and preventing them before they happen.

Fighting Hate Crimes. On November 10, 1997, the President and Attorney General Janet Reno hosted the first White House Conference on Hate Crimes, which featured experts and law enforcement officers from around the country. The President announced significant law enforcement and prevention initiatives to get tough on hate crimes, including: support for legislation to expand the federal hate crimes law to cover crimes based on sexual orientation, gender, or disability; the creation of a network of local hate crime working groups; the addition of approximately 50 FBI agents and federal prosecutors to enforce hate crimes laws; improved collection of data on hate crimes; and the production of materials to educate the public -- especially youth -- about hate crimes.

Indian Country Law Enforcement. The President's FY 99 budget proposes a \$182 million initiative, led by the Justice and Interior departments, to address the public safety crisis in Indian country. The initiative will strengthen Indian country law enforcement, primarily, by providing anti-crime grants to Indian jurisdictions, increasing the number of officers per capita and improving the quality of detention facilities.

Health

Eliminating Ethnic Health Disparities. President Clinton announced a \$400 million effort initiative that sets a national goal of eliminating, by the year 2010, longstanding disparities in the health status of racial and ethnic minority groups in six key health areas: infant mortality; diabetes; cancer screening and management; heart disease; AIDS; and immunizations. Currently, for example, African Americans suffer from diabetes at 70 percent higher rates than white Americans, while Native Americans suffer from diabetes at nearly three times the average rate. Vietnamese women suffer from cervical cancer at nearly five times the rate of white women, and Latinos have two to three times the rate of stomach cancer as white Americans. The President announced a five-step plan -- led by Surgeon General and Assistant Secretary for Health Dr. David Satcher -- to mobilize the resources and expertise of the Federal government, the private sector, and local communities.

Children's Health Outreach. Minority children make up a disproportionate number of the over 10 million uninsured children. African-American children make up 25 percent and Hispanic children make up 30 percent of all uninsured children -- more than twice their percentage of the overall population. The President's budget proposes options for states to access higher Federal matching funds for outreach activities and to temporarily enroll children at sites like schools.

Child Care

Child Care and Development Block Grant. The President's budget provides \$7.5 billion in block grants to help working families afford safe, high-quality child care. These new funds will double the number of children in low and moderate-income families receiving child care subsidies to two million by the year 2002.

After-School Programs. The President has proposed expanding the 21st Century Learning Fund by \$800 million over five years. These start-up funds would generate additional school-community partnerships to establish before- and after-schools programs, allowing 4,000 schools across the country to implement programs for up to 500,000 children each year.

Early Learning Fund. The President's FY 99 budget would establish a five-year, \$3 billion fund for community grants to promote early childhood development and improve child care quality for young children.

ENGAGING AMERICANS IN A BROAD AND CONSTRUCTIVE DIALOGUE

Presidential Dialogues. On April 14, 1998, the President held his second national conversation on Race in Houston, Texas. The town hall session, focusing on race and sports, was broadcast by ESPN. President Clinton's first national dialogue on race relations took place on December 3, 1997 in Akron, Ohio, and was broadcast nationally by C-Span. Advisory Board members, Cabinet members and senior Administration officials hosted more than ninety "watch parties," which were organized around the nation to observe the Akron Town Meeting. On Capitol Hill, Congresswoman Eleanor Holmes Norton (D-DC) and Congressman Tom Davis (R-VA) sponsored a mini-Town-Hall for the D.C. area. On July 8, the President will join Jim Lehrer for a nationally televised conversation on race on PBS.

Advisory Board. The Advisory Board to the President's Initiative on Race is actively involved in public outreach efforts to engage Americans across the nation in this historic effort. To date, the Advisory Board has held eight public meetings in five states and the District of Columbia. The meetings have covered topics ranging from education and housing to employment and the administration of justice. Board members also have individually participated in several hundred meetings with a wide cross-section of communities and constituencies.

Studying Race. In May, the President's Initiative on Race announced that the National Research Council (NRC), the research arm of the National Academy of Sciences, will coordinate studies by prominent researchers on a range of topics related to race, including demographic trends. The work will include findings on whites, blacks, American Indians, Hispanics and Asian Pacific Americans. The project will culminate with a major research conference in October in Washington D.C.

American Indians/Alaska Natives. American Indians and Alaska Natives have been integrated into the work of the Initiative as panelists at Advisory Board meetings and in special Tribal leaders meetings hosted by the Initiative. Advisory Board members and Initiative staff have participated in regional and national conferences hosted by American Indians and Alaska Natives to hear directly from Indian country. In addition, the Administration successfully fought back proposed legislation that would have ended sovereign immunity for tribes and, in May, the President issued an executive order strengthening government-to-government relationships between the tribes and the US.

Presidential Meeting With Conservative Writers and Academics. When President Clinton launched his Race Initiative, he called for a national dialogue that includes views from a wide array of people. On December 19, President Clinton brought together a group of conservatives -- including Ward Connerly, Abigail and Stephen Thernstrom, Linda Chavez and Elaine Chao -- to continue the dialogue and listen to their opinions on race relations in America.

Sparking Dialogue. The Race Initiative has prompted innumerable conversations about race around the country, highlighted by an April "Month of Dialogue." During April, 600 colleges and universities were engaged in a campus week of dialogue, organizing hundreds of race-related events across the nation. On April 30, 41 governors, 22 mayors and more than 100 local YWCAs engaged in dialogues on race during a statewide day of dialogue.

Conversations That Bring Us Together. As part of the Initiative, the Administration launched a program that enlists Administration appointees, Advisory Board members, Cabinet members and Race Initiative staff to host conversations in cities throughout the nation. Thousands have taken part in these conversations in cities across the country.

Super Bowl XXXII PSA. In a unique partnership, the White House and the National Football League teamed up to create a public service announcement for President Clinton's Initiative on Race. The PSA aired before an estimated audience of 140 million people prior to the 1998 Superbowl kick-off. The spot highlighted examples of players from different racial and ethnic backgrounds coming together for a common goal. President Clinton reminded all Americans that we are on the same team and that, through working together, we can build one America.

Informing The Nation. For the first time in history, the President's Economic Report to Congress included an

entire chapter devoted to reviewing trends in racial and ethnic economic inequality.

HIGHLIGHTING PROMISING PRACTICES THAT ARE WORKING TO BUILD ONE AMERICA

Highlighting Promising Practices. One of the critical elements of the Race Initiative is identifying and highlighting local and national efforts to promote racial reconciliation. The Race Initiative is compiling an extensive listing of "promising practices," which are working to bring people together as one America. To date, 150 such promising practices have been identified, and the list continues to grow.

Making Martin Luther King, Jr.'s Birthday A "Day On" Instead of A "Day Off." In 1994, President Clinton signed into law the King Holiday and Service Act making the national holiday a day of service that would bring people together, promote racial cooperation and help to solve problems through citizen action. This year the Corporation for National Service provided \$225,000 in grants to 73 sites across the nation to help spur service projects on MLK Day. On January 19, in honor of Martin Luther King Day, President Clinton helped paint classrooms at Cardozo High School in Washington, D.C. Vice President Gore addressed the congregation at Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta, Georgia. The First Lady read to children in Washington, D.C. Also, 12 Cabinet Secretaries, agency administrators, members of the Race Initiative's Advisory Board, and other White House and Administration staff joined in celebrating Dr. King's birthday by participating in community service events.

First Lady Highlights Boston "Team Harmony" Promising Practice. To highlight successful community efforts, Mrs. Clinton joined forces with the Boston-based Team Harmony Foundation to talk with high school students in Boston and Washington, D.C., about ways to prevent prejudice. More than 8000 Boston youth participated in Mrs. Clinton's visit, and over 2,000 young people attended the Washington, D.C. event. As a result of the First Lady's events, Team Harmony has had requests to expand its program to New York, Chicago, Atlanta and Los Angeles.

RECRUITING LEADERS TO HELP BUILD ONE AMERICA

Calling On Wall Street To Invest In Untapped Potential Of Our Diversity. On January 15, 1998, President Clinton joined Reverend Jesse L. Jackson for the "Wall Street Project" conference at the World Trade Center in New York City. The President told business executives that Wall Street must "draw on the talent and diversity of all our people in communities long bypassed by capital but full of potential." Treasury Secretary Robert E. Rubin, Federal Reserve Chairman Alan Greenspan, and Securities and Exchange Commission Chairman Arthur Levitt Jr. also participated in the event.

Mobilizing Business Leaders. On April 2, 1998, Vice President Gore announced a series of business roundtable discussions, during an appearance on *Black Entertainment Television (BET)*. This series will be chaired by the Vice President and will consist of four meetings with business leaders to discuss issues involving minorities and the business world.

Holding Corporate Forums Across the Country. Hundreds of corporate leaders have participated in corporate forums organized by the Initiative, in conjunction with members of the President's Cabinet. These forums have taken place across the country -- from Florida to Arizona to California.

Partnering With Universities. The American Council on Education (ACE) and the Association of American Colleges and Universities (AACU) have teamed up with the Race Initiative to encourage colleges and universities to conduct special programs focusing on race and diversity in American society. The combined membership of ACE and AACU includes approximately 2000 colleges and universities, more than half of the accredited, degree-granting institutions in America.

Reaching Out To Religious Leaders. The Advisory Board has joined with the religious community to organize

the national faith community, which has so often been at the forefront of this issue. The Initiative has sponsored forums in New Orleans and Louisville, Kentucky, for hundreds of religious leaders.

Outreach to the American Indians. In meetings in Washington, D.C., and around the country, Tribal leaders have offered their advice and recommendations about the unique challenges American Indians face in building one America. The Initiative is identifying Tribal leaders who are working in their own communities to respond to these challenges.

Public Service Announcement Released. On December 2, 1997, the President's Initiative on Race released a public service announcement developed in conjunction with the Leadership Conference on Education Fund and the Ad Council. The PSA challenges youth to become more active in fighting racism and prejudice. It also encourages them to tell President Clinton what they are doing to improve race relations in America.

Call To Action To Young Leaders. On November 28, 1997, the President sent a letter to 25,000 high school senior class presidents, college and university class presidents, and other young leaders from national and local organizations. In the letter, President Clinton issued a call to action by requesting young people commit to participate in at least one project aimed at moving our country closer together. Hundreds of youth leaders from across the country have responded to the President's call. Many of these youth activities are being highlighted as promising practices on the One America Website at <http://www.whitehouse.gov/initiatives/oneamerica>.

Vice President Briefing With Youth Media. On December 1, 1997, the Vice President hosted a briefing at the White House for youth-oriented and specialty media, such as *Vibe Magazine*, *MTV* and *Univision*. At the briefing, the Vice President spoke about the Race Initiative's emphasis on youth, and he called on the media representatives to find ways to use their creative energies to reach young people on the subject of race.

(Accomplishments Document as of September 3, 1998)

Andrea Kane 08/26/98 04:06:34 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Paul J. Weinstein Jr./OPD/EOP
cc: Jonathan Orszag/OPD/EOP, Julie A. Fernandes/OPD/EOP, Cynthia A. Rice/OPD/EOP, Elena Kagan/OPD/EOP
bcc:
Subject: Re: Themes For Edley's Book

Sorry I missed the discussion this a.m. -- late yesterday I learned about a meeting I needed to attend at HHS at the same time. These themes generally sound good to me.

Based on the meeting Julie and I were just in w/ Chris on family & children topics, it sounds like he's also thinking about including something on welfare reform definitely within accomplishments, but possibly also under the Workplan chapter, under the subchapter on Economic Development and Job Opportunities. Apparently he mentioned this when he talked to Elena last night. If it does go in the Workplan, and I'm not convinced it should, I agree this is the best place for it. It sounds like he's thinking of a theme such as "Ensuring welfare reform works for all families". I suggested the strategies we are already pursuing along those lines: Access to Jobs transportation grants, Welfare-to-Work housing vouchers, and the \$3 billion Welfare-to-Work grants which are targeted at the hardest-to-serve/communities with concentrated poverty. Since the WTW funds are currently set to end after FY 99, and they represent a significant strategy and investment in helping those who are disproportionately minority make a successful transition from welfare to work, this might be a place to call for continued funding (subject of course to our budget/policy process). Obviously Bruce will need to weigh in on the general issue of how welfare reform is addressed.

Chris also seemed intrigued by working in fatherhood, though exactly how and where it fits still needs more thought. It may be under a theme of strong and healthy families or under addressing disparities in family structure.

Paul J. Weinstein Jr.

Paul J. Weinstein Jr.
08/26/98 03:17:40 PM
.....

Record Type: Record

To: Jonathan Orszag/OPD/EOP, Julie A. Fernandes/OPD/EOP
cc: Andrea Kane/OPD/EOP
Subject: Themes For Edley's Book

1. Continue policies to raise the employment rates for minorities;
2. Continue policies to insure that no family with a working parent lives below the poverty line;
3. Assure that every American family has the opportunity to purchase a home or rent

affordable housing in areas where there is a source of jobs;

4. Continue policies to reduce the disparities in access to capital, credit, and financial services from traditional and non-traditional sources of finance.

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002. report	DPC Race Initiative Proposals (4 pages)	10/18/97	P5

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

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Domestic Policy Council
Cynthia Rice (Subject Files)
OA/Box Number: 15431

FOLDER TITLE:

Race Initiatives

rx58

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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

African American White House Staff

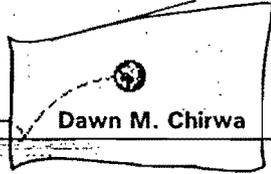
Name	Area of Interest	Department	Phone
Dawn M. Chirwa	African affairs	Office of Counsel to the President	67903
Jaine L. Jeffers	criminal justice	OMB/President's Int. on DC	53965
Mark F. Lindsay	housing and urban development, United Nations issues,	Office of Counsel to the President	67903
Robert B. Johnson	African American policy	Office of Public Liaison	62930
Richard L. Hayes	civil rights, labor policy, environmental justice, affirmative action, minority business development, information resources	Office of Public Liaison	62930
Sharolyn A. Rosier	Africa, trade, science and technology	White House Correspondence	65509
Minyon Moore	strategic planning, foreign policy (Africa, Europe, Latin America) domestic issues that impact women, African Americans, and people of color	Office of Political Affairs	65249
Karen E. Finney	young women's issues	White House Scheduling	62960
Karl A. Racine	juvenile crime, U.S.-Haitian policy, third world labor	Office of Counsel to the President	67903
Ada L. Posey	systems for management investment, employment diversity, Welfare to Work, corporate community relations, higher education	Office of Administration	57100
Cheryl D. Mills	civil rights, education policy, legal reform	Office of Counsel to the President	66611
Beverly J. Barnes	education, African studies, business issues	Office of Chief of Staff	66796
Cecily C. Williams	Youth Outreach, Scheduling and Advance	Legislative Affairs	62896

File -
~~with~~ Rose chreitative

African-American WH staff
 w/ an interest in policy.

FK, PMJ,
 Tom, Mike,
 Jose, CR,
 CHRIS, JEN
 FBI

WH - Legal



Dawn M. Chirwa

10/16/97 12:38:14 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Minyon Moore/WHO/EOP, Robert B. Johnson/WHO/EOP

cc:

Subject: REMINDER: INTEREST AND INCLUSION IN OTHER WHITE HOUSE POLICY MATTERS

Sorry -- meant to send this to you earlier:

I have a strong interest in African affairs, particularly East and South Central Africa (Malawi, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Kenya, Tanzania, Botswana, etc.) I lived in this area of Africa for 5 years, my father is Malawian and I have many relatives who live in Malawi and Zambia. Also, many of my relatives are politically active in Malawian and Zambian affairs, and so I know a lot about the political situation in these countries -- both historically and currently.

As for my expertise: In law school, I focussed on international law classes and was on the Stanford International Law Journal -- with an emphasis on African affairs and issues related to developing nations. In addition, I worked at the Office of the Legal Adviser at the State Department for approximately 1 year before coming to work here.

Hope this helps.

----- Forwarded by Dawn M. Chirwa/WHO/EOP on 10/16/97 12:23 PM -----

Janie L. Jeffers

President's Initiative
on DC / OMB

10/16/97 09:46:48 AM

Record Type: Record

To: Minyon Moore/WHO/EOP

cc:

Subject: Re: REMINDER: INTEREST AND INCLUSION IN OTHER WHITE HOUSE POLICY MATTERS

I have over 25 years of experience in criminal justice issues, particularly corrections. I was deputy commissioner for the NYC Dept. of Corrections for many years, served as a consultant nationally, worked for the WHO in Geneva and the National Institute of Corrections in Colorado and more. Published several articles on AIDS in prisons/jails.

As policy advisor for the President's Crime Prevention Council, I am also interested in public-private partnerships around the issues of crime prevention. Also established office in the Justice Dept., Bureau of Prisons, for outreach to communities to build partnerships.

Let me know if you need a resume.

Legal Counsel
WH - Administration

Mark F. Lindsay
10/16/97 10:53:01 AM

Record Type: Record

To: Minyon Moore/WHO/EOP

cc: Ada L. Posey/OA/EOP

Subject: Re: REMINDER: INTEREST AND INCLUSION IN OTHER WHITE HOUSE POLICY MATTERS

I apologize for getting this information to you late. I have put together some general information that I hope will be useful in the identification of activities that I can help with.

Area of Interest:

Housing and Urban Development

Justification:

I served as his primary legal counsel to Congressman Louis Stokes for several years. Congressman Stokes is currently the ranking member on the VA HUD and Independent Agencies Appropriations Subcommittee and has been a member of the Labor-HHS subcommittee for over 27 years. As you know, the Congressman has been a strong leader in the areas of civil rights, education, housing and health care.

Area of Interest:

International Affairs: United Nations Issues

Higher Education

Justification:

As a trustee and member of the executive committee of Macalester College board of trustees I have been privileged to serve my alma mater by playing a role in its development. With an endowment of over \$500 million, Macalester is one of the most well funded colleges in America. As a trustee, I have been intimately involved in the financial management, resources planning, and program evaluation of the entire institution. This has included overseeing the investment of the college's financial resources and maintaining its strategic mission. My tenure on the board has allowed me to develop close relationships with other Macalester Board members, who include Kofi A. Annan, the current Secretary General of the United Nations; Joan and Walter Mondale, former Vice President of the United States; and Heinz Hutter, President and Chief Executive Officer of Cargill Incorporated (the largest privately held corporation in the world).

PUBLICATIONS:

Topic: International Law

The Recovery of Cultural Artifacts: The Legacy of our Archaeological Heritage, 22 Case W. Res. J. Int'l. L. 165 (1990).

Topic: International Law

The Influence of Western Legal Principles in China, Georgetown University Thesis (1995).

Topic: Environmental Law/Civil Rights

Brownfield Redevelopment: A Step Forward For Environmental Justice
Department of Commerce Conference on Environmental Issues (1997).

Topic: Labor Law

As research assistant to Professor Calvin Sharp, assisted in the research and composition of the article, Fact-Finding in Ohio: Advancing the Role of Rationality in Public Sector Collective Bargaining, 18 U. Tol. L. Rev. 283 (1987).

Topics: Civil Rights, Environmental, Housing and Urban Development

Numerous articles and press statements drafted for Congressman Stokes published in the Cleveland Bar Journal, the Cleveland Call & Post newspaper and the Cleveland Plain Dealer newspaper.

PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS:

Trustee, Macalester College Board of Trustees. College trustee with oversight responsibilities for endowment of over \$500,000,000. 1990 - present.

Board Member, Boys and Girls Clubs for the Washington, D.C. Area. 1995 - present.

Board Member, Georgetown University Alumni Club of Washington, D.C. 1995 - present.

Member of the American and District of Columbia Bar Associations.

Volunteer judge for University of Maryland and Georgetown Moot Courts. 1992 - present.

Volunteer, United Way of St. Paul, MN and Washington, D.C. 1990 - 1992.

Attorney for Chicago Volunteer Legal Services' Howard Street Clinic. 1988 - 1989.

Selected member, American Inns of Court, Cleveland Chapter. 1987 - 1988.

EDUCATION:

Georgetown University, Washington, D.C., M.A.L.S. in International Affairs, 1995.

Case Western Reserve University School of Law, Cleveland, Ohio. J.D., 1988.

Case Western Reserve Merit Scholar, Awarded for academic achievement.

Senior Notes Editor, Case Western Reserve Journal of International Law. Recipient of full tuition scholarship to Case Western Reserve School of Law awarded by the law firms of Jones, Day, Reavis & Pogue; Baker & Hostetler; and Arter & Hadden.

Macalester College, St. Paul, Minnesota. B.A., Majors: Economics, and Classical Civilization & Archaeology, 1985.

Shaker Heights High School, Shaker Heights, Ohio, 1981.

Georgetown University Forensics Institute, (Debate) Washington, D.C., 1980.

OFFICE OF PUBLIC LIAISON

Robert B. Johnson

10/16/97 10:38:38 AM

Record Type: Record

To: Minyon Moore/WHO/EOP

cc:

Subject: Re: REMINDER: INTEREST AND INCLUSION IN OTHER WHITE HOUSE POLICY MATTERS 

I am interested in all areas of policy that affects the African American community. Whether its law enforcement, health, employment and training, child immunization, poverty rates, minority lending, housing.....you name it and I claim it.

OFFICE OF PUBLIC LIAISON

Richard L. Hayes

10/16/97 08:50:01 AM

Record Type: Record

To: Minyon Moore/WHO/EOP

cc:

Subject: Re: REMINDER: INTEREST AND INCLUSION IN OTHER WHITE HOUSE POLICY MATTERS

Sorry, I did not get this to you sooner. Generally, my interests are wide ranging including civil rights, affirmative action, minority business development, information resources management, labor policy, occupational safety and health, environmental justice, employment and training and other social welfare and urban policies, and efforts to help developing nations including Africa and South America. I have conducted research and have done work in each of these areas except for developing nation concerns (a recent interest of mine), but am a quick study. In addition to having Washington contacts (e.g., hill staff, interest groups, minority businessmen, and other federal officials), I also have a number of academic contacts that I consult with regularly on issues that I am engaged. I hope this helps.

WH-CORRESPONDENCE

Sharolyn A. Rosier 10/06/97 03:09:03 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Minyon Moore/WHO/EOP

cc:

Subject: AF-Am Staff Meeting

From the meeting I gathered that you would be compiling the list of staff interests/expertise. I have a Masters in Public Policy (my concentration is domestic policy). Also, extensive education and experience in journalism, press, public relations, labor, human rights, civil rights, housing, and veteran's issues.

Issues of interest:

Africa
Trade
Small business
Space policy
Older Americans
Science and Technology

Minyon, if you should need more information, please let me know (65509).

Also, I volunteered to help draft a stump speech. Do you know who I should contact about this?
Thanks.

SAR

Minyon Moore

WH Political Affairs

"GOOD POLITICS CAN HELP MAKE GREAT POLICY"

Areas of interest:

- A. I am interested in a broad range of foreign policy issues and how they impact the U.S. Of particular interest is our emerging and in some cases developing relationships with Africa, the European Continent and our Latin America counterparts.
- B. Clearly, I am interested in domestic policy issues that impact the African American community in particular, but People of Color and women in general (i.e. race initiative, census, Affirmative Action, education, religion, health care, criminal justice policies, procurement, etc). I would like to be involved with helping to determine the best way to articulate and frame some of our policies to our Congressional leaders and national leaders across the country.
- C. If there are areas within the White House that concentrate on Strategic and long-term planning, I would like to be involved. It easier to red flag hot button political and policy issues if you're involved in the developmental stages of the process.
- D. Lastly, I want to be involved in more meetings. (JUST A JOKE FOR WHOEVER IS READING THIS)...Wherever I can be off assistance, I'm available to serve.

WH - scheduling

Karen E. Finney

10/03/97 04:50:04 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Minyon Moore/WHO/EOP

cc:

Subject:

As a follow-up to our meeting yesterday, I would like to added to the list of folks available for apeech requests. In particular, I'd like to speak to young people and in particular, women.

I think these meetings are fantastic.

Thanks!

Karl A. Racine
10/16/97 12:34:40 PM

WH - Legal

Record Type: Record

To: Minyon Moore/WHO/EOP

cc:

Subject: Re: REMINDER: INTEREST AND INCLUSION IN OTHER WHITE HOUSE POLICY MATTERS 

Sorry for the delay. Apart from areas of law, I am particularly interested in issues affecting juvenile crime (alternatives to incarceration), U.S.-Haitian policy, and labor practices of U.S. companies in third-world countries.

Thanks,
Karl

WH - Legal

Cheryl D. Mills

10/16/97 05:20:34 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Minyon Moore/WHO/EOP

cc:

Subject: Re: REMINDER: INTEREST AND INCLUSION IN OTHER WHITE HOUSE POLICY MATTERS 

Civil rights, education policy, legal reform

OFFICE OF ADMINISTRATION

Ada L. Posey

10/16/97 03:59:02 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Minyon Moore/WHO/EOP

cc: Ann F. Walker/WHO/EOP

Subject: Re: REMINDER: INTEREST AND INCLUSION IN OTHER WHITE HOUSE POLICY MATTERS

Many thanks for your leadership and your kind persistence with folks like me. . . I hope I'm not toooooo late. . .

Interests and/or areas of expertise:

Establishing processes and structures for managing investments in information technology in the public sector.

Preparing government workers for a 21st-century workplace.

Small Business contracting in government.

Leading and employing diversity in the workplace (private and public sector)-- hiring, training, awareness.

Welfare to Work initiatives in the government (White House).

Corporate community relations.

Leadership and management in the private and public sector.

Volunteer service to youth - mentoring for college preparatory and college bound minority youth.

Higher Education.

Born and raised in Minneapolis, Minnesota. Democratic Party Activist and previously held state-wide party offices for over 15 years.

Affiliations

Member, Links Incorporated

Trustee, Carleton College, Northfield, Minnesota

Member, Association of Governing Boards of Universities and Colleges

Affiliated with National Medical Association-- (non-medical membership. . . father is a physician and loyal member)

 Beverly J. Barnes

10/17/97 12:08:48 PM

Cedric C. Williams
10/17/97 04:29:33

Record Type: Record

To: Minyon Moore/WHO/EOP

cc:

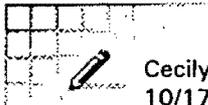
Subject: My areas of interest and limited expertise

Having covered K-12 education for three years during my days as a reporter (and with a history of teachers in my family), I am very interested in all K-12 education issues, as well as in education issues generally. I do have some knowledge and history on this subject

I also recently started traveling in Africa. I have several close friends living in South Africa. So the continent, and particularly that region is of special interest to me. I confess to having no deep knowledge of this topic, however.

Finally, my years working at IBM left me with a good deal of interest and some actual knowledge about business issues. Issues of trade and procurement are areas where I would be happy to assist in any way that I can.

Thanks, bb



Cecily C. Williams
10/17/97 01:27:59 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Minyon Moore/WHO/EOP

cc:

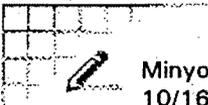
bcc:

Subject: Re: REMINDER: INTEREST AND INCLUSION IN OTHER WHITE HOUSE POLICY MATTERS 

My other areas of interest include:

1. Youth Outreach-- PIR, White House Internship Program
2. Scheduling & Advance-- I am interested in gaining advance experience both domestic and foreign

Minyon Moore



Minyon Moore
10/16/97 09:36:14 AM

Record Type: Record

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

cc:

Subject: REMINDER: INTEREST AND INCLUSION IN OTHER WHITE HOUSE POLICY MATTERS

Last call --- final reminder: I've only rec'd a couple of folks interest. I'll be turning these into EB on tomorrow.

----- Forwarded by Minyon Moore/WHO/EOP on 10/16/97 09:30 AM -----



Minyon Moore
10/14/97 04:31:18 PM

Record Type: Record

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

cc:

Subject: REMINDER: INTEREST AND INCLUSION IN OTHER WHITE HOUSE POLICY MATTERS

This will serve as a reminder and a follow-up to each of you to make sure you e-mail me and Ben with your interest in other areas of the White House.

From Beverly Barnes e-mail dated 10/2: " We need to compile an inventory of the interests and

Free Initiative

CC: JULIE
JOSE
PJW
CR
MIKE
+ return
-BP

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

Date: 9-29-98

ACTION / CONCURRENCE / COMMENT DUE BY: 10-5-98

9 A.M.

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

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

REMARKS:

Comments to Maria Echaveste

RESPONSE:

Draft 11; 9/25/98

INTRODUCTION

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

PART I: THE AMERICA WE WANT

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

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

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

PART II: THE COMMUNITY WE MUST BUILD

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

→ More about Responsibility

PART III: THE OPPORTUNITY WE DESERVE

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

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

Best racial progress
is opp. for all

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

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

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

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

assessment tools are a start.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

also ~~fails~~
its failure to
catch bad guys
(comm. prosecution)

4.

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

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

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

PART IV: THE ROAD FORWARD

- 1. Leadership call -- American's must hold leaders accountable for active, effective engagement on our most pressing challenges, and race is certainly one of them. We need leaders in institutions and communities as part of this workplan for the nation
 - a. *Community leadership and action* – in communities around the nation, local and metro/regional partnership to formulate and implement a community workplan for building bridges and opportunity.
 - b. *Sectoral leadership and action* – each sector with a tailored plan for both national and grass-roots engagement. Target sectors: higher education; the faith communities; corporate; labor; youth; the media²
 - c. *Federal leadership and action* through renaissance of the Civil Rights Commission,

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

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

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

Endnotes:

a. Such a Bill of Rights might include the following:

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

Power
distribution

DOE
TUESDAY
OCT. 20
COB
Send my
E-mail to Paul
October 9, 1998

Mike
Jose
Julie
Tanya (NAT'L
Service)
Cynthia

MEMORANDUM TO BRUCE REED AND GENE SPERLING

CC: Paul Weinstein
John Kaplan

FROM: Maria Echaveste

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

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

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

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

- Housing vouchers
- Legal immigrant benefits
- \$36i WTW
- Access to jobs
- First ever Surgeon General's report on tobacco + race

Economic Opportunity Accomplishments for Race Book -- from Welfare Reform Team

The President has fought to ensure every community had the tools it needs to make the transition from welfare to work and to reverse unfair cuts in benefits to legal immigrants that were included in the welfare reform bill:

- **Welfare-to-Work.** Because of the President's leadership, the 1997 Balanced Budget Act included the \$3 billion requested by the President for his welfare-to-work fund. In FY 1998 and 1999, \$1.5 billion will be provided to States and localities to help hard-to-employ, long-term welfare recipients and certain noncustodial parents obtain lasting, unsubsidized jobs. The majority of funds are targeted to concentrated areas of poverty.
- **Access to Jobs.** The Access to Jobs initiative, proposed by President Clinton and enacted in 1998 as part of the TEA-21 transportation reauthorization, will provide resources to assist states and communities that develop solutions -- such as vanpools and late-night and weekend service -- to help low income individuals with job-related transportation needs. These competitive grants will assist individuals in inner cities access job opportunities in the suburbs. Access to Jobs will leverage other transportation resources by requiring a dollar-for-dollar match. Congress authorized up to \$150 million a year for this initiative, with guaranteed funding beginning at \$50 million and increasing in subsequent years. The FY 1999 budget negotiated by the Administration includes \$75 million for the first year of the program.
- **Welfare-to-Work Housing Vouchers.** Congress has approved the President's FY 1999 budget request for \$283 million for 50,000 new vouchers exclusively for people who need housing assistance to make the transition from welfare to work. Local agencies would have flexibility to design and operate the welfare-to-work voucher program within broad national guidelines, encouraging maximum local creativity and innovation. Families could use the housing vouchers to move closer to a new job or secure more stable housing.
- **Tax Credits for Employers.** The Welfare to Work Tax Credit, enacted in the 1997 Balanced Budget Act, provides a credit equal to 35 percent of the first \$10,000 in wages in the first year of employment, and 50 percent of the first \$10,000 in wages in the second year, to encourage the hiring and retention of long term welfare recipients. This credit complements the Work Opportunity Tax Credit, which provides a credit of up to \$2,400 for the first year of wages for eight groups of job seekers. The FY 1999 budget bill extends these important tax credits.
- **Restoring Food Stamp Benefits for Legal Immigrants.** In June 1998, the President signed the Agricultural Research Act into law, which restores food stamp benefits to 250,000 elderly, disabled, and other needy legal immigrants, including 75,000 children, who lawfully resided in the U.S. as of August 22, 1996 and lost assistance as a result of cuts in the 1996 welfare law that had nothing to do with welfare reform. It restores benefits to Hmong immigrants from Laos who aided our country during the Vietnam War

and extends the period during which refugees and asylees may qualify for Food Stamps while they await citizenship. This law funds a significant part of the President's 1999 budget proposal to restore food stamp benefits to 730,000 legal immigrants, but the President's budget proposal would go further by covering families with children regardless of the date they entered the U.S.

- **Restoring Health and Disability Benefits for Legal Immigrants.** The Balanced Budget Act of 1997 restored \$11.5 billion in SSI and Medicaid benefits for legal immigrants whose benefits were also terminated in welfare reform. This law protects those immigrants now receiving assistance, ensuring that they will not be turned out of their apartments or nursing homes or otherwise left destitute. And for immigrants already here but not receiving benefits, the BBA does not change the rules retroactively. Immigrants in the country as of August 22, 1996 but not receiving benefits at that time who subsequently become disabled will also be fully eligible for SSI and Medicaid benefits.

**President Clinton Achieves a Successful Budget Conclusion
Saving Social Security First and Investing in the 21st Century**

October 13, 1998

Saving Social Security First

Invests in Education and Training

Moves Forward, Not Backward, Toward a Cleaner Environment

Responds to the Farm Crisis at Home...

...And Financial Turmoil Abroad

**Helps Move People from Welfare to Work and Empowers
Communities**

Responds to the Farm Crisis at Home...

...And Financial Turmoil Abroad

Moves People from Welfare to Work and Empowers Communities

Saving Social Security First

In his State of the Union address, President Clinton asked a basic question "what should we do with this projected surplus," and gave an historic four word answer: "Save Social Security first."

With fiscal health restored, marked by the first surplus in a generation, President Clinton is determined to seize this unique opportunity to strengthen this most important program for generations to come. Protecting the surplus is a key step towards enacting Social Security reform. President Clinton defeated repeated efforts to squander the surplus and, at the end of this Congress, it remains intact.

Invests in Education and Training:

- **After School Programs** --
- **America Reads** -- Conference carrying at full \$260 million
- **Gear Up for College** --
- **Teacher Recruitment** -- Conference is carrying at \$75 million, above the initiative request of \$67 million (previously House and Senate had zero).
- **Head Start** -- Conference carrying at full request of \$4.66 billion -- \$313 million increase.
- **Education Technology** -- conference is carrying at just \$614 million, up \$20 million over last year. It remains an open issue among conferees. We proposed \$721 million, up \$137 million. OMB carrying solid goal of \$707 million -- major issue in omnibus push.
- **Charter Schools** -- conference carrying at full \$20 million or 25% increase, from \$80 million last year to \$100 million.
- **Dislocated Workers** -- conference carrying a \$55 million over last year (\$1.406 billion in FY99 vs. \$1.351 billion in FY98). \$45 million below President's request.
- **Summer Jobs** -- conference carrying at President's request of \$871 million. (House zeroed out program.)
- **Learning Anytime, Anywhere (Education)** -- while apparently still open, conferees carrying at just \$5 million, compared to \$30 million request. Add Labor piece

Moves Forward, Not Backward, Toward a Cleaner Environment

Responds to the Farm Crisis at Home...

....And Financial Turmoil Abroad

Moves People from Welfare to Work and Empowers Communities

- **Welfare-to-Work Housing Vouchers** -- funded at full request of \$283 million and 50,000 vouchers.
- **Neighborhood Reinvestment Corp** -- VA-HUD provided the full requested 50% or \$30 million increase. Ensures we can start "Play by the Rules" homeownership initiative.

Housing vouchers
Empowerment Zones
Access to Jobs??
CDFI

Advances a Robust Health and Technology Research Agenda

- **NSF** -- VA-HUD funded \$244 million of \$344 million requested increase, funded at \$3.67 billion.
- **ATP** -- conferees carrying a freeze of \$193 million. We proposed \$260 million, including \$94 million in new awards. OMB goal is \$204, which apparently will actually allow for about \$72 million in new awards. (Note: there is also language that bars new awards that needs to be dropped).

Other Highlights:

- **Child Labor** -- conference carrying at President's full request of \$39 million (House was at

\$9 million.) This includes full funding of IPEC, domestic enforcement, and migrant youth training demonstration.

- **Food Safety Initiative** -- Ag conference funded \$52 million of \$101 million increase/initiative. Push in omnibus for \$44 million more.
- **More Police on the Street** --