

STATE OF THE UNION IDEAS

Asian Pacific American Community

The Asian Pacific American Community continues to be very concerned about an overall perception of Asian Pacific Americans as foreigners as raised by such incidences as the Los Alamos espionage case. The issues of discrimination, civil rights, stereotyping, anti-immigrant sentiment are exacerbated by this view of Asian Pacific Americans as "non-American". Many of the issues and overall themes suggestion by the APA community reflect the desire that the President make strong statements regarding unity, racial tolerance and harmony, and a positive view of immigrants.

Overall Themes:

1) The Changing face of America: As we enter the 21st Century America is more diverse in terms of race, ethnicity, religion, etc... than ever before. Our nation continues to be strengthened by the diversity of our population and we must continue to assure that all people within our shores (including non-citizens) receive full civil rights protections and afforded the opportunity to strive for educational and economic success. This overall theme could be an umbrella for many of the issues that the APA community would like the President to raise in the State of the Union, including:

- **Hate Crimes** – commitment to push for strong hate crimes legislation. Suggested that the Family of Joseph Ileto (Filipino American Postal worker killed in Los Angeles) be featured during speech and invited to attend the speech.
- **Immigrant Rights and Benefits** – The APA community is very concerned about the anti-immigrant sentiment in this country and would like the President to come out strong in reiterating his commitment to fix the denial of benefits for legal immigrants in the Welfare and Immigration laws of 1996. They would like to see him go further in supporting initiatives in assisting immigrants with social integration issues, including English Language education (such as ELS/Civics initiative proposed in last year's budget), assistance for immigrant entrepreneurs and farmers, as well as protection of employment rights of immigrants.
- **Immigration Issues** – Reducing the immigration backlog and equity for immigrant from Asian countries continue to be top on the list for APA's.
- **Asian Pacific American Executive Order** – Would like to see the President highlight the Executive Order which he signed to improve the lives of Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders as an example of how the federal government is working to address the needs of all segments of our society.
- **Confirmation of Minority Appointments** – This community has strongly supported the

President efforts to assure that his appointments reflect the true face of American and want him to mention the importance of confirming minority candidates such as Bill Lann Lee and Minority Judges.

- **Census 2000** – the importance assuring that all communities are accurately counted in the upcoming Census 2000.
- **Affirmative Action** – Given the recent state ballot initiatives and the current debate in Florida, the APA community felt that the President should reiterate his commitment to Affirmative Action.
- **President's One America Initiative** – the APA community supports the continued efforts of the One America initiative, but want to emphasize that when the President talks about race issues they would like it be viewed in terms of the entire complexity of racial issues not just black and white.

2) Renewing Democracy and Civic Engagement: The other major theme is encouraging civic engagement. In the last several years the Asian Pacific American community in particular has felt disenfranchised from the democratic process. The APA Community felt that it is very important for the President to make a statement on the importance of the participation of all segments of our society in our democratic process. In this context they also raised the need to reduce the backlog and time that it takes to become a citizen.

They would like to see the President recognize a prominent Asian Pacific American elected official such as Gov. Gary Locke (D-WA) to demonstrate that Asian Pacific American and welcomed and successful in government and elective politics.

Other issues:

Filipino Veterans: A major issue for the State of the Union and also budget considerations is the community's continuing support for benefits for Filipino Veterans who fought with the U.S. military during World War II. They would like to see the President' budget including funding for benefits, particularly health benefits and would like to see the President mention the Filipino Veterans in the context of Veterans issues, or in the context of the contributions of Asian Pacific Americans to the United States.

Other general issues that were raised by the Community were: funding for **education**, attention to **mental illness issues**, **assistance to farmers**, **technology** issues including the **digital divide**. On this issue, they would like to make sure that Asian Pacific Americans are included in mention of the digital divide, because there is a misperception that all Asian Pacific Americans are doing well in terms of access to

technology. This is not true for Pacific Islanders, Southeast Asians, and many of the more disadvantaged communities with the APA population.

Civil Rights - 12/24

FAR
4 pm

TA

10th Anniversary of the ADA

many celebrations

statute has built into it to for technical assistance
public accommodations,

- TA for disability rights work -

- TA to police dept on excessive use of force, diversity
of training (talk to them)

- DRS - homebuilder - amnesty FAR Housing Act 1991 effect
many are not compliance + want amnesty -
provide more guidance

Not a subst. for T.A.)

US Attorney building capacity building

Hate Crime working groups (HCWG)

Advocating

CRS/US Attorney - HCWG capacity building

Building infrastructure cases

CRD + US Attorney US Attorney election cases - state later want to
take case

Cost: DRS, Crime, income ↑

Voting Rights Act

We have to mandating obligation

Amirulaziz of Houston

December 8, 1999 – DRAFT

FY2001 CIVIL RIGHTS PROPOSALS

AMERICANS WITH DISABILITY ACT (ADA) TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE AND SUPPORT INITIATIVE – providing resources to the Department of Justice’s Civil Rights Division to provide support and technical assistance to entities to assist in their compliance with the ADA. Cost = \$4.04 million

- **Project Community Access** – conduct a comprehensive review of public accommodations to ensure that they are in compliance with the ADA. The Civil Rights Division has begun such a review but with additional resources this review can expand to ensure that public accommodations are accessible to individuals with disabilities.
- **People with Mental Disabilities** – provide training to police, public institutions, jails, prisons and other detention facilities to educate and sensitize them to the unique needs and situations that arise when dealing with individual with mental disabilities.
- **Historic Sites** – Some of America’s historic sites and national monuments are not accessible to individuals with disabilities. This proposal would identify those sites that are not accessible to individuals with disabilities.
- **Outreach to Underserved Communities** – This is public outreach effort targeted to underserved communities such as rural communities and inner cities to educate them about the requirements under the ADA.

CIVIL RIGHTS TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE AND SUPPORT PROGRAM – This proposal seeks to provide information about our civil rights law and guidance to help entities to comply with these laws. Also, this proposal would include assistance to entities with compliance in cases in which an enforcement action has been taken.
Cost = \$1 million.



Cynthia A. Rice

12/06/99 03:58:55 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Irene Bueno/OPD/EOP@EOP

cc: J. Eric Gould/OPD/EOP@EOP, Eugenia Chough/OPD/EOP@EOP

Subject: Disability Task Force recommendation on civil rights enforcement

Irene -- here's the recommendation on ADA/Rehab Act enforcement that the President's Task Force on Employment of Adults with Disabilities will make in its forthcoming report. I'm glad to hear Julie Fernandes is engaged in this; we've been coordinating with Liz Savage at Justice, Eddie Correia, and Lisa Brown (OVP). From the yellow book, Liz appears to be a counselor to Bill Lann Lee in the Civil Rights Division.



dis1021 private employers doj ide About 6 weeks ago, Liz sent us this email with an idea for how to build upon the guide OPM prepared for the federal government, which we had just released.

The Task Force recommends that:

The President direct the Departments of Justice and Labor and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to collaborate in exploring methods for strengthening enforcement of employment-related nondiscrimination provisions of the Americans with Disabilities Act and the Rehabilitation Act. All efforts shall provide a clear and unequivocal message that expanded employment opportunities for individuals with disabilities are a high priority of the Administration. The efforts of the Department of Labor and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission should include providing increased technical assistance to employers, strengthening compliance evaluations, and enhancing data collection as appropriate.

Effective enforcement of employment-related nondiscrimination requirements is crucial to increasing employment opportunities for individuals with disabilities. The enforcement agencies must continue to explore new and more effective approaches for increasing compliance with laws requiring equal opportunity for job applicants and employees with disabilities. The enforcement agencies should develop and disseminate technical assistance guides to assist employers in understanding and implementing nondiscrimination requirements. These agencies should also develop educational tools with which to inform individuals with disabilities of the full range of protections under the ADA and the Rehabilitation Act. The enforcement agencies also should explore methods to

strengthen their investigation processes. For example, the Department of Labor, through Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs (OFCCP), should utilize compliance evaluation procedures that allow the agency to focus on systemic barriers to the employment of individuals with disabilities. The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), in coordination with the Departments of Justice and Labor, should explore enhancing data collection efforts with respect to the employment and the availability of persons with disabilities in the workforce, possibly through new regulations. Consistent with their complementary responsibilities for enforcement, the EEOC and OFCCP should explore joint enforcement strategies.



Cynthia A. Rice

12/06/99 04:16:09 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Irene Bueno/OPD/EOP@EOP
cc:
bcc:
Subject: Re: Disability Task Force recommendation on civil rights enforcement

You should review, but know this is final (this is what the Task Force will include in its report). I apologize for not thinking of showing it to you first; Eddie Correia, DOJ, DOL and maybe EEOC did have a chance to submit proposed edits before it went final (though decisions were made by the Task Force)
Irene Bueno

Irene Bueno



 12/06/99 04:09:39 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Cynthia A. Rice/OPD/EOP@EOP
cc:
bcc:
Subject: Re: Disability Task Force recommendation on civil rights enforcement

Thanks. I will review and get back to you.
Cynthia A. Rice



Cynthia A. Rice

12/06/99 03:58:55 PM

Record Type: Record

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cc: J. Eric Gould/OPD/EOP@EOP, Eugenia Chough/OPD/EOP@EOP
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Date: 10/15/1999 05:29 pm (Friday)
Subject: Follow-up to 503 Enforcement Discussion

Eddie, Lisa, Becky --

Instead of, or in addition to, OFFCP's emphasis on increasing investigation of individual complaints we have another idea to propose:

1) Distill the OPM Model Plan guidance into a technical assistance document that will be useful to private sector employers. (We (CRT/DOJ) would be willing to take a cut at this).

2) Have OFFCP send this distilled document to all of its federal contractors (with an appropriate cover letter stating that :

- a) it is a technical assistance document (that avoids any PRA problem);
- b) it provides a good framework for addressing the employment of people w/disabilities;
- c) OFCCP will be conducting compliance reviews over the next ____ years.

3) OFFCP should do compliance reviews to look at :

- a) outreach efforts on disability;
- b) whether the employer has an appropriate policy on providing reasonable accommodation;
- c) how many disabled employees they have (if they know)

These reviews could be either part of their current reviews or could be a separate initiative (i.e. 500-1000 reviews limited to disability issues). It seems that site visits would not be required for most reviews -- therefore the cost should be limited.

(FYI - we used a similar process for our ADA compliance reviews of 9-1-1 emergency centers)

--Liz and Mark

12/7/1999 -DRAFT

STATE OF THE UNION - IMMIGRATION TOPICS

(Last year, the President only mentioned the ESL initiative and referred to the backlogs. In addition, to mentioning the ESL initiative, I think he should signal more his leadership on reforming the current immigration system that is broken and by passing legislation to reform current immigration laws that have unfairly separated families and have undermined our efforts to support emerging democracies.)

PROVIDING FAIRNESS TO IMMIGRANT FAMILIES AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR NEW AMERICANS OR – NEW AMERICAN INITIATIVE –

- Urge Congress to enact legislation to provide fairness to immigrant families and opportunities for new Americans by: restructuring the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS); restoring important disability, health, and nutrition benefits to additional categories of legal immigrants; approving the Administration's proposal to support the process of democratization and stabilization now underway in Central America and Haiti and ensure equitable treatment for migrants from these countries; changing the registry date to permit long-term migrants to adjust their status; and full funding of the ESL/Civics Instruction Initiative.

IMMIGRATION FY 2001 LEGISLATIVE AND BUDGET PROPOSALS

(DOJ and INS do not think that the Administration should send up its own a comprehensive proposal or a INS Restructuring proposal. They are concerned a comprehensive proposal would play into Rep. Lamar Smith argument that the Administration is being too soft on immigrants and only want to legalize illegal immigrants. They believe it's a better strategy to send individual bills that has support for different reasons and from different constituencies.

For the INS Restructuring Proposal, they are concerned that an Administration proposal would not garner Republican support and they prefer that we work out the language, express support, and to other things to highlight the need for passage (Op-Ed, etc.)

- 1. INS Restructuring Proposal.** This proposal will be based on the Administration's principles and similar to the proposal that we developed at the end of the session. In an effort to try to get INS restructuring legislation next year, we are further refining this proposal to garner full backing from key immigrant groups and members of Congress.

I have been working with OMB to include some reforms to the INS financing structure in the FY2001 budget to ensure that funds for immigration services (backlog reductions for naturalization and green card applications, testing, training, etc) are not used for enforcement purposes and that there are sufficient funds for these immigration services. These reforms are similar to those proposed in our latest proposal to Rogers and Smith. Also, OMB is looking into other proposals that we can put forward that does not require legislation but a reprogramming request and approval from the appropriations committee (eg. CFO).

(Mon Kim Rep. Rogers)

Budget Proposal

Also, there are other budget proposals that are included –

- Citizenship Test Streamlining – asking for report by Jan. 15 how they implement using existing funds
- Detention – includes funds to implement the standards that have been developed.
- Border – to help implement the border safety/MOU

2. **Fairness for Legal Immigrant Families Act of 2000** – This is a comprehensive immigration legislative proposal that includes various parts that can be moved separately. These proposals seek to address significant immigration problems that are adversely affecting immigrant families and their US citizenship children. The proposal would include:

Title I – Central American and Haitian Parity Act of 1999. This proposal would allow qualified nationals of El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Haiti an opportunity to become lawful permanent residents of the United States if they have been continuously present in the United States since December 1, 1995. Consequently, under this bill, eligible nationals of these countries would receive treatment equivalent to that granted to the Nicaraguans and Cubans under *Nicaraguan Adjustment and Central American Relief Act of 1997 (NACARA)*. This is an Administration proposal that which has bipartisan support.

Title II – Registry Date Revision. This proposal would permit long-term migrants to adjust their status if they have been in the US since 1986. Since 1952, the United States immigration law has permitted individuals who have been living in the United States for a long period of time and are of good moral character to become legal permanent residents (section 249 of the Immigration and Naturalization Act). This provision is referred to as the “*registry date*”. The registry date has been revised throughout the years and the last time the registry date was revised was in 1986 to its current date of January 1, 1972. The policy rationale behind the registry date is recognition that undocumented immigrants who have resided in the country for a long period have developed substantial ties to this country including establishing families, homes and ties to their communities. There is little national interest in tracking down and deporting these individuals. Furthermore, this proposal will help late amnesty individuals.

Title III – Restoration of Discretion. This proposal would primarily restore immigration judges discretion not to detain or deport certain legal immigrants who have committed crimes and some other provisions. The 1996 Immigration Reform law instituted some harsh provisions that have resulted in the tragic separations of families. Almost daily, there are stories about legal immigrants who have families, jobs and are valuable members of American society who are being deported because many years ago they committed crimes that may have been considered minor at the time have since been determined to be aggravated felonies. And immigration judges no longer have the discretion not to enforce deportation orders. Currently, there are several bills, including legislation sponsored by Republicans, to undo some of the harshness of those laws, by restoring immigration judges discretion. I am working with DOJ on developing on a

proposal. This is the target of a campaign that immigrant advocates have begun called Fix 96.

Title IV – Legal Immigrant Welfare Restorations. This would be similar to the proposals made in the FY2000 budget.

3. **ESL/Civics Initiative.** This proposal would provide funding to English as a Second Language Programs that are linked to civics and lifeskills instruction. In FY2000, the President requested \$70 million and received \$25.5 million. In FY2001, the President should request at least \$75 million.
4. **Streamlining the Naturalization Process.** This proposal would provide funding to implement the Pricewaterhousecooper's recommendations to streamline and improve the current naturalization citizenship test process. INS has begun to implement these proposals but have been hindered due to funding constraints and lack of expertise in implementing these proposals. Estimated Cost: \$1.5 million. – Part of the INS budget (see **One America (1) Orientation ideas – videotape welcoming new immigrants, Nats ceremony with the President; (2))**
5. **AgNet** = \$10 million start implementing now
6. **HIB Fee** – tripled for training.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

January 19, 1999

PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS

United States Capitol
Washington. D.C.

9:10 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Speaker, Mr. Vice President, members of Congress, honored guests, my fellow Americans: Tonight, I have the honor of reporting to you on the State of the Union.

Let me begin by saluting the new Speaker of the House, and thanking him, especially tonight, for extending an invitation to two special guests sitting in the gallery with Mrs. Hastert: Lyn Gibson and Wei Ling Chestnut are the widows of the two brave Capitol Hill police officers who gave their lives to defend freedom's house. (Applause.)

Mr. Speaker, at your swearing-in, you asked us all to work together in a spirit of civility and bipartisanship. Mr. Speaker, let's do exactly that. (Applause.)

Tonight, I stand before you to report that America has created the longest peacetime economic expansion in our history -- (Applause) -- with nearly 18 million new jobs, wages rising at more than twice the rate of inflation, the highest home ownership in history, the smallest welfare rolls in 30 years, and the lowest peacetime unemployment since 1957. (Applause.)

For the first time in three decades, the budget is balanced. (Applause.) From a deficit of \$290 billion in 1992, we had a surplus of \$70 billion last year. And now we are on course for budget surpluses for the next 25 years. (Applause.)

Thanks to the pioneering leadership of all of you, we have the lowest violent crime rate in a quarter century and the cleanest environment in a quarter century. America is a strong force for peace from Northern Ireland to Bosnia to the Middle East.

Thanks to the leadership of Vice President Gore, we have a government for the Information Age. Once again, a government that is a progressive instrument of the common good, rooted in our oldest values of opportunity, responsibility and community; devoted to fiscal responsibility; determined to give our people the tools they need to make the most of their own lives in the 21st century -- a 21st century government for 21st century America.

My fellow Americans, I stand before you tonight to report that the state of our union is strong. (Applause.)

America is working again. The promise of our future is limitless. But we cannot realize that promise if we allow the hum of our prosperity to lull us into complacency. How we fare as a nation far into the 21st century depends upon what we do as a nation today.

So with our budget surplus growing, our economy expanding, our confidence rising, now is the moment for this generation to meet our historic responsibility to the 21st century.

Our fiscal discipline gives us an unsurpassed opportunity to address a remarkable new challenge -- the aging of America. With the number of elderly Americans set to double by 2030, the baby boom will become a senior boom. So first, and above all, we must save Social Security for the 21st century. (Applause.)

Early in this century, being old meant being poor. When President Roosevelt created Social Security, thousands wrote to thank him for eliminating what one woman called the "stark terror of penniless, helpless old age." Even today, without Social Security, half our nation's elderly would be forced into poverty.

Today, Social Security is strong. But by 2013, payroll taxes will no longer be sufficient to cover monthly payments. By 2032, the trust fund will be exhausted and Social Security will be unable to pay the full benefits older Americans have been promised.

The best way to keep Social Security a rock-solid guarantee is not to make drastic cuts in benefits, not to raise payroll tax rates, not to drain resources from Social Security in the name of saving it. Instead, I propose that we make an historic decision to invest the surplus to save Social Security. (Applause.)

Specifically, I propose that we commit 60 percent of the budget surplus for the next 15 years to Social Security, investing a small portion in the private sector, just as any private or state government pension would do. This will earn a higher return and keep Social Security sound for 55 years.

But we must aim higher. We should put Social Security on a sound footing for the next 75 years. We should reduce poverty among elderly women, who are nearly twice as likely to be poor as our other seniors. (Applause.) And we should eliminate the limits on what seniors on Social Security can earn. (Applause.)

Now, these changes will require difficult but fully achievable choices over and above the dedication of the surplus. They must be made on a bipartisan basis. They should be made this year. So let me say to you tonight, I reach out my hand to all of you in both Houses, in both parties, and ask that we join together in saying to the American people: We will save Social Security now. (Applause.)

Now, last year we wisely reserved all of the surplus until we knew what it would take to save Social Security. Again, I say, we shouldn't spend any of it -- not any of it -- until after Social Security is truly saved. First things first. (Applause.)

Second, once we have saved Social Security, we must fulfill our obligation to save and improve Medicare. Already, we have extended the life of the Medicare trust fund by 10 years -- but we should extend it for at least another decade. Tonight, I propose that we use one out of every \$6 in the surplus for the next 15 years to guarantee the soundness of Medicare until the year 2020. (Applause.)

But, again, we should aim higher. We must be willing to work in a bipartisan way and look at new ideas, including the upcoming report of the bipartisan Medicare Commission. If we work together, we can secure Medicare for the next two decades and cover the greatest growing need of seniors -- affordable prescription drugs. (Applause.)

Third, we must help all Americans, from their first day on the job -- to save, to invest, to create wealth. From its beginning, Americans have supplemented Social Security with private pensions and savings. Yet, today, millions of people retire with little to live on other than Social Security. Americans living longer than ever simply must save more than ever.

Therefore, in addition to saving Social Security and Medicare, I propose a new pension initiative for retirement security in the 21st century. I propose that we use a little over 11 percent of the surplus to establish universal savings accounts -- USA accounts -- to give all Americans the means to save. With these new accounts Americans can invest as they choose and receive funds to match a portion of their savings, with extra help for those least able to save. USA accounts will help all Americans to share in our nation's wealth and to enjoy a more secure retirement. I ask you to support them. (Applause.)

Fourth, we must invest in long-term care. (Applause.) I propose a tax credit of \$1,000 for the aged, ailing or disabled, and the families who care for them. Long-term care will become a bigger and bigger challenge with the aging of America, and we must do more to help our families deal with it. (Applause.)

I was born in 1946, the first year of the baby boom. I can tell you that one of the greatest concerns of our generation is our absolute determination not to let our growing old place an intolerable burden on our children and their ability to raise our grandchildren. Our economic success and our fiscal discipline now give us an opportunity to lift that burden from their shoulders, and we should take it. (Applause.)

Saving Social Security, Medicare, creating USA accounts -- this is the right way to use the surplus. If we do so -- if we do so -- we will still have resources to meet critical needs in education and defense. And I want to point out that this proposal is fiscally sound. Listen to this: If we set aside 60 percent of the surplus for Social Security and 16 percent for Medicare, over the next 15 years, that saving will achieve the lowest level of publicly-held debt since right before World War I, in 1917. (Applause.)

So with these four measures -- saving Social Security, strengthening Medicare, establishing the USA accounts, supporting long-term care -- we can begin to meet our generation's historic responsibility to establish true security for 21st century seniors.

Now, there are more children from more diverse backgrounds in our public schools than at any time in our history. Their education must provide the knowledge and nurture the creativity that will allow our entire nation to thrive in the new economy.

Today we can say something we couldn't say six years ago: With tax credits and more affordable student loans, with more work-study grants and more Pell grants, with education IRAs and the new HOPE Scholarship tax cut that more than five million Americans will receive this year, we have finally opened the doors of college to all Americans. (Applause.)

With our support, nearly every state has set higher academic standards for public schools, and a voluntary national test is being developed to measure the progress of our students. With over \$1 billion in discounts available this year, we are well on our way to our goal of connecting every classroom and library to the Internet.

Last fall, you passed our proposal to start hiring 100,000 new teachers to reduce class size in the early grades. Now I ask you to finish the job. (Applause.)

You know, our children are doing better. SAT scores are up; math scores have risen in nearly all grades. But there's a problem. While our 4th graders outperform their peers in other countries in math and science, our 8th graders are around average, and our 12th graders rank near the bottom. We must do better. Now, each year the national government invests more than \$15 billion in our public schools. I believe we must change the way we invest that money, to support what works and to stop supporting what does not work. (Applause.)

First, later this year, I will send to Congress a plan that, for the first time, holds states and school districts accountable for progress and rewards them for results. My Education Accountability Act will require every school district receiving federal help to take the following five steps.

First, all schools must end social promotion. (Applause.) No child should graduate from high school with a diploma he or she can't read. We do our children no favors when we allow them to pass from grade to grade without mastering the material.

But we can't just hold students back because the system fails them. So my balanced budget triples the funding for summer school and after-school programs, to keep a million children learning. (Applause.)

Now, if you doubt this will work, just look at Chicago, which ended social promotion and made summer school mandatory for those who don't master the basics. Math and reading scores are up three years running -- with some of the biggest gains in some of the poorest neighborhoods. It will work, and we should do it. (Applause.)

Second, all states and school districts must turn around their worst-performing schools -- or shut them down. (Applause.) That's the policy established in North Carolina by Governor Jim Hunt. North Carolina made the biggest gains in test scores in the nation last year. Our budget includes \$200 million to help states turn around their own failing schools.

Third, all states and school districts must be held responsible for the quality of their teachers. The great majority of our teachers do a fine job. But in too many schools, teachers don't have college majors -- or even minors -- in the subjects they teach. New teachers should be required to pass performance exams, and all teachers should know the subjects they're teaching. (Applause.) This year's balanced budget contains resources to help them reach higher standards.

And to attract talented young teachers to the toughest assignments, I recommend a sixfold increase in our program for college scholarships for students who commit to teach in the inner cities and isolated rural areas and Indian communities. Let us bring excellence in every part of America. (Applause.)

Fourth, we must empower parents, with more information and more choices. In too many communities, it's easier to get information on the quality of the local restaurants than on the quality of the local schools. Every school district should issue report cards on every school. And parents should be given more choices in selecting their public schools. (Applause.)

When I became President, there was just one independent public charter school in all America. With our support, on a bipartisan basis, today there are 1,100. My budget assures that early in the next century, there will be 3,000. (Applause.)

Fifth, to assure that our classrooms are truly places of learning,

and to respond to what teachers have been asking us to do for years, we should say that all states and school districts must both adopt and implement sensible discipline policies. (Applause.)

Now, let's do one more thing for our children. Today, too many of our schools are so old they're falling apart, or so over-crowded students are learning in trailers. Last fall, Congress missed the opportunity to change that. This year, with 53 million children in our schools, Congress must not miss that opportunity again. I ask you to help our communities build or modernize 5,000 schools. (Applause.)

If we do these things -- end social promotion; turn around failing schools; build modern ones; support qualified teachers; promote innovation, competition and discipline -- then we will begin to meet our generation's historic responsibility to create 21st century schools. (Applause.)

Now, we also have to do more to support the millions of parents who give their all every day at home and at work. The most basic tool of all is a decent income. So let's raise the minimum wage by a dollar an hour over the next two years. (Applause.) And let's make sure that women and men get equal pay for equal work by strengthening enforcement of equal pay laws. (Applause.)

That was encouraging, you know. (Laughter.) There was more balance on the seats. I like that. Let's give them a hand. That's great. (Applause.)

Working parents also need quality child care. (Applause.) So, again this year, I ask Congress to support our plan for tax credits and subsidies for working families, for improved safety and quality, for expanded after-school programs. And our plan also includes a new tax credit for stay-at-home parents, too. They need support, as well. (Applause.)

Parents should never have to worry about choosing between their children and their work. Now, the Family and Medical Leave Act -- the very first bill I signed into law -- has now, since 1993, helped millions and millions of Americans to care for a newborn baby or an ailing relative without risking their jobs. I think it's time, with all the evidence that it has been so little burdensome to employers, to extend Family Leave to 10 million more Americans working for smaller companies. And I hope you will support it. (Applause.)

Finally on the matter of work, parents should never have to face discrimination in the workplace. So I want to ask Congress to prohibit companies from refusing to hire or promote workers simply because they have children. That is not right. (Applause.)

America's families deserve the world's best medical care. Thanks to bipartisan federal support for medical research, we are now on the verge of new treatments to prevent or delay diseases from Parkinson's to Alzheimer's, to arthritis to cancer. But as we continue our advances in medical science, we can't let our medical system lag behind. Managed care has literally transformed medicine in America -- driving down costs, but threatening to drive down quality as well.

I think we ought to say to every American: You should have the right to know all your medical options -- not just the cheapest. If you need a specialist, you should have the right to see one. You have a right to the nearest emergency care if you're in an accident. These are things that we ought to say. And I think we ought to say, you should have a right to keep your doctor during a period of treatment, whether it's a pregnancy or a chemotherapy treatment, or anything else. I believe this.

Now, I've ordered these rights to be extended to the 85 million Americans served by Medicare, Medicaid, and other federal health programs. But only Congress can pass a patients' bill of rights for all Americans. (Applause.) Now, last year, Congress missed that opportunity and we must not miss that opportunity again. For the sake of our families, I ask us to join together across party lines and pass a strong, enforceable patients' bill of rights. (Applause.)

As more of our medical records are stored electronically, the threats to all our privacy increase. Because Congress has given me the authority to act if it does not do so by August, one way or another, we can all say to the American people, we will protect the privacy of medical records and we will do it this year. (Applause.)

Now, two years ago, the Congress extended health coverage to up to five million children. Now, we should go beyond that. We should make it easier for small businesses to offer health insurance. We should give people between the ages of 55 and 65 who lose their health insurance the chance to buy into Medicare. And we should continue to ensure access to family planning.

No one should have to choose between keeping health care and taking a job. And, therefore, I especially ask you tonight to join hands to pass the landmark bipartisan legislation -- proposed by Senators Kennedy and Jeffords, Roth and Moynihan -- to allow people with disabilities to keep their health insurance when they go to work. (Applause.)

We need to enable our public hospitals, our community, our university health centers to provide basic, affordable care for all the millions of working families who don't have any insurance. They do a lot of that today, but much more can be done. And my balanced budget makes a good down payment toward that goal. I hope you will think about them and support that provision.

Let me say we must step up our efforts to treat and prevent mental illness. No American should ever be afraid -- ever -- to address this disease. This year, we will host a White House Conference on Mental Health. With sensitivity, commitment and passion, Tipper Gore is leading our efforts here, and I'd like to thank her for what she's done. Thank you. Thank you. (Applause.)

As everyone knows, our children are targets of a massive media campaign to hook them on cigarettes. Now, I ask this Congress to resist the tobacco lobby, to reaffirm the FDA's authority to protect our children from tobacco, and to hold tobacco companies accountable while protecting tobacco farmers.

Smoking has cost taxpayers hundreds of billions of dollars under Medicare and other programs. You know, the states have been right about this -- taxpayers shouldn't pay for the cost of lung cancer, emphysema and other smoking-related illnesses -- the tobacco companies should. So tonight I announce that the Justice Department is preparing a litigation plan to take the tobacco companies to court -- and with the funds we recover, to strengthen Medicare. (Applause.)

Now, if we act in these areas -- minimum wage, family leave, child care, health care, the safety of our children -- then we will begin to meet our generation's historic responsibility to strengthen our families for the 21st century.

Today, America is the most dynamic, competitive, job-creating economy in history. But we can do even better -- in building a 21st century economy that embraces all Americans.

Today's income gap is largely a skills gap. Last year, the Congress passed a law enabling workers to get a skills grant to choose the training they need. And I applaud all of you here who were part of that. This year, I recommend a five-year commitment in the new system so that we can provide, over the next five years, appropriate training opportunities for all Americans who lose their jobs, and expand rapid response teams to help all towns which have been really hurt when businesses close. I hope you will support this. (Applause.)

Also, I ask your support for a dramatic increase in federal support for adult literacy, to mount a national campaign aimed at helping the millions and millions of working people who still read at less than a 5th grade level. We need to do this. (Applause.)

Here's some good news: In the past six years, we have cut the welfare rolls nearly in half. (Applause.) Two years ago, from this podium, I asked five companies to lead a national effort to hire people off welfare. Tonight, our Welfare to Work Partnership includes 10,000 companies who have hired hundreds of thousands of people. And our balanced budget will help another 200,000 people move to the dignity and pride of work. I hope you will support it. (Applause.)

We must do more to bring the spark of private enterprise to every corner of America -- to build a bridge from Wall Street to Appalachia to the Mississippi Delta, to our Native American communities -- with more support for community development banks, for empowerment zones, for 100,000 more vouchers for affordable housing. And I ask Congress to support our bold new plan to help businesses raise up to \$15 billion in private sector capital to bring jobs and opportunities to our inner cities and rural areas -- with tax credits, loan guarantees, including the new American Private Investment Company, modeled on the Overseas Private Investment Company. (Applause.)

For years and years and years, we've had this OPIC, this Overseas Private Investment Corporation, because we knew we had untapped markets overseas. But our greatest untapped markets are not overseas -- they are right here at home. And we should go after them. (Applause.)

We must work hard to help bring prosperity back to the family farm. (Applause.) As this Congress knows very well, dropping prices and the loss of foreign markets have devastated too many family farms. Last year, the Congress provided substantial assistance to help stave off a disaster in American agriculture. And I am ready to work with lawmakers of both parties to create a farm safety net that will include crop insurance reform and farm income assistance. I ask you to join with me and do this. This should not be a political issue. Everyone knows what an economic problem is going on out there in rural America today, and we need an appropriate means to address it. (Applause.)

We must strengthen our lead in technology. It was government investment that led to the creation of the Internet. I propose a 28-percent increase in long-term computing research.

We also must be ready for the 21st century from its very first moment, by solving the so-called Y2K computer problem. (Applause.)

We had one member of Congress stand up and applaud. (Laughter.) And we may have about that ratio out there applauding at home, in front of their television sets. But remember, this is a big, big problem. And we've been working hard on it. Already, we've made sure that the Social Security checks will come on time. (Applause.) But I want all the folks at home listening to this to know that we need every state and local government, every business, large and small, to work with us to make sure that this Y2K computer bug will be remembered as the last

headache of the 20th century, not the first crisis of the 21st.
(Applause.)

For our own prosperity, we must support economic growth abroad. You know, until recently, a third of our economic growth came from exports. But over the past year and a half, financial turmoil overseas has put that growth at risk. Today, much of the world is in recession, with Asia hit especially hard. This is the most serious financial crisis in half a century. To meet it, the United States and other nations have reduced interest rates and strengthened the International Monetary Fund. And while the turmoil is not over, we have worked very hard with other nations to contain it.

At the same time, we have to continue to work on the long-term project, building a global financial system for the 21st century that promotes prosperity and tames the cycle of boom and bust that has engulfed so much of Asia. This June I will meet with other world leaders to advance this historic purpose. And I ask all of you to support our endeavors.

I also ask you to support creating a freer and fairer trading system for 21st century America. (Applause.)

I'd like to say something really serious to everyone in this chamber in both parties. I think trade has divided us, and divided Americans outside this chamber, for too long. Somehow we have to find a common ground on which business and workers and environmentalists and farmers and government can stand together. I believe these are the things we ought to all agree on. So let me try.

First, we ought to tear down barriers, open markets, and expand trade. But at the same time, we must ensure that ordinary citizens in all countries actually benefit from trade -- (Applause.) -- a trade that promotes the dignity of work, and the rights of workers, and protects the environment. We must insist that international trade organizations be more open to public scrutiny, instead of mysterious, secret things subject to wild criticism.

When you come right down to it, now that the world economy is becoming more and more integrated, we have to do in the world what we spent the better part of this century doing here at home. We have got to put a human face on the global economy. (Applause.)

We must enforce our trade laws when imports unlawfully flood our nation. (Applause.) I have already informed the government of Japan that if that nation's sudden surge of steel imports into our country is not reversed, America will respond. (Applause.)

We must help all manufacturers hit hard by the present crisis with loan guarantees and other incentives to increase American exports by nearly \$2 billion. I'd like to believe we can achieve a new consensus on trade, based on these principles. And I ask the Congress again to join me in this common approach and to give the President the trade authority long used -- and now overdue and necessary -- to advance our prosperity in the 21st century. (Applause.)

Tonight, I issue a call to the nations of the world to join the United States in a new round of global trade negotiations to expand exports of services, manufacturers and farm products. Tonight I say we will work with the International Labor Organization on a new initiative to raise labor standards around the world. And this year, we will lead the international community to conclude a treaty to ban abusive child labor everywhere in the world. (Applause.)

If we do these things -- invest in our people, our communities,

our technology, and lead in the global economy -- then we will begin to meet our historic responsibility to build a 21st century prosperity for America.

You know, no nation in history has had the opportunity and the responsibility we now have to shape a world that is more peaceful, more secure, more free. All Americans can be proud that our leadership helped to bring peace in Northern Ireland. All Americans can be proud that our leadership has put Bosnia on the path to peace. And with our NATO allies, we are pressing the Serbian government to stop its brutal repression in Kosovo -- (Applause.) -- to bring those responsible to justice, and to give the people of Kosovo the self-government they deserve.

All Americans can be proud that our leadership renewed hope for lasting peace in the Middle East. Some of you were with me last December as we watched the Palestinian National Council completely renounce its call for the destruction of Israel. Now I ask Congress to provide resources so that all parties can implement the Wye Agreement -- to protect Israel's security, to stimulate the Palestinian economy, to support our friends in Jordan. We must not, we dare not, let them down. I hope you will help. (Applause.)

As we work for peace, we must also meet threats to our nation's security -- including increased dangers from outlaw nations and terrorism. We will defend our security wherever we are threatened, as we did this summer when we struck at Osama bin Laden's network of terror. The bombing of our embassies in Kenya and Tanzania reminds us again of the risks faced every day by those who represent America to the world. So let's give them the support they need, the safest possible workplaces, and the resources they must have so America can continue to lead. (Applause.)

We must work to keep terrorists from disrupting computer networks. We must work to prepare local communities for biological and chemical emergencies, to support research into vaccines and treatments.

We must increase our efforts to restrain the spread of nuclear weapons and missiles, from Korea to India and Pakistan. We must expand our work with Russia, Ukraine, and the other former Soviet nations to safeguard nuclear materials and technology so they never fall into the wrong hands. Our balanced budget will increase funding for these critical efforts by almost two-thirds over the next five years.

With Russia, we must continue to reduce our nuclear arsenals. The START II treaty and the framework we have already agreed to for START III could cut them by 80 percent from their Cold War height.

It's been two years since I signed the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. If we don't do the right thing, other nations won't either. I ask the Senate to take this vital step: Approve the treaty now, to make it harder for other nations to develop nuclear arms, and to make sure we can end nuclear testing forever. (Applause.)

For nearly a decade, Iraq has defied its obligations to destroy its weapons of terror and the missiles to deliver them. America will continue to contain Saddam -- and we will work for the day when Iraq has a government worthy of its people. (Applause.)

Now, last month, in our action over Iraq, our troops were superb. Their mission was so flawlessly executed that we risk taking for granted the bravery and the skill it required. Captain Jeff Taliaferro, a 10-year veteran of the Air Force, flew a B-1B bomber over Iraq as we attacked Saddam's war machine. He's here with us tonight. I'd like to ask you to honor him and all the 33,000 men and women of Operation

Desert Fox.

Captain Taliaferro. (Applause.)

It is time to reverse the decline in defense spending that began in 1985. (Applause.) Since April, together we have added nearly \$6 billion to maintain our military readiness. My balanced budget calls for a sustained increase over the next six years for readiness, for modernization, and for pay and benefits for our troops and their families. (Applause.)

We are the heirs of a legacy of bravery represented in every community in America by millions of our veterans. America's defenders today still stand ready at a moment's notice to go where comforts are few and dangers are many, to do what needs to be done as no one else can. They always come through for America. We must come through for them. (Applause.)

The new century demands new partnerships for peace and security. The United Nations plays a crucial role, with allies sharing burdens America might otherwise bear alone. America needs a strong and effective U.N. I want to work with this new Congress to pay our dues and our debts. (Applause.)

We must continue to support security and stability in Europe and Asia -- expanding NATO and defining its new missions; maintaining our alliance with Japan, with Korea, without our other Asian allies; and engaging China.

In China, last year, I said to the leaders and the people what I'd like to say again tonight: Stability can no longer be bought at the expense of liberty. (Applause.) But I'd also like to say again to the American people: It's important not to isolate China. The more we bring China into the world, the more the world will bring change and freedom to China. (Applause.)

Last spring, with some of you, I traveled to Africa, where I saw democracy and reform rising, but still held back by violence and disease. We must fortify African democracy and peace by launching Radio Democracy for Africa, supporting the transition to democracy now beginning to take place in Nigeria, and passing the African Trade and Development Act. (Applause.)

We must continue to deepen our ties to the Americas and the Caribbean; our common work to educate children, fight drugs, strengthen democracy and increase trade. In this hemisphere, every government but one is freely chosen by its people. We are determined that Cuba, too, will know the blessings of liberty. (Applause.)

The American people have opened their hearts and their arms to our Central American and Caribbean neighbors who have been so devastated by the recent hurricanes. Working with Congress, I am committed to help them rebuild. When the First Lady and Tipper Gore visited the region, they saw thousands of our troops and thousands of American volunteers. In the Dominican Republic, Hillary helped to rededicate a hospital that had been rebuilt by Dominicans and Americans, working side-by-side. With her was someone else who has been very important to the relief efforts.

You know, sports records are made and, sooner or later, they're broken. But making other people's lives better, and showing our children the true meaning of brotherhood -- that lasts forever. So, for far more than baseball, Sammy Sosa, you're a hero in two countries tonight. Thank you. (Applause.)

So I say to all of you, if we do these things -- if we pursue peace, fight terrorism, increase our strength, renew our alliances -- we will begin to meet our generation's historic responsibility to build a stronger 21st century America in a freer, more peaceful world.

As the world has changed, so have our own communities. We must make them safer, more livable and more united. This year, we will reach our goal of 100,000 community police officers -- ahead of schedule and under budget. (Applause.) The Brady Bill has stopped a quarter million felons, fugitives and stalkers from buying handguns. And, now, the murder rate is the lowest in 30 years and the crime rate has dropped for six straight years. (Applause.)

Tonight, I propose a 21st century crime bill to deploy the latest technologies and tactics to make our communities even safer. Our balanced budget will help put up to 50,000 more police on the street, in the areas hardest hit by crime -- and then to equip them with new tools, from crime-mapping computers to digital mug shots.

We must break the deadly cycle of drugs and crime. Our budget expands support for drug testing and treatment, saying to prisoners: If you stay on drugs, you have to stay behind bars. And to those on parole: If you want to keep your freedom, you must stay free of drugs. (Applause.)

I ask Congress to restore the five-day waiting period for buying a handgun -- (Applause.) -- and extend the Brady Bill to prevent juveniles who commit violent crimes from buying a gun. (Applause.)

We must do more to keep our schools the safest places in our communities. Last year, every American was horrified and heartbroken by the tragic killings in Jonesboro, Paducah, Pearl, Edinboro, Springfield. We were deeply moved by the courageous parents now working to keep guns out of the hands of children and to make other efforts so that other parents don't have to live through their loss.

After she lost her daughter, Suzann Wilson of Jonesboro, Arkansas, came here to the White House with a powerful plea. She said, "Please, please, for the sake of your children, lock up your gun. Don't let what happened in Jonesboro happen in your town." It's a message she is passionately advocating every day.

Suzann is here with us tonight, with the First Lady. I'd like to thank her for her courage and her commitment. Thank you. (Applause.)

In memory of all the children who lost their lives to school violence, I ask you to strengthen the Safe and Drug-Free School Act, to pass legislation to require child trigger locks, to do everything possible to keep our children safe. (Applause.)

A century ago, President Theodore Roosevelt defined our "great, central task" as "leaving this land even a better land for our descendants than it is for us." Today, we're restoring the Florida Everglades, saving Yellowstone, preserving the red rock canyons of Utah, protecting California's redwoods and our precious coasts. But our most fateful new challenge is the threat of global warming. 1998 was the warmest year ever recorded. Last year's heat waves, floods and storms are but a hint of what future generations may endure if we do not act now.

Tonight I propose a new clean air fund to help communities reduce greenhouse and other pollution, and tax incentives and investments to spur clean energy technology. And I want to work with members of Congress in both parties to reward companies that take early, voluntary action to reduce greenhouse gases. (Applause.)

All our communities face a preservation challenge, as they grow and green space shrinks. Seven thousand acres of farmland and open space are lost every day. In response, I propose two major initiatives: First, a \$1-billion Livability Agenda to help communities save open space, ease traffic congestion, and grow in ways that enhance every citizen's quality of life. (Applause.) And second, a \$1-billion Lands Legacy Initiative to preserve places of natural beauty all across America -- from the most remote wilderness to the nearest city park. (Applause.)

These are truly landmark initiatives, which could not have been developed without the visionary leadership of the Vice President, and I want to thank him very much for his commitment here. (Applause.)

Now, to get the most out of your community, you have to give something back. That's why we created AmeriCorps -- our national service program that gives today's generation a chance to serve their communities and earn money for college.

So far, in just four years, 100,000 young Americans have built low-income homes with Habitat for Humanity, helped to tutor children with churches, worked with FEMA to ease the burden of natural disasters, and performed countless other acts of service that have made America better. I ask Congress to give more young Americans the chance to follow their lead and serve America in AmeriCorps. (Applause.)

Now, we must work to renew our national community as well for the 21st century. Last year the House passed the bipartisan campaign finance reform legislation sponsored by Representatives Shays and Meehan and Senators McCain and Feingold. But a partisan minority in the Senate blocked reform. So I'd like to say to the House: Pass it again, quickly. (Applause.) And I'd like to say to the Senate: I hope you will say yes to a stronger American democracy in the year 2000. (Applause.)

Since 1997, our Initiative on Race has sought to bridge the divides between and among our people. In its report last fall, the Initiative's Advisory Board found that Americans really do want to bring our people together across racial lines.

We know it's been a long journey. For some, it goes back to before the beginning of our Republic; for others, back since the Civil War; for others, throughout the 20th century. But for most of us alive today, in a very real sense, this journey began 43 years ago, when a woman named Rosa Parks sat down on a bus in Alabama, and wouldn't get up. She's sitting down with the First Lady tonight, and she may get up or not, as she chooses. We thank her. (Applause.) Thank you, Rosa. (Applause.)

We know that our continuing racial problems are aggravated, as the Presidential Initiative said, by opportunity gaps. The initiative I've outlined tonight will help to close them. But we know that the discrimination gap has not been fully closed either. Discrimination or violence because of race or religion, ancestry or gender, disability or sexual orientation, is wrong, and it ought to be illegal. Therefore, I ask Congress to make the Employment Non-Discrimination Act and the Hate Crimes Prevention Act the law of the land. (Applause.)

Now, since every person in America counts, every American ought to be counted. We need a census that uses modern scientific methods to do that. (Applause.)

Our new immigrants must be part of our One America. After all, they're revitalizing our cities, they're energizing our culture, they're

11/8
Good guy
New man
a girl
from the

building up our economy. We have a responsibility to make them welcome here; and they have a responsibility to enter the mainstream of American life. That means learning English and learning about our democratic system of government. There are now long waiting lines of immigrants that are trying to do just that. Therefore, our budget significantly expands our efforts to help them meet their responsibility. I hope you will support it. (Applause.)

Whether our ancestors came here on the Mayflower, on slave ships, whether they came to Ellis Island or LAX in Los Angeles, whether they came yesterday or walked this land a thousand years ago -- our great challenge for the 21st century is to find a way to be One America. We can meet all the other challenges if we can go forward as One America.

You know, barely more than 300 days from now, we will cross that bridge into the new millennium. This is a moment, as the First Lady has said, "to honor the past and imagine the future."

I'd like to take just a minute to honor her. For leading our Millennium Project, for all she's done for our children, for all she has done in her historic role to serve our nation and our best ideals at home and abroad, I honor her. (Applause.)

Last year, I called on Congress and every citizen to mark the millennium by saving America's treasures. Hillary has traveled all across the country to inspire recognition and support for saving places like Thomas Edison's Invention Factory or Harriet Tubman's home. Now we have to preserve our treasures in every community. And tonight, before I close, I want to invite every town, every city, every community to become nationally recognized "millennium community," by launching projects that save our history, promote our arts and humanities, prepare our children for the 21st century.

Already, the response has been remarkable. And I want to say a special word of thanks to our private sector partners and to members in Congress of both parties for their support. Just one example: Because of you, the Star-Spangled Banner will be preserved for the ages. In ways large and small, as we look to the millennium we are keeping alive what George Washington called "the sacred fire of liberty."

Six years ago, I came to office in a time of doubt for America, with our economy troubled, our deficit high, our people divided. Some even wondered whether our best days were behind us. But across this country, in a thousand neighborhoods, I have seen -- even amidst the pain and uncertainty of recession -- the real heart and character of America. I knew then that we Americans could renew this country.

Tonight, as I deliver the last State of the Union address of the 20th century, no one anywhere in the world can doubt the enduring resolve and boundless capacity of the American people to work toward that "more perfect union" of our founders' dream.

We're now at the end of a century when generation after generation of Americans answered the call to greatness, overcoming Depression, lifting up the dispossessed, bringing down barriers to racial prejudice, building the largest middle class in history, winning two world wars and the "long twilight struggle" of the Cold War. We must all be profoundly grateful for the magnificent achievement of our forbearers in this century.

Yet, perhaps, in the daily press of events, in the clash of controversy, we don't see our own time for what it truly is -- a new dawn for America.

A hundred years from tonight, another American President will

stand in this place and report on the State of the Union. He -- or she -- (Applause) -- he or she will look back on a 21st century shaped in so many ways by the decisions we make here and now. So let it be said of us then that we were thinking not only of our time, but of their time; that we reached as high as our ideals; that we put aside our divisions and found a new hour of healing and hopefulness; that we joined together to serve and strengthen the land we love.

My fellow Americans, this is our moment. Let us lift our eyes as one nation, and from the mountaintop of this American Century, look ahead to the next one -- asking God's blessing on our endeavors and on our beloved country.

Thank you and good evening.

END

10:27 P.M. EST

hope we'll use it to meet the big challenges of the future, but I'll bet you every adult in this room can remember at least one and maybe more times in your personal life, your family life or your work life when you made a big mistake because things were going well. When you should have been thinking about the long-term, you got diverted, distracted, divided and a moment was lost.

Now, in my lifetime, we have never had a moment like this. We need to use it to give all of our children a world-class education. We need to use it to dramatically reduce poverty among our children and to bring economic opportunity to people and places that have been left out of this remarkable recovery. We need to use it to deal with the challenge of the aging of America and take Social Security out beyond the life of the baby boom generation and extend the life of Medicare and give prescription drug coverage to 75 percent of our seniors who can't afford the medicine they need today. We need to use it to prove we can grow the economy and improve the environment. We need to use it to pass the Patients' Bill of Rights and extend health care coverage to people who don't have it. These are big challenges that we can meet.

But if I had one wish -- if somebody said to me, well, you don't have another year. I'm sorry, you have to go tomorrow, but we'll let you be the genie and you can have one wish. I would wish to make America truly one America. Because if you look at what is bedeviling the world today, and this is where you come in, isn't it interesting that as you think about the future -- somebody sent me an article today on the future of the Internet and how it wouldn't be long before everybody would be connected to the Internet without needing a personal computer. We'll have these little pads that a lot of you already have and you'll get it on your telephone and you'll get it on your television and it'll be -- you know, everybody will know everything all the time. It will be unbelievable.

We are unraveling the mysteries of the human genome. We're about to discover what's in those black holes in outer space. I mean it's unbelievable, all this stuff we're going to know. And yet we are most bedeviled in the world by the oldest problem of human society; we still are kind of afraid of people who are different from us. They're different races, they're different religions, they're gay, they're this, they're that, or the other thing.

And in America you can see it when a Jewish Community Center gets shot up, a Filipino postman gets murdered, an African-American basketball coach gets killed and then a young Korean Christian gets killed walking out of his church by a guy that just murdered the African-American basketball coach. James Byrd gets dragged to death in Texas, Matthew Shephard gets stretched over a rack in

Wyoming.

These things happen. Why? Because if you're afraid of people who are different from you, it's a short step to hating them. Then it's a short step to dehumanizing them, and then it's a short step to justifying violence.

And all around the world, what has bedeviled the world? Ireland, the Middle East, the Balkans, Bosnia and Kosovo, the African tribal wars. It's just fascinating to me that we're on the verge of a new millennium with all this modern stuff out there, but our biggest problem is the oldest problem of human society.

And so, the reason it's important that you understand that your vote is your voice is that you help to guarantee, every time you empower people, that their voices will be heard and that we will somehow understand that we're not just supposed to tolerate each other, we're suppose to celebrate our differences. Not tolerate, that's not good enough. Celebrate our differences. Not because they're the most important thing about us, but because they make life more interesting without letting us forget our common humanity. And that's the only thing that makes democracy the best of all systems of government.

If everybody participates, you have a higher chance that we come to the right conclusion. And it is profoundly important.

I mean I just was thinking, I'm so grateful that we have made these steps forward in the Irish peace process. I'm very grateful for the progress we're making in the Middle East. I was just in Kosovo with all those school children that got to go home because the United States and our NATO allies stuck up for them and said they couldn't be wiped out just because of their religion or their ethnic background.

But I know that if we want to continue to do good around the world, we have to be good at home. This Irish agreement, it's wonderful. How many people died to get there? And the Middle East, we've got a lot of hard decisions to make, but they're not hard when compared with the alternative.

And so, I say to all of you, we have a chance to escape that and to meet these huge challenges; when we've got more resources and more confidence and more evidence, we can make progress at any time in my lifetime. But we can only do it if we do it together.

You know, I just came from this gun violence group meeting, and I told them that the big fight we had over the Brady bill, the assault weapons ban, all these things, there really were sort of whole different views of the world, about what is the nature of freedom, what is the nature of society, what is the nature of our responsibilities to one another.

You know, to me, I came from a hunting culture, but it was a no-brainer to me that we ought to be for the Brady bill and the assault weapons ban, because I thought that a modest amount of inconvenience on the part of 95 or 99 percent of the people to find the 1 percent of the people that had no business with assault weapons, had no business with handguns who were criminals or had other problems in their background -- to me that made me more free, not less free because I think mutuality is important. (Inaudible) and you believe that.

And there is no group of Americans that has a bigger stake in our getting this right than Hispanic America, the fastest growing minority. People who have known all the prejudice and all the promise of America, both. People who know are setting all kinds of records in new business growth, in achievements in every area of our national life, but because we still have such a large group of first-generation immigrants, also have the highest high school dropout rates, the highest education problems.

Listen, we can get all this right. We can get all this right if everybody has a voice that is heard. That is why what you are doing is so profoundly important.

Thank you very much.

(APPLAUSE)

Now, I'm going to Seattle. If you watch the news tonight -- if any of you would like to go with me or maybe even for me, you're welcome to.

I'm delighted to be with you. I want to go over and shake hands. Thank you very much.

(APPLAUSE)

END

NOTES:

Unknown - Indicates speaker unknown.

Inaudible - Could not make out what was being said.

off mike - Indicates could not make out what was being said.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

PERSON: HENRY GABRIEL CISNEROS (55%);

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9 DOCUMENTS

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FDCH Political Transcripts

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PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON,

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PRESIDENT CLINTON DELIVERS REMARKS AT A SOUTHWEST VOTER
REGISTRATION PROJECT EVENT

NOVEMBER 30, 1999

SPEAKER: WILLIAM J. CLINTON, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

*

CLINTON: Thank you. Thank you very much. Thank you. Thank you. Thank you very much. Please be seated. Thank you.

Thank you very much, Antonio. I am delighted to be here. I know that all of you have come in support of the Southwest Voter Education Project, but I want to thank especially my good friend, Gloria Malena (ph), and Henry Cisneros, Assembly Speaker Veja Ragsdale (ph). I see him over there. We've been making the rounds tonight. Congressman Becerra and I think Lydia Camareo (ph), our DNC CEO, is here. I know this is a non-partisan event but I wanted to acknowledge

her presence there. Thank you, Lydia.

(APPLAUSE)

I have known about the Southwest Voter Education Project a long time, from the beginning. And one of the great honors I had as president was to award the Medal of Freedom to Willie Valosquez (ph) posthumously in 1995. It was a great honor.

The Southwest Voter Education Project has now registered, I believe, over two million Latino voters in well over 2,000 voter education drivers. And I just want to say a couple of things briefly tonight.

Yesterday I signed the budget that we passed in the Congress right before they went home; the first budget of the 21st century. It contained the second year's funding for our Hispanic education project, which is designed to reduce the gap in high school graduation rates between Hispanics and other children, and to increase the college-going rate. And I just give you that as one little example, although it is a very big thing -- I think this is going to have a huge impact over the years if we keep doing it -- of why it is so important for people to be registered and to vote.

I was thinking tonight about the meetings I've had with the Hispanic Caucus -- and Congressman Torres, we miss you. We're glad to see you. Thank you for everything.

(APPLAUSE)

But what I was thinking about is, two things are certain: One is that the number of Hispanic members of Congress will grow; the second, maybe more important, is the number of Latino voters in other districts will grow. And I honestly believe that the willingness of people to register and to vote will have a profoundly significant impact on sort of the shape of American politics on our immigration policy, on our education policies, on our economic policies, on the nature of our trade policies, and I could go on and on and on.

I have seen, just in the last two election cycles, the profound difference it makes in terms of who shows up to vote. In 1998, the overall percentage of

Americans voting was not that different from 1994, but the composition of those who voted was very different. And very often four or five percent of the people, whether they stay or go, will reflect the sort of accumulated feelings of maybe 60 or 70 percent of the American electorate, and whether they do or not, I can promise you will affect the whole sweep of policy.

I'm very conscious of this now and I just want to mention one or two issues. It has been for me an enormous privilege to serve as president these last seven years. I have had a great deal of help from the most diverse group of Americans ever to serve an administration, including former HUD Secretary Cisneros. And I am very grateful that we have now the results that we have.

In February, we'll have the longest peacetime expansion in our history. We have already nearly 20 million new jobs. We have the lowest unemployment in 30 years, the lowest welfare rolls in 30 years and the lowest poverty rates in 30 years. We have the lowest crime rate in 25 years. The lowest Hispanic and African-American unemployment rates ever recorded. The lowest African-American poverty rate ever recorded. The lowest Hispanic poverty rate in a generation. The lowest poverty rate among single parent households in 40 years. The lowest unemployment among women in 40 years.

(APPLAUSE)

Now, what I want to ask you is: What do you mean to do with this? What do you mean to do with this? I had -- I see my sister-in-law, Mollie, over there. We just had my big, extended family and Hillary's family -- we were all together for Thanksgiving, and we gathered up at Camp David. And then we had some of our friends come in from the area, and I had a bunch of little kids there. And this six-year-old boy looked at me a couple of days ago and he said, "How old are you?" And I said, "I'm 53." He said, "That's a lot." And I regret to say I had to agree with him. It was a lot.

In my lifetime, and that's a lot, our country has never had this level of economic prosperity, social progress and national confidence, and, at the same time, been free of external threats and internal crises -- so that we are essentially free to face our big challenges and build the future of our dreams for our children.

So, the real question is not whether we're going to change, because the world is changing at such a rapid rate that that's not an option. The real question is, how will we change and what will we do with this chance of a lifetime. I

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NATIONAL
YOUTH
ANTI-DRUG
MEDIA
CAMPAIGN**

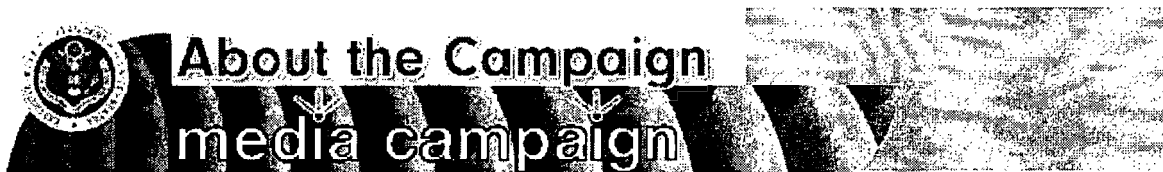
- [National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign](#)

With overwhelming bipartisan Congressional support, in 1998, the White House Office of National Drug Control Policy launched an historic initiative to encourage kids to stay drug-free. The Campaign targets youth ages 9-18-especially the vulnerable middle-school adolescents-their parents, and other adults who influence the choices young people make.

To get the word out across every economic and cultural boundary, the Campaign uses a mix of modern communications techniques -- from advertising and public relations to Interactive media -- and all possible venues -- from television programs to after-school activities -- to educate and empower young people to reject illicit drugs. The Campaign also teams up with civic and non-profit organizations, faith-based groups, and private corporations to enlist and engage people in prevention efforts at school, at work, and at play.

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Nearly a year of research went into designing the campaign. Hundreds of individuals and organizations were consulted, including experts in teen marketing, advertising, and communication; behavior change experts; drug prevention practitioners and representatives from professional, civic, and community organizations. These findings resulted in a comprehensive communication strategy that uses a variety of media and messages to reach young people, their parents, and other youth-influential adults.

This campaign is different from previous anti-drug efforts in four important ways:

- 1) The level of funding for paid media, expected to be \$1 billion over five years, will give extensive exposure to anti-drug messages during prime-time programming watched by youth.
- 2) It is not just an ad campaign. It is a series of public/ private partnerships that will generate a range of communication activities. The entertainment industry, the media and other entities are being asked to donate at least \$1 billion worth of supporting activities to reinforce and extend the advertising messages, in partnership with ONDCP and a broad cross-section of institutions that influence youth attitudes about drugs.
- 3) This campaign raises the bar for public service campaigns because it has an unprecedented level of accountability. It will be constantly monitored, evaluated, and updated to ensure that it effectively reaches teens and their parents.
- 4) The campaign has been designed to support the anti-drug activities of schools, civic organizations and other groups in communities across America.

National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign Core Messages

For younger people:

- Most teens do not use drugs or approve of drug use;
- Use of specific drugs has many negative consequences;
- Remaining drug-free has many positive consequences;
- There are skills young people can learn to enable them to stay drug-free; and
- There are positive ways young people can use their time after school and on weekends.

For parents and other influential adults:

- Their children are at risk for using drugs;
- Parents are a strong influence on whether their child will use drugs;
- There are simple, effective actions adults can take to help children avoid drug use.

The campaign has received overwhelming support from Congress, which approved \$195 million in funding for the campaign for 1998, and is expected to continue this level of funding through 2002.

"We are creating an entirely new media environment. Now, whenever our nation's children turn on the television, listen to the radio, or surf the Internet, they will get a powerful message against drug use."

*Barry R. McCaffrey, Director,
Office of National Drug Control Policy*

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Campaign Implementation

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The National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign is being implemented in three phases.

PHASE I, January - July 1998. This pilot phase consisted of television, radio, print, and outdoor advertising in 12 markets: Atlanta, Baltimore, Boise, Denver, Hartford, Houston, Milwaukee, Portland (OR), San Diego, Sioux City, Tucson, and Washington, DC.

These cities were chosen to ensure that the campaign messages addressed various ethnic and geographic audiences and drug use trends.

Audience awareness surveys and focus groups were conducted throughout this Phase I of the campaign to provide feedback to help shape Phases II and III.

PHASE II, July - October 1998. In Phase II, campaign advertising will be seen nationwide. The advertising will be placed on national broadcast, cable, and local television, and on radio, print and outdoor media. Campaign Web sites, for young people, parents and community partners, will launch at the start of this Phase. Phase II will also see the beginning of partnerships developed with the private sector, community coalitions, and state and local governments.

PHASE III will begin in October 1998. The national media buy will continue, and other elements of the campaign will be fully underway, including additional partnerships with the media, entertainment, and sports industries, as well as civic, professional, and community groups.

Media Match

Every media outlet that accepts the campaign's paid advertising will be asked to match the government's purchase with an equal value of public service in the form of public service announcement (PSA) time or space, or other programs or activities related to youth substance abuse prevention. This public service time will be shared with other organizations to promote anti-drug related messages, such as mentoring, underage alcohol and tobacco use, early childhood development, teen volunteering, crime prevention, and after-school activities. Media outlets can also provide in-kind contributions for local community events, editorial coverage, and other unique activities.

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- *Partnership for a Drug-Free America (PDFA)*, a non-profit coalition of professionals from the communications industry, is overseeing and implementing the creation of all paid advertising used in the campaign. The Partnership, led by Jim Burke, has run a highly acclaimed national anti-drug advertising campaign since 1987.
- *The Advertising Council, Inc.*, the nation's largest provider of public service communications, will serve as the clearinghouse for national and local Public Service Announcements (PSAs) submitted by non-profit groups for consideration as part of the media match. They will screen all ads submitted and ensure that they fit within the overall communication strategy, and meet all broadcast and print quality standards.

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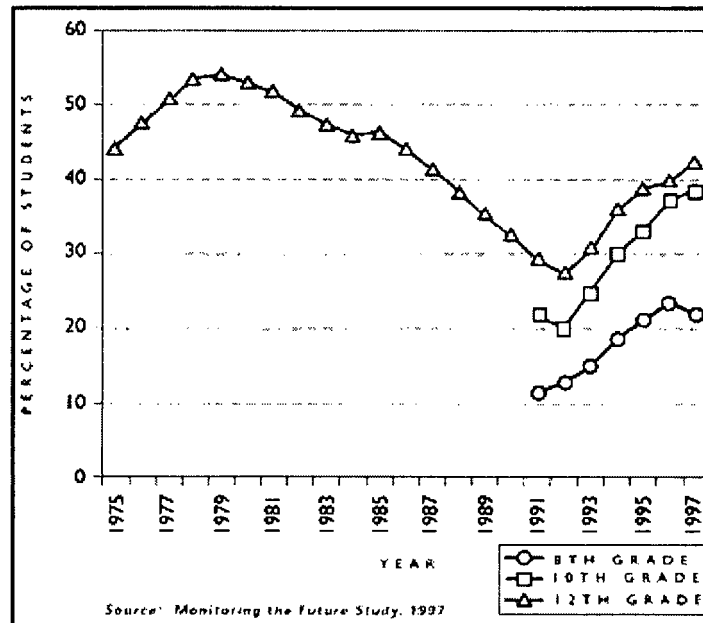
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Trends in Annual Prevalence of Illicit Drug Use

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Since 1991, drug use among America's youth has been rising at an alarming rate. At the same time, anti-drug attitudes among the same group have been declining dramatically.

To counter this disturbing trend, the Office of National Drug Control Policy (ONDCP) has launched The National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign, a multi-faceted, five-year effort to educate and enable America's youth to reject illegal drugs.

The campaign is centered around an aggressive paid advertising effort that will ensure that members of the target audiences -- youth aged 9-18 (especially middle-school aged children), their parents, and other influential adults such as teachers and coaches -- see or hear an average of four anti-drug messages each week.

The advertising will be supported by activities that will include:

- partnerships with community, civic, and professional groups;
- initiatives involving the Internet and interactive media;
- partnerships with the entertainment and sports industries;
- news media outreach; and
- corporate sponsorship.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

October 15, 1999

PRESIDENT CLINTON ANNOUNCES INITIATIVES TO PREVENT YOUTH VIOLENCE
October 15, 1999

In the aftermath of the tragedy in Littleton, the President and the First Lady called on Americans from all sectors to help prevent youth violence. Today, President Clinton will announce two new initiatives in this effort. First, he will unveil a new anti-violence public service advertising campaign on NBC. Second, the President will announce that he is creating a new White House Council on Youth Violence to ensure that the federal government's many efforts in this area are well-coordinated and serve the public as effectively as possible. Finally, the President will demand that Congress pass common-sense gun control measures, noting that Congress has let six months pass since Littleton and that the American people should not have to wait another day for such protections.

SPURRING ALL SECTORS OF SOCIETY TO HELP PREVENT YOUTH VIOLENCE

- The President will announce that on Monday, October 18, 1999, NBC will begin airing public service advertisements that focus on the interconnected issues of youth violence and intolerance. The advertisements, part of NBC's "The More You Know" public service campaign, will send messages to parents and students about the importance of resolving conflicts without resorting to violence, as well as the message that prejudice and hate are harmful and can lead to tragic ends. In this effort, NBC is partnering with national organizations including the Anti-Defamation League, the National Urban League, the National Council of La Raza, the Human Rights Campaign, and the Leadership Conference Education Fund. The campaign includes an Internet site and 1-800 toll-free numbers to link the public to more information and tools to combat youth violence.

- In August, the President announced the formation of a non-profit, non-partisan National Campaign Against Youth Violence. Today the President will highlight the National Campaign's initial work to help communities across the nation stop youth violence.

DIRECTING THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO DO ITS PART

- Noting that the federal government must do its part, President Clinton will also announce today that he is issuing an executive memorandum to create a White House Council on Youth Violence. The Council will work to coordinate programs throughout the federal government that address issues of youth violence. The Council will seek to make these programs more accessible to American families and examine best practices in addressing the problem. Members of the Council will include the Attorney General and the Secretaries of Health and Human Services, Education, and Labor, as well as the Director of the Office of Management and Budget.

DEMANDING THAT CONGRESS ENACT COMMON SENSE GUN CONTROL LAWS

- Finally, the President will demand that Congress meet its responsibility to help reduce violence and improve public safety by passing common sense gun legislation. The President will reiterate his call on the Congress to pass a balanced, bipartisan juvenile crime bill that includes the Senate-passed gun measures that would: close the gun show loophole; require child safety locks for handguns; bar the importation of large capacity ammunition clips; and ban violent

Jeffrey Black
415-512-4008

juveniles from owning guns for life. Six months after the tragedy in Littleton, these life-saving measures are long overdue.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

October 15, 1999

October 15, 1999

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

THE SECRETARY OF LABOR
THE SECRETARY OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES
THE SECRETARY OF EDUCATION
THE ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR
DOMESTIC POLICY

SUBJECT: White House Council on Youth Violence

Violence by youth and against youth is an issue that deeply concerns us all. Youth violence can be thought of as a juvenile crime issue, as a public health issue, and as a school safety issue. It affects every region and demographic group. As many recent incidents have made us aware, it is a problem that can strike with unexpected force -- and that now demands uncommonly unified responses. That is why I announced, on August 17, 1999, that a nonprofit, nonpartisan "National Campaign Against Youth Violence" had been established to bring together all segments of society to help prevent youth violence.

The Federal Government already addresses many aspects of youth violence through its programs. I am particularly proud of the joint efforts of the Attorney General, the Secretary of Health and Human Services, and the Secretary of Education in developing the Safe Schools/Healthy Students initiative. These agencies also worked well together to help us respond quickly to the Columbine High School incident. I have read with interest the report of the Attorney General's Coordinating Council on Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention. I look forward to the report that the Surgeon General in response to my May request is preparing on the causes of youth violence. The Secretary of Labor's efforts to address the needs of youth are also about to bear fruit, as high-poverty communities implement our new Youth Opportunity Grants, and as the Secretary and the Attorney General finalize their agreement for cooperative work on those grants and on Labor's Youth Offender grant program.

With so many agencies and programs involved, and with the need for my Administration to work closely with different elements of State and local governments, tribes, schools, community groups, and families, it has become increasingly clear to me that the Federal Government needs a more effective policy coordination strategy for youth violence issues.

Therefore, today I direct the Assistant for Domestic Policy to form a White House Council on Youth Violence to provide this policy coordination, to provide flexible and timely responses to the challenge of youth violence, and to ensure that our Nation's citizens are able to benefit from the Federal Government's many antiviolence initiatives.

Structure of the Council

The Assistant to the President for Domestic Policy will chair the Council. The Office of the Vice President and the Office of Management and Budget will be regular participants. Four agency heads will be the regular program members of the Council:

- The Attorney General, responding to the juvenile crime aspects;
- The Secretary of Health and Human Services, responding to the public health aspects, including mental health aspects, and to family issues;
- The Secretary of Education, responding to the school safety issues; and
- The Secretary of Labor, responding to youth employment and out-of-school youth issues.

The Chair of the Council may add such other officials as he deems appropriate to further the purposes of this overall effort or to participate in specific aspects of it. For example, matters relating to public health aspects would involve the Surgeon General. Matters relating to firearms control or drug abuse would involve the Secretary of the Treasury and the Director of National Drug Control Policy, respectively. Implications for economic development policies would call for involvement of the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, the Secretary of Agriculture, and the Secretary of Commerce. Comparable policies for Indian country would engage the Secretary of the Interior. Issues relating to community service opportunities for youth would involve the Chief Executive Officer of the Corporation for National and Community Service.

The Chair, after consultation with Council members, will appoint staff members to coordinate the Council's efforts. The Chair may call upon the participating agencies for logistical support to the Council, as necessary.

Duties of the Council

1. Develop a citizen's information hub. The Council will develop and maintain a coordinated inventory of relevant agency programs and provide analyses of their effectiveness. It will make this inventory widely available in summary form -- and upon request in more detail -- through the services of the appropriate Council member, to elected officials, community groups, police organizations, school systems, parents, and others working on local solutions to these issues. The inventory and full texts of program reports and evaluations should be available on an easily accessible website. The availability of this compilation will be widely publicized.

2. Produce reports on youth violence. The Council will prepare or have prepared reports on various aspects of the problem of youth violence, describing, for instance, best practices in combating the problem. In doing so, the Council should consult with nonprofits, foundations, and other organizations that have conducted research and/or developed resources on the prevention of youth violence. In addition, the Surgeon General is now carrying out a broad study of the potential causes of youth violence. I ask that the Surgeon General consult closely with the Council in the development of the study so that I may have the benefit of participation of all the involved agencies in its analysis and findings.

3. Expand the Safe Schools/Healthy Students model of collaboration. This initiative of the Departments of Justice, Education, and Health and Human Services has evolved into a highly effective collaboration among the agencies. The Council will oversee this effort and examine options for improving its operations and applying the model to other governmental efforts. The Secretary of Labor will begin participation in the initiative through establishing linkages to Youth Opportunities and Youth Offender grants.

4. Provide tools for parents to deal with the issue. Many Federal programs address issues relating to strengthening the family and helping parents raise children. The Council will explore the possibility of devising a cross-program strategy to help parents address youth violence. It will also report on new tools emerging in both the private and public sectors to assist parents.

5. Coordinate the Federal research agenda. The Council will oversee coordination of agency research agendas and the development of needed cross-agency research collaborations. I ask the Council to seek to have this structure in place to support the planning for FY 2001 research funds, and where feasible, to improve the planned use of funds available from prior years.

6. Develop further policy responses. The Council will meet at the call of the Chair to discuss new findings from analyses of the youth violence issue and to consider new or modified Administration responses to it, especially those that involve more than one agency. Recommendations for initiatives will be discussed in the Council for consistency with overall coordinated policy before being presented for formal decision in the budget process. From time to time, the Council will report to me directly on the results of its efforts.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

cc: The Vice President
The Secretary of the Treasury
The Secretary of the Interior
The Secretary of Agriculture
The Secretary of Housing and Urban Development
The Director of the Office of Management and Budget
The Director of the Office of National Drug Control Policy

#

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

October 15, 1999

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT YOUTH VIOLENCE NBC PSA CAMPAIGN ROLLOUT EVENT

Presidential Hall

1:45 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much Epatha; welcome back to the White House. She was here back in February, again trying to help children, when we unveiled the PSA to help our children get the health care they need. So she is becoming the federal government's number one volunteer for America's children and we're grateful for her. (Applause.)

I think she knows that if she and the rest of us could do enough for our children in a preventive and preparatory way, we'd put a lot of police officers and actors playing police officers out of work -- (laughter) -- because we wouldn't have nearly as much trouble. I thank you so much.

Attorney General Reno and Secretary Shalala, thank you both for your commitment to helping our children and to unifying our government's resources -- not having a lot of little, indistinct programs that are separate, one from another.

I want to thank all of those who are here supporting this campaign. Thank you, Dr. Roz Weinman, from NBC. Thank you for everything you've done. I want to thank the ADL National Director, Abraham Foxman, the Human Rights Committee's Executive Director, Elizabeth Birch; the people from LaRasa and all the other groups that have supported this endeavor.

I'd also like to acknowledge the young people behind me. They're from Eastern High School in Washington, D.C., and they are actively and personally working to prevent youth violence. They are the symbols of the people we are trying to empower with this public service campaign and we ought to give them a hand. (Applause.)

Six months ago next week we will observe the half-year anniversary of the tragedy at Littleton, Colorado. As awful as it was, we all know it was not an isolated event. We have seen since, and we saw before -- in a string of violent incidents at school, and in the fact that 13 young people lose their lives every single day to gunshots, in ones and twos -- that our children, notwithstanding the fact that we have the lowest crime rate in 26 years and a dramatic drop in the murder rate, are still subject to a nation that is too dangerous, and can be made safer.

That is why we have asked every sector of our society to get involved in the search for solutions to youth violence, to hatred, to the absence of the control, to environmental and cultural factors that need to be dealt with. We've asked people to help at home and school, in Hollywood and in the heartland, in our state capitals and in the nation's capital.

In August, we helped launch the National Campaign Against Youth

Violence, to pull together commitments from people and organizations from all different walks of life. Although this new campaign is not even two months old, it has already made a remarkable start. Over the coming months, it will roll out a major media campaign, begin supporting anti-violence concerts and town hall meetings, in-school and after-school programs and sponsor a city-by-city effort to shine a spotlight on the local initiatives that are producing the most promising results.

The Executive Director of this national campaign, Jeff Bleich is here with us today. I introduced him when we named him but, I want to thank you again for your great work. (Applause.)

Today we are pleased and grateful that NBC is making its own commitment to protect our children from youth violence. As part of it's "The More You Know" campaign, NBC has created a series of ads that speak to parents and children about how families can help to stop violence and hate before they start. I would like to now stop and show one of these ads, which features Epatha and here "Law and Order" colleague, Angie Harmon. So could we show the ad.

(The PSA was shown.) (Applause.)

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, thank you, and thank you. (Laughter.)

This ad, and others like it, will be seen by millions of viewers every day. In clear and powerful terms, they will convey the message that stopping violence and intolerance begins at home. They say if you're a parent, you owe it to your children to sit down with them, to draw them out, to give them a comfortable opportunity to express their fears, to give you early warning if there's a problem you need to address.

The thing I like best about it is the message I think every parent ought to try to give every child: if you've done something wrong, tell me. It's okay. It's not the end of the world. Before it gets too bad, tell me.

As you saw, these ads also provide an 800 number and a web address, so viewers can immediately get the best advice from national organizations which deal with these issues every day.

I look forward to continuing to build on the progress that NBC, its national partners, and the fine actors who appear in this campaign have started. It's a wonderful example of what you can accomplish, with the power of television, to send out positive messages to parents and children alike.

I also want to emphasize that we are going to change the way we in the federal government do our part, along the lines that the two Cabinet members here have long advocated. Youth violence has many origins, and so many facets. Not just one, but many of our Cabinet agencies are working to provide solutions. And they should be. They get contacted by people all over the country. Today, I had this year and last year's winner of the Points of Light Award in the White House for pictures. And an enormous percentage of these national winners were people who were involved in trying to keep our kids out of trouble, and give them good things to do.

So we see responses ranging from community policing to mental health to after-school programs to job opportunities. To respond to what Donna and Janet have talked to me about for years -- Janet sent me another memo just a couple of weeks ago about how we've got to get the government to work together on this -- we are creating a new Youth Violence Council. The job of the Council will be to coordinate,

accelerate and amplify all the anti-violence efforts now coming out of our Cabinet agencies, so that they will work together, not at cross purposes; they will waste less money and make the money they have go further; and they will touch more children's lives.

So I want to thank you, Madame Attorney General and you, Secretary Shalala for your suggestion, and we will do this.

I also want to say again that it is my strong conviction that preventing youth violence requires Congress to do more. It has been six months since Littleton now. Congress has had more than ample time to analyze and act on the elements of this problem. They have had more than enough time to recognize that one of the biggest problems of intentional and accidental violence against our children is the appalling ease with which young people can gain access to guns.

And, yet, after a very encouraging vote in the Senate last May -- when the Vice President was able to break a tie and pass legislation that makes a lot of sense, among other things closing the Brady background check loophole that didn't apply to gun shows and flea market gun sales -- there has been no action, because the leadership has done nothing but delay.

So, again, I say to the Republican leadership, I know this is a tough issue for you; I know that nobody likes to make the NRA mad looking towards the next election. But we -- when I went to the American people in 1992 and I said, let's adopt the Brady Bill and let's ban assault weapons, and I told all the hunters in my home state -- which is about half the people that breathe down there, me among them -- (laughter) -- I said, look, I'm telling you this will not affect hunting, this will not affect sporting events, it will make our country a safer place. It was an argument no one knew. It's not an argument anymore, we have the results.

The Brady Bill has kept 400,000 people who had criminal records or otherwise should not have had handguns from getting them, and we have the lowest crime rate in 26 years. This is not an argument anymore, there is evidence. And we now know that a lot of people who shouldn't get these guns know they can go get them at a gun show or an urban flea market because there is no background check. There are loopholes in the assault weapons ban in terms of the importation of inappropriately sized magazines, of ammunition clips and other problems that we ought to address. So I would say again, the time to act is now. The country overwhelmingly supports this.

I want to give the House a pat on the back, again, for passing a decent patients' bill of rights last week. They had to break the strangle-hold of an interest group that had the allegiance of their leadership. They have to do it again. But if they do it, they'll feel real good about it, just like they did last week. (Laughter.) You know, this is another one of those issues, it's not a particularly partisan issue, except in Washington, D.C. And we need to get free of all that and think about these kids.

I feel the same way about the hate crimes legislation. Since I first proposed the hate crimes bill -- believe it or not, hundreds of Americans, like young Matthew Shepard in Wyoming or James Byrd in Texas, have been killed or injured simply because of who they are -- because of their race, their faith, because they're gay. And I think this is important for America and important for our leadership at home and around the world.

What do I spend my time on around the world? If I'm trying to deal with peace in Ireland, what am I trying to do? Get people over their religious -- if we try to make peace and avoid another Rwanda in Africa,

what are we trying to do? Get people of different tribes not to kill each other.

If we're trying to make peace in Kosovo and Bosnia, what are we trying to do? Trying to get people over their ethnic and religious hatreds. And on and on and on. This is a deep thing in the human psyche that has been with us since the dawn of time. And of course the most stunning example of all is the struggle we are still making to harmonize and reconcile the people of the Middle East, in the very heart of the place that gave birth to all three of the worlds great religions that hold there is one creator, God.

Now, when America is a force in all these places but at home, you have to read that a guy that hates people that aren't just like him shoots a bunch of kids at a Jewish community center and then drives around and kills a Filipino post man working for the Federal Government -- he got a two-for -- the guy was an Asian and a federal government employee. And you read there is a guy that belongs to something in the middle west that he called a church -- even though they don't believe in God, they believe in the supremacy of white people -- and he shoots a fine young man who was a basketball coach at Northwestern and then toodles down the road again and kills a young Korean Christian coming out of his church; and you see all these things happening.

It seems to me very hard to make the case that America, for our own sanity and our own humanity, and for what we owe to the rest of the world, should not pass strong hate crimes legislation and do it without delay this year. (Applause.)

So again let me say to every proposal someone can raise the objection this will not solve every problem. If we did that no one would ever do anything constructive. That's like saying if you decided to go on a diet and you stay on it three days you won't lose the 20 pounds you want to lose. That's like saying, don't do this because even though you should do this, even when you do it there are three other things you can do.

I mean, all these arguments don't make any sense. Look, I'm proud of the fact that I had the chance to be President when Americans believed we could lower crime again, and where we have a 26-year low in the crime rate. But we have the highest murder rate of any civilized country in the world, still. The rate of accidental deaths of children by gunshots is nine times higher than the rate of the next 25 industrial economies combined.

What I'm trying to do with this PSA is to mobilize the American people to save our children, so the next President can say America is the safest big country in the world. Why don't we have a big goal here? It's nice to say that we've got the lowest crime rate in 26 years; maybe by the time I leave office we can say it's the lowest in 30 years. Maybe we'll really be chugging along here.

But don't you want to really be able to say, every time you look at a young person like this fine young boy here, in this beautiful red sweater -- (laughter) -- that this child should grow up in the safest big country on the face of the Earth? Let's have a goal worth fighting for, for our children. And let's mobilize people to do what can be done now, in their families, and let's have nobody run and hide from the responsibility we all have to give that gift to our children in the new millennium.

Thank you very much. (Applause.)

END 2:04 P.M. EDT

ONE AMERICA

In The 21st Century:

The President's Initiative on Race



ONE AMERICA DIALOGUE GUIDE

Conducting a Discussion on Race

March 1998

We encourage you to duplicate this guide

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 13, 1998

Dear Friend:

Our nation was founded on the principle that we are all created equal. We haven't always lived up to that ideal, but it has guided our way for more than two centuries. As we enter the 21st century, we know that one of the greatest challenges we still face is learning how we can come together as One America.

Over the coming decades, our country's ethnic and racial diversity will continue to expand dramatically. Will those differences divide us, or will they be our greatest strength? The answer depends upon what we are willing to do together. While we confront our differences in honest dialogue, we must also talk about the common dreams and the values we share. We must fight discrimination in our communities and in our hearts. And we must close the opportunity gaps that deprive too many Americans of the chance to realize their full potential.

I hope that you find the information contained in this kit helpful for conducting dialogues in your neighborhoods, your schools, and your places of worship. Your views and ideas are very important to me, and I urge you to help me continue the national dialogue on race by taking a leadership role in your community. Together, we can build a stronger America for the 21st century.

Thank you for helping us to meet this most important challenge.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Bill Clinton". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style with a long horizontal stroke at the end.

Foreword

The President has asked Americans to join in open and honest discussions about race. People from all across America have responded to the President's call and are talking about race more than ever. While these discussions may not be easy, they are necessary if we are to better understand each other, live together, and build united communities.

The attached One America Dialogue Guide will help you conduct a discussion on race. Whether you are a school teacher, police officer, student, businessperson, elected official, community leader, PTA member, or a concerned citizen, this guide is designed for you.

This manual was developed through a collaborative process led by the President's Initiative on Race and the Community Relations Service, U.S. Department of Justice, which consulted with national organizations that specialize in race dialogues. The result is a manual which represents a consolidation of thinking and practice from around the country on community dialogues on race.

We cannot underestimate the power of dialogues. When people can explore perspectives and ideas, they discover how much they share in common and learn to appreciate their differences. Dialogue is an opportunity for growth and change. Dialogue can help open our minds. Dialogue can help each of us listen better. And dialogue can bring us closer together.

Thank you for your interest in conducting a community dialogue. We hope you find our guide useful and instructive.

Sincerely,



Judith A. Winston, Executive Director
President's Initiative on Race



Rose M. Ochi, Director
Community Relations Service
U.S. Department of Justice

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1. Characteristics of Community Dialogues on Race

What do we mean by dialogue?

A dialogue is a forum that draws participants from as many parts of the community as possible to exchange information face-to-face, share personal stories and experiences, honestly express perspectives, clarify viewpoints, and develop solutions to community concerns.

Unlike debate, dialogue emphasizes listening to deepen understanding (see Appendix A, "The Difference Between Debate and Dialogue"). Dialogue invites discovery. It develops common values and allows participants to express their own interests. It expects that participants will grow in understanding and may decide to act together with common goals. In dialogue, participants can question and re-evaluate their assumptions. Through this process, people are learning to work together to improve race relations.

What makes for successful interracial dialogue?

The nature of the dialogue process can motivate people to work towards change (see Appendix A, "Examples of Race Reconciliation from Across the Nation"). Effective dialogues do the following:

- *Move towards solutions rather than continue to express or analyze the problem.* An

emphasis on personal responsibility moves the discussion away from finger-pointing or naming enemies and towards constructive common action.

- *Reach beyond the usual boundaries.* When fully developed, dialogues can involve the entire community, offering opportunities for new, unexpected partnerships. New partnerships can develop when participants listen carefully and respectfully to each other. A search for solutions focuses on the common good as participants are encouraged to broaden their horizons and build relationships outside their comfort zones.
- *Unite divided communities through a respectful, informed sharing of local racial history and its consequences for different people in today's society.* The experience of "walking through history" together can lead to healing.
- *Aim for a change of heart, not just a change of mind.* Dialogues go beyond sharing and understanding to transforming participants. While the process begins with the individual, it eventually involves groups and institutions. Ultimately, dialogues can affect how policies are made.

2. Getting Started—Steps in Organizing a Dialogue

Below are some basic questions and possible answers to help you think about organizing a dialogue on race. They are meant to be a starting place. Answering these questions will help you better understand the purpose and potential of your effort. You may wish to use the worksheet following these lists to sketch a profile of your own community. More detailed steps follow these “brainstorming” questions.

Think about your community.

What’s going on in our community that a dialogue on race could address?

Some possibilities—

- ☐ There are people of different racial groups in my neighborhood that I would like to know better.
- ☐ There is a race-related issue in my community that people need to talk about.
- ☐ People of different races live and work on opposite sides of town.
- ☐ There are young people from diverse racial and ethnic groups who could benefit from sharing their experiences.
- ☐ I would like to get the community to come together to tackle a common problem.
- ☐ The time is ripe for change—people are ready to do something positive.
- ☐ The “face” of the community is changing, and people need to acknowledge and understand the changes in a more constructive light.

Think about your goals.

If there were a dialogue on race here, what would be its goals?

Some possibilities—

- ☐ To improve our neighborhood by building bridges across racial lines.
- ☐ To build new relationships.
- ☐ To bring people together who do not typically talk to one another.
- ☐ To bring our kids together to reduce the chance of violence.
- ☐ To influence attitudes of local law enforcement.
- ☐ To better understand other cultures.
- ☐ To open up new economic possibilities.
- ☐ To create bonds between organizations that do not usually work together.
- ☐ To work on a community project together, such as building a playground.
- ☐ To build partnerships across jurisdictional lines.

Think about who should be included.

Who should be in the dialogue?

Some possibilities—

- ☐ My neighbors.
- ☐ Members of my and other religious communities.
- ☐ The school community—parents, teachers, administrators, and students.
- ☐ Police and community members.
- ☐ Business owners.
- ☐ Elected officials and community leaders.

Think about what format to use.

What type of discussion should we have?

Some possibilities—

- ☐ A few small groups meeting once or twice.
- ☐ A large public meeting with panelists and questions from the audience.

- ☐ A series of small groups from across the community meeting for six weeks or more, concluding with a large meeting.
- ☐ A year-long commitment among a group of key community leaders to study, reflect on, and discuss race relations.
- ☐ School projects aimed at understanding cultural differences, concluding with a multicultural potluck dinner.
- ☐ Study groups meeting from racially diverse congregations, concluding with a joint worship service.

Worksheet to Create Your Own Community Profile

1. What's going on in our community that a dialogue on race would address?

2. If there were a dialogue on race here, what would be its goals?

3. Who should be in the dialogue?

4. What format should we use?

Now make some choices.

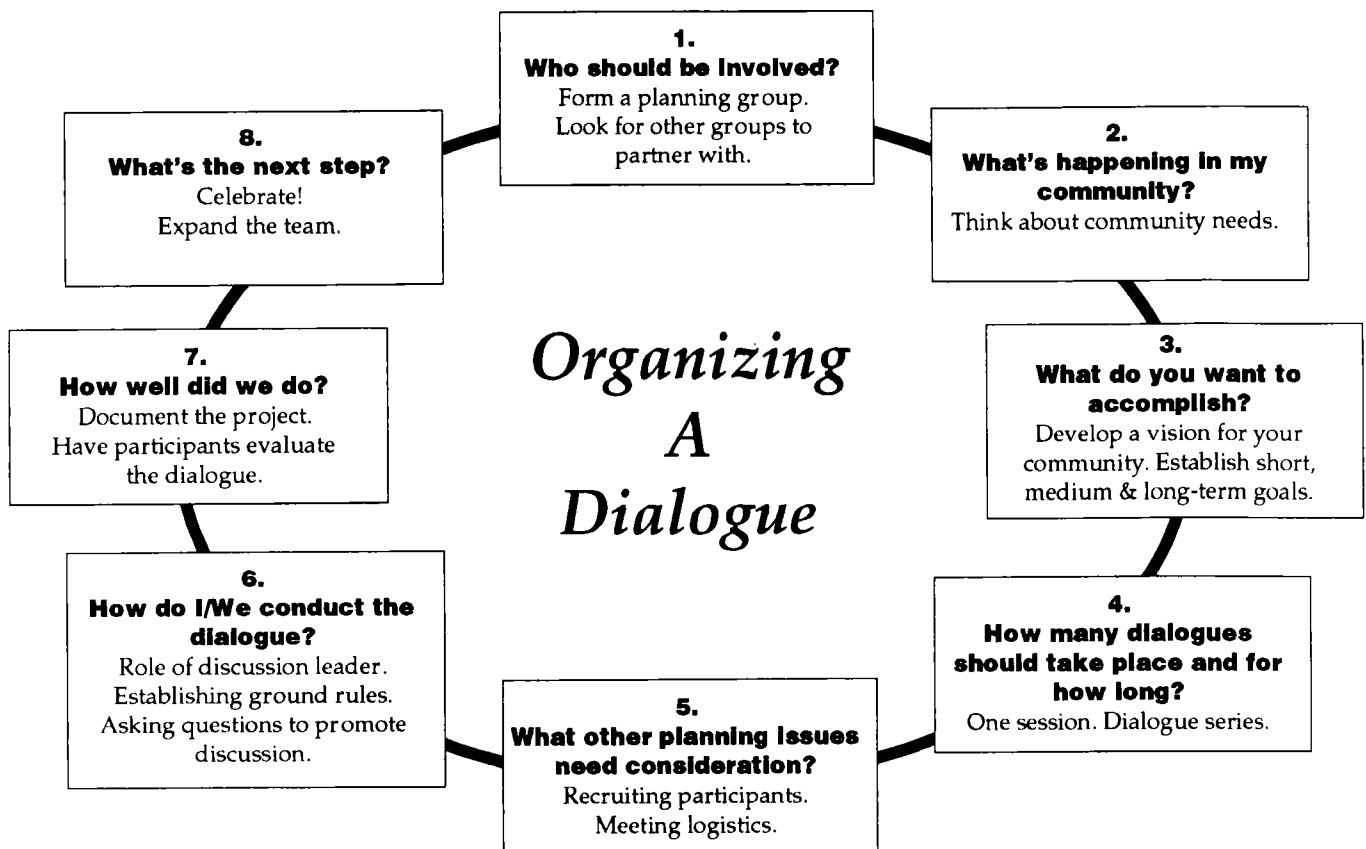
You don't have to be an expert to have an honest conversation about race. But as someone who is considering organizing a dialogue, you do have several choices ranging from the very simple to the somewhat complex. At the simple end, you can gather together a small group of friends, neighbors, or schoolmates to talk informally about race. This approach can be a constructive beginning, but will likely not produce much long-term community or institutional change. Another option is to pair existing community groups for a dialogue on race. This approach can have a larger effect on the community, depending on the groups involved. You could also create new groups from your community and bring them together for conversations on race aimed at community change. Whatever your ap-

proach, for a lasting impact on the larger community, it is a good idea to think about how you will sustain the project before you begin.

Dialogue may start at many levels and in many ways. While the guidance provided below can be adapted for the small "ad-hoc" gathering, it is generally intended for a larger effort (see figure below). The resource directory in Appendix C is a good place to locate help in organizing a dialogue on race. You should now be ready to tackle the following questions.

1. Who should be involved?

Form a planning group. If you are organizing an informal dialogue with friends, neighbors, or co-workers, for example, then the



Eight Steps for Beginning and Sustaining a Race Dialogue

planning group may consist of just you and one or two others. However, if you are planning a more ambitious effort, then you will want to have a planning group of six or eight people who represent different backgrounds, professions, and viewpoints. Once you've assembled the group together, discuss your approach. You will need to spend enough time together to build a level of trust. This group will be the nucleus that drives the process and should "model" the kind of relationships and openness that you hope to see in the overall effort. Meeting in each other's homes can be a great way to get to know one another.

Look for other groups with which to partner. Having good partners is important for long-term success. Look for people who are already working to improve race relations and who have experiences to share. Good partners may be able to provide useful information and organizational resources. You will greatly increase your outreach to the community as well. Groups from different racial, ethnic, or religious communities can make good partners and offer networking possibilities. Such groups may include religious leaders, law enforcement, small business owners, elected officials, and various nonprofit organizations.

2. What's Happening in My Community?

Think about the needs of your community. Take an inventory. What problems do you see in the community that are related to race and ethnicity? What are the critical issues? If things are really going to change, who needs to be part of the dialogue? Who are the individuals or groups not talking to each other? What role do language barriers play in groups not talking to each other? Are there people who should be allies, who may be doing similar work, but who are competing rather than working together? What are some of the consequences of racial divisions?

3. What do you want to accomplish?

Develop a vision for your community. What is special about your community? What do the different neighborhoods or groups offer that is unique? Are there particular issues that need to be heard? Remember, difficulties faced honestly can become assets. And the most unlikely people may hold the key to far-reaching success.

Establish short-, medium-, and long-term goals. Racial reconciliation may not happen overnight, but it is important to set some attainable goals that the group can work towards together. Look for "hinge issues" around which coalitions may form—education, housing, public transportation, and safety, for example. Where possible, create task forces to study specific needs and to work on concrete action plans. This approach will keep key business and civic leaders at the table.

4. How many dialogues should take place and for how long?

Again, the answer to this question depends on what you want to accomplish. Dialogues can go from one session of two hours to a series of sessions lasting indefinitely. For example, if your goal is simply to get people you know to come together and have a conversation about race, you may only want to do one session, perhaps in your home following a social event or community function. At the other end of the spectrum, if your goal is to create institutional change in your community, you may want to launch a series of dialogues involving broad community representation. Such an effort will require partnering with other groups in the community and seeking out support services.

5. What additional planning issues might you consider?

Recruit participants. To ensure the right balance for your group(s), you may need to consider the following: First, “Which voices need to be included?” Answering that question will ensure the racial, ethnic, and religious diversity necessary for successful dialogues. Then, “Who is missing?” That answer will steer you towards others who need to be involved. Other people to contact are those in uninvolved or unaffiliated groups who, while a visible part of the community, may be harder to reach through traditional means. Generate interest by doing the following:

- ask civic leaders and other influential members of the community to help rally the public;
- identify the appropriate media for the audience you are trying to reach—consider placing an announcement in a small local weekly or monthly newspaper, on a community bulletin board, or even on an electronic community bulletin board;
- use bilingual communications;
- post an announcement in grocery stores in the community;
- invite yourself to various group meetings in the community to get the word out; and
- approach local chapters of national organizations.

Consider logistics issues. These may include:

- where to have the dialogue;
- whether any funds need to be raised; and
- mailing lists—often obtainable from other groups.

6. How do I/we conduct the dialogue?

The critical components include welcoming participants and having them introduce themselves; setting out the dialogue’s purpose;

establishing ground rules; promoting discussion through thoughtful questions, visual media, or other materials; and periodically summarizing and evaluating the dialogue (see Section 3, “Conducting an Effective Community Dialogue on Race”).

7. How well did we do?

Document and evaluate the project. Keep a record of the individuals and groups who take part in the dialogues and of how well the discussions go. Include such things as number of participants, group composition (multiracial, youth, church, community, etc.), main topics discussed, how productive the discussions were, how they might have been improved, and other thoughts. This will allow you to see how attitudes and perceptions have changed and whether changes need to be made in the dialogue format. Emphasize that what participants share during the dialogue will not be attributed to them in any official record or document.

Have participants evaluate the dialogue. Depending on their goals, each group will evaluate the dialogue, whether a single session or a series, after it is over. Evaluations can be written and/or expressed verbally. You may wish to distribute a short evaluation form to elicit participant feedback and to measure the impact of the dialogue. Such a form might include questions such as the following:

- Why did you join the group?
- What were your expectations?
- Were you comfortable participating in the discussion?
- Did the dialogue give you new insights about how to improve race relations?
- Was the dialogue climate positive and respectful?
- Did you find the dialogue to be a valuable experience overall?
- How might it have been improved?

- Would you like to participate in a future session?
- Did the experience motivate you to act differently?
- What additional comments do you have?

8. What's the next step?

Hold an annual public event to celebrate achievements, evaluate effectiveness, and invite new participants.

Expand the team. As the dialogues develop, include representatives of all major areas (politics, different faiths, education, business, media, etc.). With them, you may want to create a statement about your community, its history, the challenges it faces today, and your collective vision for the future.

3. Conducting an Effective Community Dialogue on Race

The racial dialogue has four phases.

The dialogue design presented here contains four phases that have proven useful in moving participants through a natural process—from sharing individual experiences to gaining a deeper understanding of those experiences to committing to collective action. Whether meeting for one dialogue session or a series of sessions, participants move through all four phases, exploring and building on shared experiences. The first phase sets the tone and explores the question *Who Are We?* through the sharing of personal stories. The second phase helps participants understand *Where Are We?* through a deeper exploration of personal and shared racial history in the community. During the third phase, participants develop a vision for the community, in response to the question *Where Do We Want To Be?* In the fourth phase, participants answer the question, *What Will We Do As Individuals and With Others To Make A Difference?* Often, they discover shared interests and start working together on specific projects.

Note: Throughout this section, a sample script for the dialogue leader is noted in *italics*. A one-page overview of a sample small group dialogue is offered in Appendix A. Many dialogue leaders will want to read through the suggested questions in this section, then develop questions tailored to the needs of their particular groups. If your group is composed of people who are experienced discussing complex racial issues with each other, the quotes in Appendix A may be useful to quickly articulate a range of perspectives about race and to stimulate discussion. A set of additional questions for each of the four dialogue phases can be found in Appendix B.

You are ready to begin the dialogue.

Phase I: Who Are We?

This phase sets the tone and context for the dialogue, which begins with the sharing of personal stories and experiences. In addition to serving an ice-breaking function, this kind of personal sharing helps to level the playing field among participants and improve their understanding by hearing each others' experiences.

Welcome, Introduction and Overview
(Suggested time—15 minutes)

It's not always easy to talk about race relations. A commitment to the dialogue process—open, thoughtful, focused—will help us make progress. Your presence here shows you want to help improve race relations in this community, and just being here is an important step.

- Explain the purpose of the dialogue and the several phases involved.
- Discuss, clarify, and set ground rules (see page 15).
- Ask people to briefly introduce themselves.
- Give an overview of the session.
- Describe your role as dialogue leader (see page 15).

Starting the Dialogue

Often the most difficult part of talking about race is getting started. People may feel uncomfortable at first and hesitant about expressing their personal beliefs. To get people talking, it may help to relate personal stories or anecdotes, or to bring up a race-related incident that has occurred within the community.

*Let's begin by looking at the first question: **Who Are We?** By listening to one another's personal stories, we can gain insights into our own beliefs and those of others, and come to new understandings of the issues we face. By sharing our personal experiences, we can learn more about each other as individuals and about how we have been influenced by our racial and/or ethnic origins. We can also shed light on our different perceptions and understandings of race relations.*

- ❖ Begin with questions that allow people to talk about their own lives and what is important to them. Don't focus on race at first. Give people a chance just to get to know each other as individuals and to find out what they have in common. Examples of questions to use include—
 - How long have you lived in this community?
 - Where did you live before moving here?
 - What are some of your personal interests?
 - What things in life are most important to you?

Note to dialogue leader: For groups of 15 people or fewer, keep everyone together. Groups of more than 15 people should be separated into smaller groups (3 to 5 people) for a few minutes, then brought back together.

- ❖ Explore how race affects us on a day-to-day basis. Examples of questions to use include—
 - What is your racial, ethnic and/or cultural background?
 - Did you grow up mostly around people similar to you?
 - What are some of your earliest memories of coming in contact with people different from you?
- ❖ Summarize the session at meeting's end.

- ❖ Evaluate the meeting. Ask such questions as—
 - How did you feel about this meeting?
 - Is there anything you would like to change?
- ❖ Bring the meeting to an end and defuse any tensions. You might say, *Thank you for coming. Any final thoughts? Next week, we will...*

Transition to Phase II: In preparation for the next meeting, think about the following questions: When it comes to race, what problems are we facing? What are the most serious challenges facing our community, and what are the community's greatest strengths for dealing with those challenges?

Phase II: Where Are We?

This phase explores questions that highlight our different experiences and different perceptions about the kinds of problems our society is facing with regard to race. This phase is about people expressing their different understandings about race, then exploring the underlying conditions producing them. It centers on the idea that it makes sense to talk about what we are facing before we talk about solutions. By the end of this phase, participants should have identified the themes, issues, and problems in their community.

*Let's turn now to our second question: **Where Are We?** The purpose of this section is to look at our current experiences of race and ethnicity and to discuss the state of race relations in our community. Since this is the part where we really get down to business as far as identifying the underlying causes of any racial issues in our community, the discussion may get a little heated at times. It is okay to feel uncomfortable, as that is part of the difficult process of making change.*

- ❖ Begin with questions that get people to talk about their current experiences with race relations. Examples include—
 - How much and what type of contact do you have with people of other races or groups?
 - Is it easier or harder than it was a few years ago to make friends of other races? Why is that so?

Note to dialogue leader: Be prepared for the level of the conversation to intensify during this phase. Remember to reassure participants that it is okay to feel agitated or uncomfortable, reminding them of the ground rules when necessary (see Section 4, "The Role of the Dialogue Leader," for more tips).

- ❖ Focus the dialogue on the state of race relations in the community. Questions to help get started include—
 - How would you describe the overall state of race relations in our community?
 - What are some of the underlying conditions affecting race relations in our community?
 - In what ways do we agree and/or disagree about the nature of our racial problems, what caused them, and how serious they are?
- ❖ Summarize the session, evaluate it, and bring the meeting to an end.

Transition to Phase III: In preparation for the next session, think about the following questions: What can we do to make progress in our community? When it comes to strategies to improve race relations and to eliminate racism, what sorts of proposals do you know about? Try to identify a broad range of possibilities. What are the pros and cons of the various approaches? When it comes to race, what direction should our public policies take? What goals and values should shape our policies?

Phase III: Where Do We Want To Go?

The goal of this phase is to move away from the "me" and get people to think and talk about possible directions for change. In this segment, participants begin to build their collective vision. They first identify what would be a part of that vision and then "brainstorm" about how they could all help to build it (suggest "we" statements be used). By the end of this session, participants should have identified accomplishments, barriers to overcome, and opportunities for further action.

*Let's turn our attention to the question, **Where Do We Want To Go?** We share a common desire to improve race relations so let's talk about what we mean by that and explore specific things we might do to achieve that goal.*

- ❖ Have participants talk about their vision of what they would like to see in the community. You could ask questions such as—
 - How would you answer the question of where we want to go in race relations?
 - If we had excellent race relations, what kinds of things would we see in the community? Hear in the community? Feel?
- ❖ Help participants to build their future vision. Ask questions like—
 - What are the main changes that need to happen to increase understanding and cooperative action across racial lines?
 - What are some of the helping/hindering forces in our community?

Note to dialogue leader: The heart of the session is generating a range of viewpoints on how our society and community might address and make progress on race relations. As you sift through the views, remember to give a fair hearing to the ideas that come up.

- ❖ Turn the dialogue to the question of what individuals can do towards improving race relations. Ask questions like-
 - What things have you seen that give you hope for improved race relations?
 - What are some steps we could take to improve race relations in our neighborhood? In our workplace? In our organizations? In our schools? In our community?
- ❖ Explore the roles that the community's institutions and government play in helping race relations. How could they do a better job?
- ❖ Summarize the session, evaluate it, and bring the meeting to an end.

Transition to Phase IV: I hope that you all have begun to have a vision of what this community could look like if the positive changes we've discussed were to actually take place. When we come back together next session, we will be talking about what we can do as individuals and with others to really make a difference. For the next session, think about these questions: What kinds of concrete steps can you take in your everyday life-by yourself and with others-to improve race relations in the community? What do you think is most needed in this community?

While the racial issues we are facing in our communities sometimes seem overwhelming, it is possible to make a difference. By participating in this dialogue, you have already crossed the racial divide looking for better understanding and strategies that work. The purpose of this session is to draw out ideas for steps we can take-as individuals, in groups, and as a whole community-to face the challenge of race-related issues.

- ❖ Try to get participants to move from words to actions. Ask questions like—
 - What is each of us personally willing to do to make a difference?
 - How can you connect with others who share your concerns?
 - Should we continue and expand this dialogue, get more people involved? How could we do that?
 - Are there other issues and concerns that we should address using dialogues?
 - What will we do to ensure follow-up?
- ❖ Brainstorm action ideas with participants, recording their responses on a flip chart. Share any follow-up plans.
- ❖ Summarize the session, evaluate it, and bring the meeting to an end.
- ❖ Pass out an evaluation form (see Section 2, page 9, for possible questions).

Phase IV: What Will We Do, As Individuals and With Others, To Make a Difference?

The purpose of this session is to begin a productive conversation on specific actions that individuals will take, by themselves or with others, to make a difference in their communities. This session presents a range of concrete actions for change.

4. The Role of the Dialogue Leader

The dialogue leader's role is an important one that requires especially good listening skills and knowledge of when not to talk. The dialogue leader must also help set and follow ground rules for participation in the dialogue. Establishing rules helps to create a safe environment for openness and sharing. The dialogue leader's basic responsibility is to the group as a whole, while also considering each person's individuality and level of comfort.

Leading a dialogue is an intensive activity requiring a high level of alertness and awareness. That is why dialogues are often conducted by two or more leaders. It may be particularly valuable to have co-leaders who are of a different race or ethnic background and gender. Co-leadership can help to balance the dialogue and "model" the type of collaboration you hope to encourage.

Discussion leaders are critical to making the dialogue work.

While the leader of a dialogue does not need to be an "expert" or even the most knowledgeable person in the group on the topic being discussed, he or she should be the best prepared for the discussion. It is up to the dialogue leader to keep the group moving forward, using phrases that enhance conversations and encourage discussion. This means understanding the goals of the dialogue, thinking ahead of time about the directions in which the discussion might go, and preparing questions to help the group tackle their subject. The dialogue leader guides the process to ensure that it stays on track and avoids obstacles that could derail it. While the discussion leader guides the dialogue, he or she is also impartial in it, that is, not favoring one

person or point of view and not adding personal opinion. The dialogue leader lets the participants dictate the flow of the discussion. Solid preparation will enable you to give your full attention to how the participants are relating to each other and to what they are saying.

The dialogue leader plays several roles.

At the start of the session, remind everyone that the purpose is to have an open, honest, and cooperative dialogue, and that your role as leader is to remain neutral, keep the discussion focused, and follow the ground rules. Before the discussion begins, help the participants establish ground rules and ensure that all participants are willing to follow them. Ground rules must emphasize respect, listening, honesty, and the importance of sharing time equitably. Stress the importance of respecting different opinions and perspectives. You might post the following sample ground rules on a flip chart, or give one sample ground rule and ask the group to come up

Suggested Basic Ground Rules for Dialogues

Some basic ground rules for dialogues might include the following:

- We will respect confidentiality.
- We will share time equitably to ensure the participation of all.
- We will listen carefully and not interrupt.
- We will keep an open mind and be open to learning.
- We will not be disrespectful of the speaker even when we do not respect the views.

with more. You could then ask, "Are there any questions about these ground rules? Can we all agree to them before we continue?"

The following tips describe what a good dialogue leader should strive to do:

- ***Set a relaxed and open tone.*** Welcome everyone and create a friendly and relaxed atmosphere. Well-placed humor is usually appreciated.
- ***Stay neutral.*** This may be the most important point to remember as the leader of a dialogue. You should not share your personal views or try to advance your agenda on the issue. You are there to serve the discussion, not to join it.
- ***Stress the importance of confidentiality.*** Make sure participants understand that what they say during the dialogue session is to be kept completely confidential. Define for them what confidential means. For instance, it is not all right to speak outside of the dialogue about what someone else said or did. It is all right to share one's own personal insights about the issue of race and racism as a result of the process.
- ***Encourage openness about language.*** Dialogue leaders should encourage participants to offer preferred terms if a biased or offensive word or phrase should come up during the dialogue.
- ***Provide bilingual translation, if necessary.*** Also, ensure that provided material is translated into the participant's first language, or recruit bilingual discussion leaders.
- ***Keep track of who is contributing and who is not.*** Always use your "third eye." You are not only helping to keep the group focused on the content of the discussion, but you are monitoring how well the participants are communicating with each other—who has spoken, who has not, and whose points have not yet received a fair hearing. A dialogue leader must constantly weigh group needs against the requirements of individual members.
- ***Follow and focus the conversation flow.*** A dialogue leader who listens carefully will select topics raised in the initial sharing. To help keep the group on the topic, it is helpful to occasionally restate the key question or insight under discussion. It is important to guide gently, yet persistently. You might ask, "*How does your point relate to the topic?*" or state, "*That's an interesting point, but let's return to the central issue.*" Keep careful track of time.
- ***Do not fear silence.*** It is all right if people are quiet for a while. When deciding when to intervene, err on the side of non-intervention. The group will work its way out of a difficult situation. Sometimes group members only need more time to think through alternatives or to consider what has just been said.
- ***Accept and summarize expressed opinions.*** "Accepting" shows respect for each participant in the group. It is important for the dialogue leader to make it clear that dialogue discussions involve no right or wrong responses. One way to show acceptance and respect is to briefly summarize what is heard and to convey the feeling with which it was shared. Reflecting both the content and the feeling lets the person know that she or he has been heard. For example, you might say: "*It sounds like you felt hurt when you were slighted by someone of a different race.*" Once in a while, ask participants to sum up the most important points that have come out

in the discussion. This gives the group a sense of accomplishment and a point of reference for more sharing.

- ***Anticipate conflict and tend to the ground rules.*** When conflict arises, explain that disagreement over ideas is to be expected. Remind participants that conflict must stay on the issue. Do not allow it to become personal. Appeal to the group to help resolve the conflict and abide by the ground rules. You may have to stop and reference the ground rules several times throughout the discussion.
- ***Close the dialogue.*** Give participants a chance to talk about the most important thing they gained from the discussion. You may ask them to share any new ideas or thoughts they've had as a result of the discussion. Ask them to think about what worked and what didn't. You may want to encourage the group to design a closing activity for use at each session. Provide some time for the group to evaluate the process in writing. A brief evaluation allows participants the chance to comment on the process and to give feedback to the dialogue leader. Remember to thank everyone for their participation.

Here's how to handle some challenging situations.

The best method for handling challenging situations is to anticipate them and be prepared. Each interracial dialogue is a unique experience, providing new opportunities for the discussion leader. Even those who have been facilitators for many years are often faced with new problems requiring on-the-spot creative action. There are no certain answers; sometimes groups just do not go well, and other times all participants seem engaged and satisfied. The following scenarios present some possible challenges to the dialogue

leader and offer some guidelines for handling them.

THE CHALLENGE

The group is slow to respond to the process.

How to Handle It: Check to determine whether your directions have been understood. You may need to restate the purpose of the process and how it should be carried out. You may also have people who resist participating because of "power" issues in the group. If so, invite them to participate to the degree they feel comfortable. Assure them that the purpose of the process is to share different insights, experiences, and personal reflections on the topic. However the members choose to participate is valuable. It is also important to make sure members are physically comfortable.

THE CHALLENGE

One or a few members dominate the dialogue.

How to Handle It: The instructions you give to participants about respecting time limits are helpful. Invite participants to be conscious of each person having time to share his or her reflections, ideas, and insights. It may be helpful to invoke the ground rule "It is important to share time equitably" when a few individuals dominate the discussion. Another solution is to tell the group you want to hear from those who have not said much. Participants will look to you to restrain domineering members. Sometimes, this situation happens when those dominating the dialogue feel they have not been heard. Restating the essence of what they've expressed can show that you have understood their point of view.

THE CHALLENGE

The dialogue leader feels strongly about an issue and has trouble staying unbiased.

How to Handle It: The dialogue leader needs to remain on task, which is to guide the process and to elicit and respect all members' thoughts. If leaders really respect the views of others, show interest and curiosity for other experiences and viewpoints, it will not be difficult to keep personal ideas from over-influencing the dialogue. This is not to say that the dialogue leader never shares with the members in the process. However, you must guard against moving from a discussion leader into a "teacher/lecturer" mode.

THE CHALLENGE

A participant walks out of a group following a heated conflict.

How to Handle It: Sometimes the conversation may become heated. Other times, people may seem to be on the verge of fighting; and sometimes they may even walk out. The best way to deal with conflict is to confront it directly. Remind participants that they were told initially to expect conflict but that they agreed to respond to differences respectfully. The dialogue leader should always stop name-calling, personal attacks, and threats. This is one situation where you should readily appeal to the group for support. If they accepted the ground rules, they will support you.

Acknowledgment

The President's Initiative on Race (PIR) and the Community Relations Service (CRS), U.S. Department of Justice, wish to thank the following organizations for their assistance in developing this document: Days of Dialogue, Hope in the Cities, National Conference, National Multicultural Institute, Study Circles Resource Center, and the YWCA. These organizations made significant contributions and lent their considerable expertise to the drafting of this manual. PIR and CRS thank and acknowledge them for their tireless efforts in promoting race dialogues across America.

Appendices

Appendices

- A. Additional Resources
 - 1. A Sample Small Group Dialogue
 - 2. The Difference Between Debate and Dialogue
 - 3. Examples of Racial Reconciliation from Across the Nation
 - 4. Quotes on Race Relations
- B. Additional Questions for the Four Phases of Dialogue
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Appendix A1.

A Sample Small Group Dialogue

The following is an overview of a generic small group dialogue. This format is based on a group of 8 to 15 participants, guided by an impartial leader using discussion materials or questions. As a rule, adults meet for two hours at a time; young people for an hour to an hour and a half.

1. Introductions, roles, and intentions of the dialogue. The session begins with group members briefly introducing themselves after the dialogue leader has welcomed everyone. The dialogue leader explains his or her role as “neutral,” one of guiding the discussion without adding personal opinions. It is important to include an overview of the dialogue effort, the number of meetings planned, the organizers, the goals of the program, and any other relevant information.

2. Ground rules. Central to the opening dialogue is establishing ground rules for the group’s behavior and discussion. Start with a basic list and add any others the group wants to include. Post the ground rules where everyone can see them, and remember that you can add more to the list as needed. The group should be sure to discuss how to handle conflict and disagreement, as well as the need for confidentiality.

3. Discussion. Begin by asking participants what attracted them to this dialogue, perhaps asking, “Why are you concerned about issues of race?” or “How have your experiences or concerns influenced your opinions about race?” The heart of the discussion follows. Members can answer a series of questions, use prepared discussion materials with various viewpoints, read newspaper articles or editorials, look at television clips, or review information on the state of race relations in their community. Whatever method is selected, it is important to structure the discussion so that it goes somewhere, is grounded in concrete examples, and offers participants a chance to take action on the issues. Dialogue participants may get frustrated if they feel the conversation is too abstract, too vague, or “going around in circles.”

The dialogue leader will keep track of how the discussion is going. Is it time for a clarifying question or a summary of key points? Are all members fully engaged, or are some people dominating? Is the discussion wandering and calling for a change in direction? The participants can summarize the most important results of their discussion and consider what action they might take individually or together.

4. Evaluation and conclusion. In the final minutes, participants can offer their thoughts on the experience. If meeting again, this is the time to look ahead to the next meeting. If this is the last dialogue, thank the participants and ask for any final thoughts for staying involved in the effort. Participant evaluations of the dialogue can be expressed verbally and/or in writing. It may also be helpful for dialogues to be loosely recorded, if possible. Such documentation could help to measure the success of the dialogue and identify any needed improvements.

Appendix A2.

The Difference Between Debate and Dialogue

Debate...

is oppositional: two sides oppose each other and attempt to prove each other wrong.

has winning as the goal.

lets one side listen to the other side in order to find flaws and to counter its arguments.

defends assumptions as the truth.

causes critique of the other position.

defends one's own positions as the best solution and excludes other solutions.

creates a closed-minded attitude, a determination to be right.

prompts a search for glaring differences.

involves a countering of the other position without focusing on feelings or relationship and often belittles or deprecates the other person.

Dialogue...

is collaborative: two or more sides work together towards common understanding.

has finding common ground as the goal.

lets one side listen to the other side in order to understand.

reveals assumptions for reevaluation.

causes introspection of one's own position.

opens the possibility of reaching a better solution than any of the original solutions.

creates an open-minded attitude, an openness to being wrong and an openness to change.

prompts a search for basic agreements.

involves a real concern for the other person and does not seek to alienate or offend.

Appendix A3.

Examples of Racial Reconciliation From Across the Nation

Many positive efforts are taking place around our country to promote good race relations. Dialogue is one powerful tool to this end. Below are several examples of positive results achieved through dialogue and other efforts.

In Lima, Ohio... a mayor concerned about racial tensions in his community brought together area ministers to talk about organizing a dialogue. Two churches agreed to start a unifying process by holding a study circle, with help from the local college in training discussion leaders. Four years later, more than 100 organizations, including 62 religious congregations and over 3,000 people, are involved. Results range from volunteer efforts, like a multiracial unity choir, to community-wide collaborations on violence prevention and a city-wide plan for hiring people of color.

In Buffalo, New York... a series of highly publicized dialogues took place with students and educators from a wide band of cultural, racial, and ethnic communities. The dialogues involved students from six city schools and six suburban schools. Over the course of a school year, representatives from each of the 12 schools came together to discuss issues related to race, ethnicity, faith, and culture. Students now function as peer trainers, taking the lessons learned to their respective peers and recruiting the next round of participants. The dialogue and action plan focus on understanding and valuing differences within schools, and on identifying and teaching strategies for understanding and valuing diversity across school and community boundaries.

In Richmond, Virginia... a citizens group inspired its political and business leaders to host "an honest conversation on race, reconcilia-

tion and responsibility." At this event, residents came together to "walk through" their different racial histories. . . . High school teachers and counselors responded to their students' request for dialogue and offered their support as discussion leaders. Students from public and private schools, the inner city, and affluent suburbs signed up. These young people—normally separated by race, income, and geography—would meet once a week for six weeks at different locations in and around the city. . . . A couple invited a diverse group of friends to a pot-luck dinner at their home to talk about racial healing. More than 40 people showed up. It was so successful that the group decided to meet monthly, each time in a different home. They invited the police chief, a county supervisor, a newspaper editor, and other local leaders to take part as informal guest speakers.

In Orlando, Florida... a town meeting, telecast live by a PBS affiliate, focused on questions of immigration and community—a volatile issue causing deep divisions among people there. It was attended by business leaders and average citizens of all ethnic, gender, age, religious, cultural, and political groups in Central Florida. The meeting prompted more than 200 Central Floridians to participate in concurrent "home dialogues," where groups of 5–10 individuals meet face-to-face on the same day to discuss the challenges of race, culture, and ethnicity in their lives. The number of people wishing to participate in home dialogues has increased to more than 300.

In Des Moines, Iowa... leaders from various communities and faiths gathered for serious discussion and debate on issues of concern to residents. Subsequent conversations explored

these and other issues, such as the effect of corporate downsizing on race relations in Des Moines. Each of the conversations involved community residents, students, and other civic leaders. The dialogues prompted specific actions-participants are exploring potential projects on which a coalition of individu-

als and organizations could work. Building on the interest and excitement generated by the dialogue series, ongoing, more clearly focused dialogues identified common ground, common concerns, common values, and resulted in a redefinition of community.

Appendix A4.

Quotes on Race Relations

The questions for each of the four phases in the text and Appendix B have been designed to provide guidance for groups of people who do not know each other well and who do not necessarily have a great deal of experience talking about racial issues. However, if your group is composed of people who are experienced in discussing complex racial issues with each other, the following quotes (taken from actual race dialogues) may be useful to quickly articulate a range of perspectives about race and to stimulate discussion.

“I’m for equality, but people have to take responsibility for their own lives.
You can’t blame everything on racism.”

“It’s not racism at all. It’s just fear of crime. I think people are afraid.
I know I am. Does that make me a racist?”

“Native people are an afterthought in the dialogue on race in this country.
It’s as if everybody has decided we just don’t matter. Well, we do matter.”

“I don’t see color, I just see the person.”

“Colorblindness is not the answer, it just means you can’t deal with my race
so you want to blot it out and say I am exactly like you.”

“When people look at me, they assume I don’t speak English,
but my family has lived in Texas for five generations. In fact, I don’t speak Spanish.”

“I’m not entirely comfortable about being here,
but if I’m not willing to be here nothing is going to change.”

“We need to realize that people within each race are individuals
who don’t necessarily share the same views or interests.”

Appendix B.

Additional Questions for the Four Dialogue Phases

The following questions may be used to guide participants through each phase of a dialogue. Whether meeting for one session or a series of sessions, participants should progress through all four dialogue phases. The questions are organized under each phase according to how many sessions are planned. For each dialogue phase, select the question set(s) to fit your format.

Phase I —Who Are We?

For 1 Session:

- What are your first memories of learning that there was something called race?
- Have you ever felt different because of your race. If so, what was your first experience of feeling different?
- How much contact do you have now with people from other races? What type of contact is that?

For 2-3 Sessions (consider these):

- What was your first exposure to messages that concern racial stereotypes? Who told you about them?
- When did you first discover that some people thought about race very differently than you?
- What experiences have shaped your feelings and attitudes about race and ethnicity?

For 4 or More Sessions (consider these):

- What did you believe about race relations in your community growing up?
- What is your family history concerning race? Did racial issues affect your parents and grandparents?
- What early experiences have shaped your feelings and attitudes about race?

Phase II—Where Are We?

For 1 Session:

- What experience have you had in the past year that made you feel differently about race relations?
- If you had such an experience, what are the conditions that made that experience possible? If you did not have an experience, what makes such experiences rare? What do we make of our answers?
- Is race something you think about daily?
- How much contact do you have now with people from other races? What type of contact is that?
- What are the underlying conditions that influence the quality and quantity of our contact with people from other races?

For 2-3 Sessions (consider these):

- Can you think of a recent experience when you benefited or suffered from people having a stereotype about you?
- What are the underlying conditions that create the various ways we answer that question?
- Can you think of a recent time when someone's understanding of race made your action or statement have a different impact than you intended?
- Can you think of a time when you wondered whether your behavior towards others was affected by a racial stereotype, or by other racial issues?

For 4 or More Sessions (consider these):

- How would you describe the overall state of race relations in our community?
- What do you tell young people about the racial situation in our community?

- Is it important to share our perspective, or let them find out for themselves?
- What are the underlying conditions or barriers that hinder better race relations?
- In what ways do we agree or disagree about the nature of racial problems, what caused them, and how serious they are?
- What are the underlying conditions that might make us have different approaches to talking to youth about race?
- Which is the bigger problem in people understanding today's community challenges: people overemphasizing race or under-emphasizing race?
- Is it a little easier to relate to people from your same race than to relate to people from other races? Why?
- What are the barriers (in you, others, or in society) that sometimes make it difficult to relate to people of other races and cultures?

Phase III—Where Do We Want To Go?

For 1 Session:

- What needs to happen for people to have more positive experiences with race relations?
- What would have to happen so that people were not made to feel different because of race?
- What would have to happen for people to have more frequent and more meaningful contact with people from other races?

For 2-3 Sessions (consider these):

- What would have to happen for our society to have fewer racial stereotypes?

- What would have to happen so that people from different backgrounds could more easily work through their understandings of how race affects day-to-day situations?
- What are we, either independently or with others, willing to do so that we have more interactions that contribute to better race relations?

For 4 or More Sessions (consider these):

- In what specific ways do you wish race relations were different in our community? What would have to happen so that race relations would improve?
- What would have to happen so that youth had an informed and optimistic understanding of race relations?
- What can we agree needs to happen to improve race relations, even if we have different ways of understanding history?

Phase IV—What Will We Do, As Individuals and With Others, To Make A Difference?

For 1 Session:

- What are we, either independently or with others, willing to do so that we have more interactions that contribute to better race relations?
- What are we, either independently or with others, willing to do so that people have more frequent and meaningful contact with people from other races?
- What are some actions we might encourage community, business, or government organizations to take?

For 2-3 Sessions (consider these):

- What are we, either independently or with others, willing to do to reduce the affect of racial stereotypes in our lives and community?
- What are we, either independently or with others, willing to do to lessen misunderstandings about race?

For 4 or More Sessions (consider these):

- What are we, either individually or in groups, willing to do to improve race relations?
- What are we going to do, either independently or with others, to make it easier for people to relate to those in other groups?

Appendix C.

Directory of Resource Organizations

The descriptions below were written by the respective organizations, which are grouped as either "Partnering Organizations"-those with whom one might put on a dialogue-or "Educational Resource Organizations"-those offering additional information that may be helpful to organizing and conducting an effective dialogue. The Directory is not intended to capture every organization engaged in this type of work, but to serve as a starting point for those seeking dialogue and related resources.

Partnering Organizations

Anti-Defamation League

823 United Nations Plaza
New York, NY 10017

Tel: 212/490-2525. Fax: 212/867-0779.

Webpage: www.adl.org

The Anti-Defamation League (ADL), founded in 1913, is the world's leading organization fighting anti-Semitism through programs and services that counteract prejudice, bigotry, and all forms of bias-motivated hatred. The ADL Materials Resource Center offers extensive materials on prejudice, discrimination, ethnicity, stereotyping, and scapegoating. It also offers other tools designed to help schools and communities teach and learn about diversity and enhance understanding of different groups. The ADL Education Division and its A World of Difference Institute offer prejudice-reduction training for schools, colleges and universities, the workplace, and the community.

Hope in the Cities

1103 Sunset Avenue

Richmond, VA 23221

Tel: 804/358-1764. Fax: 804/358-1769.

E-mail: Hopecities@aol.com

Hope in the Cities is an interracial, multifaith national network which seeks to encourage a process of healing through honest conversations on race, reconciliation, and responsibility. It focuses specifically on the acknowledgment and healing of racial history, the sustaining of dialogues involving people of all races and viewpoints, and the acceptance of personal responsibility for the process of change. Hope in the Cities assists communities in building diverse coalitions with people in business, government, media, education, and religious and community organizations. Resources include a video, *Healing the Heart of America*, and a dialogue series based on *A Call to Community*, which has been endorsed by more than 100 national and local leaders as a basis for conversation. A recently produced Community Resource Manual documents process steps and case studies.

National MultiCultural Institute

3000 Connecticut Avenue, NW
Suite 438

Washington, DC 20007

Tel: 202/483-0700. Fax: 202/483-5233.

E-mail: nmci@nmci.org

Webpage: www.nmci.org

The National MultiCultural Institute (NMCI) is a private, non-profit organization founded in 1983 to promote understanding and respect

among people of different racial, ethnic, and cultural backgrounds. NMCI provides a forum for discussing the critical issues of multiculturalism through biannual conferences, diversity training and consulting, special projects, resource materials, and a multilingual mental health referral network. NMCI provides training and technical assistance on all aspects of organizing and facilitating dialogue groups.

Study Circles Resource Center

697A Pomfret Street

P.O. Box 203

Pomfret, CT 06258

Tel: 860/928-2616. Fax: 860/928-3713.

E-mail: <scrc@neca.com>.

The goal of the Study Circles Resource Center (SCRC) is to advance deliberative democracy and improve the quality of public life in the United States. SCRC helps communities use study circles—small, democratic, highly participatory discussions—to involve large numbers of citizens in public dialogue and problem solving on critical issues such as race, crime, education, youth issues, and American diversity. Through dialogue on matters of public concern, citizens gain ownership of issues and see themselves as people who can effect change at the local level. In the area of race relations, SCRC works with community leaders at every stage of creating community-wide study circle programs—helping organizers network between communities, working to develop strong coalitions within communities, and providing free discussion materials and comprehensive technical assistance at no cost. More than 50 communities across the nation are currently involved in planning and implementing study circle programs on race relations. SCRC is a project of Topsfield Foundation.

Project Victory

1322 18th Street, NW #26

Washington, DC 20036

Tel: 202/822-8700.

Project Victory is an educational organization that provides training on dialogue and conflict resolution for a wide variety of groups. Project Victory has also helped to organize dialogues on race relations in many locations around the country and was one of the main organizations that helped to create National Days of Dialogue on Race Relations, which took place in January 1998.

National Conference for Community and Justice

71 Fifth Avenue, Suite 1100

New York, NY 10003

Tel: 212/206-0006. Fax: 212/255-6177.

Contact Person: Scott Marshall, Director of Program Services

The National Conference for Community and Justice (NCCJ), founded as The National Conference of Christians and Jews in 1927, is a human relations organization dedicated to fighting bias, bigotry, and racism in America. NCCJ promotes understanding and respect among all races, religions, and cultures through advocacy, conflict resolution, and education. NCCJ has 65 regional offices in 35 states and the District of Columbia. NCCJ works to accomplish its mission through four program areas: Community, Workplace, Youth and Emerging Leadership, and Interfaith. Sample NCCJ programs include Community Dialogues—forums taking place at the local and regional level that create a space for honest and open exchange of ideas on critical issues related to race and ethnicity. These are targeted at a cross section of leadership and grassroots community members. Youth residential programs provide a set of experien-

tial activities for high school age youth aimed at reducing prejudice and developing leadership skills.

YWCA of the U.S.A.

Office of Racial Justice and Human Rights
350 Fifth Avenue
Suite 301
New York, NY 10116
Tel: 212/273-7827. Fax: 212/273-7849.

The YWCA of the U.S.A. represents a chapter in women's history, the history of the civil rights movement, and the history of the United States itself. It operates in more than 4,000 locations throughout the country in 400 associations in all 50 states. Its outreach extends internationally through its membership in the World YWCA, at work in more than 90 countries. For decades, the YWCA has pioneered efforts to eliminate racism through programs and advocacy. The organization's vision of empowering women through the elimination of racism and sexism remains its driving force. The Office of Racial Justice and Human Rights at the YWCA of the U.S.A. provides resources, training, and technical assistance to the local community and student YWCA associations to develop collaborative programs and strategies with other organizations to eliminate institutional racism at the local level in education, law enforcement, housing, health care, finance, and other institutions. This office also plays a key advocacy role at the federal level through its nationwide events such as the "National Day of Commitment to Eliminate Racism" and the "YWCA Week Without Violence."

Educational Resource Organizations

U.S. Department of Justice

Community Relations Service
600 E Street, NW
Suite 2000
Washington, DC 20530
Tel: 202/305-2935. Fax: 202/305-3009.

The Community Relations Service (CRS), an arm of the U.S. Department of Justice, is a specialized federal conciliation service available to state and local officials to help resolve and prevent racial and ethnic conflict, violence, and civil disorder. When governors, mayors, police chiefs, and school superintendents need help to defuse racial or ethnic crises, they turn to CRS. For more than 30 years, CRS has been asked to provide its experienced mediators to help local communities settle destructive conflicts and disturbances relating to race, color, or national origin. CRS relies solely on impartial mediation practices and established conflict resolution procedures to help local leaders resolve problems and restore community stability. It has no law enforcement authority and does not impose solutions, investigate or prosecute cases, or assign blame or fault. CRS mediators are required by law to conduct their activities in confidence, without publicity, and are prohibited from disclosing confidential information.

Center for Living Democracy

289 Fox Farm Road
Brattleboro, VT 05301
Tel: 802/254-1234. Fax: 802/254-1227.
Webpage: www.livingdemocracy.org

The Center for Living Democracy (CLD) is a nonprofit organization that seeks to strengthen our democracy by encouraging

Americans to engage in solving society's toughest problems. A national center through which citizens learn from each other's trials and triumphs, CLD reaches millions of Americans with compelling lessons to make their engagement effective. CLD gathers and shares materials produced from direct experience in communities across the nation and presents seminars and workshops for organizations seeking to create more effective democratic cultures. In October 1997, CLD published *Bridging the Racial Divide: A Report on Interracial Dialogue in America*, the results of a year-long survey of interracial dialogues occurring in more than 30 states. CLD researchers interviewed more than 60 groups that use sustained, community-based dialogue across the racial divide.

Educators for Social Responsibility

23 Garden Street
Cambridge, MA 02138
Tel: 1-800/370-2515. Fax: 617/ 864-5164.
E-mail: esrmain@igc.apc.org
Webpage: www.benjerry.com/esr

Educators for Social Responsibility's (ESR) primary mission is to help young people develop the convictions and skills to shape a safe, sustainable, and just world. ESR is a leading national center for staff development, school improvement, curricular resources, and support for schools, families, and children. ESR works with adults to advance teaching social responsibility as a core practice in the schooling and upbringing of children. ESR is recognized nationally for its leadership in conflict resolution, violence prevention, intergroup relations, and character education. The Resolving Conflict Creatively Program, an initiative of ESR, is one of the larg-

est and longest-running programs in conflict resolution and intergroup relations in the country.

Project Change

Tides Center
P.O. Box 29907
San Francisco, CA 94129
Tel: 415/561-6400.

Project Change is a funding initiative aimed at helping communities reduce racial prejudice and improve race relations. Working closely with community-based coalitions in selected communities, Project Change seeks to develop locally driven strategies to reduce the incidence of racism as well as to dismantle the institutional structures that sustain its effects. In each community, the project begins with a planning stage, bringing together a task force comprised of local citizens from the public, private, and nonprofit sectors, reflective of the demographics of the community. Then, the project moves into a three-year action phase, followed by a two-year transition phase, if warranted.

National Coalition Building Institute

1835 K Street, NW Suite 201
Washington, DC 20006
Tel: 202/296-3610.
E-mail: ncbidc@aol.com

This organization engages mostly in doing workshops on prejudice reduction and training in conflict resolution. It has expanded its repertoire by using a system called controversial issue process to help reduce differences by helping combatants "reframe the issue in a way that builds bridges."

Teaching Tolerance

400 Washington Ave.

Montgomery, AL 36104

Tel: 334/264-0286. Fax: 334/264-3121.

Web site: www.splcenter.org

Teaching Tolerance, a project of the Southern Poverty Law Center, produces a semi-annual magazine (free to teachers) and multimedia resource materials (free to schools) to help educators address racial narrow-mindedness. Recent titles include *Starting Small: Teaching Tolerance in Preschool and the Early Grades* and *The Shadow of Hate: A History of Intolerance in America*.

The Green Circle Program

1300 Spruce Street

Philadelphia, PA 19107

Tel: 215/893-8400. Fax: 215/ 735-9718.

The Green Circle Program, a national organization since 1957, promotes respect, understanding, and acceptance of ethnic and racial diversity through an intergroup education program that contributes to communication skills, self-esteem, and responsibility. Workshops are based on the premise that recognizing and utilizing individual differences strengthens the whole. The program works with all age groups and with anyone interested in building skills for living effectively with human differences. Green Circle uses interactive strategies that are structured for elementary school-aged children and develops education programs, workshops, and conferences for others who wish to address the issue of living with human differences.

California Association of Human Relations Organizations

965 Market Street

Suite 540

San Francisco, CA 94103

Tel: 415/543-9741. Fax: 415/543-9743.

The California Association of Human Relations Organizations (CAHRO), founded in 1973, promotes full acceptance of all persons by conducting activities to create a climate of respect and inclusion. CAHRO builds and supports collaboration to reduce community tension and to build intergroup relations. CAHRO is providing support and technical assistance to enable communities to build organizational networks to address bigotry and hate violence in California and beyond.

Public Dialogue Consortium

1522 Wells Drive

Albuquerque, NM 87112

Tel: 505/298-6616.

The Public Dialogue Consortium (PDC) is a nonprofit organization whose purpose is to help individuals and groups find new and better ways of communicating in a complex, dynamic, and diverse society. PDC's special interest is in developing better ways for the public to be involved in dialogue with each other and with government officials about public issues. For more than two years, PDC has led a public dialogue process about "cultural richness" and "community safety" in Cupertino, California. In addition, PDC members have facilitated and taught facilitation skills for public dialogue throughout the United States and in other countries.

BUILDING ONE AMERICA

After six years of the Clinton Administration, the American economy continues to break records. Home ownership and job creation are at all time highs, while crime, poverty and welfare rolls continue to fall. This new era of prosperity offers unprecedented opportunity, but the doors of opportunity are not open equally to all -- there are still striking disparities in jobs, in investments in neighborhoods, in education and criminal justice. We also know that, some time in the next century, America will have no majority race. Therefore the President believes we must work to create One America, not only to address the errors of the past, but to assure our future.

Because the challenges facing us reach far beyond the Federal government and require our engagement as individuals, and in our families, churches and communities, the President began in 1997 a national Initiative on Race. The elements of this Initiative were three-fold: action, study and dialogue with communities and community leaders of all races and regions to raise, discuss and better understand the tensions that divide us. A distinguished advisory committee then reported to the President throughout their year of service. Later this year the President issue his assessment to the American people. Many of the programs in this budget are already part of the response.

The President's budget for 2000 provides funding and programs to promote job growth and economic development in urban and rural areas, increase home ownership, promote educational opportunity, and strengthen civil rights enforcement.

JOBS AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

- **The New Markets Investment Initiative:** The budget provides tax credit and loan guarantee incentives to stimulate \$15 billion of new private capital investments in targeted areas; build a network of private investment institutions to funnel credit, equity and technical assistance into businesses in America's new markets; and provide the expertise to targeted small businesses that will allow them to use investment to grow.

- **Community Development Financial Institutions (CDFI):** The budget also provides expanded funding for Community Development Financial Institutions, which have expertise in lending and investment in underserved areas, both rural and urban. The budget provides \$125 million for the CDFI fund, including \$15 million for a new microenterprise initiative that would provide technical assistance grants to microenterprise intermediaries to assist low-income and disadvantaged entrepreneurs.

- **Empowerment Zones (EZs) and Enterprise Communities (ECs):** The budget provides mandatory funding for ten years: \$150 million a year for urban EZs; \$10 million a year for rural EZs; and \$5 million a year for rural ECs. It also includes a new USDA program to provide \$5 million for partnership technical assistance grants to help rural communities develop comprehensive strategies for revitalization and to better coordinate Federal assistance. In addition, the Budget provides a \$50 million regional Empowerment Zone Initiative to assist urban EZ/EC's in linking their economic development strategies to their broader metropolitan regional economies to increase youth employment.

HOME OWNERSHIP

- **Federal Housing Administration Loan Limits:** The Administration's successful 1999 proposal to increase the FHA mortgage limit will allow FHA to help more families purchase their first homes, especially in areas with high housing prices. Reforms of FHA's property disposition practices, starting this year, will reduce costs and stabilize neighborhoods.

- **Playing-by-the-Rules:** Also in 1999, the Administration proposed and Congress enacted a

\$25 million Neighborhood Reinvestment Corporation "Play-by-the-Rules" pilot program. This program will allow renters with solid payment track records to own their own homes. The budget provides a second round of \$15 million for this initiative.

· **Low Income Housing Tax Credit:** The budget proposes to expand the Low Income Housing Tax Credit to spur the private sector to develop more affordable low-income rental housing. The proposal will cost \$1.6 billion over the next five years and help develop 75,000 to 90,000 units per year. It will restore the value of the tax credit, which has eroded over the last decade due to an increase in building costs, helping to reduce rents by an average of \$450 a month for the average housing credit renter who, in turn, earns \$13,300 a year.

· **Public Housing Program:** In 1998, Congress passed comprehensive public housing reform legislation, the Quality Housing and Work Responsibility Act. The Act increases the availability of Federal housing assistance to very poor families with limited housing choices while at the same time promoting a greater mix of income and new administrative flexibility in public housing.

EDUCATION

· **Head Start:** Among the President's highest priorities, Head Start will serve 877,000 low-income children in 2000, providing comprehensive child development services and helping parents get involved in their children's lives. Since 1993, the President has worked with Congress to increase annual Head Start funding by 68 percent. This year's proposal will keep the program on track to meet the President's goal of serving one million children by 2002: a \$607 million increase that will add 42,000 new slots for young children, including 7,000 Early Head Start slots, for total enrollment of 877,000.

· **Title I -- Education for the Disadvantaged:** This program provides funds to raise the educational achievement of disadvantaged children. Title I will receive \$8.7 billion in 2000, a \$373 million increase over 1999. This funding includes resources for a new Accountability Fund, which would support immediate and significant State and local interventions in the lowest performing schools to improve student achievement.

· **End Social Promotion and Provide After-School Opportunities:** The President is committed to ending social promotion and will work to give students the tools they need to meet challenging academic standards. This budget proposes an expansion to the 21st Century Community Learning Centers, enabling more than 7,500 schools to open their doors before and after the school day and during the summer.

· **Doubles GEAR-UP for College Program:** President Clinton's balanced budget doubles funding --from \$120 million in FY99 to \$240 million in FY2000 -- for the GEAR UP program that supports States and partnerships between high-poverty middle or junior high schools and colleges to help low-income children prepare for and enroll in college. In 2000, GEAR UP will reach 381,000 students.

CIVIL RIGHTS ENFORCEMENT

· **Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC):** The budget provides \$312 million for the EEOC, 12 percent more than in 1999. Funds will support, among other things, a reduction in the backlog of private sector cases, through a combination of investments in information technology, increased use of mediation, and increased staffing. The increase for EEOC also includes \$10 million as part of a joint, \$14 million EEOC/Department of Labor Equal Pay Initiative, to focus additional resources on providing employers with the necessary tools to assess and improve their pay policies, and educating the public on the importance of this issue as well as their rights and responsibilities.

- **Department of Housing and Urban Development's (HUD) Fair Housing Initiatives:**

The budget provides \$47 million, \$7 million more than in 1999. Funding for these initiatives includes \$27 million, a 15 percent increase, for the Fair Housing Initiatives Program (FHIP), which provides funding to private fair housing groups to assist in enforcement of the Fair Housing Act. The budget also provides \$20 million, a 21 percent increase, for the Fair Housing Assistance Program, which supports the creation of additional State and local housing organizations to meet the needs of currently underserved populations and aid joint investigations and enforcement activities.

- **Department of Justice's Civil Rights Enforcement:** The budget provides \$82 million, a 19 percent increase over 1999, representing the largest increase for the Civil Rights Division in nine years. The budget also provides \$5 million for the Civil Rights Enforcement Partnership, to provide competitive grants to help build capacity of states to address specific enforcement issues within their jurisdictions by hiring additional staff.

- **Department of Labor:** The budget provides \$76 million for DOL's Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs (OFCCP), an \$11 million increase over 1999. This includes \$4 million of the President's \$14 million joint, EEOC/Department of Labor Equal Pay Initiative.

- **Department of Education's Office for Civil Rights:** The budget provides \$73 million -- an increase of \$7 million over 1999 -- to fund staff training and technological improvements to ensure the resolution of civil rights issues.

- **Department of Health and Human Services (HHS):** The budget provides \$22 million for HHS's Office of Civil Rights to continue its focus on preventative activities.

- **U.S. Commission on Civil Rights:** The budget provides \$11 million, a 22 percent increase over 1999, for the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

- **Department of Transportation (DOT):** The budget provides \$8 million for DOT's Office of Civil Rights, an increase of \$1 million.

- **Department of Labor (DOL):** The budget provides a \$1 million increase -- to \$6 million -- for DOL's Office of Civil Rights to enforce the Federal statutes and regulations that prohibit discrimination in all Labor Department financial assistance programs.

- **Environmental Protection Agency (EPA):** The budget provides \$2 million for the EPA's Office of Civil Rights to address potential discrimination within EPA and in programs and activities that receive assistance from EPA.

HISPANIC EDUCATION INITIATIVES

- **Right Track Partnership:** The budget provides \$100 million for a new Right Track Partnership program to help keep young people from dropping out of school and encourage those who already have dropped out to return and complete their education. The program will target resources to disadvantaged and limited-English proficient youth.

- **Bilingual and Immigrant Education:** The budget provides \$35 million, for a total of \$415 million, for Bilingual and Immigrant Education. Includes \$25 million, for a total of \$75 million, for Professional Development, and \$10 million, for a total of \$170 million, for Instructional Services to support programs for limited English proficient students.

- **Other Education Initiatives:** The budget also provides increases of:

\$14 million, for a total of \$42 million, for assistance for colleges and universities that serve large numbers of Hispanic students; \$9 million, for a total of \$22 million, for

the High School Equivalency Program for migrants and the College Assistance Migrant Program; \$190 million, for a total of \$575 million, for Adult Education, including \$70 million to expand services and improve English as a Second Language and civics programs; \$25 million, for a total of \$380 million, for Title I-Migrant Education, which provides additional educational assistance to migrant children; \$10 million for a Labor Department program to provide training and education assistance to migrant youth including literacy assistance, worker safety training, English language assistance, and drop out prevention activities; \$30 million, for a total of \$630 million, for the TRIO programs that work with disadvantaged high school and college students to encourage them to complete high school and attend, and graduate from, college; \$30 million, for a total of \$150 million, for Comprehensive School Reform demonstrations in high-poverty schools, providing grants for research-proven reform efforts to schools that have low achievement and high drop-out rates. Also, a portion of the Head Start expansion dollars will be used to boost minority participation by under represented groups, particularly in areas with recent influxes of immigrants and limited English proficient children, including seasonal farm workers.

COMMITMENT TO NATIVE AMERICANS

• **Law Enforcement:** The second year of the Interior and Justice Departments' joint law enforcement initiative, for which the budget proposes \$164 million in 2000 (50 percent over 1999), will continue to address high crime rates in Indian country with more resources for drug control and youth crime prevention programs, equipment detention services, crime reporting surveys, and officer hiring and retention.

• **Education:** The Administration is continuing its commitment to education by expanding the school construction initiative to address Indian reservations' school repair and replacement needs systematically. As part of the school modernization proposal, Interior's Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) will receive a set-aside in bond authority (\$200 million in both 2000 and 2001, plus up to \$30 million to guarantee bond repayment) for its schools on Indian reservations in need of replacement or major repairs. In addition to school construction, BIA will increase resources for school operations; early intervention partnerships; child care; and technology within schools, classrooms and libraries. The nationwide class size reduction initiative also includes a set-aside for BIA schools, to be used for hiring 1,000 new Indian teachers. Only two-thirds of Native American students successfully complete high school --far fewer than other students. To address this challenge, the President is proposing \$10 million to begin training and recruiting of 1000 new teachers for areas with high concentrations of American Indian and Alaska Native students.

• **Bureau of Indian Affairs and Indian Health Services:** DOI's Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) and the Health and Human Services Department's Indian Health Service (IHS) make up nearly two-thirds of Federal funding for Native American programs. For the BIA, the budget provides \$1.9 billion, nine percent over the 1999 enacted level. Over 90 percent of BIA operations funding goes for basic, high-priority reservation-level programs such as education, social services, law enforcement, housing improvement, and natural resources management.

For IHS, the budget proposes \$2.4 billion, a substantial increase of eight-percent over the FY 1999 level.

This increase would enable IHS to continue expanding accessible and high-quality health care to its Native American service users, through IHS' existing network comprised of over 540 direct health care delivery facilities (this is also discussed in Health Care and Services, above). This increase reflects a four-pronged approach for IHS (e.g., substantial increase in 2000, access to health grants, Medicare/Medicaid reimbursements, and vigilance on fraud and abuse). In addition, from 1998 to 2000, IHS expects to collect an additional \$82 million in reimbursements due to Medicaid

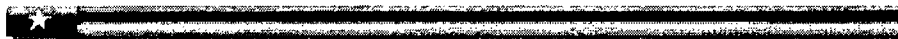
collections rate increases.

- **Tribal Contracting and Self-governance:** BIA and IHS will continue to promote Tribal self-determination through local decision-making. Tribal contracting and self-governance compact agreements now represent half of BIA's operations budget, and over 40 percent of IHS' budget.
- **Trust Fund Balances:** The Administration is committed to resolving disputed Indian trust fund account balances through informal dispute resolution and supports the unique government-to-government relationship that exists in Indian trust land management issues. After Tribal consultations, BIA submitted its recommendations to Congress in November 1997. Legislation reflecting these recommendations was proposed in 1998, but not enacted. It will be re-proposed in the 106th Congress.
- **Trust Land Management:** As part of BIA's commitment to resolving trust land management issues, BIA will re-propose legislation to establish an Indian Land Consolidation program to address the fractionation of Indian land. In 1999, BIA will devote \$5 million to three pilot projects in Wisconsin in cooperation with Tribes, to purchase small ownership interests in highly fractionated tracts of land from willing sellers. The budget proposes to double funding for this program.
- **Trust Management Improvement Project:** The budget provides \$90 million for DOI's Office of Special Trustee's trust management improvement project, an increase of \$51 million over 1999. Current activities include verifying individual Indian's account data and converting these data to a commercial-grade accounting system. Ownership, lease, and royalty information related to the underlying trust assets will also be verified and converted to a recently acquired commercial asset management system.

HEALTH

- **Racial Disparities in Health Status:** Despite improvements in the Nation's overall health, continuing disparities remain in the burden of death and illness that certain minority groups experience. To address these and other disparities, the budget includes \$145 million for health education, prevention, and treatment services for minority populations. The budget also proposes to provide an additional \$50 million to address HIV and AIDS issues in minority communities.
- **Minority and Native American Elders:** The budget provides \$4 million for HHS' Administration on Aging to reduce chronic disease among minority elders. In addition, the budget proposes a \$125 million National Family Caregiver Support Program, including \$2.5 million in competitive grant funding for Native American family caregivers.

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