

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Laura J. Lewis ( CN=Laura J. Lewis/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:16-JUL-1999 18:23:04.00

SUBJECT:

TO: Joshua S. Gottheimer ( CN=Joshua S. Gottheimer/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Morton Horwitz, Harvard Law School 617 441 9044 (home)

Randall Kennedy 617-495-0907 (office), 781 320 3228 (home)

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Peter L. Cohen ( CN=Peter L. Cohen/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:16-JUL-1999 18:54:07.00

SUBJECT:

TO: Peter L. Cohen ( CN=Peter L. Cohen/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

from randall kennedy:

brook marshall. emeritus of law @ yls. asst. atty genl. in charge of  
civil rights div. under JFK

Lewis Pollak. in Phila. US District Judge. Very active

William T. Coleman in DC

Head of Lawyers cmt. for civil rts under law. barbara arnwine. --

Arthur Schlesinger's bio of RFK.

John Doar - autobiography/memoir

bio of Justice White author - hutchinson - white was in justice in early  
kennedy yrs.

Jack Greenberg - was head of NAACP legal defense fund. lives in NY.

memoir = Crusaders in the Courts.

Leon Friedman - Southern Justice (1965 & 1967). About fights in the  
South.

Owen Fiss - YLS. was in justice in late 50s/early 60s

Brian K. Landsberg - McGeorge Law School - Sacramento - 916-739-7103 ;  
worked @ DoJ Civil rts. div til 86.

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Leslie Bernstein ( CN=Leslie Bernstein/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME: 15-NOV-1999 16:34:45.00

SUBJECT: Sorry -- USE THIS ONE INSTEAD

TO: edley ( edley @ law.harvard.edu [ UNKNOWN ] )  
READ: UNKNOWN

TEXT:

No fiddling done. There is one chart that is kinda funky, but entirely readable. It is in Pt III, Section 2C, re Unemployment Rates for 1998. That's all I saw. It honestly looks great.

----- Forwarded by Leslie Bernstein/WHO/EOP on 11/15/99  
04:31 PM -----

"Christopher Edley, Jr." <edley@law.harvard.edu>  
11/13/99 04:41:30 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Leslie Bernstein/WHO/EOP  
cc:  
Subject: Sorry -- USE THIS ONE INSTEAD

I think the other one had screwed up footnotes.

- Master3.doc

===== ATTACHMENT 1 =====  
ATT CREATION TIME/DATE: 0 00:00:00.00

TEXT:

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@u.!<

Out of Many, One:  
Racial and Ethnic Justice in 21st Century America

Gr  
andfather  
Look at our brokenness.

We know that in all creation  
Only the human  
family  
Has strayed from the Sacred Way

We know that we are the ones  
Who are di  
vided  
And we are the ones  
Who must come back together  
To walk in the Sacred Wa  
y

Grandfather,  
Sacred One,

Teach us love, compassion, and honor  
That we may heal the earth  
And heal each other.

#### Ojibway Prayer<sup>1</sup>

America's greatest promise in the 21st century lies in our ability to harness the strength of our racial diversity. The greatest challenge facing Americans is to accept and take pride in defining ourselves as a multi-racial democracy. At the end of the 20th century, America has emerged as the worldwide symbol of opportunity and freedom through leadership that constantly strives to give meaning to democracy's fundamental principles. These principles—justice, opportunity, equality, and racial inclusion—must continue to guide the planning for our future.

Report of The President's  
Advisory Board,  
President's Initiative on Race<sup>2</sup>  
September 18, 1998

#### Introduction

We must embark on the new century recommitted to right the wrongs of our past and to make real the promise of equality and justice that has eluded us throughout our history. This challenge is daunting. At century's end, color in America remains a vexing paradox of ideals and ordeals, of hopes and fears. To build One America in the 21st century we must do all we can to strengthen opportunity for all, demand responsibility from all and unite in a new spirit of community. Only then can we redeem the promise of our founding and the truth of our hearts.

Today that challenge takes on a new urgency. The American people, in the age of the new global economy and growing diversity, are facing enormous new pressures. These pressures can pull us apart, isolating us from one another or they can be a source of unity and strength. As we have seen in other parts of the world and throughout history, under such stress, nations themselves can fragment, with racial and ethnic groups pitted against each other, too often in violent struggle. But in our own nation's history, Americans have time and again overcome centrifugal forces that threatened to tear us apart over our differences. But new threats continue to emerge and old ones have not been fully conquered. And so, trying to achieve the ideal of One America is the challenge of every generation.

We are upheld in the eyes of the world rightfully as the most successful multi-racial democracy in history, a model of peaceful co-existence in a world rent by ethnic, racial and religious conflict. In our best moments we have aspired to an even nobler model -- one in which we not only tolerate, but actually celebrate the many races and cultures that make America, in which we not only affirm but try to live by our Nation's founding creed, that all men are created equal.

America is demographically undergoing one of the great transformations in our history. We are a changed people, as is every generation, from that of the Irish and German migrations from the mid-19th century to the arrival of Asians and Hispanics today. Today, nearly one in ten people in the United States were born in another country<sup>3</sup>, and one in five schoolchildren are from immigrant families.<sup>4</sup> Today, largely because of immigrants, there is no majority race in Houston or New York City.<sup>5</sup> In eight of our ten largest public school systems, over 75 percent of the students are minorities.<sup>6</sup> Within ten years there will be no majority race in our largest state, California.<sup>7</sup> In a little more than 50 years there may be no majority race in the United States.<sup>8</sup>

All of this is happening against a backdrop of unparalleled peace and prosperity. Our economy has never been stronger. Our people have never been more confident in the future. And in the absence of a compelling racial crisis like the riots of the 1960s, many of our citizens have been lulled into thinking that America's racial problems are a thing of the past. That is simply not



true.

An old enemy still lurks in the shadows. It continues to poison our perceptions, undermine our progress and threaten our future. Racism has been Americas constant curse, predating the nations founding by a century and a half.

And race has also been our constant struggle. Many lives have been lost, many dreams deferred while we have grappled with this demon. Truth, too, has often been a casualty, caught in the crossfire of our contradictions.

Consider this:

We were born with a Declaration of Independence which asserted that we are all created equal and a Constitution that enshrined slavery. We fought a bloody civil war to abolish slavery and preserve the union, but we remained a house divided and unequal by law for another century. We advanced across the continent in the name of freedom, yet in doing so we pushed Native Americans off their land, often crushing their culture, their livelihood and their lives. We eagerly recruited laborers from Asia to help build our fledgling economy but in a time of war, forcibly removed more than 100,000 Japanese Americans from their homes and into internment camps. Our Statue of Liberty welcomes poor, tired, huddled masses of immigrants to our shores, but each new wave has felt the sting of discrimination, and for many that discrimination has burdened their native-born children and grandchildren. We must face these contradictions squarely as a critical step, not only to healing the wounds of our past, but also of unleashing the power and promise of our future. We must become One America in the 21st century.

I hope this report will help lay the foundation for a renewed national commitment to racial healing in America. At the beginning of this century, the great African American scholar and civil rights leader W.E.B. DuBois said that The problem of the 20th century will be the problem of the color line.<sup>9</sup> He was right. Americas color line started centuries ago and stretches into our lives today.

As a boy growing up in the 1950s and early 60s in segregated Arkansas, I was perplexed by the stark lines drawn between black and white, separating neighbor from neighbor. The black children went to different schools, ate at different restaurants. The rough gravel streets they walked and played on stood in bleak contrast to the smooth paved roadways on the white side of town.

But these disparities were mostly background music to me until 1957, when the high stakes drama of the Little Rock Nine sent shock waves through the nation. I was only 11 years old at the time. Like most southerners then, I never attended school with a person of another race until I went to college. Though discrimination had always gnawed at me, it was the courage and sacrifice of those nine black children who endured constant attacks, both physical and emotional, to integrate Little Rocks Central High School, that made racial equality a driving commitment in my life. I have done all I could to make it a reality.

After

I launched the national Initiative on Race in San Diego in 1997, people asked me, why, in the absence of a great national crisis like Little Rock or race riots, should the American people focus anew on the challenge of racial reconciliation. That is a good question, and it has several answers. Why now? Because, first and foremost, our work is not yet done and our present progress and confidence gives us the best chance to finish it. We have moved out of the epicenter of racism that rocked our nation from the time of the Indian conquest, slavery and Japanese internment until the great breakthroughs of the civil rights era, but we are still experiencing the after shocks. Though people of color have more opportunities than ever today, we still see evidence of unequal treatment in the litany of disparities in jobs and wealth, in education, in criminal justice that so often still break down along the color line.

Secondly, as we grow more diverse and the world is drawn closer together, our diversity will either be the great problem or the great promise of 21st century America. What we make of ourselves will determine whether we lead the world toward greater peace, freedom and prosperity or join those gripped by racial, ethnic and religious conflicts in a much more clouded future.

If we are ever going to truly overc

ome, we must begin to experience our diversity as a source of solidarity and strength, not division and weakness. First, we must get the facts right and dare to be honest with ourselves and each other. Then we must decide on a shared vision to guide our progress. Finally, we -- each one of us -- must answer the call to action. In these pages, I will offer a rough blueprint for that call: a renewed commitment to racial reconciliation and to the pursuit of a more just and more perfect union.

Part I, The America We See, presents the facts about race in America today, including demographic trends, evidence of disparities, and evidence of progress. Part II, The America We Want, outlines my vision for the future by challenging us to think outside the box about a set of vexing questions surrounding our growing diversity. Part III, The Opportunity We Deserve, presents workplans addressing equal opportunity in education, criminal justice, jobs and economic development, civil rights enforcement and the special challenges of improving the lives of the first Americans Native Americans. Part IV, The Community We Must Build, explores the ways in which groups and communities are connecting people and toppling racial barriers. And finally, Part V, The Leadership We Need: The Road Forward, issues a call for the leaders in every community and every sector of American life to develop their own workplans for racial reconciliation.

What will the America we want look like? What vision should guide our work? To begin with, let me say that we must be bold enough to imagine and then journey towards a society dramatically different from both our past and present. Our ideals demand nothing less. To get to the promised land, we must battle the cynicism that says history and color will always shackle our aspirations. So instead, let us envision a new America where opportunity will be shared so deeply and broadly that an observer, a stranger in our land, will see no evidence of a past with slavery or conquest or nativist discrimination. Whatever forms of misery remain, they will not be the special burden of any racial or ethnic group. Let us envision a nation where each person takes responsibility, not only for making the most of their own life, but also for ensuring that every other American has an equal chance to do the same. Let us build a sense of community so powerful that our social and economic interactions will pull us out of ethnic enclaves. Rather than merely tolerating our differences, we will celebrate them and draw strength from them. Finally, let us work to heal our hearts of the crippling influences of prejudice and fear to be so committed to building a stronger common future that we have neither the time nor the inclination to hate.

Undergirding all the facts and plans presented here are a set of ethical precepts that I believe must guide us on this journey.

The first is a spiritual law common to every major world religion. We hear it echo in our call for One America. It is the law of oneness. *E pluribus unum*: Out of many, one. We must stop living under the delusion of separation, dividing ourselves into categories, mistakenly believing these can capture the whole truth about anyone. We are all born of the same creative source. There is no other. In Christianity it is expressed as loving thy neighbor as thyself. In Islam we are instructed to Do unto all men as you wish to have done to you and not reject for others what you would reject for yourself.<sup>10</sup> The Talmud teaches us, Should anyone turn aside the right of the stranger, it is as though he were to turn aside the right of the most high God.<sup>11</sup> As a nation that takes pride in both the depth and diversity of religious expression, we must embrace racial reconciliation as a way to honor our highest spiritual values.

The second underlying ethical precept is my belief that we should approach this issue with proper humility. After all, if any one of us had all the answers we would have settled this problem a long time ago. We must not lock ourselves into old arguments and rigid beliefs. We must always search for the kernel of truth in what the other side is saying. With open minds and hearts we can build bridges, and I have faith that our search for common ground will be rewarded.

Third, we must recognize the ways we have allowed our racial differences to get inside our heads, causing many whites, for instance, to deny the fact that their skin color protects them from indignities and suspicions that many people of color face every day. Some scholars call this phenomenon white privilege. On the other hand, many people of color have come to see themselves as perpetual victims, attributing every setback to racism.

A final precept is that we cannot expect government, or business, or some group of leaders we know through television and newspapers to make this journey for us. It is responsibility we all share. Achieving our vision requires not only the right public policies, but also the right private and personal practices. Reaching the promised land requires a journey of the heart, for each of us.

Of the many things that have changed about race in my lifetime, as a lawyer and a public servant, I am particularly struck by the transformation in our legal and political culture. We cannot afford to be less vigilant in enforcing laws against discrimination and pressing to root out bias wherever we can find it. Yet, as I look ahead I am convinced that we must go beyond the agenda defined a generation ago. We will not achieve our vision unless we recognize that opportunity is not an accident in America -- it is a right of citizenship, not coded or discounted by color. And to redeem that right, we must embrace new civic covenants for the new century, expressing the responsibilities we must assume for ourselves and our communities. These must include:

a covenant with our children, that each of them will have access to a world-class education, and an equal opportunity for educational achievement;  
a covenant with our families, that each can live secure in their home without fear of violent lawlessness; and  
a covenant with our communities, that each will be part of the nation's economic mainstream, neither ignored nor left behind.

The workplan to accomplish all of this must combine public investments and personal inspiration, community engagement and committed leadership. I know we can do it. The good and hard work that I have seen across our nation while President has convinced me that America's greatest resource is the idealism of our people.

I want to thank The Advisory Board to the Presidents Initiative on Race for all they did during 1997-98 to re-engage the American people in the hard work of improving race relations. Led by the eminent scholar and historian, John Hope Franklin, the Advisory Board spent the year criss-crossing America, examining race, racism and the potential for racial reconciliation using a process of study, constructive dialogue and action. The other members of the Board were Linda Chavez-Thompson, Reverend Dr. Suzan D. Johnson Cook, Thomas H. Kean, Angela E. Oh, Robert Thomas and William Winter. Laura Harris provided invaluable assistance as a Senior consultant. I also want to extend a special thanks to Judith Winston who served as Executive Director for this effort. The Board presented its final report to me in September, 1998, and much of their good work is reflected in this book.

No President or Advisory Board could be expected to resolve America's vexing racial problems in one or two years. We believe we have made a good start. Now, we must all continue, united in a common vision of what it means to be One America.

I dream a world where man  
No other man will  
Ill scorn,  
Where love will bless the earth  
And peace its paths adorn.  
I dream a  
world where all  
Will know sweet freedom's way,  
Where greed no longer saps the soul  
Nor avarice blights our day.  
A world I dream where black or white  
Whatever

ace you be,  
 Will share the bounties of the earth  
 And every man is free,  
 Where w  
 retchedness will hang its head  
 And joy, like a pearl,  
 Attends the needs of all  
 mankind-  
 Of such I dream, my world!

Langston Hughes<sup>12</sup>

Endnotes:

1. Earth P  
 rayers from *Around the World: 365 Prayers, Poems, and Invocations Honoring the Earth*. ed. Elias Amidon and Elizabeth Roberts. (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1991) p. 95.
2. The Advisory Board's report to the President, President  
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3. Alvarado, Herm  
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 7 (Update)*. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1998).
4. U.S. Dep  
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9. DuBois, W.E.B. "The Souls of  
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 6), p. 359.
10. *Caring Quotes: A Compendium of Caring Thought*. ed. The Brothe  
 rs Halamandaris. (Washington, D.C.: Caring Publishing, 1994), p. 450.
11. Ibi  
 d., p. 454.
12. Hughes, Langston. "I Dream a World." *The Collected Poems of  
 Langston Hughes*. Ed. Rampersad, Arnold and Roessel, David. (New York: Vintage  
 Books, 1994), p. 311.  
 Part I: The America We See  
 A. Introduction  
 One of the m  
 ost frustrating aspects of our ongoing national discussion of race is the exten  
 t to which we often seem stuck in a wheel-spinning debate about where we are in  
 our journey toward One America. Some would say that we have bridged the racia

I divide, largely eliminated discrimination and achieved equal opportunity by enacting antidiscrimination laws. They point to the growth of the minority middle class and exceptional achievers like Bill Richardson, Wilma Mankiller, Senator Dan Inouye, Oprah Winfrey, Gary Locke and Colin Powell and assert that any persistent racial problems or disparities are more a failing of personal responsibility than of society at large.

On the other hand, there are those who, in the face of demonstrable progress over the past 50 years, insist that minorities in America are little better off today than a generation ago. They argue that racism is omnipresent, quietly sanctioned and the root of all evil in their lives and their communities from perceived inequities in criminal justice to the fact that they did not get that job or promotion they so desperately wanted. So over and over we ask ourselves, Is our racial glass half empty or half full? There are kernels of truth in each point of view, and in this chapter I hope to bring them to light while separating fiction from fact.

Our journey to One America must be guided by an agreed-upon set of navigational tools. Can you imagine where a ship at sea would end up if the captain had one view of north and the crew had another, or if one ship's lookout saw icebergs ahead while another saw only smooth sailing? We must find enough agreement on the current conditions around us, the obstacles in our path and the destination we seek in order to steer a steady course. That requires taking an honest look at the facts about our changing demographics, the continuing reality of race-based disparities, the true extent of current discrimination, and the status of group relations between races and ethnicities.

In this chapter, I will highlight some of the more salient indicators of where we are in these four areas. But this is not just a recitation of facts and statistics. I want to challenge the American people to think about a set of fundamental questions: Will our growing diversity be a source of strength or weakness in the coming century? Will we face the truth about discrimination and disparities in America, and enter the 21st century with a renewed commitment to closing the opportunity gaps? Will we be satisfied that fewer people seem to harbor overt racial animosities in their hearts, or will we continue to struggle until all prejudice, both overt and covert, is extinguished from the American psyche?

Before we can answer those questions, we must clear away the myths and misinformation that have cluttered our path and impeded our progress for too long. And while we may not finally settle the glass half full or empty debate, I hope more of us will at least listen to another point of view, which is always the first step to finding common ground. If we can agree on the America we see, we will have a better chance of smooth passage to the America we want.

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## B. Demographics

Myth: Whites believe they make up 50 percent of the U.S. population. African Americans believe the country is 45 percent white and 26 percent black.

Fact: Whites currently make up 73 percent of the population; African Americans, 12 percent; Hispanics, 11 percent. Asian Americans, now about four percent of the population, are the fastest growing racial minority group. Hispanics will become the largest minority group in just a few years. Fifty years from now, whites will barely be the majority race in America.

Myth: American Indians are a dying race.

Fact: The American Indian population is young. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, 38 percent of the American Indian population was under 20 years old in 1997, compared with 29 percent of the total U.S. population.



How you react to these statistics

tells us something about America's ability to cope with the most dramatic shift in racial composition in our history. Some of you may look at the statistics and be alarmed. Others may be overjoyed. Few if any of us truly know what this will mean to us and to our communities. One thing is certain though: if we do not embrace this shift by finding ways to celebrate our diversity while uniting around a common vision of what it means to be an American, we are destined to repeat the mistakes of the past, with far graver consequences for our future.

[See Attachment: CEA Table, Racial/Ethnic Composition of the Population, p. 6]

Fifty years ago, whites made up 90 percent of our population, and the Census Bureau used only three major categories to describe us: white, Negro, and other. Sometimes those distinctions were reduced to just white and non-white. Since then, there has been a rapid growth in our Asian American, Hispanic and American Indian populations. Hispanics, for example have grown from a population of less than 9 million in 1960 to over 25 million today. The growth rate of Asian Pacific Americans has also been rapid, with their share of the total U.S. population growing from 0.7% in 1970 to 2.9% in 1990.

Another factor complicating the racial identity of America is the growth of intermarriage involving all races. Before 1960, only two percent of black men married outside their race. That figure now exceeds 10 percent. Two-fifths of native-born Hispanics marry non-Hispanics. Over half of native-born Asian men and over three-quarters of native-born Asian women marry outside their race. Similarly, over half of American Indians marry outside their race. Children of this increasing number of mixed marriages will have to decide if they wish to hold a single racial label or their identity or whether some form of mixing or blending of identities is more suitable.<sup>1</sup> In a sense, the growing bi-racial and multi-racial population is a pointed reminder that the very categories and the entire social construct of race are a problem.

[See Attachment: CEA Table, Intergroup Married Couples, 1990]

Indeed, this unprecedented infusion of diversity brings with it a complex and sometimes controversial set of issues. Who, for example, decides who is white and who is a person of color? What will the terms majority and minority mean when there is no majority race in America? Will more people insist on identifying themselves to reflect every aspect of their heritage. Tiger Woods, part Caucasian, part Black, part Indian and part Asian prefers to call himself Cablinasian? Will the leadership in our communities and institutions accurately reflect this new diversity? And, perhaps, most importantly, will the black-white schism that has so defined racial struggle in America morph into new minority - versus - minority divisions or can we build new coalitions for social change and equal justice across all racial lines?

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### C. Disparities

Myth: America's

record of progress in the past 50 years has benefited all citizens equally and closed the gaps between the haves and have-nots by race.

Fact: Although all racial and ethnic groups have experienced substantial improvements in well-being over the second half of this century, Blacks, Hispanics, American Indian and many Asian Pacific American groups continue to suffer significant disadvantages in opportunity and in material and physical well being.

Myth: American Indian

reservations are a drain on the economy.

Fact: Off-reservation spending by reservation residents, tribal governments and reservation-based businesses totals in the billions and has a positive impact on local, state and national economies by creat

ing jobs and generating income.

A report prepared for my Initiative on Race by the Council of Economic Advisers, *Changing America: Indicators of Social and Economic Well-being by Race and Hispanic Origin*, documents the fact that while we have reduced or eliminated some very harmful differences between whites and minorities, serious disparities remain.

The report reveals persistent, high rates of poverty among American Indians, African Americans and Hispanics, as well as big racial differences between whites and most minorities in wages, income and wealth. With regard to Asian Pacific Americans, moreover, the poverty rates for certain segments of this community are extraordinarily high. *Changing America* also provides evidence that minorities still have fewer options and access to quality housing and quality health care. It confirms the sad truth that far too many diseases, some of them preventable, like AIDS, are afflicting people of color at two and three and even five times the rate of whites. We can conclude from this that for many children of color, racial disparities, poor schools, and segregation are a shameful legacy we have yet to overcome.

[See Attachment: CEA Table, Poverty Rates for Individuals, p. 36]

Notwithstanding the record of civil rights progress over the last half century, we must acknowledge that we have not yet beaten the problem of racial disadvantage. Let me give you one example. We have heard a lot about the rapid growth of the black middle class in recent years. Research shows that while the white middle class expanded considerably in each decade from 1940 to 1970, the expansion of the black middle class a sure sign of reduced inequities and greater opportunity was smaller over this 30-year period and was significant only in the 1950s and 1960s.

Moreover, the general convergence of earnings between black men and white men that began in the 1940s came to a halt in the 1970s and was followed by roughly 20 years of stagnation.<sup>2</sup> During that period, the dramatic racial disparities in income and other measures of economic well-being showed little change. Today, African American and Hispanic unemployment are at their lowest levels since we began keeping separate statistics in 1972. But, Black unemployment remains twice as high as white unemployment,<sup>3</sup> and Hispanic unemployment is approximately two-thirds higher than for whites.<sup>4</sup> Today, I am pleased that our economic growth has led to a resumption of minority middle class expansion in the mid-1990s. Our policies are moving us in the right direction. But we must do more to ensure there will be no reversals or stagnation as we work to undo the past's bitter legacy.

The model minority stereotype of Asian Pacific Americans is another common misperception. Many people believe that Asian Pacific Americans have achieved a level of economic success comparable to white Americans. In fact, Asian Pacific Americans are often cited as a case example of how racial disparities can dissipate with the right attitude and enough hard work. Certainly, Asian Pacific Americans have made a great deal of progress and experienced a large degree of economic success, but the aggregate data hide the increasing income polarization within this extremely diverse community. The 1990 Census reported that white Americans suffered from a 9 percent poverty rate. For the Hmong (immigrants from Laos), the poverty rate was a startling 64 percent, 43 percent for those from Cambodia, and 26 percent for Vietnamese. Evidence also shows that Asian Pacific Americans are the fastest growing segment of those on welfare. Despite the popular image of the Asian whiz kids, Southeast Asian youth are dropping out of school at extremely high rates and few of them are graduating from college. It is virtually impossible to disentangle all the factors at work in this story -- the disadvantages of new immigrants with language and cultural barriers to overcome, overt and subtle forms of discrimination and prejudice and the lingering effects of past racial wrongs. But I am hopeful that with time and perseverance on their part, and the right kind of supports from the rest of us, these new immigrants, like those who have come before them, will find success in America.

Superficial and incomplete statistical accounting has led many people to believe that we have done enough and that race-linked disadvantages deserve less attention from governments and other institutions, not more. Too

many of us see signs of progress and believe that progress is either universal or sufficient. Enough blacks, Hispanics, American Indians, and Asian Pacific Americans do, of course, manage a level of success to reinforce our belief that our society really is basically fair and equal. The successes of the few, however, should only spur us to expect more. The exceptions are important markers of the changes that are needed for every child to compete on an equal basis, on a level playing field, with the very same expectations of success.

Of course,

many minorities view their progress differently. Time and again, my Advisory Board heard from minorities that progress has been too slow, uneven, subject to reversals, and only skin deep; that whites have clutched their racial privileges too closely and have often surrendered to civil rights reforms only when required. I don't mean to suggest that all whites believe the glass is half-full and all people of color believe it is half-empty. But the opinion survey data, and our everyday discussions, prove that there is an important racial gap in how we see America.

So where can we find common ground? We can start by looking at the imposing litany of disparities reported in Changing America. The facts alone are a call to action. How many of us would want our children to look forward to a life where they were virtually assured of earning less than whites with the same years of education, having a higher and sustained risk of becoming unemployed, of dying at an earlier age, and having less income and wealth to provide for our families during and after our lifetimes? Isn't it obvious that our divisive racial legacy has continuing force in our lives when the median wealth of black households is less than one-tenth that of white families? When blacks represent 43 percent of arrests, 54 percent of convictions, 59 percent of prison admissions for violent crime and are on average about six times more likely than whites to be victims of murder? When Southeast Asian family incomes are as much as 74% lower than the national average? And when the poverty rate in Indian Country is a staggering 51 percent? Regrettably, these are all real-life examples of disparities we see in 1999 America.

[See Attachment CEA Table, Labor Force Participation Rates of Persons Aged 25 to 54, p. 25]

Understanding

these disparities will help us create the agenda for our future. I start from a belief that many of the disparities that place minorities at a disadvantage cannot be explained away as the fault of minorities themselves. We all share responsibility for eliminating barriers to opportunity and addressing handicaps rooted in a legacy of oppression. There is no doubt in my mind that we can close these gaps in education, health, economic well-being, and in so doing, make America stronger for all Americans.

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ADVANCE \d12D. Discrimination

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Myth: Racial discrimination is no longer a problem in America.

Fact: Despite much progress and the strongest economy in 30 years, sound evidence shows that discrimination against minorities continues today, significantly limiting and reducing opportunities and choices for many of them.

Racial discrimination is still a fact of life in America. While that statement may seem self-evident to many Americans, according to a 1997 Gallup poll, three-quarters of white Americans believe that blacks are treated the same as whites. A 1995 poll by the Washington Post reveals that only 36 percent of whites believe that past and present discrimination is a major reason for the economic and social problems facing blacks. Whites also believe that blacks and other minorities have made substantial progress over the last decade or more; indeed, lower-income whites are the most convinced that blacks have made lots of progress.

Minorities, however, perceive lots of discrimination: While most whites do not believe there is much current discrimination, virtually all minorities



s believe and have said they experience the opposite. Numerous civil rights cases and social science reports carefully document this stark divergence in viewpoints. Princeton Professor Jennifer Hochschild, for example, comments in her thorough review of surveys on racial attitudes:

te \15 "Minorities, however, perceive lots of discrimination: While most whites do not believe there is much current discrimination, virtually all minorities believe and have said they experience the opposite. Numerous civil rights cases and social science reports carefully document this stark divergence in viewpoints. Princeton Professor Jennifer Hochschild, for example, comments in her thorough review of surveys on racial attitudes: African Americans increasingly believe that racial discrimination is worsening and that it inhibits their race's ability to participate in the American dream; whites increasingly believe that discrimination is lessening and that blacks have the same chance to participate in the dream as whites.

Moreover, in a survey of Asian American professionals and managers in the San Francisco Bay area, over two-thirds of Chinese Americans, one-half of Japanese Americans, and three-quarters of Filipino Americans felt that racism was a very significant factor in limiting their upward mobility.<sup>5</sup> My Advisory Board found that the story of race at the end of the 20th century is a story of conflicting viewpoints. They concluded that whites, minorities and people of color see racial progress so differently that an outsider could easily believe that each group sees the world through a different lens.<sup>6</sup>

This perception gap fuels debate while preventing action. So, we find ourselves in a quandary: Americans of good faith look at current conditions in our society and draw almost diametrically opposed conclusions. One of the problems created by this divergence is that it tends to paralyze the debate and stall us from taking action against the problem of discrimination. It contributes to what I call the empathy gap -- indifference caused by a failure to understand the obstacles faced by other groups. The persistence of the empathy gap threatens to constitute a bitter, enduring form of dissonance and disbelief that will further fracture our belief in the racial perfectibility of this country.

Despite much progress and the strongest economy in 30 years, it is clear that discrimination against minorities continues today. There is ample evidence of old-fashioned, blatant door-slamming, name-calling, even violent prejudice. The brutal 1998 truck-dragging murder of a black man, James Byrd, Jr., is a chilling recent example and certainly not the only one.

Hate crimes, ranging from hateful harassment to murder, are perhaps the most pernicious signs of old-fashioned discrimination, and, sadly, they are not appreciably decreasing. In 1995, there were nearly 5,600 incidents of hate crime against racial and ethnic groups, and nearly 2,400 more against other groups. In 1996, the number increased to 6,300 incidents. By 1997 those incidents had declined somewhat to 5,400, virtually the same as in 1995. And it is not all black and white. In June 1995, arsonists burned down the home of a Latino family in Palmdale, California, spray painting white power [sic] on their walls. The 1996 National Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium Audit of Violence Against Asian Pacific Americans found a 17% rise in anti-Asian incidents, with harassment jumping 161% from 1995. A recent report on the subject of hate crimes concludes: From killings and beatings to acts of arson and vandalism, these hate crimes injure or even kill thousands of people, terrify countless others, divide Americans against each other, and distort our entire society.<sup>7</sup> I agree and will do everything in my power to prevent these crimes and to punish, as quickly as possible, those who commit them.

But minorities today are often subject to a more subtle, less demonstrative brand of discrimination. The signs in store windows saying, Blacks need not apply are largely gone, thanks in large part to the passage of civil rights laws. But the most visible signs of discrimination have too often been replaced with more subtle, hidden, but also quite damaging practices. Practiced with a smile, this kind of discrimination may not even be grounded in malicious intent, but the effect is no less harmful. The subtlety, or relative invisibility of discrimination, makes it harder for both minorities and whites to know that it is occurring. But those who face it daily know that something is wrong. People are treated differently, and worse, solely because of their race.

Let me offer a couple illustrations. The Department

ent of Housing and Urban Development has sent identically matched testers one white and one African American to look for apartments in a number of cities throughout the United States over the last several years. What they found was convincing evidence that discrimination was occurring. The Justice Department has used testers to investigate housing discrimination in over three dozen cases and settled these cases with penalties of over \$4 million. Private fair housing groups recently announced that they have successfully concluded over 900 fair housing cases that brought \$95 million dollars in help to those who complained of discrimination.<sup>8</sup>

In one of these cases, a white tester went to an apartment complex in Miami and was told that the rent would be \$805 and the unit would be available in two weeks. The black tester arrived shortly after and was told no units would be available until the next year, and that the rent would be from \$845 to \$1,200 a month. In another Florida case, rental agents testified that their firm told them not to rent to blacks and to code minority applications so that they could be distinguished from those of whites. The firm paid a penalty of \$1 million for this violation.

The research on employment discrimination reveals some equally sobering results. For example, research by Dr. Marc Bendick shows that blacks and Latinos, 20-25 percent of the time, experience significantly worse treatment from a prospective employer than equally qualified whites.

The studies are based on hundreds and hundreds of examples, like these: In a recent test, an Hispanic tester applied for the job of receptionist for a position in a Washington suburb. She was told that they were not taking any further applications, but the white tester called shortly after and was given an appointment for the next day. In still another recent case, a black tester was offered \$6.50 an hour for the position of sales assistant in a department store while the white tester was offered 15 percent more.

In 1994, an Alabama bank paid a fine of \$225,000 because they were shown to have discriminated in hiring employees for entry-level clerical positions. One of the bank's personnel officers wrote in their files about a black applicant: very large lips and hips, overweight, dark skin, black girl, her hair is longer than most, appearance is not good enough to meet the public. The Department of Labor investigated and concluded that no employer can use such racial stereotypes and biases to exclude otherwise qualified applicants. In response, the bank agreed to hire additional minority clerks.

Many Americans will recall the widely reported recent complaints of racial and gender discrimination that were leveled against and settled by Texaco. This complaint alleged discrimination in employment, training, promotion, tenure, layoff policies, and in the work environment. There are a number of other comparable cases and complaints against major employers in this country.

Indeed, the dramatic decline in racial discrimination litigation and complaints around the country that we would have expected to see over the past three decades has just plain failed to materialize.

#### ADVANCE 12 The Challenges That Remain

I have always said that any discussion of race must be based on the facts. Myth, speculation and misinformation have led to much of the division among our people. That is why I am making a strong plea to the research community to produce more and better data about the extent of discrimination in America. We especially need to gather discrimination data on under-studied racial and ethnic groups, because most existing data documents discrimination against African Americans and Hispanics only. In the case of Asian Pacific Americans, where the aggregate data is often misleading, we need to conduct more specific research based on national origin.

The Challenges That Remain: I have always said that any discussion of race must be based on the facts. Myth, speculation and misinformation have led to much of the division among our people. That is why I am making a strong plea to the research community to produce more and better data about the extent of discrimination in America. We especially need to gather discrimination data on under-studied racial and ethnic groups, because most existing data documents discrimination against African Americans and Hispanics only. In the case of Asian Pacific Americans, where the aggregate data is often misleading, we need to conduct more specific research based on national origin. The more information we gather, the better we can focus our efforts on reducing and, I hope, ultimately eradicating discrimination.

In closing this discussion, I think it is important to remind ourselves that over the last half century there has been clear, recognizable progress in the area of race relations and racial justice in the United States. For those too young to remember what life was like in the early 1950s, it is useful to recall the conditions blacks lived under in the South when I was a child:

...[Blacks] could not live where they desired; they could not work where white people worked except in menial positions ... They could not use the same restrooms, drinking fountains, or telephone booths. They could not eat in the same restaurants, sleep in the same hotels, be treated in the same hospitals ... They could not attend the same public schools. They were not allowed to vote (Jaynes and Williams 1989: 40-42).

Indeed, in 1964, there were only three black members of Congress; today there are nearly 40. The number of Hispanics in Congress has also grown from 4 to 20, and the number of Asian Pacific Americans from 3 to 7. The African Americans, Hispanics, Native American and Asian Pacific representatives who have served during my Presidency have not just done an excellent job for their constituents, they have done an excellent job for America. For the generation of African Americans born in the 1920s, less than 40 percent graduated high school. For African Americans born in the late 1960s, that number is 75 percent (not including high school equivalency certificates).<sup>10</sup> In the 1940s, the entire armed services were deliberately segregated; they are now among the most racially integrated parts of society. Harvard Professor Randall Kennedy comments about the degree of racial progress in criminal law since that time - changes that appear analogous to other areas of social life: ...[T]he administration of criminal law has changed substantially for the better over the past half century and...there is reason to believe that, properly guided, it can be improved even more.<sup>11</sup>

A number of conservative authors and commentators look at this progress, however, and stop. Racial discrimination and systematic racial disadvantages, they conclude, are a thing of the past, an obstacle largely overcome. Discrimination might occur but it is small scale, isolated, and driven by random acts of racial prejudice of the few. All we need do, they say, is turn to our capabilities and skills to achieve whatever destiny, and the marketplace, bring to us.<sup>12</sup> While I understand that view, I do not share it. Discrimination remains real for too many of our citizens. I regret to say that all too many of us harbor in our hearts some feelings of racial superiority or inferiority that are part of the acid rain of racism in the United States in 1999.<sup>13</sup> The work of our civil rights institutions, both public and private, is not yet done. But, more importantly, all Americans must rededicate themselves to the work of cleansing our hearts of the hurtful disease of discrimination.

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#### E. Intergroup Relations

Myth: In 1963, 6 out of 10 whites agreed with the sentiment that they have a right to keep blacks out of their neighborhoods. Most white people still hold that opinion.

Fact: By 1996 less than 35 years later 86 percent of whites disagreed with this opinion.

Myth: Since the passage of civil rights legislation, our neighborhoods and schools have become steadily more integrated, moving us towards more mutual understanding and brotherhood.

Fact: Despite modest gains, most large metropolitan areas remain extremely segregated, while schools are now becoming increasingly separated by race, after progress in the 1960s and 1970s.

We have talked about our progress in breaking down the legal apparatus of social and economic separation over the past 50 years. Now I want to say a few words about the changes in personal attitudes and behavior that have accompanied this progress. Again, the picture is a mixed bag. On the one hand, the



re is clear, incontrovertible evidence that Americans have made great strides in interracial relations, but on the other, there is still a small, but hard-core group of extreme racists sprinkled through our midst. And many of us still harbor unconscious negative views about people of other races. Again, let me start with the facts.

For much of this century, social scientists and pollsters have conducted large-scale surveys of Americans to investigate racial attitudes. While no one would argue that changes in how people answer surveys are a complete indication of racial attitudes, I believe we cannot ignore the substantial changes in the public's stated opinions about race over the past few decades. Considering the fact that for more than three centuries, generation after generation of white Americans were taught to believe in the superiority of whites and the inferiority of people of color, the changes that have taken place in the last two generations are a remarkable testament to our efforts, as a nation, to put aside our biases and come together as One America.

There has been a substantial narrowing of the attitude gap separating the races. In 1963, for example, 47 percent of whites said they would either strongly or mildly object if a member of their family wanted to bring a black friend home for dinner. By 1985, the last year in which this question was asked and only one generation later, 77 percent of whites said they would not object at all, with only 12 percent objecting mildly and 11 percent objecting strongly.<sup>14</sup> The classic 1967 movie, *Guess Whos Coming to Dinner*, dealt with both this phenomenon and the just-weakening taboo of interracial marriage. (The same year as the movie, the U.S. Supreme Court struck down as unconstitutional a Virginia criminal law against such marriages; that same case, I might add, also overturned the anti-miscegenation law in my own state of Arkansas.)

Attitudes toward inter-racial marriage have grown substantially more tolerant since then. In 1963, 62 percent of whites approved of laws outlawing intermarriage. By 1996, that number had dropped to only 13 percent, and today, fully 67 percent of whites say they personally approve of intermarriage.<sup>15</sup>

While most of the large-scale research data on this subject focuses on white attitudes, there has been some data suggesting improvements in attitudes among people of color. For example, in 1969, about half of the black population (48 percent) thought that whites in general were interested in keeping blacks down. By 1995, less than 30 years later, this number declined to 29 percent.<sup>16</sup>

It must be pointed out that, while the military is not a perfect model of racial harmony, an integrated military has done much to alter attitudes and move us closer to our goal of One America. It has been 51 years since President Truman's landmark executive order integrating U.S. military units and our armed forces have never been stronger or more united. Integration in the military has changed attitudes. Brother Edward Sheehy, Jr., a history professor at LaSalle University puts it this way: At least since the Cold War, the perception [in the military] has been if a person can do the job, that's all that counts.<sup>17</sup> I agree, and that attitude should not be reserved only for the military.

Some people skeptical about the racial progress we have made argue that these changes only reflect that people are better able to conceal their attitudes on surveys. There may be some truth to that, but it is at least a good thing if the data on attitudes prove that more people can tell right from wrong, even if their hearts and their behavior haven't caught up with society's norms. Moreover, there is no denying the significant changes in people's behavior, too. America is simply a more tolerant and integrated nation today than ever before.

Perhaps the most convincing indicator of this fact is that more Americans than ever are living and working together. In 1966, only 21 percent of whites said they had at least some black neighbors. That figure had grown to 63 percent in 1996. Again, the military has been a model. Sociologists Reynolds Farley and William Frey found, according to 1990 census data, that the most racially integrated communities in America were towns with large military installations: Fayetteville (Fort Bragg) and Jacksonville (Camp Lejeune), North Carolina; Killeen (Fort Hood), Texas; and Lawton (Fort Sill), Oklahoma.<sup>18</sup> In poll after poll it is

s clear, whites and people of color are less isolated from each other.

[See  
Attachment: CEA Table, Whites Attitudes towards Integration, p. 68]

But despite these improvements, in a series of polls we still see a disturbing result: about 10-15 percent of Americans cling to their negative stereotypes about people of color, and often favor segregation and other divisive measures to maintain the subordinate status of minorities. While it would be easy to discount a 10-15 percent segment as statistically irrelevant, we cannot afford to ignore the disproportionate impact these bigots have on our racial climate. While hate groups like the Klu Klux Klan and the Aryan Nation often flaunt their bigotry in public, there are too many others who quietly harbor similar views. While almost every white person publicly professes a belief in racial equality, the fact is that about one in eight believe that certain people of color are less honest or less intelligent. One of the underlying reasons behind the distrust of whites by many people of color, is the existence of these silent bigots. This climate of distrust invades us all. We all become victims of the bigotry, racism, and we all bear a responsibility to challenge them whenever they show themselves.

Finally, let me say that some of the most interesting research being done on race today reflects the existence of attitudes we are not even aware we possess. I have seen the results of experiments showing that juries judge defendants differently based on race; that whites are less likely to respond to an African American in some emergency situations; that the terms black and white are still ill loaded, with black carrying many more negative connotations than white; that medical professionals unconsciously treat minority and non-minority patients differently. This unconscious prejudice exists among many who authentically believe in racial equality. This makes it all the more important that we create settings where we can honestly explore and discuss our deep-seated views about race.

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## Conclusion

Three critical themes have emerged from our examination of the America We See:

First: Despite significant progress in expanding equal opportunity for all Americans, the considerable confusion about racial facts and trends confounds our sense of direction. Indeed, the distance between our perceptions of the problems is in part a reflection of the distance between our communities and experiences. Big challenges, from closing the perceptual gaps that divide us to eliminating the very real inequalities among races, continue to impede our path to One America.

Second: Because the issue of race underlies and connects so many of the pressing challenges that we face, racial reconciliation must rise to the top of our agenda in the 21st century. Healing the wounds of the past and closing the gaps of the present remain the unfinished business of our democracy.

Finally: Every American shares responsibility for the state of race relations in our nation. We all must do our part to eliminate harmful disparities in education, employment and health. If the greatest economic boom in recent history has not cured or reduced significantly these disparities, we must find a better Workplan for the future.

Endnotes:

Part II:

The  
America We Want:  
What Should One America Be Like?

Where there is no vision,

## A. Introduction

Statistics, prognostications

and trends give us some idea of what the America of the 21st century will look like, but what will the One America we so fervently hope for be like? As wise King Solomon taught us, we must begin with a vision. During the civil rights struggles when I was growing up, and even as a young man, I think most of us concerned about racial harmony thought that defining what was wrong and what the future should be wasn't all that complicated. Thurgood Marshall, arguing before the Supreme Court in *Brown v. Board of Education*, called it a matter of simple justice.<sup>1</sup> Martin Luther King, Jr. shared his dream when he spoke at Lincoln's memorial, and he told us about the Promised Land when he spoke at Memphis on the eve of his tragic assassination.<sup>2</sup> Of course while the moral evil of racial subordination was clear to many of us, and eventually to nearly all of us, we have encountered too many road blocks and detours on our journey to One America.

In recent years, in fact, our vision has become clouded and the discussion, when we have it, is often noisy and inconclusive. For one thing, our growing diversity has made the picture increasingly complex. But also, perhaps some of us have lost confidence that our ideals of racial justice are attainable, because after the burst of idealism and progress there have been painful frustrations.

I also know that many Americans have their own personal reasons for avoiding this issue. Some presume that America has done all it can to bring about racial harmony. Some feel that the problem is so rooted in our national consciousness that it is fruitless to deal with it anymore. Some fear that it is too controversial. Some believe that the rising tide of our economy will lift all boats and at the same time solve all our racial problems. Then, of course, many good-hearted people are puzzled about all this. They see people as people and wonder what the fuss is all about: Why can't everyone see past race the way I do? And some of us are just simply fatigued. After all, for more than 300 years race has been America's constant curse.

I also sometimes think that the heroism demonstrated in the 1950s and 1960s was so towering that many of us believed racial progress was all but inevitable—that moving America to where it needs to be would be like rolling downhill. Well, that was wrong. Struggle remains necessary, although in different forms and against different obstacles.

I share some of the exasperation with the longrunning debate on race. I too believe we must approach this issue in a new way. Because of our growing diversity, I am convinced that facing up to and healing our racial divisions is the single most important unmet challenge we must meet if we are to keep our democracy, our prosperity and our spirit strong in the coming century.

As I stated in the previous chapter, once we have achieved a measure of agreement about the current shape of our racial landscape the America We See we must then embrace a shared vision of the America we want, and create a workplan to get there. If we are to bind ourselves together, finding strength to meet the challenges of the new century, we must be clear about where we are going. What will One America look like if we can achieve it? What is the pole star to guide us?

I believe we must be guided by a shared vision of the quality of the opportunity shared by all, the depth of responsibility we demand from all, the nature of the community which includes us all, and above all the commitment we make in our hearts to overcoming the ageold barriers of prejudice, fear and division.

First, consider opportunity. In the nineteenth century, Alexis de Tocqueville visited America and wrote an insightful and enduring description of our young nation that, while intended primarily for Europeans curious about the ideas and energy stirring



ng in this land, also managed to capture what may have been only dimly perceived by Americans themselves. He said, The time will come when one hundred and fifty million men [and women] will be living in North America, equal in condition, all belonging to one family, owing their origin to the same cause, and preserving the same civilization... While we have surpassed Tocqueville's population estimate, we have yet to fulfill his prophecy of equality.

And here is part of what Tocqueville wrote about slavery: No African came in freedom to the shores of the New World; consequently all those found there now are slaves or freedmen. The Negro transmits to his descendants at birth the eternal mark of his ignominy. The law can abolish servitude, but only God can obliterate its traces. That is our challenge today to allow the spirit of righteousness in our hearts to obliterate all traces of our ignoble past.

As I look ahead to the America we are building, I imagine that we are visited by another Tocqueville. He looks around at our social conditions, at our economic progress, at the functioning of our corporations, civic organizations and governments. I want that visitor to see that opportunity is so widely and deeply distributed that there is no visible legacy of slavery, and no legacy from the subjugation or oppression of any people because of conquest, colonialism or color. To find any evidence of our troubled past, a visitor will have to study the history books and talk to the eldest among us. He will not find it by comparing the corporate officers with the company janitors, or the posh suburbs with the inner cities, because he will not see the racial stratification so common today. If we are One America, opportunity will not be color-coded. What relative disadvantages that do remain will be the humane consequences of economic and social freedom, not the consequence of continuing discrimination nor even the lingering stains of old moral wrongs. Every newborn will have the right to America's complete dream, and it will take no extraordinary acts of courage or character to fulfill that dream. That is the opportunity we want in One America.

But, along with shared opportunity, we must demand shared responsibility. So many of the answers to our social and racial problems require people to reassert control over their own lives by taking responsibility for their own conduct for their obligations to themselves and others. The Tocqueville of the future will immediately be struck by the fact that America is about more than individuals exercising their rights. One America must be about individuals and families, business and labor, government and community organizations, all shouldering responsibility for themselves, for our children, our elders, for each other and for generations yet to come.

There is more. This great balance of opportunity and responsibility will lead us to a new sense of community, with Americans of every color and ethnicity participating fully in all walks of life, interacting with each other in the public, private and personal spheres. We will not live separated from each other in gated communities, tuned in to ethnically targeted media, to the near exclusion of other cultural life. Instead, from our workplaces to our friendships, we will enjoy our nation's diversity as a source of strength and richness in many dimensions. What I envision is more than integration in the shallow sense of multicolored snapshots in every aspect of life. It is the connections that matter.

Finally, there is the business of our hearts. I believe that most fundamentally, achieving One America will mean that we have healed our hearts of the crippling influences of prejudice and fear, free to appreciate the common humanity we share as the gift of our Creator. But even with this, can we be confident that the evil of race hate can truly be purged from us all, or that it will not reemerge? Mankind's history of conflict and the tragic violence around the world today suggest that our tendency to focus on some kind of difference—racial, ethnic, tribal, religious—is an all but constant threat that can break out in hatred between individuals and war between nations. I can't help but wonder whether it is deep in our genes, programmed into us, to huddle in enclaves with those in our group, to suspect our neighbors, and to fear the strangers. Against all of this, it may be wrong to think that we can heal our hearts once and for all by simply becoming more rational and civilized. All that has been accomplished since *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954 has not been enough. In the One America we want, our hearts will be healed but we will recognize the dangerous currents in our natures. So, lest we backslide into racial rivalries and di-

strust, we will be steeled against prejudice because we will study history, determined to never repeat it.

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## B. Vexing Questions: Can our Vision of One America Help Us reconcile Our Divisions?

In thinking about how to talk about my vision for One America, it became clear that there was no way to comment on the entire universe of challenges in one book. So, I thought it would be helpful to examine a small number of vexing questions about the America we want for our children and grandchildren. When, for example, is racial or group identity inconsistent with building One America? How can we distinguish benign personal likes and dislikes from more troubling stereotypes, or from subtle discrimination? What is the proper role of race in law enforcement? How do we reconcile the sacred sites of Native Americans with our vision of One America? How much does history still matter can we get to the America we want without issuing an apology for the horrific injustice of slavery?

### (1) The Identity Puzzle

When is racial or ethnic group identity inconsistent with an American identity, with building One America?

The number of immigrants in the United States has climbed sharply over the past 15 years,<sup>3</sup> and this raises again the question of what it means to be American. We expect new permanent residents and naturalized citizens to join us, in some sense, and to shed something of their former lives and allegiances. But what, concretely, does this mean?

Imagine walking through Los Angeles International Airport and passing by a coffee shop. The three people behind the counter are speaking with each other in Spanish, and Latin salsa music is on their radio. A white customer approaches, and is immediately served, in heavily accented English. The customer has a little trouble understanding, becomes visibly impatient, and raises her voice as though speaking louder will help her understand the cashier. The transaction is completed, and she moves on.

Is it wrong for an American Anglo- a nonHispanic white person- to feel impatient or even resentful in the face of the demographic changes to her community, her country? One way to puzzle this through is to try to figure out what each person- customer and clerk- might reasonably expect, and what each might fear- and our judgment about those inclinations.

First the customer. It certainly makes sense to expect that the clerk should be able to speak English when serving the general public, and also to interact with other employees or supervisors who may speak only English. Is it reasonable to expect the clerk to speak without an accent? No. Indeed, I've always been proud of my ability to understand the accents of northerners. And that's not too much to expect of me, provided northerners meet me half way. This is what lawyers call a reasonableness test, sort of a special instance of the Golden Rule: Do unto others as you would have them do unto you.

Is it reasonable for the customer to be upset about the clerk speaking Spanish to other employees? That's a harder question, but I think that is an unreasonable reaction too. Why? To start with, we value personal liberty and autonomy. We try to limit the reach of government into our everyday lives, and I would oppose a law that attempted to somehow force people to speak only English as a condition of working or participating in any aspect of civic life.<sup>4</sup> Indeed, I think government should, through antidiscrimination laws, protect otherwise capable employees from being fired for speaking a foreign language to one another- if they can deal with the boss and the customer effectively in English, where's the big harm?



Still, put the question of law aside for the sake of discussion. We are asking about what is right and wrong, and why. So, it seems to me unreasonable in the larger social context for the customer to be upset about the clerk speaking in Spanish to his coworkers. But, I believe this is wrong on a personal level as well. At its core, this seems less about communicating well enough to conduct business than it is about the customer's perception that her community, as she defines it, is threatened by others.

Depending on where she lives, it may be very reasonable to feel that her community is changing, perhaps dramatically. So, is it reasonable to feel threatened by that?

No, not to the point of resentment, or prejudice. Here's the deal:

With the notable exception of Native Americans, America is and has always been a nation of immigrants. We welcome legal immigrants and in return we expect them to adopt key elements of American culture while simultaneously enriching our culture and our economic life. Every generation of immigrants takes time to go through the transition, and the high levels of newcomers in recent years the highest since early in the century shouldn't cause us to lose sight of the fact that today's immigrants are, for the most part, learning English and moving up as fast or faster than earlier generations.<sup>5</sup>

Focusing on the clerk for a moment, if we want opportunity to be shared by all Americans, then as a practical matter that means speaking English. Anyone who doesn't will inevitably be stuck in a subeconomy, cut off from much of the prosperity and dynamism in which others share. Moreover, if we want a broader sense of community, tearing down barriers so we can interact across lines of color, then we need a common language. Finally, if we are going to use understanding as an antidote to stereotypes and prejudice, racism and fear, then we need to be able to communicate.

So, the clerk should be able to expect that if he takes responsibility for learning English reasonably well, he will be able to move into the mainstream of our economy. In any case, he should be met in the public square with civility and respect from all Americans.

On the other hand, this is a land of freedoms. Suppose some people don't want to shed the language or other parts of their culture, even if it means losing opportunity and undermining a broader kind of community? Are the rest of us obligated to accept that? Let's be clear: with respect to learning English, the facts are that the vast majority of immigrants want to learn English, and are adamant about having their kids learn English. For these people the problem is most likely to be easy access to the educational assistance they need, and we must do more. But for those who wish to cling to their ways, despite the consequences to opportunity and community, the question is why?

In any way, the question can be generalized. This is not only about Latinos in a barrio. Similar issues of language or distinctive culture apply to groups as varied as the Amish in Pennsylvania, African Americans speaking nonstandard English in a ghetto, Hasidic Jews in Brooklyn and Cambodian immigrants in Lowell, Massachusetts. At core, it is about reconciling group identity with American identity.

Here is one important distinction: we can tolerate a group that wants a measure of separateness, provided their separateness doesn't seriously interfere with the rest of us in building the prosperous community we envision for ourselves.

This is mostly a matter of scale, I suppose, in the sense that the Amish or Hasidim can fiercely stand apart without threatening the cohesion the rest of us seek. If we feel threatened by their separateness, it's our problem, not theirs. And we should just accept that and get beyond it.

To become One America, we need not demand a surrender of our distinctive group identities, because there is room for distinctiveness within the community as a whole. Indeed, it would be pretty boring otherwise. Moreover, we must not surrender our identities, because they ultimately enrich and strengthen us all.

On the other hand, cultural secession by large groups among us is not healthy and imposes a serious obstacle to the opportunity and community we want. We do not want the creation of

dozens of foreign homelands within our American community, walled off by language, culture and residential patterns from the broader community. Our vision of One America is not homogenization, with everyone the same, but neither can it be enclaves of culture stubbornly maintained through hostility to what America has been. Joining America means joining a process of change. We can't expect to succeed economically, and we can't expect social tranquility (much less rich interactions), if we give in to separateness.

I believe many people in minority communities accept or choose separateness because they don't believe that the possibilities of greater opportunity and community are real. They don't see good jobs with a future, safe streets, and a better life for their children. They don't sense respect or expect acceptance from those with power and control over key institutions, from the police department to schools to major retail stores. There is an absolute responsibility to work for opportunity and take advantage of it. But if people reject the dream because everything around them proves it is an illusion, then we must work with them to make the dream real, so they, too, will choose One America.

Deciding who is us and who is them has an intensely personal dimension, too. Again, this is far from the realm of law, but it is perhaps quite close to the question of what kind of America we want.

Imagine a mother, father and daughter, all of the same race. The daughter is in a serious relationship with a young man of a different race, and the parents are concerned: We can accept your dating him because he is a fine person. But it is very important to us that you marry someone who is a member of our race. In fact, we insist on it. Aren't you proud of who you are?

Is it wrong for the parents to want their daughter to marry within their group? Is this distinguishable from prejudice or bigotry? Don't they have a right, doesn't any of us, to try to preserve our identity or heritage? In one sense, this is the age-old story of star-crossed lovers, from West Side Story to Romeo & Juliet.<sup>6</sup>

Essentially this is about how willing we are to accept outsiders. The biological urge parents feel to produce the next generation seems to include a drive to make part of ourselves live on, literally to reproduce ourselves. The tension over intermarriage of whatever sort—religious, ethnic, class—is partly about including others in an extended family, and partly about creating the future through progeny. In both senses, intermarriage challenges notions of identity if it is seen to involve outsiders.

Increasingly, class status doesn't strike Americans as a terribly important kind of outsider status in these decisions. Obviously, social patterns make marriage across large class divisions less likely, but certainly in comparison with two or four generations ago, most of us would consider parental objections on grounds of class very anachronistic. We would deride it as un-American, Old World snobbery. I suspect that one factor in this evolution in norms is the growth of the middle class and of middle class values or culture, so that over a much wider range we view ourselves as classless. Another factor is that class prejudice is just plain antidemocratic, an affront to ideals.

In contrast, race is still a powerful marker of outsider status, complicating family decisions about who is being included and what is being created. But, like class or even religion, it need not be so powerful forever. Indeed, as I described in Part I, opinion surveys suggest that attitudes towards interracial dating and marriage are shifting steadily towards tolerance, and I suspect the shift will accelerate. As we learn to live together, we see that strangers are not so very different.

It is right to want to preserve an important element of our distinctiveness, because the One America we want should be rich in diversity, not homogeneous. But it is also important to be unafraid and open to form ever deeper bonds of community and affection with those we might, today, view as different from ourselves. Humans have an undeniable clannish part to our nature, but an equally undeniable need to explore, learn, grow and form communities.

But distinctions in context matter. Family, and love, are indeed different from employment or housing or criminal justice. I suppose that if a kind of racial clannishness or race consciousness should be tolerable anywhere, it is with respect to close family matters. But I'm left uncomfortable about it. What concerns me is that if I make the race of my daughters' boyfriend more important than their love, if race means that much to me, am I really free enough of prejudice and racial pride to, for example, hire or promote someone of that race? Or trust my life to them in the hospital, or on a battlefield?

This seems to be one of those situations in which people will draw the line in different places. I want a world in which families are drawn together primarily by love, ethnicity, culture or race. Race shouldn't stand in the way when it comes to relationships that matter. While the data on intermarriage are encouraging, many of us just aren't there yet. It's not that I begrudge people pride in their ethnicity or religion. Of course not. It's a question of where one draws the line.

Going back to my example of the parents and daughter, I suspect that if the parents could only see that in their daughter's interracial relationship they may have something to gain and not so much to lose, then their concerns would be softer and their hearts more open. In the America we want, our subgroup identity is important to us, but so is that openness of heart that makes it possible to form the strongest of connections with others based upon everything that we are as people, not based exclusively or even primarily on ethnic subgroup. An extended family can preserve and transmit values, culture and pride without living in a cave or building walls. They can do so by being strong, not exclusionary, in a society in which differences in ethnic heritage and culture are celebrated rather than repressed.

Somehow, we must balance our need to cling to people who are like us, with the need to build a community in which we can all understand, benefit from and celebrate our differences. Consider:

On a college campus, most of the African American students tend to sit together at a group of tables in the dining hall, and many of them have petitioned the dean to create a theme dormitory intended to attract black student residents. The occasional nonblack student who sits at the tables is treated frostily, as an intruder, unless there as the guest of a black student.

This appears to be a self-imposed segregation or clannishness. If we strive to be One America, should we continue to congregate in our own racial and ethnic groups, or should such arrangements be discouraged, or even prohibited by, say, school authorities or employers? Or, instead, are such voluntary groupings largely a good thing that we should encourage? Can we build One America if college organizations such as a Black Student Union, Hispanic Student Alliance, Asian American Student Alliance and American Indian Student Association continue to exist?

To begin with, you can't tell much just from the appearance. (After all, Episcopalians and Lutherans are self-segregated on Sunday mornings.) So we have to figure out what is going on in that community. For example, suppose minority students say they sit together or want a social center because they feel the need for a refuge from an environment they experience as unwelcoming or even hostile. In this case, their response seems to me a healthy reaction, and the challenge is to discover what can be done to improve the environment. Suppose, however, that one group of students is self-segregating because they affirmatively want to cut themselves off from interactions with others. That seems unacceptable, because it simply makes it impossible for everyone to gain the benefits of diversity. If that sentiment were extended to the entire society, clearly it would be inconsistent with achieving One America. Still a third possibility is that the minority students feel welcome enough on campus, but nevertheless want to hang out together because they feel an affinity based upon everything that gives us our subgroup identities: experiences, history, culture, values, and so forth.

It is hard to see the problem with this, if it doesn't slip into a separatism that substantially undermines the possibilities for enjoying the benefits of diversity, and if it is a separateness that has neither the intent nor the effect of hurting anyone else.

To illustrate this last point, think about the legal profession. Any lawyer can belong to the American Bar Association, but there are also a series of minority bar associations (and one for women, too) which play a valuable role by bringing concerted attention to issues particularly important to those groups. So, what about an association of white lawyers? I think there is a crucial difference. Given history, and given the distribution of power within the profession and the legal system, I can think of no benign justifications for a white association. It would be a throwback to the era of Jim Crow. In contrast, the very purpose of minority and women bar associations is to open up the profession to historically excluded and underrepresented groups, which is surely a step towards One America.

Back on campus, should we be concerned about a white student group? Yes. One problem is that a White Student Group is overly broad. The creation of white ethnic student groups, such as an Italian American Student Union, does not feel morally repugnant and would likely serve important and legitimate purposes. The fact is that, at this point in our history, a white group on a historically white campus, celebrating white culture or providing a forum to discuss white issues would be immediately and strongly tied to claims of white dominance, superiority and exclusivity, threatening our vision of One America.

I believe that racebased groups can be fully appropriate, and even valuable, if they are formed for the proper purposes. Far from being divisive, racial or ethnic student groups may help express and sustain a cultural identity based on common history. They may encourage the sharing of experiences and challenges (especially those related to race), and create a comfort zone so minority students then feel confident actively engaging the broader community. In short, organizations that serve the right purposes are likely to contribute to positive crossracial interactions and thereby to diversity's educational benefits for everyone. However, if the purpose or practical effect of these associations is to isolate people into racial or ethnic enclaves, I believe they are inconsistent with our vision of America, no matter how voluntary. While group affiliation is important and appropriate, America is not a federation of racial and ethnic groups with individual members. Instead, we must see ourselves as a nation of individuals who are defined only in part by our group affiliations.

The fact is, each of us belongs to many groups. Racial or ethnic group identity may be more salient for one person than it is for another, depending on the strength of cultural traditions, the nature of racial or ethnic experiences in society, individual preferences, and more. But this subgroup identity does not have to threaten our American identity. In important ways, our racial and ethnic diversity should be viewed like our religious diversity. We each belong to and congregate with our different religious communities, but that need not and should not change the way we relate to each other nor threaten our American community. In this sense, we live in a religion blind society while attendance at worship services flourishes and we celebrate freedom of religion as a defining triumph of America. The color blindness we seek for One America must be similar. It is not about homogeneity, and it is not about ignoring differences.

So some people may believe this view of our nation, in which American identity and racial or ethnic identity can coexist, is a radical departure from older notions of assimilation the old melting pot analogy. I disagree. We all change as our society changes, and we always have. But that does not mean that each of us has to give up our racial or ethnic identity our heritage, our history, our experiences, our languages. National identity is not a negative concept, but neither is racial or ethnic group identity. The conflicts around the world, however, teach us that ethnic identity must be sustained within a framework of community in which the values that unite us are made stronger than those which tend to separate us.

## (2) Representation and Difference

Shortly before I took office as President, I said that I hoped that my Cabinet would look like America, and some people criticized me for putting too much emphasis on gender and racial representation. A little of the criticism was based on misunderstanding. I certainly was not interested in a quota or rigid numerical straightjacket, or propo

rtional representation in an arithmetic sense. My fundamental point was that by being inclusive, I could assemble a group of leaders who would do a better job of advising me and serving the American people. Moreover, an inclusive government helps give people confidence that a range of voices and concerns are represented, giving government more of the legitimacy upon which our democracy depends.

But things are a bit more complicated than that. Consider:

With the shifting demographics in many areas of the country, there are continuing questions of whether various ethnic groups deserve to have a member of their own group as their elected representative, school superintendent, police chief, or other key official. We have spent most of the decade since the 1990 census in litigation and political struggle over congressional redistricting that helped bring unprecedented numbers of Hispanics and African Americans to the House of Representatives. We are poised for a new census, and another round of battles. An added wrinkle: in several communities the burgeoning Hispanic population is increasingly insistent that their leadership choices are too limited. They restlessly ask when their turn will come, just as African Americans started to do a generation ago.

I have had the honor of a career in public service, and I have always worked hard to represent all of the people, not just the people who look like me, or even just the people who voted for me. And yet I understand those who say, Why can't someone from my race or ethnic group be in power? They want confidence that power is held by someone who understands them, and they want a sense of ownership in their government. In America, still, color often gets in the way of that sense of connection between the public and their leaders.

It is wrong to ignore this problem of connection. As a public servant, I have always viewed it as a reason to redouble my efforts to understand people whose experiences and perspectives are different from mine. At election time, what I always wanted was a chance to demonstrate that I could grow beyond my own limited experiences, in order to excel at my job. But in a world of differences and suspicions, the chance has to be earned, and trust has to be won, over and over again. It's not really that different when there are no racial lines involved, but that race adds another layer of difficulty.

More often than not, minority voters were willing to give me that chance, and then to renew their trust in me. If race had been their overwhelming consideration, I wouldn't have won their votes, and my career would have been very different. Instead, race was just one thing on their minds, and that makes sense. I understand that race still means something, at least to many voters. But it shouldn't mean everything.

In the America we want, how important will race be to voters? Here's a lesson from recent history. When John F. Kennedy was campaigning, some people were concerned about having a Roman Catholic in the White House. There were some pretty bigoted statements about conspiracies with the Pope, and about the capabilities of the Irish.<sup>7</sup> A lot of people too, while not bigoted, harbored doubts or distrust of the unfamiliar. Kennedy's religion, certainly his unfamiliar accent, were clearly on the minds of at least some voters. But the ugliness, prejudices and suspicions of difference did not defeat us. And now, the fact that the religion question seemed so politically potent back then seems shameful evidence of a particular brand of intolerance we have almost purged from our civic life. Almost. I want that kind of progress when it comes to race. Religion matters in a deeply personal way to us as individuals, and we even feel some sense of connection to those who share our particular faith. Nevertheless, increasingly in our civic life and our social relationships, we accept that religious difference must not be a cause for division.

I think just about every successful politician or business leader or clergyman expects that they have to earn the confidence of their constituents or congregants. It seems reasonable for someone to ask, How can you represent me if you are so different from me? But it also seems reasonable to give the office-seeker an opportunity to demonstrate, at least through a campaign, if not service, that what they have in common is more important. What I'm suggesting is that we recognize the real differences and distance between



en us, but work hard to be open to building connections, building a true community of interests, values and hopes.

We've seen evidence that this can work. For example, there have been several instances where an elected politician of one race has been reelected even though demographic shifts or redrawing of their districts has left them representing a very different racial mix. Many people wrote off Congresswoman Cynthia McKinney, an outstanding Representative from Georgia, because her majority-black district was redrawn after litigation to give her a majority white district. But she won more than enough white votes to hold her seat comfortably.<sup>8</sup> True, there is still room to argue that she got those votes only because the advantages of incumbency outweighed the suspicions of her new white constituents. But I prefer a more hopeful, glass-half-full analysis: most voters will give a decent candidate a decent chance to prove themselves, and look at the whole person, the whole record, and the whole range of things that matter.

So, I see the growing numbers of elected minority officials as a sign of great success and strength for our democracy. But I feel even better for our future when I see the growing numbers of minority officials with strong blocks of white voter support, and white officials with strong minority support.

Outside the electoral context, there are other situations where race and representation spark controversy. For example should a major paper in a diverse community use ethnicity as a factor in assigning metro reporters to cover various communities or issues? Should a PTA at a diverse school try to have members or officers who reflect the diversity of the school?

As in my effort in assembling a cabinet, or a college's effort in recruiting and admitting students, the first reason to keep an eye on diversity is that it is one way (not the only way) to confirm that you really are looking for excellence in all kinds of people, rather than relying on some closed process that works based on, say, personal connections or cronyism. If the community is diverse and the newsroom isn't, it is at least worth asking why; if the school is diverse, but the PTA again isn't, shouldn't we ask why, because the organization will be better if it is drawing from all the talent and energy of the community.

A second important reason is legitimacy in the eyes of the public. Will minority readers trust a paper if none of the staff seems to come from or feel connected to the minority community? Will minority parents turn to the PTA as a vehicle for involvement and school improvement if the association seems too apart from the minority community?

Another reason is that in our vision of One America, in which we have a shared community and hearts healed by understanding, we need to have workplaces and civic organizations in which people experience and bridge their differences, reshaping their comfort zones by working and acting together.

But perhaps the most compelling argument for diversity is that many organizations will simply work better if they are representative. This is fairly obvious in politics, but it matters elsewhere, too. An excellent newspaper ought to be covering the whole community, creatively addressing issues of concern to all the key groups. The PTA should shape its agenda based upon the range of concerns of all parents, not those of a select few.

This is not a kind of racial determinism. I don't think that all or even most of a person's ideas or values are shaped by race. Still, in America at century's end, race remains a powerful force in shaping our experiences, and therefore our perceptions and values. If we ignore that reality, and it results in an overwhelming white organization, out of step with the diversity in its community, performance could suffer.

Of course, this can go too far. I think a newspaper is more likely to pay attention to Hispanic issues if the newsroom is diverse, but I do not believe that only a Latino journalist can cover issues of special concern to the Latino community. (Nor do I think that it is fair to isolate minorities by tracking them into minority-only jobs, whatever the workplace and however high the salary.) My reasoning parallels the el

ectoral example. Just as any candidate deserves a chance to make his or her case to a diverse constituency, to dismantle stereotypes and to build bridges, a journalist deserves the same chance. Indeed, it is probably good for everyone concerned to make a bit of an effort to mix things up, and use effective professional management and coaching to make sure a good job gets done.

Imagine a hospital, and the value to a minority community of seeing minority doctors and nurses there. It doesn't follow that minority patients should be served only by minority medical personnel. In fact, it is good to have doctor-patient relationships across racial lines. Yes, research suggests that minority doctors may do a better job of serving minority patients by being more attentive, more alert to race-linked medical issues, more willing to use aggressive treatment strategies, and so forth. The answer is not to segregate health care delivery, but to repair any discrimination, misunderstanding or discomfort that undermines quality care.

I think one of our most difficult challenges in the years ahead is to think through the subtleties of when race should matter, and when it shouldn't. Simple answers are likely to get us off track. Instead of all or nothing, we need to stay focused on our vision of what kind of community and institutions we want.

### (3) Personal Preferences, Stereotypes and Discrimination

One of the remarkable transformations in my lifetime has been the dramatic acceptance of the basic fact that racial discrimination is wrong.<sup>9</sup> Inevitably, however, there are problems putting our stated beliefs into everyday practice by everyone in every situation. While I know that in some cases this is because hearts remain locked and poisoned, there is a far more common problem of not quite knowing in our daily lives where a simple human tendency to prefer the familiar, including people like ourselves, shades into the troubling use of stereotypes and eventually the clearly wrong kinds of behavior our legal system chooses to label discrimination.

Here is a classic kind of conflict, played out in countless neighborhoods around the nation. You could pick just about any two ethnic groups for this, but I'll pick an example that has gotten national attention over the years:

A Korean-American family, Mr. and Mrs. Suh, owns and operates a small grocery store in a poor neighborhood where the residents are mostly entirely African-American. A group of residents approach the grocers to protest the fact that only one of the store's eight employees is black, only one Latino, and the others Korean-Americans from outside the neighborhood. The residents accuse the Suhns of discrimination, but the Suhns insist that they harbor no bigotry towards their customers. They simply prefer to hire people who are relatives and friends.

If a family starts a business and wants to hire a relative to work the night shift, it makes no sense to confuse that with discrimination. As the business grows, however, at what point do we insist that an employer reach beyond his or her comfort zone and open up the job opportunities? As a matter of law, the federal employment antidiscrimination statute exempts firms with fewer than 15 employees.<sup>10</sup> Congress struck a balance between broader concerns about fairness and opportunity on the one hand, versus concerns about autonomy, or freedom from regulation, for the mom and pop operation.

But put aside the technical issue of what is or isn't lawful. What is right? How would you urge a close friend to act, and to what standard would you hold yourself?

On a commonsense level, when you are trying to decide with whom to have dinner, or go to a movie, or hire, or do business, you try to find some basis for connection or affinity. By and large, we try to connect with other people by finding points of similarity. And most of us would confess to a simple tendency, perhaps innately human, to prefer people who are like ourselves. The problem is that in America today, color is one of the most important things that seems often to get in the way of forming that connection. So, the danger is clear: If each of us throughout society and the economy just follows our inclination to socialize, hire and do business

ess based on who seems familiar, we end up with a massive denial of opportunity to those still outside the economic mainstream. Fundamentally, it doesn't matter whether the pattern fits the legal definition of discrimination. It just isn't the kind of community we want. It's not One America.

To return to the example of the grocer, we could say that only larger employers have any responsibility to reach out and be more inclusive, less clannish. In fact, however, I think that while we want the law and government regulation to stay out of this for smaller businesses, it still makes sense for the small business to balance the inclination to stick with the familiar, with the desirability of building a community by connecting with everyone.

What complicates this example even more, however, is the background of rivalry and tension. No ethnic group is immune from the accident of misunderstanding or the disease of bigotry, and that includes members of minority groups that have themselves been traditional victims of discrimination. Asian immigrants and Asian Americans have been thrown into perceived competition with African Americans and Hispanic Americans through a combination of circumstances, including their immigration story and the structure of opportunity and discrimination at work.

Like many immigrant groups, Koreans were pulled to the United States in search of a higher standard of living than what was available in their native land. Though many of these immigrants had professional degrees, various barriers, among them language and discrimination, relegated Koreans to the margins of the general labor market. Simultaneously, the reluctance of large chain businesses to locate in low-income minority neighborhoods created a window of opportunity for small retail stores in those communities. Thus, Korean immigrants turned to self-employment and have become concentrated in the economic niche of retail merchants who serve predominantly black and Hispanic clienteles.

As economic and ethnic niches begin to overlap, ethnic boundaries can become battle lines in competition, real or imagined. As Koreans and Korean Americans are more closely identified as the haves and blacks or Hispanics see themselves as the havenots, racial hostility has at times seemed inevitable. The more blacks and Hispanics feel disadvantaged by the larger social structure, the greater their sense of racial alienation will be, and the more likely they will be to perceive other ethnic groups as potential competitors. In this sense, frustration with the larger system of inequality leads naturally to blaming other minorities who occupy close socioeconomic roles.

In reality, however, it is a complex pattern of disadvantage, discrimination and ordinary market forces that has forced Koreans (and other immigrant groups, depending on the community and the decade) and blacks into this pattern of interaction. It may be difficult to see the whole picture if you are someone in the middle of it, feeling like you have little economic or political power to shape your community or your own opportunities. How can you focus on the big picture when the evidence of injustice seems plain, right in front of you, in the grocers work force, prices, and so forth?

The capital used by Koreans to start their businesses is typically money saved from employment earnings. In New York City, only 5.8 percent of Korean Merchants in black neighborhoods reported using commercial loans as the main source of their capital.<sup>11</sup> Korean business opportunities are not created at the expense of black businesses. Discrimination in access to commercial loans and other banking services is a much larger problem, which I will address in a later chapter. The ethnicity of the grocery store owner and its workers would probably not matter so much if the black and Latino residents of the community felt satisfied by their economic opportunities and believed they had the same potential to open a store themselves.

#### (4) Racial Profiling in Law Enforcement

Consider these not-so-hypothetical situations:

A police officer is patrolling an affluent suburban community late one August night, a



nd notices an inexpensive car with two African American young men in it. Knowing that there are no minority residents in the neighborhood, and that burglaries are more likely during the vacation season, he starts to follow the car at a discreet distance, waiting for an opportunity to stop them for identification.

At a community meeting near the southwest border with Mexico, a group of residents suggest to the local representative of the Immigration and Naturalization Service [INS] Border Patrol that officers conduct random stops of cars carrying Mexicans to check for illegal aliens.

Racial profiling refers to the use of race, color, or ethnicity by law enforcement not based on a specific description of a suspect, but because of a stereotype or statistical assumption. Several studies as well as individual cases indicate, for example, that law enforcement officials are often more likely to stop motorists who look black or Hispanic for traffic violations, to search black motorists for drugs following a stop, and to question Hispanic persons about their immigration status. Let me be clear: this is not about the use of race as the single reason for attention by police or other officials, because there is often some kind of added triggering circumstance whether it is erratic driving, being in a place where authorities have good reason to suspect criminal activity, etc. The problem is that a reasonable person might look at that triggering circumstance and consider it either too far removed from serious wrongdoing (slightly over the speed limit on an interstate), or even completely innocent (a minority teenager driving in a white suburb). On the other hand, the controversy isn't about the use of race or ethnicity as one of several identifying characteristics of a specific criminal suspect; most of us would agree that if a robbery victim provides a good description, including race, police should not be color blind in their search. Instead, the question here is, Should police be able to use race as a proxy for an increased risk that people of a given racial background have engaged in or are about to engage in criminal misconduct?<sup>12</sup> For example, a police officer sees two young men on a street corner at night engage in a very quick transaction in which cash is exchanged for some small object that the officer thinks may be drugs. Should the officer be any more or less inclined or justified in stopping and questioning the young men if they are black or white or Hispanic or Asian Pacific American or American Indian? What should Federal, state and local law enforcement policy be?

Profiling is a difficult subject in part because many people focus on supposed efficiencies and may not see immediately the great unfairness, the insult to our ideals. In a sense, however, this is the perfect example of why perceptions about the criminal justice system can differ so dramatically across racial and ethnic groups. If it has never happened to you, or to someone close, you may not believe it is real, or may simply not consider it important. But in fact, it is important to all of us because it goes to the very legitimacy of our system. Without fairness and trust, law enforcement will be seen as just the raw, unaccountable power of the state. And that is a poisonous idea.

#### The Advisory

Board on Race summarized this issue well in its final report to me:

Some in law enforcement may see racial profiling as a necessary, legitimate practice given limited law enforcement resources and evidence of racial disparities in criminal behavior. . . . But racial profiling also imposes costs on innocent persons, perpetuates and reinforces stereotypes, creates situations that can lead to physical confrontations, and contributes to tensions between persons of color and the criminal justice system.<sup>13</sup>

Not only is racial profiling fueled by negative stereotypes and inconsistent with our fundamental belief in equal protection under the law, it is also simply bad policy that hinders effective law enforcement. As Attorney General Janet Reno said at a recent Department of Justice sponsored conference on police stops and searches:

First, it is wrong to assume that members of one race or ethnicity are more prone to criminal behavior than any other. Reliance on such racial stereotypes is as wrong in law enforcement as it is in other endeavors. This includes situations where law enforcement officers improperly use race to target individuals for a traffic stop, a pedestrian stop or a request for consent to search, in the absence of information about

a specific suspect or other special characteristics.

[In addition,]...there are many points throughout the criminal justice system where discretion plays a role from the investigation stage, to arrest, to the charging stage, to sentencing. Racially neutral policies at all of these stages are essential to sound and credible law enforcement and the fair administration of justice.

It is incumbent on law enforcement to critically review our efforts to ensure that stereotypes and prejudice, whether conscious or unconscious, do not creep into the work that we do. All citizens must respect the law, but the law must also respect all of our citizens.<sup>14</sup>

I agree with the Attorney General. I don't consider enforcement and fairness as inconsistent goals. They are complementary. Without the trust of the community in which the police operate, our law enforcement efforts simply cannot be effective. And the subject of racial profiling, as I know you are all aware, is one that has galvanized many communities. The perception that law enforcement stops are biased has a corrosive effect on our ability to protect and to serve the very communities where effective law enforcement is often most needed.

But beyond that, consider how we might approach the two opening examples in a way that helps move us towards our vision for One America. Does it make sense to tell people who look Hispanic—some of whom have been on this land generations longer than most Americans—that if they want to live near the border with Mexico they must expect to be subject to random law enforcement intrusions based almost entirely on their color? Can we say to them that the quality of their citizenship and the nature of their relationship with police authority has this tiny little condition attached to it? If you think this intrusion is warranted, then perhaps we should also warn minority drivers: Stay out of white communities at night unless you are willing to be stopped and asked to justify your presence.

This is not the kind of community we want, and these kinds of law enforcement practices are not the way to build the America we want. To my mind, the suburban example is the easier of the two because the law enforcement justification is so ordinary, allowing stereotypes to rationalize some minor gain in efficiency or convenience. We might as well allow police convenience to justify dispensing with a variety of protections for civil liberties we all enjoy, like protections from warrantless searches.

The Border Patrol example is, to me, a bit more difficult because of our national interest in border security, the special constitutional status of the near-border region, and the difficulty of finding effective enforcement measures that impose minimal burdens of legitimate residents and visitors. Still, to build the community we want, we must imagine ourselves in the shoes of a fellow American continually subjected to these impositions. The enforcement justification must be quite compelling indeed.

(5)

#### The Special Matter of Native Americans: Sacred Sites

One of the most challenging questions facing our country today is how to reconcile our vision of One America with the sovereignty status that makes our relationship with Native Americans so unique. A stark example of how this dilemma manifests itself is the conflict over Indian sacred sites. For years now, communities have been wrestling with how to reconcile the use of land for competing goals like economic development, harvesting and mining of natural resources, open space preservation, recreation and cultural activities. In many cases these competing uses can be reconciled through land use planning or, in the case of our national parks, an affirmative decision to preserve the natural state of large land areas. Land exchanges among federal, state and private landholders is another promising tool for reconciling competing uses. Sometimes, however, competing uses cannot be readily harmonized and conflicts arise that force us to examine fundamental values of land preservation in the context of needed development. For Native Americans, these conflicts can have stark consequences because their access to and use of Indian sacred sites sometimes forces a choice or seems to be between the exercise of timeless American Indian religious ceremonies and the march of a modern

in economy.

Throughout our history, countless official and unofficial government decisions forced the destruction of ceremonial mounds, medicine wheels, sweat lodges, prayer altars, and other places sacred to Native Americans. The ceremonial Sun Dance ritual, the Ghost Dance, the religious use of feathers and the tribal sacraments have all been challenged and at one time banned by federal and state officials. Indeed, one of the painful ironies of our country's treatment of Native Americans has been that while early European settlers came to this country to escape religious persecution, the Native Peoples were forced to endure it.

Even in modern times, these conflicts have arisen. For example, in February 1995, the National Park Service issued a rock climbing management plan for the Devil's Tower National Monument in Wyoming. The plan provided that "(I)n respect for the reverence many American Indians hold for Devil's Tower as a sacred site, rock climbers will be asked to voluntarily refrain from climbing on Devil's Tower during the culturally significant month of June." Some American Indians believed the presence of climbers on the sacred butte had seriously affected their traditional activities and the spiritual quality of the site. Even though the climbing ban was voluntary, the Park Service was sued for "promoting" Native American religion. The plaintiffs even objected to an interpretive education program explaining the religious and cultural significance of the Monument. Although the voluntary ban was upheld by a federal court, the case illustrates the type of cultural conflict that exists when public land is rightfully protected for Native American activities.

To give guidance in resolving these types of conflicts, I signed an Executive Order in 1996 designed to accommodate access to and ceremonial use of Indian sacred sites by Indian religious practitioners on federal lands, as well as to avoid adversely affecting the physical integrity of such sites. To identify and then resolve possible conflicts, there must be a dialogue that will help both Indian religious practitioners and the federal government achieve their goals.

For example, unlike a church, temple or mosque, which are readily identified, the ceremonial sites of an Indian tribe might be a mountain top, a cliff formation or a hidden spring. The location of these sites are often among the most deeply held secrets of the tribal community and the ceremonies that take place there among the most essential to their cultural and religious identity. Because some tribes consider it blasphemy to their Creator to sacred places, there are no maps to identify these sites, nor should there be. What I hoped to do in the Executive Order was ensure that there is consultation first, so that rerouting an access road in a federal park or building a ranger station does not result in the unintentional destruction of a tribal sacred site. Even if the tribe cannot reveal the exact location of the site, a confidential process can still protect it.

The problem is broader than the circumstances covered by my Executive Order. Tribes and various communities must deal with competing perceptions, values and traditions in many contexts. One of the most promising practices that federal, state and local officials could adopt when contemplating taking action that might affect access to or the physical integrity of Indian sacred sites is to initiate formal consultations with affected Indian tribes and practitioners. A focused cultural resources team might find a way to accommodate the Native American interest or otherwise minimize the effects of the activity. Mediation and other methods of alternative dispute resolution are also valuable tools in reaching consensus decisions in these matters. In some cases a conservation easement may be appropriate or some other form of perpetual occupancy of the subject area. In other cases, joint memoranda between government and tribal authorities on how to manage culturally sensitive area might also be appropriate.

As the millennium approaches, our country's respect for preservation continues to grow, whether it is historical battlefields like Gettysburg or the natural geysers at Yellowstone. In the America we want, we must do more to honor and preserve the sites of concern to Native Americans that in many cases predate the arrival of European settlers.

One key to protecting Native American sacred places is to respect the liturgy of the First Americans. Elements of their beliefs, like their respect for Mother Earth, are in the broadest sense a part of the American story.

When I met with the tribal leaders at the White House in 1994, I quoted the Great Law of the Six Nations Iroquois Confederacy which contained this advice: "In our every deliberation, we must consider the impact of our decision on the next seven generations." This lesson of stewardship can serve all Americans well.

#### (6) Apologies for Slavery and Other Wrongs

To the survivors, to the wives and family members, the children and the grandchildren, I say what you know: No power on Earth can give you back the lives lost, the pain suffered, the years of internal torment and anguish. What was done cannot be undone. But we can end the silence. We can stop turning our heads away. We can look at you in the eye and finally say on behalf of the American people, what the United States government did was shameful, and I am sorry.

May 16, 1997 was one of my proudest moments as President. On that day in the East Room of the White House, I issued the first formal government apology to the eight survivors of the infamous syphilis study at Tuskegee in which hundreds of African American men were enlisted in a government study that did the unthinkable denied them treatment for syphilis once a cure was found. For forty years our government lied to them, their wives, their children and their community. This travesty was a clear instance when our nation failed to live up to its ideals and broke the solemn trust with our people that is the very foundation of our democracy. Clearly, an apology, in this instance was not only appropriate, it was shamefully long overdue.

So what about slavery? Was it not a travesty...a broken trust...a stain on the fabric of our democracy? Yes. And, in many ways because it was so horrific in degrees far greater and more lasting than any single act of injustice in our nation's history, it requires much more than a Presidential apology.

From the very beginning and throughout the Race Initiative there has been a simmering debate about the merits of my issuing an apology for slavery. After listening to all points of view, reviewing the history of apologies for racial and ethnic oppression and searching my own heart, I decided not to make this a major focus of our work.

My apology to the survivors of the syphilis study at Tuskegee was not the first time America had seen fit to say I'm sorry. There have been instances when our government has apologized and reimbursed American Indians for broken treaties. And in 1988, our government issued a formal apology and \$1 billion for the imprisonment of Japanese Americans.

While an apology from a sitting President for what is unquestionably the single most shameful, destructive and divisive part of our past would undoubtedly generate headlines, and make some people feel good, we also knew that it could have a confusing, diversionary or even polarizing effect. Some white people might ask, Exactly what are we apologizing for? I've certainly never owned slaves, nor have any of my ancestors as far as I know. Who are we apologizing to? Slavery is over; there are no former slaves still living, and racism for the most part is a thing of the past. So, why should I apologize to Oprah Winfrey or Colin Powell who are paragons of American success?

While most Americans would not defend, feel proud of or in any way stand up for the years of slavery or the awful legacy which it left in its wake, there are too many who do not, or will not see, that for every Oprah and Colin Powell, there are hundreds of African Americans still rising, against the odds, out of the sinkhole of slavery still struggling to attain simple dignity and a foothold on the ladder of opportunity. As long as there are those among us who refuse to understand what 200 years of stolen history, broken families, beatings, imprisonment, lynchings, discrimination and hatred can do to a people, we dare not declare victory with a mere apology. After all, what good is an apology if you don't even understand what you are apologizing for?

That senti



ment is echoed by many African Americans who tell me that while they, in varying degrees, are still experiencing the negative effects of more than two centuries of slavery and discrimination, an apology would be just empty words. With so much work to do and so many Americans either ignorant of or in denial about the ongoing need to heal the festering wound of slavery and racism, they tell me a Presidential apology would amount to a Presidential pardon. They say an apology at this time would in effect relieve too many of our citizens of any responsibility to get on with the unfinished work of building One America.

At least

for now, I decided that we should look more towards the America we want than to the America of our past. While America has not fully come to terms with its past, we have made progress. We've seen the enactment of the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments. We've seen the passage of major civil rights legislation the Civil Rights Act, the Voting Rights Act, the Fair Housing Act and others. We must continue that forward motion, and even accelerate it. Today, that means focusing all our energies on closing the opportunity gap and aggressively fighting discrimination that still exists. We must lift up depressed communities and we must widen the circle of reconciliation to reflect our expanding diversity which includes not only African Americans, but also Hispanics, Native Americans, Asian Pacific Islanders and new immigrants from Europe.

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## Conclusion

Let us

not love in word, neither in tongue; but in deed and truth.

1 John, 3:18

Unfortunately,

race and ethnicity continue to be salient predictors of wellbeing in American society. African Americans, Hispanics and American Indians still experience real disadvantages in health, education and economic status relative to nonHispanic whites and Asians. Clearly, actions, not apologies are what is needed to close these gaps. We must make sure that our federal, state and local governments, our public schools, our health care systems and our courts deal fairly with all people and provide equal opportunities for every American to participate fully in our society. When it comes to making amends for the horror and legacy of slavery, in the America we want our actions will speak louder than our words.

Endnotes:

[none] Part III: The Opportunity We Deserve

[Introduction to Part III]

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1. A High-Quality Education For All:  
A New  
Civil Right for the New Millennium

[As we near the end of the 20th centurywe,  
as a nation, cannot afford to allow intolerance or inequity to interfere with the ability of any citizen to acquire the most critical commodity a quality education. On this special day, I shall speak to you about civil rights. A quality education, you see, must be considered a key "civil right" for the 21st century

Richard Riley W. Riley, U.S. Secretary of Education, on the 45th anniversary of Brown v. Board of Education, May 17th, 1999.

A. Introduction

Excellence

and equity in education are among the nation's most important challenges. I agree with my friend Dick Riley: We must make a quality education for every child in America a new civil right for the new millennium.

I was eleven years old in

September 1957 and living in Hot Springs, Arkansas. I remember listening to the radio one morning as, fifty miles away in Little Rock, nine black students tried to walk through the doors of all-white Central High School. I was riveted as the story unfolded. Those nine boys and girls were not much older than I was, and I tried to imagine what it would be like to be them, as mobs of white protesters glared, shouted, and spat at them on their first day of school.

It had

been three years since the Supreme Court's historic decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* declared racial segregation in America's schools to be unconstitutional, and the conflict at Central High would become the nation's first major confrontation over court-ordered school desegregation. The courageous efforts of the Little Rock Nine served as a catalyst for the integration of thousands of segregated schools around the nation and, over a period of years, produced great strides in opportunity and understanding.

On November 6, 1998, some forty years

after the Little Rock Nine first set foot in Central High, they came to the White House to receive the Congressional Gold Medal for their courage and their contributions to our nation. As President, I had the privilege of hosting them. At the ceremony, my friend Ernest Green, one of the original nine, spoke on behalf of the honorees. He said something of great significance. Yes, the Little Rock Nine understood in 1957 the importance of their effort to end racial segregation in their schools. But more than anything else, the Little Rock Nine were simply seeking the highest quality education they could find. We simply thought we were doing the right thing, Ernie said, and that it was our duty as students in Little Rock to try to advance and receive the best education available.

Today, we have learned many lessons from our years of struggle. One of the most important, for me, is the idea that our schools and our nation are stronger when persons of all races learn together. I have seen it with my own eyes.

If

America is the land of opportunity, then, education has been the cornerstone of that ideal for generations. During the first great era of immigration, between the mid-19th and early 20th centuries, American reformers recognized the economic and political importance of building a public school system that would serve all of the nation's children. The foundation of our modern democracy and free enterprise economy has been our belief in the great capacity of all citizens to lift up America while lifting up themselves. Education, as school pioneer Horace Mann said, can be America's great equalizer.

Of course, we have failed to

live up to that egalitarian ideal, at times because of malice, and other times because of indifference or inadvertence. Today, it is disproportionately children of color for whom the ideal at times seems hollow. In the America we see, schools mirror the racial isolation of our neighborhoods, and there are troubling signs of deepening segregation.

Throughout my presidency, education has been among my highest priorities, and we have made important progress. We have embraced the idea of high standards for all students, and we have taken several steps that will benefit poor and minority children the most, helping to narrow the opportunity gap. Our effort, for example, to help local schools hire 100,000 new teachers and reduce class size in early grades will help reduce racial disparities in class size and, according to researchers, boost student achievement. But, much work remains.

Amidst encouraging signs of progress, stubborn racial disparities in both student achievement and educational resources persist. Tackling these problems is vitally important for several reasons. First, education is a key to our economic growth, and will be even more so in the knowledge economy.

of the 21st century. America's prosperity will increasingly depend on the ability of institutions and people to innovate and continuously learn. And as our nation grows more diverse, our strength will depend more and more on whether we provide high-quality educational opportunities to those children of color who today receive the least.

#### Clinton-Gore Accomplishments:

Investing in Education;  
Investing in Our Future

#### More High-Quality Teachers with Smaller Class Sizes -

- won a down payment on the President's new initiative to hire an additional 100,000 well-prepared teachers, helping school districts reduce class size in the early grades.

#### Teaching Every Child to Read by the 3rd Grade -- more than 1000

colleges have committed Work Study students to tutor children in reading, and thousands of AmeriCorps members and senior volunteers are organizing volunteer reading campaigns. Won \$260 million for a new child literacy initiative, consistent with the President's America Reads proposal.

#### Providing Safe After-School

Opportunities for Nearly 400,000 Each Year -- expanded the 21st Century Community Learning Centers program to provide safe and educational after-school opportunities for nearly 400,000 school-age children in rural and urban communities each year.

#### Preparing for the 21st Century by Expanding Access to Education Technology --

created the Technology Literacy Challenge Fund to help connect every school to the Internet by 2000, increase the number of multimedia computers in the classroom and provide technology training for teachers. Increased overall investments in educational technology by thirty-fold, from \$23 million in 1993 to \$698 million this year. Secured low-cost connections to the Internet for schools, libraries, rural health clinics and hospitals.

#### Establishing the GEAR-UP Mentoring Program for Middle School Children --

created a new mentoring initiative to help up to 100,000 low income middle school children prepare for college.

Expanding Choice and Accountability in Public Schools -- supported increase of public charter schools, from one independent public charter school in the nation in 1993 to more than 1,000 charter schools in 1998, on track toward 3,000 quality charter schools early next century.

#### Supporting Local Education Reform Efforts --

signed into law the Education Flexibility Partnership Act of 1999 (Ed-Flex) to give all states the ability to use federal resources in ways that best complement local efforts and innovation.

#### Protecting Bilingual and Immigrant

Education-- fought for and won a 35% increase for bilingual and immigrant education in the 1997 budget deal. For FY99, the Administration fought for and won a doubling of the investments in bilingual teacher training as part of the Hispanic Education Action Plan.

#### Providing Early Education to 835,000 Children with

Head Start -- now reaching more kids than at any time since its creation in 1965 and more than 200,000 additional children than in 1992.

#### Expanding College Opportunities:

Making 13th & 14th Grades as Universal As High School -- making the first two years of college universally available with \$1,500 HOPE Scholarship credits.

Expanding College Opportunity with Tuition Tax Credits, Education IRAs, Work Study and Increased Pell Grants -- 20% tax credit helps offset tuition

on costs for college or lifetime learning. The expanded IRA allows penalty and tax-free withdrawals for education. This year, nearly one million students will be able to work their way through college because of the President's expansion of the Work Study Program. And in 1999, nearly four million students will receive a Pell Grant of up to \$3,125, the largest maximum award ever.

**Increased Funding and Grants for HBCUs, HSI and Tribal Colleges.** Significantly increased funding for Historically Black Colleges, Hispanic-Serving Colleges as well as Indian Tribal Colleges.

**Making College More Affordable --** cut student fees and interest rates on all loans, expanded repayment options including income contingent repayment, and improved service through the Direct Loan Program.

But currently, we are not making the most of our growing student diversity. Over the last few decades, we have made important progress in educating students of all races. Though improvement has often been slow and uneven, test scores, high school graduation rates, and college participation rates have increased for all racial and ethnic groups. In some cases, these improvements have been greater for students of color than for whites, thus narrowing achievement gaps. Nonetheless, as the wide disparities in SAT and other measures illustrate, substantial challenges remain. The achievement gap between white, black, and Hispanic children poses a grave challenge. Moreover, the stereotype of all Asian Pacific American students as bound for academic access is inaccurate, as significant pockets of Asian Pacific students are at high risk for academic failure. Moreover, the racial disparities in achievement persist throughout the pipeline -- from preschool through higher education. Here are just a few examples:

According to the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), average reading proficiency scores for 17-year-old Hispanic students are lower than, and average scores for black 17-year-olds are not significantly different from, the average score for 13-year-old white students.

Some 93 percent of whites and 87 percent of blacks ages 25 to 29 have a high school degree or an equivalency certificate, compared with only 62 percent of Hispanics and approximately 66 percent of Native Americans. With regard to Asian Pacific Americans, evidence compiled by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights suggests that the dropout rates of Southeast Asian youth are high and their post-high school aspirations low.

While the importance of a college degree is growing, so is the gap between whites and persons of color who have a degree: 33 percent of whites ages 25-29 have a four-year college degree or higher, compared with just 14 percent of blacks and 11 percent of Hispanics. This is a direct reflection of problems in K-12.

I believe the racial disparities in education stem in large part from continuing gaps in opportunity -- by that I mean the full range of resources, expectations and supports which, together with effort and responsibility, determine whether a child will achieve his or her full potential. A tragic irony is at work in American education: too often, the children who need a high-quality school experience the most are least likely to get it. And too often, those are children of color. Because our neighborhoods are separated by race and class, and because the vast majority of our schools still rely substantially on local property taxes for funding, a startling number of the school districts that serve mostly students of color are also desperately poor. Schools in a sea of poverty are too often overwhelmed, or nearly so, by the extraordinary challenges they face. Consider: Students who live in low-income neighborhoods often bring the many burdens of their lives and their communities to school with them. Imagine teaching in, or attending, a school in which the majority of students are coping with hunger, homelessness, or family crises; crime in their hallways, their streets, their homes; or cramped living spaces where there is no quiet space to read or do homework.

These are the everyday, grinding pressures of poverty. Add to them the prob



lems aging inner-city school buildings or ramshackle rural schools, disparities in teacher training, high proportions of students with special language needs and the almost nonstop barrage of dispiriting, dream-killing messages directed towards at-risk children and you have a recipe for disaster.

But the inequalities of poverty and race should end at the classroom door. Sadly, too often, they do not. Students attending predominantly minority secondary schools, for example, have only a 60 percent chance of getting a math teacher certified to teach math and as little as a 50 percent chance of getting a science teacher certified in the subject being taught. Seventy percent of predominantly minority schools have at least one serious building deficiency, such as poor heating, lighting, or ventilation. Children for whom English is a second language often do not attend schools that have enough resources to help them learn English and to allow them to participate fully in other subjects. Although the gap between the number of black and Hispanic children using computers in school has recently narrowed, the difference in home computer usage is very large. In 1997, black and Hispanic children were almost 40% less likely to use computers at home than were white children, and studies tell us that computers are used less effectively in predominantly minority schools. We are all but guaranteeing that these students will be handicapped in the 21st century economy they will inherit.

It is

clear that we have not yet met our aspiration -- I consider it an obligation -- to provide all children with what Ernest Green and the Little Rock Nine bravely sought forty years ago: a high-quality education, and the chance for all students to learn together. To the parents of children who attend our best schools I pose this simple question: How would you feel if you had to send your child to a school with a leaky roof, outdated textbooks, no computers, and teachers teaching subjects in which they lack basic competence? Too many of our children face this reality every day. And more often than not, they are children of color.

These conditions are socially and economically destructive. They are also morally unacceptable. While we point fingers in every direction, individual opportunity and our national strength suffer. How much genius and creativity are we failing to harness because of continuing racial disparities in educational opportunity? What would our lives be like today if we had provided every American regardless of race or class with the educational opportunity to succeed to his or her full potential? Would we have a cure for cancer? Or AIDS? Would we have more efficient energy sources and technologies that greatly reduced pollution? Would we have a new global movement for world peace and human rights? How far would we have progressed in weaving our diversity into one great fabric of community, and in purging our hearts of stereotypes and fears?

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B. Makin  
g a Focused Attack  
on the Racial Gap in K-12 Achievement

The stark racial disparities in educational achievement mark the distance from the America we see to the America we deserve. In the America we deserve, every child will enjoy a high-quality education from preschool on. This education will be bolstered by high standards and will allow every student full and fair access to the best our schools can offer. I am proud of the steps taken by my Administration, including proposals to reshape dramatically the Federal government's major programs supporting public K-12 education. These ambitious efforts, most of which are inspired by effective state and local innovations and all of which rely on state and local partners, give us much of the foundation we need to create the opportunity we deserve in One America.

To build on that foundation, and specifically to ensure that we are relentlessly insistent on eliminating racial disparities in achievement, I believe that in the years ahead we should establish a new compact uniting a set of partners in tackling the fundamentally important problem of racial disparities in primary and secondary educational opportunities and achievement. Let me begin, however, by describing the essential foundation, created by our accomplishments and our pending proposals.

## The Solid Foundation We Have Built

For more than three decades, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act [ESEA] has been the foundation of our nation's support for millions of poor students and their schools. Early in my Administration, we worked with Congress to enact Goals 2000 and a major reform of the bedrock Federal grant program intended to help states and districts educate poor children, the so-called Title I program within ESEA. Now funded at almost \$8 billion per year, the Title I program is distributed by a formula related to the number of poor children. That law now tells participating states that they must set high academic standards for all students, and that they must use tests or some other assessment measures to hold schools and school districts accountable for making progress in improving learning outcomes for poor children. That was an important beginning.

In my

January, 1999 State of the Union address, however, I proposed that we accelerate that effort to put far greater emphasis on spurring concrete improvement in results while creating far stronger systems of accountability--not just to federal taxpayers, but to communities and families. I also proposed targeting federal resources to help turn around failing schools, to reward progress in raising achievement levels, and to put high-quality teachers in high-poverty schools.

I also called for the end of so-called social promotion, as well as the expansion of after-school and other academic support programs, and efforts to improve assistance to the growing number of students learning English. I proposed building in accountability at all levels to focus not only on improving education for every child in America, but also, especially, on narrowing the gaps between affluent suburbs and comparatively poor inner-cities and isolated rural areas.

My proposals were part of a proposed rewrite of the ESEA I sent to Congress in May 1999.

A central tenet of all this work is the need to focus on actual student learning - to support strategies that produce results, and to stop subsidizing strategies that produce failure. We have seen states and school districts use this method to help all of their students achieve more. Let me give you an example. Dade County, Florida, which includes the city of Miami and is one of the most racially diverse school districts in America, had 45 low-performing schools on its critical list. But in two years, they raised their math and reading scores so much that all 45 were off the list. And they did this by focusing on results. Dade County officials and teachers refused to accept the proposition that because these students were poor or lived in tough neighborhoods, they could not learn. In my visit to Chicago's Jenner Elementary School in 1998, I witnessed first-hand what can be accomplished when the principal, students, parents and volunteers decide to take back their school and turn it around. Jenner, like every Chicago school has ended social promotion. But, every child who needs it gets to go to summer school. The results have been dramatic. At Jenner, reading and math scores have doubled. Chicago's reform efforts are proving that public schools can work. If they can do it, so can every school in America.

### Elementary & Secondary Education Act Reauthorization Proposals

A new and improved

ESEA will provide the foundation for excellence and equity in education. I believe it is essential to our education workplan for building One America. Here are some highlights:

**Promote High Standards in Every Classroom**, by: adopting and applying rigorous academic standards; continuing efforts to reduce class size; requiring states to hold districts accountable for continuous and substantial progress in the number of students meeting high state standards; supporting technology in the classroom

**Improve Teacher and Principal Quality**, by: national efforts to recruit talented principals; recruiting and retaining high-quality teachers, especially for high-need schools

**Strengthen Accountability for**

**School and Student Performance**, by: supporting states in developing rigorous accountability systems; requiring states to identify and intervene in failing schools; coupling regulatory flexibility with strong accountability; developing so

und progress and promotion policies, ending social promotion the right way

Sup

port Safe, Healthy and Disciplined Learning Environments, by: reforming the Safe and Drug-Free Schools and Communities Act, to focus on high-quality research-based programs; expanding comprehensive prevention efforts; requiring every school to have sound discipline policies

Strengthen Education for English-Language

learners, by: improvements to the Bilingual Education Act; expanded and improved teacher training; ensuring fair and comprehensive assessment of students with limited English proficiency, including their annual progress in learning English

The evidence is now coming in: Education reform that is based on high standards and on holding schools accountable for outcomes works. For students of color, it is particularly important to provide schools and teachers with information categorized by race and socioeconomic status. A recent RAND Corporation study of education reform in North Carolina and Texas shows that this kind of accountability produces results. In both states, a sustained, statewide approach -- based on holding schools accountable for outcomes, raising academic standards, providing schools with the flexibility and other tools they need, and targeting resources for extra help to low-performing students and schools -- raised achievement for 4th and 8th graders. Texas, which showed particularly strong gains in math scores for students of color, held schools explicitly accountable for achievement of children in each racial group. The racial specificity and clarity of this outcome data seems to be directly linked to the states' impressive test score gains.

The Compact for Equal Educational Opportunity

The changes

I have suggested for ESEA reflect a number of principles that are fundamental to reforming education for our most disadvantaged, without regard to color, but making these changes is also critical for racial justice. Our nation can have no more important education goal than closing the racial gap in achievement because that is the area in which the shortfall between our national ideals and the stark realities is most dismaying.

For the broad Federal programs in ESEA,

I have proposed specific attention to ideas that we know can make a difference, such as quality teachers, interventions to turn around or reconstitute failing schools, and greater emphasis on accountability for results. But to take this a step farther, with a concerted focus on the particularly egregious problem of racial disparities, I believe we should be guided by four policy principles. First, we must demand accountability of everyone in the system -- at the end of the day we must be able to show specifically that disadvantaged minority students are learning more and closing the gap. Second, we must go the extra mile to ensure that the high learning standards the law requires for all students are, indeed, used for minority students as well, and that expectations for student achievement are not subtly or surreptitiously dumbed down in the face of challenges. Third, we must challenge jurisdictions, institutions and professionals to rethink their roles, reinvent their routines, redouble their partnership efforts outside the school system, and bury their excuses. If a child needs support services to succeed in school, we cannot let the problems fall between bureaucratic cracks; if a principal needs to shift funds to help veteran teachers master computer-aided instruction, they shouldn't get tangled up in red tape spooling out from above. And, fourth, for the Federal contribution to the effort, we must offer schools and educators greater flexibility but link that flexibility and any added federal funding to measurable success.

a Compact for Equal Educational Opportunity

As part of the Compact for Equal Educational Opportunity, the federal government would provide greater flexibility and new resources, on a competitive basis, to schools and districts that formulate promising proposals -- and then deliver real results -- attacking racial disparities in achievement. I hope that the flexibility built into this proposal will spur innovation, tailoring of approaches to fit local needs, and emulation across the country.

Imagine

each local Compact as a partnership agreement, involving all levels of government, a variety of public agencies, key private sector actors and community-based organizations. At its core would be a workplan for closing racial disparities in education.

Within the framework of ESEA, and based on what we know works, I envision that the workplans of each Compact district would include such things as: a) putting high-quality teachers in high-need schools; b) reducing disparities in computers and other resources; c) plans for results-based accountability at all levels, so that performance is measured fairly, and both failure and success in meeting performance standards have consequences--and not just for the students; d) engaging families, businesses, and other local institutions; e) building partnerships across jurisdictional lines of school districts and local government agencies; and f) creative responses to the needs of English Language Learners.

But ultimately, the test will not be these particular inputs, but the results.

I propose to put these principles to work in a new kind of partnership for education, building on ESEA. Quite simply, we need a new covenant to benefit America's children, with the goal of eliminating racial disparities in K-12 achievement. We need to enlist the participation of local jurisdictions as well as private sector allies in a Compact for Equal Educational Opportunity. The Compact will remind us that when it comes to education, in particular, all Americans are on the same side. It will be a coalition to which we bring our collective determination, creativity, and resources, helping to secure the opportunity all our children deserve.

How the individual states, districts and schools willing to participate actually make progress is far less important than gaining their commitment -- backed by accountability -- for doing what is needed. Let me give you an idea of how this new partnership might work:

**School system**

School systems would commit to measure and close the racial disparities in achievement. They would adopt measurable goals and a strategy for meeting them. The strategy would be developed with participation from a wide range of stakeholders--from corporations to parents--and would identify roles for everyone.

**The proposed strategy**

The proposed strategy would have a timetable, and a report-card style system of public accountability so that everyone could see whether the schools are getting the results they are supposed to. The school system should identify the carrots and sticks that will be used so that everyone involved, from students to school boards, has all the right incentives to succeed.

**The federal government might support the Compact**

in two ways. First, it should offer Compact districts and schools the broadest possible flexibility in federal grant programs, tied to accountability. Second, it should use a competition to award some new funding to help districts implement their plans. Both of these forms of help should be based upon a judgment, perhaps by panels of national experts and leading school innovators, that the proposed strategies are likely to succeed in narrowing racial disparities. As with the broader ESEA reforms I have already proposed, we should permit experimentation, but we should at least emphasize doing the things that we know can make a difference.

Compact schools and districts that do not reduce racial disparities in achievement must feel the consequences. First, they would lose at least some of their grant flexibility from the federal government, and some of their Compact funding. Second, they would work with experts to reform their strategies, perhaps by getting different kinds of academic support, or perhaps through rough shock therapy and swift managerial change. Change should be measured in years, not generations.

The proposals I have offered to reform the federal role in education, through ESEA, contain most -- perhaps all -- of the flexibility and some of the resources needed at the federal level to help create Compacts in

n states and communities around the country. The details of what particular school systems will try to do will of course vary within the broad principles I suggested earlier. In a sense, the most important aspect of all of this is to be forthright in focusing everyone on the goal of eliminating racial disparities in achievement, and implementing a locally tailored workplan to get it done.

In my years as a governor, working both within my state and on national policy, I came to appreciate fully that education is primarily a state and local responsibility. But I have also seen that sometimes a child's opportunity can be limited by the resources a local community can raise with a property tax, or the accident of a state's wealth or poverty, and political decisions about whether to be generous or stingy in aid to local schools. Some education programs -- whether they originate in Washington, the state capital, or downtown -- are confining, with regulations and narrow categorical purposes that are not well-coordinated with other education or social service efforts. And across the board, I have seen education treated as an island, cut off from the mainland of challenges and resources in the surrounding community and in families. I am proud of our hard work in the last several years tackling these problems, and determined to build on our accomplishments.

That is why our education workplan for One America must include a determined battle against jurisdictional, administrative, and partisan bickering. The Vice President has led an effort to "reinvent" the federal government so that we all focus on the services we provide children, families, and communities, and on the real effects those services have on people's lives. We must do the same as we form our Compact for Equal Educational Opportunity. Closing disparities in schools will require us to break down the walls between bureaucracies and even between local political jurisdictions -- walls that can prevent finding economies of scale, financial and professional resources, and the richness of diversity that are vital to educational excellence. When it comes to the education of our children, politics in all of its forms must stop at the schoolhouse door. Those joining in our Compact must subscribe to that view.

I know this will not occur overnight or without debate, but I believe that in the end there will be a consensus: Our nation's ideals and our national prosperity require a new determination to make quality education for all a reality. On this issue, people of good faith and good will -- across party lines as well as lines of color and class -- agree: every American child must learn well.

The reforms sweeping public education are moving us in the right direction. In schools and states across the country, there are important signs of promise and progress. But the pace is too slow, and our ambitions must be still higher. Now, we must take on the additional challenge of closing the racial achievement gap, and do so directly. We should use the same methods -- accountability, flexibility, standards, doing what we know works, targeting resources on the greatest need -- that have begun to show promise for improving student achievement generally.

We have tolerated racial disparities in opportunity as well as in achievement for far too long. I share the burning impatience felt by many parents, civic leaders, and educators who are demanding more for all our children. Let us, together, channel that impatience, forging new partnerships that empower communities to break the cycle of disadvantage and eliminate gaps in student achievement.

As my Advisory Board on Race said in its final report to me, To a great extent, we know what to do to promote educational equity and excellence; we just have to have the courage as a nation to do it. If we are successful here, fundamental change will follow. In the long-term, if we eliminate gaps in student achievement by race, we will ensure minority access to college and to a better future, and we will promote integration by making all public schools, and therefore the communities they serve, attractive to all Americans.

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C.  
Other measures to Build Education Equity



## The Power of partnership: The Buffalo School Board also Experience

In 1993, the Buffalo School Board accepted a local banks offer of seven million dollars over nine years to turn around an extremely troubled elementary school. Public School 68 suffered from low test scores, poor attendance, and discipline problems. Bob Wilmers, President of Manufacturers and Traders Trust, explains: It was gnawing at me that we should make more of a contribution to the community, and I focused on education because it seems to me that's the biggest problem the country has. The bank did not merely sign over a check, it got involved. First, the bank created a board of trustees modeled after its own, and invited the education unions to join. Then, it conducted a nationwide search for a new principal and hired Yvonne Minor-Ragan, who was notable for turning around a Chicago public school, and renamed the school Westminster Community School. Wilmers even went so far as to assign one of his vice presidents to ensure that supplies were being delivered to the school and repairs made.

Two years into the partnership, student test scores remained low. In response, the bank hired outside consultants to train the teachers and brought in experts to analyze the performance of every child at the school. By the third year, the students delivered high test scores. Last school year, the students at Westminster scored in the 99th percentile in a statewide test of math and reading skills. Partnerships, like the Westminster School Partnership, can be effective in ensuring the success of all of our children. The measures I have proposed to strengthen and reshape the Federal Elementary and Secondary Education Act, together with the Compact to reduce racial achievement gaps, can be an important first step towards our goal of equity and excellence in education. But there are many other actions we can take at all levels of government and in communities everywhere, ranging from supporting families to ensuring that our schools are modern and safe.

Support families and promote early learning opportunities

A child's development in the earliest years is crucial to the rest of his or her life. Research shows that children who do not enter school ready to learn will spend a significant amount of time catching up to their peers and may never fully overcome initial learning gaps. Families are the key here. Parents and caregivers must be every child's first teachers.

The most important thing parents can do in the early years is read to their children. We have set a national goal of having all our children read independently and well by the end of third grade. To help achieve that goal, researchers tell us that parents should read to their children at least 30 minutes per day. In just the last few years, the percentage of parents who are reading to their children on a regular basis has increased dramatically, and that increase has been greatest among parents of color. That is important progress. But we can do better.

## Adult Education And Family Literacy Initiative

Today, 44 million adults struggle with a job application, cannot read to their children, and cannot fully participate in our economic and civic life because they lack basic English proficiency. The President's proposed \$190 million adult education and family literacy initiative would provide \$95 million or 25 percent more in adult education grants. The program also provides \$70 million for a new English literacy/civics initiative and \$20 million to help develop new technology for adult learners. It creates a new 10% tax credit to employers who establish workplace literacy programs; and puts in place a new initiative to mobilize state and local communities to implement strategies to promote adult education and lifelong learning.

Today, parents of white children are still more likely to read to their children than are parents of minority children. One reason for this difference is the racial gap in literacy among

g adults. More than 40 million American adults cannot read English or read only at the lowest level, and persons of color are overrepresented in this group. Adults who cannot read cannot teach their children to read, and may not put as much emphasis on their children's schoolwork. For this and other important reasons, we must take action to increase adult literacy.

Beyond parents' roles, we must mobilize other aspects of the caring village my wife Hillary has spoken about so often. Children of all races must, but too often do not, have access to high-quality pre-school. Quality preschool boosts child development, which leads to higher achievement in school, better social adjustment, and even decreased involvement in crime. Head Start plays an important role here by providing quality pre-school to nearly one million children of low-income families. But we are currently serving fewer than half of all eligible students, and only 32 percent of eligible Hispanic students. There is more to do.

## Head Start

Head Start is America's premier early childhood development program. It provides comprehensive developmental and social services for America's low-income, pre-school children ages three to five, and their families. Culturally specific Head Start programs have been developed to serve both American Indian and Migrant farmworker families. Giving a boost to children's education and helping strengthen the skills of parents to better nurture and provide for their children and families in all 50 states, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, and the U.S. territories: President Clinton has made the expansion and improvement of Head Start a top priority for his Administration. With the bipartisan support of Congress, he has delivered on that promise. In 1994 President Clinton established the new Early Head Start program, which expands the benefits of early childhood development to low-income families to children under three and pregnant women.

Finally, families must remain involved in their children's education throughout school. A child's chances of success, regardless of race or class, are immeasurably increased when his or her family participates in the child's education. The more directly involved parents are in each child's school, the greater the return. All schools should have parent compacts that clearly define parents' role in the school. As a national goal, I believe that every parent should be involved in their child's school, and that employers should provide the flexibility to help parents do so.

## Provide Educational Resources and Opportunities Equitably

Over the last several years, we have embraced the idea of high academic standards for all students, including the use of tests to ensure that those standards are met. Half our states now have or will soon introduce high school tests that students must pass to graduate. These standards and tests can play a crucial role in ensuring the quality of teaching and learning in our schools. But we must also give all students a full and fair opportunity to meet the standards and pass the tests. If all our children are going to be held to the same high standards, and they should be, then we have a responsibility to see that all of them have a fair opportunity to meet those standards and succeed to their full potential.

I'll be blunt: it's easy to talk tough about standards, but duck the politically difficult task of investing the needed resources, and then blame powerless poor kids when they can't make the grade. And it is easy to turn the standards-based reform movement into a testing movement. It's not. It must be about excellence and equity, and that must include fair investments.

The unequal distribution of educational resources is dramatic, especially in our poorest, most racially isolated communities where large numbers of minority children are struggling to learn in our lowest quality schools. As noted by William Taylor, Vice Chair of the Citizens Commission on Civil Rights: While progress has been made in some state in equalizing resources, almost everywhere the children in these high poverty schools are shortchanged on resources — on teachers, counselors, books, computers — that are routinely provided in wealthier areas.

It's a tangled knot of problems: we have a tradition of local control; we then leave most local school districts heavily dependent on property taxes. School district boundaries separate the poor from the affluent -- and it is up to states to choose whether or not to redistribute resources to give every child a fair shot. In recent years, there have been over a dozen law suits brought under state constitutional provisions, challenging the school finance systems established by state laws. These have met with some success and I hope much more change of this sort is on the way, preferably at the initiative of governors and legislators, without the disruption of litigation.

Money isn't everything in education, but we can't expect schools to succeed without adequate resources. In tracking the dollars, however, simple per-pupil expenditures don't really tell the story of how much money is going into the classrooms, directly to kids, teachers and learning. On the other hand, students and communities are very different, and sometimes the numbers are comparing apples and oranges. Inner city schools, for example, often have much higher costs for security, dilapidated facilities, children with expensive special needs, English language learners, and so forth.

The fact is, students in our poorest communities often face disadvantages in so many areas that it is impossible to adequately discuss them all. But let me mention several issues that I believe are most crucial: Teaching, curriculum, buildings, technology, and safety. In each of these areas, current and proposed federal policies give a push in the right direction, but states and communities can and should go farther and faster than Washington should push.

-- Teaching. A major stumbling block to quality education for all students, and especially for students of color, is the shortage of high-quality teachers. Study after study confirms what many of us have always known -- teachers are our most valuable educational resource. As class size decreases and teacher quality increases, all students, especially poor and minority children, perform better. Yet today, poor and minority children are more likely than their white peers to be taught in larger classes by less-qualified, less-experienced teachers.

## HIGH STANDARDS AND SUCCESS

### The El Paso Experience

We know that setting high expectations and offering a challenging curriculum can help poor, minority schools achieve. El Paso, Texas the 5th poorest major metropolitan area in the United States, with a school population that is more than 85% Hispanic has formed a Collaborative for Educational Excellence between the schools, universities and community colleges, the mayor's office, and local religious, business, and community leaders. Over six years, the Collaborative has fostered a culture of excellence by setting high standards for all students, creating a more challenging math curriculum, and setting the goal that every student graduates from high school fluent in English and Spanish, ready to attend college.

The Collaborative's results have been encouraging. The number of schools in the district identified as low-performing has fallen, and the number of schools recognized as exemplary has risen dramatically. The percentage of students in El Paso passing the third-grade reading test now equals the Texas state average. Enrollment in algebra in the district rose from 59% in 1993 to 95% in 1996. And, over that same period, the percentage of students passing algebra rose from 32% to 58%. Minority passing rates in college preparatory courses have improved, in some instances doubling, since the Collaborative began its work.

-- Curriculum. Students of all races must have equal access to challenging courses. This is important not only for reasons of equity, but also because studies have shown that high school curriculum is one of the single most important predictors of students' college success. That is why early in my Administration, we pushed for and passed federal legislation that gave a vital boost to the high-standards reform movement, including the effort to ensure that poor children are offered challenging course work. Progress, however, is too slow. Today, poor and minority children are far more likely than middle class and white students to take math for consumers rather than a solid course in

n algebra. Today, minority students are far more likely than whites to attend a high school that offers few or no Advanced Placement courses, like calculus or second-year chemistry. And, most unfairly, research suggests that too many poor and minority children are put in tracks or so-called ability groups that might be advertised as offering extra help, but may in reality limit students' chances to attend college. If the courses most relevant to the jobs in tomorrow's economy are offered in suburban schools but not in the inner-city 15 miles away, should we be surprised if America's economic divide widens in the years ahead? We share an obligation to face these disparities in opportunity, and to end them.

I know that every child can learn. If you need proof, visit El Paso, where schools are setting high expectations for all children and providing the support that will help them succeed. This is a model that should be replicated elsewhere.

-- Buildings. Teachers cannot teach and students cannot learn effectively in overcrowded, deteriorating, or unsafe schools. What are we saying to our young people who go to schools with leaky roofs, crumbling walls, and flooded classrooms? We are saying that school doesn't matter, that education doesn't matter, that they don't matter. That message is wrong, and it is harmful. These conditions are most dramatic in our inner cities, where large percentages of minority students attend outdated, dilapidated schools often just minutes away from the modern suburban schools complete with the latest technology. Sixty-seven percent of schools in central cities report having at least one inadequate structural feature and close to 40% report at least one inadequate building. These conditions are also prevalent in our rural and tribal areas.

-- Technology. To prepare all students for jobs in the new economy, and to improve education more generally, every school must have a sufficient number of computers, access to the Internet, and training on how teachers and students can use technology effectively. My administration has established a \$2 billion Technology Literacy Challenge Fund, designed to put more computers and more trained computer teachers into classrooms. The new E-rate championed by Vice President Gore discounts the price of technology for schools, especially those with high levels of poverty, thereby providing precious technology resources. But the bulk of the investment must come from state, local and private efforts. If we fail at this, the digital divide will be compounded by a digital divide.

-- Safety. In the past several years, we have seen how violence in schools can bring devastation, pain, and sorrow in our lives and in our communities. Although most of our schools are safe, violent crime is a real factor in ten percent of schools. And, while we work to prevent the kinds of horrible tragedies that make headlines, like the shootings in Littleton, Colorado or Paducah, Kentucky, at the same time we must not forget the schools, mostly in the inner city, where nearby crime and violence are an almost constant threat. Black and Hispanic children are significantly more likely than whites to fear being attacked in school, to report having street gangs in school, to see a gun in school, and more. Moreover, there has been a startling rise over the last ten years in hate crimes and other harassment on school campuses, much of it anti-immigrant and anti-Asian.

High Expectations and Accountability

Hillary Rodham Clinton:  
A Champion for Children

My wife Hillary has been a champion of equal opportunity in education for over 20 years. Personally I have learned a great deal from her experiences both in the field, and as a member of many boards and commissions. In 1973 while on staff at the Children's Defense Fund, Hillary worked with Marian Wright Edelman to identify why thousands of American children were not attending school. After knocking on hundreds of doors, Hillary and her colleagues found that many school-aged children were not attending school due to severe, moderate and in some cases, even mild disabilities. The results of these findings greatly added to the mounting evidence that federal legislation was needed to ensure a free and appropriate education for all children.



In Arkansas, Hillary continued her work in education by serving as Chair of the Arkansas Education Standards Committee, which was instrumental in bringing substantial reform to Arkansas public schools. Hillary also served on the Commission on Quality Education of the Southern Regional Board and the

William T. Grant Foundations Commission on Work, Family and Citizenship. The Grant Commission produced the Forgotten Half, a report which studied how young people between the ages of 18 and 24 who do not attend college fare in society at large. This report offered workable solutions for outreach and programming.

Since coming to the White House, Hillary has continued her crusade to ensure a world class education for all American children by spearheading initiatives on teacher quality, increased academic standards and accountability. She has also been a constant advocate for quality child care, increased Head Start funding and ensuring that all parents read to their children from the earliest of ages. Like me, Hillary knows that it is absolutely necessary we ensure that all American children enter school ready and willing to learn. I am proud of what Hillary has done and continues to do for Americas children.

-- Students. In addition to providing better resources, we must promote high expectations for all students. In large part this means holding all students to high academic standards and, as I have said, it means making sure that tracking does not restrict learning opportunities by categorizing students based not on their educational needs but on subtle biases triggered by their skin color or accent. This is discrimination in the form of low expectations by teachers and other adults. As I have said, we must not replace the tyranny of segregation with the tyranny of low expectations.

--Ending Social Promotion. One of the more insidious manifestations of low expectations comes in the form of social promotion. Ending that practice is an important part of achieving equity and excellence in education. There are millions of students earning passing grades in their schools while scoring miserably on all kinds of standardized tests that compare them with students elsewhere. Some of these social promotions occur because teachers and administrators simply don't expect that certain kids can and should achieve at grade level. Others occur because it is extremely difficult to hold back entire classes of students, even if all of those students have not yet learned enough to earn a grade-level promotion. These kinds of social promotions move a student along, but don't serve those students in the long-run.

So, yes, we need to end social promotion. But we must do it the right way. Simply holding a child back to repeat an unsuccessful learning experience is no solution, either. Especially since retaining a child in grade can produce alienation and, ultimately, increase dramatically the chances that child will drop out of school. So, before it comes to that, schools must offer extended learning time, after-school programs, and tutoring to students who need extra help. We must enforce civil rights laws to ensure that the no-social promotion policies aren't abused, and invoked to hold behind those students whom teachers and administrators believe can't learn, or for whom they just can't manage to provide with the needed interventions and supports. But, overall, we must make sure that students aren't simply given credit for seat time, but really learn the kinds of lessons and skills that they will need for future success.

Hispanic Education Action Plan and White House Initiative on Educational Excellence for Hispanic Americans

Because the high-school drop-out rate of Hispanics is unacceptably high, President Clinton's FY99 budget included the first-ever Hispanic Education Action Plan. As part of this plan, the President proposed significant increases in the Title I funding and a number of other programs that enhance educational opportunity for Hispanic Americans.

The White House Initiative on Educational Excellence for Hispanic Americans is coordinating government-wide efforts and national outreach to support Latino

parents as they work to ensure that their children get a good education.

Put

differently, the test of our success is whether students can progress at the appropriate pace, meeting high standards as they go, completing high school with a diploma that prepares them for the world ahead. We want to eliminate social promotions while at the same time reducing the number of students who flunk and are held back.

#### (4) English Language Acquisition

The demographics of diversity make it imperative for all of us that we do a far better job of ensuring that children get the support they need to learn English. Hispanics, for example, constitute a rapidly growing portion of our nations labor force, and are projected to be one-quarter of the nations workforce by 2050. But today, two out of five Hispanic children live below the poverty line, and thus suffer the educational disadvantages that come with low-income status. Figures for certain Asian groups are even worse. Some of the informal, traditional means of language acquisition that worked reasonably well for earlier generations may work less well today in language-minority communities that are rapidly expanding and comparatively isolated from English-speakers in terms of neighborhood, schools, workplaces and even popular culture. It is truer now than ever that, as a nation, we must better help all children, no matter what their native language to learn English. It is the gateway to a quality education, a quality job, and family security. This will bring higher wages for all, and will help ensure a strong economic future for America. And it is a measure of our justice.

But we face a growing

challenge of teaching students who are not yet fluent in English. By the most recent official estimates, approximately 3 million children in the United States are English Language Learners (ELL). Most of those children speak, as a first language, either Spanish or an Asian language.

We have a chronic and severe

shortage of qualified bilingual teachers. In California, 19 percent of all students are English Language Learners, yet for every bilingual teacher who speaks Spanish or an Asian language, there are 81 ELL Hispanic students and 561 ELL Asian Pacific American students. Experts estimate that almost 1/3 of ELL students, receive no specialized education, despite the Supreme Courts ruling. To provide some limited help addressing some of these needs, my FY2000 budget proposed an increased investment to hire 6,000 more teachers, who will both help the students learn English and help them meet challenging academic standards all-around. But because parents are fundamental to their childrens education, I have also proposed a \$70 million English Language and Civics Education Initiative, which will help provide adult ELL students with high-quality English-language training.

There is a strong consensus across racial and ethnic lines, and within immigrant communities, that all students should learn English. So that's not the issue. The reality is that many of these children are not getting the tools and resources they need to become fluent. We have a responsibility to fix that problem. The worst thing we can do is blame the kids.

#### (5) Racial Isolation

and School Resegregation

A final major challenge to achieving excellence and equity in education is the problem of resegregation, i.e., the separation and isolation of students in one-race or nearly one-race schools. With the era of overt, state-imposed racial separation over, the segregation we see today results from a complex amalgam of forces. Much of it is the lingering effect of past unconstitutional policies in education or discriminatory practices in housing. Some of it is due to the powerful effects of class, or of suburbanization -- although those forces are not themselves unrelated to race. Some of what we see is undoubtedly the product of instances of present discrimination, too. But whatever the causes, and however much of it is the grip of historys heavy hand still upon us, the existence of widespread racially separate education is a threat to our goal of One America.

Administration Proposals  
to Improve Bilingual Education

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Some highlights of the Administrations May, 1999 proposals to assist schools participating in the Federal Bilingual Education Act programs serving English language:

- Emphasizes that students learn English and reach the same challenging academic standards as all other children;
- Improves teacher professional training;
- Requires participating schools to administer annual assessments of English proficiency;
- Helps districts that have rapidly expanding numbers of LEP students and schools that have little experience in serving LEP students teach these students to high standards;
- Strengthens program accountability by (1) giving priority to districts with track records of success; (2) requiring annual evaluation reports to better measure progress and determine grant continuation; and (3) requiring grantees to meet program objectives or carry out an improvement plan in order to receive continued funding;
- Promotes learning of a second language by continuing the funding priority for programs that develop proficiency in more than one language.

Integration should be properly understood as one important element of quality in our educational system. As the Advisory Board stated in its final report, Simply put, high-quality, integrated schools provide a more complete educational experience for all students than high-quality, segregated schools. But too many of our students today do not attend integrated schools. After a burst of progress in the late 1960s and early 1970s, segregation in our elementary and secondary schools, particularly in urban districts, is worsening. And the problem is taking on new complexity as a result of our changing diversity.

Today, 8 of the 10 largest districts in America have greater than 75% minority enrollment. Moreover, minority students within large districts are likely to attend racially isolated schools. Today, 67 percent of black students and 74 percent of Hispanic students attend primary and secondary schools with greater than 50 percent minority enrollment, and more than one-third of black and Hispanic students attend schools with more than 90 percent minority enrollment. Rates of segregation are worse for blacks than they were 15 years ago and, for Hispanics, 25 years ago. Hispanics now experience the highest rates of school segregation of any minority group. In many metropolitan areas, poor, majority-black or Hispanic schools are located very close -- sometimes minutes away by highway -- to wealthier, mostly white institutions. Even in so-called integrated schools, however, too many students are resegregated into different classes, with students of color overrepresented in remedial and special education classes. And so, in the midst of burgeoning diversity, we have increasing racial isolation.

The goals of quality and integration in education are complementary. Diversity is not about political correctness. We know that, for minorities, racial isolation in K-12 education is almost always combined with concentrated poverty, and quite often with an underperforming education system; integrated schools are far more likely to narrow the racial disparities in achievement. Nearly 90 percent of these racially isolated schools also have a majority of children in poverty, and therefore face the extra burdens typical of deeply poor communities. A minority student is 16 times more likely than a white student to be in a high-poverty school.

Moreover, integration has real, tangible benefits for all students, and for our society. Academic studies suggest that when students of different races work together toward common goals, they can break down racial stereotypes, improve race relations, and improve student achievement. Diversity improves teaching and learning by providing a range of pe

pectives that enrich the learning environment. It teaches good citizenship by giving students the opportunity to learn with, learn from, and build relationships with people different from them. It improves students' preparation for employment by teaching them how to function in work settings with people of different backgrounds and beliefs. And it fosters the advancement of knowledge by encouraging students to study a rich variety of issues and cultures.

One way to break the boundaries set by neighborhood racial segregation is to promote charter schools, magnet schools and related forms of public school choice. These strategies are based on a simple idea: public schools of choice can create distinctive approaches or special emphases to reflect the fact that students learn in different ways. Some students are hands-on learners, some thrive in group-learning situations, and others need more one-on-one attention. Recognizing that no one school or program can meet the special needs of every student, public school choice gives students and families the flexibility to choose among public schools and programs with different educational settings, teaching strategies, and academic emphases.

Fenton Avenue Charter School, an urban public school in the San Fernando Valley, is a powerful example of how an urban school can transform the way children are educated with a "charter" guaranteeing real decision-making authority in exchange for accountability for results. Once one of the worst schools in the San Fernando Valley, Fenton's rank in student performance has improved from the bottom to the top in the Los Angeles area since becoming a charter school in 1994, when compared to schools with similar student populations. It was named a California Distinguished School in 1997, and it serves a student population that is overwhelmingly low-income and minority. With a strong emphasis on reading, Fenton has used its charter to set clear performance goals tied to academic standards, and it has overhauled the school to help students meet these standards.

I strongly support the growth of charter schools and magnet schools, and student and parent choice among public schools. The proposals I sent to the Congress in May, 1999 to improve the Elementary and Secondary Education Act include elements designed to strengthen these approaches.

Public school choice is increasingly available in school districts across the nation. In 1993, 11 percent of public school students in grades 3 through 12 attended a public school that was chosen by their parents. This number rose to about 15 percent of students by 1996. In recent years, many more public school options have been created. There is evidence that disadvantaged students have less access than other students to high-quality public school options. However, well-designed public school choice has great promise as a tool for increasing equity and excellence in education, especially if states encourage strategies that cut across school district boundaries. Charter schools and public school choice together help families obtain the kind of education they want for their children within the public schools. Families ought not be restricted by neighborhood, and thus restricted by race- and class- boundaries. In this way, these are helpful tools in promoting diversity.

Many urban parents, understandably tired of waiting for their local public schools to improve, have begun to entertain the idea of private school vouchers as a solution. And many parents, both urban and suburban, remind educational reform advocates that local control of schools is a long-standing and important American tradition. I understand the impetus behind these concerns. But I want to point out their liabilities.

I am for choice, but not through the use of vouchers, which could damage, perhaps irreparably, the public school system that has been one of the cornerstones of this society. And I am for local control. But not when it re-enforces race and class segregation.

It is clear that the American people agree with me. Ninety percent of all children in this country attend public schools, and the vast majority of Americans believe in the value of public schooling. And, data also shows that the vast majority of all adults and students, no matter what race or socioeconomic status, believe that children of different races should attend school together.



Finally, let me note here something that we will talk about in greater detail later, in the workplan for Jobs and Community Economic Development section of this book. There is an inescapable connection between school and neighborhood integration. No matter how much school choice we have, if our neighborhoods are overwhelmingly separated by race, many of our school children will be, too. School excellence is probably the most important part of the answer, because if a school is excellent, families of all races will be attracted to it, and attracted to the neighborhood near it.

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## Conclusion

The greatness we have achieved in this century has depended upon our willingness to make the tough choices and investments vital to secure our future. Tearing down the walls of disparity and division in American education is as vital to our future as our vigilant defense of democracy or securing our leadership in the new global economy. For too long we have professed support for equal opportunity without grappling with the glaring inequities faced by too many of our children. As the new century begins, it is time to recognize that quality education, with an equal opportunity to achieve, is a civil right indispensable to our effort to create One America with racial and ethnic justice.

I have no illusions about the difficulty of this. Yet, as challenging as it may be to some of our old ideas about roles and responsibilities, this vision is true to our best ideals. And we must not fail to act. The costs of delay are mounting. Our children and our nation are in danger of falling behind in a world that is forging ahead.

Remember, these are all our children. Each of them is eight years old but once. The choices we make will put them on a track to nowhere or a track toward achieving their full, God-given potential. If we do not prepare them well, they may spend a lifetime struggling to find a way in from the cold margins of the new economy. And if our children learn apart, they won't know how to live together. This requires more than passing laws against hateful conduct. It requires a passage of spirit, from the old world of racial separation, to a new world of shared hopes, common values, and unity. Education is the vessel that will get us there. It must be our number one priority. Nothing less is at stake than the strength of our economy, the vitality of our democracy, and the dream of our nation.

How we meet the challenge remains a window on our hearts.

Endnotes:

Part III: The Opportunity We Deserve

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

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2. Community Economic Development and Jobs:  
Harnessing Capital and Labor Markets for  
Distressed Communities

## A. Introduction

In my vision of One America, no community and no family will be isolated from the economic mainstream. Everyone who works hard and plays by the rules should be able to raise their families in dignity.

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

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

How did it happen? The people of the South Bronx simply threw aside the conventional wisdom about the poor, and they worked hard to create economic opportunity, fueled by partnerships between the public and private sectors. They began by asking the right questions: Why shouldn't I be able to work in my hometown, or have a transportation system that will get me to good jobs? Why shouldn't people here be able to get decent housing? Why shouldn't our children be able to walk the streets here? Why shouldn't we have decent schools here, and grocery stores and banks? Over time, they got-- and created -- the right answers. Their story demonstrates something I have always believed in my heart. Most Americans rich, poor or middle class welcome the opportunity to work hard and make the most of their lives.

That attitude is exactly what I saw when I traveled across America to shine a spotlight on places still unlit by the sunshine of our nations blazing prosperity. In July of 1999, during four days of one of the hottest summers of the decade, I went to places that have been too long forgotten and too long left behind as our economy surges forward: Hazard, Kentucky, in the heart of Appalachia; the city of Clarksdale, in the Mississippi Delta; the city of East St. Louis, where poverty is three times the national average; South Dakota's Pine Ridge Reservation, where unemployment is nearly 75 percent; the neighborhood of South Phoenix, Arizona where unemployment is more than twice the national average; and the Watts section of Los Angeles, an area that for decades has been a symbol of urban neglect and isolation in a nation of plenty.

Yes, we did see poverty, but it may surprise you to know that we saw an awful lot of promise too. I went to these places to promote our New Markets Initiative -- a strategy that builds on our successful empowerment agenda and designed to create the conditions for economic success in distressed communities by prompting approximately \$15 billion in new investment in urban and rural areas. That is why it was so important that business leaders joined us at every stop. I wanted them to see for themselves what they had been missing. I wanted them to see the enormous opportunities in America's new markets. As Robert Kennedy said in 1967, We must turn the power and resources of our private enterprise system to the underdeveloped nations within our midst. We need to unleash the power of mainstream financial markets linked to effective community-based partners so that people in distressed communities can have access to what I call the tools of opportunity--these include access to credit, capital and jobs. The people of the South Bronx did not do it on their own. They received help from a number of sources, including local and federal programs, financial institutions, and technical assistance providers, and linked that assistance to their own sweat and equity. Without a critical level of credit and financing, however, all their efforts would have been in vain. And the people that we visited with during our New Markets trip in July 1999 will not be able to achieve their dreams without similar partnerships.

I want all Americans to see that by embracing an empowerment agenda based on opportunity we will ensure that we leave no one behind as we move into the 21st century. We can make major advances towards the America we want by focusing on two basic goals:

- connecting capital and credit markets to distressed communities; and

- breaking the back of the epidemic levels of unemployment common in so many high poverty, often minority

y, neighborhoods.

A workplan addressing these goals can build on much that we have accomplished in recent years.

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## B. A National Community Investment Strategy To Bringing jobs and opportunity to Distressed Communities

When I took office in 1993, many of our cities including the South Bronx were reeling from the failures of two opposing approaches to dealing with distressed communities. On the one hand, there was a sense that government had failed over the years through well-intentioned but misguided programs that focused on the amount of government dollars spent rather than on incentives and results. On the other side were those who exacerbated the decline of struggling urban and rural communities by a laissez-faire approach highlighted by a full-scale government retreat.

### Some Components of the Housing System

The Federal Housing Administration (FHA) provides government-subsidized mortgage insurance for the low- and moderate-priced market; the insurance provides some protection for lenders against default by the home owner.

The Federal National Mortgage Agency (Fannie Mae) and the Federal Home Loan Mortgage Corporation (Freddie Mac) were chartered by Congress to create a so-called secondary market to bring private capital into the mortgage market.

The mortgage interest rate deduction helps make homeownership more affordable by reducing the after-tax cost of borrowing.

The Federal Home Loan Bank System was chartered by Congress to provide financial support for community banks, making it easier for them to fund mortgage lending.

The Low Income Housing Tax Credit provides a tax credit for investors to encourage construction of affordable housing.

The Community Reinvestment Act (CRA) requires most banks and other depository institutions to help meet the credit needs of their entire communities, including low- and moderate-income persons.

Antidiscrimination laws and regulations, both federal and state, combine with CRA to improve fairness in access to credit.

In an effort to shake us loose from this counter-productive tug-of-war, I proposed a different approach. Rooted in the lessons of what works and what does not we acknowledge that government can't solve all our problems, but it can't leave people to sink or swim on their own either. Our history shows us that government and private sector partnerships can work. Take the lesson learned from the Great Depression when people were losing their homes and the American dream of homeownership seemed more and more distant. Then, in response to that fear, America created a number of federally financed innovations to help ease hardships and guard against future tragedy. Institutions like the Federal Housing Administration which provides low-cost, easily financed long-term home mortgages and the Home Loan bank system that supports thrift institutions making mortgage loans. In short, we know from experience that with the right set of incentives and tools the power of the private sector can be harnessed to solve key challenges facing America.

Vice President Gore and I began in 1993 to put in place a comprehensive empowerment agenda to tackle the problems of distressed communities: the creation of the first-ever federal Empowerment Zones and Enterprise Communities; establishment of a network of Community Development Financial Institutions (CDFIs); and reform of the Community Reinvestment Act (CRA) to provide greater access to capital, credit, and basic banking services to more Americans. We also expanded the nation's affordable housing stock by making the Low-Income Housing Tax Credit (LIHTC) permanent, reinventing

ng the Department of Housing and Urban Development, and increasing the number o  
f housing vouchers. Finally, we encouraged business development by expanding t  
he number of microenterprises and making available Individual Development Accou  
nts (IDAs) to low-income persons who want to save for their education, a first  
home or retirement.

#### HOME Investment Partnership Program

HOME is a highly lev  
eraged source of support to local governments to construct and rehabilitate hou  
sing, both owner- and renter-occupied. HOME exceeds federal affordability requ  
irements as well as the targets for creating mixed-income communities.

For m  
any, 1999 will be remembered as the year the Bald Eagle soared off the endanger  
ed species list. But it will also be remembered as the year our economy soared  
to new heights: the lowest welfare rolls in 30 years, the longest peacetime ex  
pansion in our history with 19 million new jobs, rising wages for the first tim  
e in 20 years, a million kids lifted out of poverty, the highest rate of homeow  
nership ever, the lowest unemployment rates for African Americans and Hispanics  
ever recorded and Wall Street breaking the elusive 10,000 mark with no end in  
sight.

But there is still much work to do. There are still too many places in  
America where opportunity is too scarce -- where unemployment is double the na  
tional average, where children have to tiptoe through broken glass and walk pas  
t abandoned storefronts to get to the corner store. There are rural areas and  
small towns that have not seen new investment in more than a decade. And many  
people in Native American communities still have no access to phones, banks, or  
even running water.

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

Jesse Jackson, who accomp  
anied me on my New Markets trip, has called access to capital the fourth moveme  
nt of Americas freedom symphony (ending slavery, Jim Crow, and disenfranchisem  
ent were the first three). But simply having freedom or rights without the to  
ols and resources to act on them is a cruel hoax. So my message to the busine  
ss leaders is simple: Take a look at investing in rural and inner-city America.

Its good for business, good for Americas growth and it is the right thing to  
do. My message to America is that government works best as a partner to the pr  
ivate sector, as a catalyst that helps create the climate for opportunity and i  
nvestment.

For as Robert Kennedy once said, To ignore the potential contribu  
tion of private enterprise is to fight the war on poverty with a single platoon  
while great armies are left to stand aside. If we, with the most prosperous ec  
onomy in our lifetimes, cannot make a commitment to take every person along wit  
h us into the 21st century, we will have failed to meet a moral obligation and  
we also will have failed to make the most of Americas promise.

Local Initiati  
ves Support Corporation  
and  
AmeriCorps Program

Established in 1979 by the For  
d Foundation, Local Initiatives Support Corporation (LISC) works to transform d  
istressed neighborhoods into healthy communities by investing in the revitaliza  
tion of urban and rural communities. LISC channels resources from corporations



and foundations to Community Development Corporations (CDCs); CDCs are engaged in developing affordable housing, vital community facilities, commercial and industrial projects, and job creation. The LIISC AmeriCorps program retains the organizations focus on the creation of new and improved housing, but moves beyond bricks and mortar to a more comprehensive approach to community revitalization.

LIISC AmeriCorps Members are placed in cities, which have been designated as Enterprise Communities, Empowerment Zones, or Supplemental Empowerment Zones. Since the programs inception, AmeriCorps members have increased affordable housing opportunities for low and moderate-income families, assisted with developing rental and for-sale housing, and provided homeownership education and counseling services to over 6,500 people. In achieving these results, LIISC AmeriCorps Members work hand-in-hand with neighborhood residents.

As I have said, the

re needs to be a new way of doing business at all levels of government that creates the conditions for people to seize opportunities for themselves. Our empowerment strategy is helping restore the American Dream in distressed areas by focusing on helping people help themselves. We must build on that success by combining existing ideas and resources with new initiatives to spur growth and investment. In the years ahead, the key pieces of the system would, first, build upon what we've been doing:

Preserve the relevance of the Community Reinvestment Act for the 21st Century and keep it working for Americas underserved communities;

Improve antidiscrimination compliance;

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

Sustain and strengthen the Small Business Administrations targeted efforts in distressed communities, and work with entrepreneurs most likely to be underserved by traditional financial institutions; and

Develop still more effective federal and state tax credits to support low income housing, redevelopment, reclaiming of brownfields, and expansion of Empowerment Zones.

And, second, fill out this comprehensive National Community Investment Approach with new measures:

Follow through on the New Markets

Initiative we have proposed for equity capital to spur business growth, including tax incentives and creation of a domestic institution loosely analogous to the Overseas Private Investment Corporation, which helps U.S. businesses take advantage of new markets abroad; and

Create better tools to support mainstream financial institutions, and others, that invest in distressed communities; this might include combinations of credit subsidy, insurance, and tax incentives both to attract new sources of capital and to create secondary markets, all analogous to the creativity we have applied in housing markets.

Let me explain some of these a bit more.

#### (1) Building Upon a Solid Foundation

In a sense, the foundation for the system is the Community Reinvestment Act (CRA), which encourages mainstream financial institutions to help meet the needs of their communities, consistent with safe and sound banking practices. CRA is helping to restore healthy markets in distressed communities, helping to build homes, create jobs, and restore hope all across the country. In 1997, large commercial banks alone made \$18.6 billion in community development investments. Lending to minor

ity and low income borrowers is on the rise. Since 1993, home mortgage lending to African Americans has increased by 58 percent, to Hispanics by 62 percent and to low- and moderate- income borrowers by 38 percent, well above increases in the overall market. Lastly, since 1992, nonprofit community groups estimate that the private sector has pledged over \$1 trillion in loans for affordable home ownership and community development. While it is very difficult to say how much of this activity would never have occurred without the CRA, the structure of accountability is a modest regulatory imposition in comparison with the dividends. The CRA is an invaluable tool.

In the years ahead, there will doubtless be efforts to dismantle the Community Reinvestment Act by those who argue that redlining is a problem of the past and that banks have every incentive to lend to any creditworthy borrower. But we know that some lenders discriminate, and that it may be easy for many others to overlook those neighborhoods that they know least well. CRA has brought new financial resources to traditionally underserved areas, and has been a source of new opportunities and profits not lost to the banking industry. We must work to preserve the effectiveness of CRA for the 21st century.

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

#### Empowerment Zones

The Empowerment Zone Initiative is helping to reverse the decline of many of our cities and rural communities. Communities, including Indian tribes, designated as Empowerment Zones receive a variety of tax incentives to stimulate job creation and economic development in economically distressed areas. Empowerment Zones also have access to direct funding for physical improvements and social services as well as tax-exempt bond financing and immediate tax-deductibility of the costs of new machinery and equipment. The first round of Empowerment Zones has already resulted in \$8 billion in private-sector investment to the designated communities.

SBA. These new tools will complement the work that the Small Business Administration is doing by providing technical assistance and training to Hispanic and African American small business owners. Their potential for targeted lending to inner-city and rural distressed areas is among the more important building blocks in constructing a National Community Investment System.

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

## (2) New Directions for the New Challenges

These are vital steps, but we must do more. For example, banks that make business and other job-creating loans in distressed areas may need help akin to that we have long given to mortgage lenders the kind of assistance that helped build the middle class, the suburbs, and our modern American dream of home ownership. That is the focus of the New Markets Initiative.

The key pieces of this initiative are:

A New Markets Tax Credit, to help spur \$6 billion in private sector investment for business growth in low- and moderate-income rural and urban communities. Businesses in our nations inner cities and isolated rural communities often lack access to equity capital to grow and succeed. To help attract new capital to these businesses, we would provide a 25 percent tax credit in present value terms on the amount invested in a wide range of specialized investment funds focused on bringing growth to our nations distressed communities.

A program to support Americas Private Investment Companies. Analogous to the successful international investment program, the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC), this effort involves government guarantees of private sector loans to leverage equity capital for investment in larger businesses in distressed areas.

New Market Venture Capital Firms to provide needed capital and technical assistance to smaller firms in these communities.

Under Vice President Gore's leadership, we are also working on a new initiative, BusinessLINC, to help link larger businesses to smaller firms to provide technical assistance, joint venturing and contracting opportunities, especially to firms that are isolated from mainstream business networks.

These new tools, if passed by Congress will create the kind of investment that our distressed communities so need. And in some places the private sector is not waiting for Congress. In the places I visited in July of 1999, businesses were forging links with communities:

In Appalachia, we saw the power and pride of opportunity in the faces of workers at Mid-South Electronics a company that had 40 employees 10 years ago, and 850 today. We also saw companies like Bell South, and coalitions like the Appalachian Regional Commission step forward to pledge their assistance to help Appalachian entrepreneurs create new small businesses.

In Clarksdale, Mississippi, we saw the impact our Community Development Financial Institutions (CDFIs) are having on the lives of real people. Since 1994, one of those CDFIs, the Enterprise Corporation for the Delta (ECD), has given financial or technical assistance to more than 600 companies, helping to generate more than 5,000 jobs and \$200 million in annual sales.

In East St. Louis, Illinois, we saw the fruits of our Empowerment Zone and Enterprise Community initiative. Private investment is fueling the resolve of the people there to take their neighborhoods and their futures back. Businesses like Blockbuster and State Farm Insurance are moving in. The first shopping center in years has opened up. Hotels and banks and libraries and homes are rising up. And hopelessness is moving out.

In the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, we saw private lenders like Bank of America, Northwest, Bank One, and Washington Mutual pledge to work with the Mortgage Bankers Association and HUD to more than double the number of government-insured or guaranteed home mortgages in Indian Country in each of the next three years.

In South Phoenix, we saw companies like Safeway and Univision moving in, creating jobs and restoring



ring hope. And we saw partnerships like the Arizona Multibank community development institution and the MICRO microenterprise organization, taking a chance on small and struggling entrepreneurs by lending them the money they need to grow and expand.

And in Watts, a community that once was a metaphor for urban despair, we saw young people trading gangs and guns for jobs and hope. We need to generate more of this across America.

## BusinessLINC

BusinessLINC is a cooperative effort among the public sector, large businesses, small businesses and entrepreneurs to encourage investment and partnerships between large and small businesses. Four primary initiatives support BusinessLINC: (1) HUBZone Empowerment Contracting Program provides up to \$6 billion in new contracts targeted to small businesses and distressed areas; (2) Department of Treasury Mentoring Program -- Success Partnerships -- will help to increase the participation of small, disadvantaged, and women-owned businesses as contractors and sub-contractors by offering technical advice, financial and management skills, and endorsement credibility; (3) Small Business Administration Mentoring Program will help to enhance the capabilities of participants in the agency's 8(a) business development program and to improve their ability to compete and receive federal contracts; and (4) BusinessLINC Leadership Coalition will work to expand relationships between large and small businesses.

We need additional tools to provide credit enhancements or subsidies for such lending. For example, to increase dramatically the levels of community development lending, lenders must be able to take the borrowers' commitment to pay off the loan and turn around and sell that commitment to investors on a secondary market in the same way that banks can sell home mortgages on a secondary market. It is this secondary market that allows the lending bank to replenish its funds and make still more loans. The lending risk can be divided up -- shared between the lender, the investors from the secondary market, and various levels of government. Another thing to explore is using state and federal tax incentives to draw more debt and equity capital into community development. All of this should be considered in relation to the current set of housing-related institutions and incentives, including FHA, Ginnie Mae, Fannie Mae, Freddie Mac and the Federal Home Loan Bank System. We must ask ourselves, what reforms are necessary to better focus these institutions on meeting the continuing need for housing capital in underserved communities? Should the role of these institutions be expanded to meet the community development challenge for our distressed urban and rural communities? Or, should we create or help the private sector create parallel institutions to focus exclusively on the unique challenges presented in building a finance system for community development?

We need to build on effective community-based efforts. One such effort is being spearheaded by Maurice Lim Miller, executive director of San Francisco's Asian Neighborhood Design (AND). Maurice came to Washington as the First Lady's guest for my 1999 State of the Union Address. Hillary and I recognized Maurice for AND's tremendous work addressing housing and employment needs in San Francisco's Chinatown and other economically distressed communities. Over the years, AND has expanded its services beyond the Asian American community on the principle that communities must help one another to achieve the well-being of all.

Today, AND provides services in housing and community development, architecture and planning, construction management, family and youth resources, and employment training. Approximately 80 percent of those who successfully complete AND's training program are placed in jobs at an average starting wage of at least ten dollars an hour. AND's furniture manufacturing business, moreover, has created more than 60 permanent and transitional jobs for training program graduates and neighborhood residents. While in Washington, Maurice Miller told me that, at the Asian Neighborhood Design, we believe that racism thrives where opportunity is weak. In our work, we concentrate on building stronger families, with workplace skills so that they can survive economic adversities, with decent housing so that their children can grow up safe and strong, and with some financial support so that they can look to the future with confidence. We have much to learn from AND's experience and similar efforts across the nation.



## Asian Neighborhood Design

Our efforts must be constructed to reflect the lessons of our work to promote community empowerment. First and foremost, we must recognize that public, democratically defined incentives, leadership and vision can be important, but only private resources and energy, tied to personal initiative and drive, can give us the widespread and enduring success every community deserves. Complementing that private engagement, local community growth strategies have to be linked to regional growth opportunities, since it is regional economies, which are the major engines of our prosperity. Local communities both the public and private actors need information and technical expertise to analyze and harness economic growth throughout their regions. Regional transportation planning is one of the building blocks for this cooperation but even more can be done to include housing, jobs, and community reinvestment plans as well.

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

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

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Breaking the back of hyper-unemployment  
Among Young Adults

### (1) The Problem and the Diagnosis

Our economy is the strongest it has been in a generation. In fact, as I write this, the American economy is approaching its 100th consecutive month of peacetime expansion, far surpassing an all-time record. I am proud of this progress, but we must not rest on our accomplishments. Now is the time to set goals that match our ideals.

Our economic expansion must be inclusive, so that our prosperity belongs to all Americans not just the fortunate few. As we have said, too many of our urban neighborhoods, Indian reservations, and rural communities have not shared equally in this prosperity. In cities, we find the problems of concentrated poverty, failing schools, lack of affordable housing, and, most of all, high levels of joblessness among young minority adults. And most of these communities also face the old problem of segregation not enforced by law and lawful bigotry as it was for hundreds of years, but real nonetheless. It is an old, familiar pattern: too often, communities of color are synonymous with communities in distress.

It is true that the number of jobs is growing and unemployment is falling in our inner cities. Even poverty rates in cities have fallen. But disturbing patterns remain. Younger workers as a whole have benefited from the economic expansion of the 1990s; however, unemployment among young men and women (16-24 years old) remains 2 to 4 times higher than among workers 25 and older. And unemployment is shockingly high among young minorities with a 30 percent rate for black men aged 16-19 and 21 percent for Hispanic men compared with 14 percent for white men in that same aged bracket. Unemployment rates for young minority women are as bad. 25 percent for black women and 22 percent for Hispanic women compared to just 11 percent for white women. While the unemployment rate among African American teenagers has reached its lowest peacetime level in four decades, it is still 6.5 times higher than the national average (See data in the text box).

Connections to the labor market are also weak. A substantial fraction of young minority men are idle. In 1997, 20 percent of blacks, 13 percent of Hispanics, and 8 percent of whites were neither in school nor employed. As I discussed earlier in this chapter, disparities in educational opportunities are both a key factor creating the problem and a key obstacle in overcoming it.

**\*\*Unemployment Rates (1998):**

BlackHispanic

OriginWhite

Men (16-19 yrs)30.1%20.6%14.1%

Women (16-19 yrs)25.3%22.1%10.

9%

Men (20-24 yrs)18%8.9%6.7%Women (20-24 yrs)15.7%10.1%6.3%

**\*\* Currently, data**

from the Current Population Survey (CPS) are published for just two race categories -- white and black -- and for the Hispanic origin group (persons who have identified themselves as Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Central or South American, or of other Hispanic origin or descent). Because of the relatively small sample size, the Bureau of Labor Statistics does not publish data for other groups, including Asian Americans, Pacific Islanders, Alaskan Natives, and American Indians.

Asian Americans, too, are lagging behind. Not only are Asian Pacific Americans the fastest growing segment of those on welfare, but some Asian Pacific ethnic groups, particularly Southeast Asians, have the highest welfare dependency rates of any ethnic or racial group. Although Asian Americans are reported to have higher median family incomes, this data masks great hardship felt by those from countries such as Vietnam and Cambodia. Census data tell us that while whites in this country had a 9 percent poverty rate in 1990, the poverty rate was 14 percent for all Asian Americans, but 64 percent for Hmong, 43 percent for those from Cambodian and 26 percent for Vietnamese. We cannot be certain how much of these disparities reflect the temporary hardships faced by many new immigrants, but too much of it is likely evidence that America's opportunity engine is not pulling everyone up. My point here is that in making policy, we should not assume incorrectly that the Asian American community as a whole is self-sufficient and has made it economically in the United States. Group data can mask important differences within groups.

Indeed, what the overall numbers mask is that in some neighborhoods the problems are concentrated at epidemic levels and a disease that erodes hope.

We must eliminate these racial disparities, but we must start with the right diagnosis. There are many causes, including the following:

**Skills mismatch and schooling:** The racial gap in the rate of high school completion has narrowed substantially, but it is still too wide. The black-white gap is 5 percent, but Hispanics are only about two-thirds as likely as whites to complete high school. Southeast Asian youth, moreover, are dropping out of school at extremely high rates. And today, more than ever, dropping out of school is a prescription for dropping out of the future: dropouts face much higher unemployment rates and much lower wage rates, and a future in the 21st century economy that will be limited and, likely, grim.

**Regional labor market disconnection:** Young workers, especially minorities, lack the information, job networks, and intermediaries needed to identify and obtain good jobs. When the dynamic job growth is in some distant part of the metropolitan area, the spatial mismatch makes things even worse because limited transportation systems and limited housing options put those job opportunities even if known out of reach.

**Discrimination:** We cannot ignore the continuing negative impact of discrimination, as I will discuss later in this chapter. It may be subtle. It may, in fact, just be an informal comfort level that an employer feels about a youngster who looks different. But discrimination is part of the problem of joblessness and hopelessness in many minority and economically distressed communities.

Crime: There is

also the triple-barreled impact of crime. Too many of our young people are turning to crime as a better proposition than unemployment or minimum wage in the legitimate economy. That is wrong. They may make more money on fast corners than behind a fast food counter. But, the price they pay is too often their innocence, their future and their lives. Second, high crime rates, or the perception of crime, may lead employers to use stereotypes or statistical discrimination, labeling minority job applicants as more likely than their white counterparts to commit a crime. Third, the fact of high crime in a neighborhood obviously compounds the problem of endemic joblessness, as tragic numbers of poor young men spend time in the criminal justice system. And many would-be investors are scared off by rampant neighborhood crime.

Child Care: Finally, despite our

investments, there remain gaps in access to affordable, quality child care. People cannot work if they do not have a safe place to leave their children during the day. The impact of offering childcare is real. Companies that provide childcare report high job retention, reduced absenteeism, improved work performance and long-term cost savings. One of the AmeriCorps programs of which I am most proud is the Action for Children Today program run by the National Association of Child Care Resource & Referral Agencies. In 1998, 71 AmeriCorps Members provided child-care services to over 67,000 children. Members also tutored over 16,500 children, engaged over 22,400 children in literacy activities, and trained nearly 6,000 parents in child development and quality child-care. Programs like this benefit parents, children, and employers. They are not yet, however, accessible to all Americans.

Now that we have diagnosed the problem, what can we do about it?

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## (2) Strategies to Drive Down Unemployment Rates

Brea

King the back of hyper-unemployment is a difficult challenge. There is no silver bullet. As with the challenge of bringing mainstream markets to distressed communities, we need to build a system of interlocking, targeted measures, focused on a simple goal: To drive down unemployment rates for young minority adults to the average in the regional labor market; for those willing to work, we must build a bridge out of economic isolation.

Policy priorities

Our overall pr

iority must be to make sure there is a ready pool of workers for an expanding job market. Sustained growth in our economy may provide the incentive to open the doors of opportunity to workers who have traditionally been locked out.

To

do that we must equip young adults with the education and basic skills that will get them to the threshold of opportunity. That's the education agenda I have already addressed, including efforts to stem the dropout epidemic that is raging in some minority communities.

A number of other measures are also critical to

the workplan. We know, for example, that there can be significant gains from mentoring and school-to-work efforts of various sorts, especially when coupled with targeted training that is linked to the needs of particular sectors and local employers. Schools cannot exist as an island, but must be anchored to their communities. We must explore creative ways to link schools to regional labor markets, as well as to education and training opportunities in community colleges and technical institutes. Our diagnosis also makes clear that any regional strategy will likely falter unless there is attention to affordable child care. And we must be vigilant with targeted enforcement of the antidiscrimination laws in employment and housing, especially where there is evidence of problems

With our current prosperity, however, I am particularly struck, by the pattern in many metropolitan areas of jobs booming in the so-called edge city suburbs, while joblessness haunts the core city and inner-ring suburbs. That means a

dramatically greater focus for all of us on metropolitan-wide strategies for job placements, transportation, education and even housing. Labor markets do not respect political boundaries, and that means we must stand prepared to reinvent the lines of bureaucratic responsibility and accountability, as well as forge ever more effective public-private partnerships.

There are many opportunities for a federal contribution to these efforts, although it is obviously a shared responsibility. I believe we have made important strides in this direction during my administration, developing models worthy of replication and expansion at the state and local levels.

#### Building on the record

#### Workforce Investment Act

The Workforce Investment Act, signed with overwhelming bipartisan support, reforms America's job training system so that it is more responsive to today's workers and to our rapidly changing economy. The Workforce Investment Act empowers individuals by establishing individual training accounts and requiring training providers to report the performance of their graduates. In addition, it streamlines job training services by consolidating a tangle of individual programs into a simple system and creating a nationwide network of One-Stop Career Centers. The Workforce Investment Act also enhances accountability by holding states, localities, and training providers to tough standards, and it allows for increased flexibility so that states can implement innovative, new job training programs for America's workers. Finally, by supporting Youth Opportunity Grants, the Workforce Investment Act aims to provide employment and training services to all disadvantaged youth in selected high-poverty areas.

We need public and private investment in education and job training for every American who wants to work hard and build a better future for themselves—and the need is especially serious for young adults. That is why I have proposed a 75 percent funding increase for the YouthBuild program. YouthBuild funds state and local governments, public housing authorities, and non-profit agencies that are helping high school dropouts, ages 16 to 24, to improve their education and employment skills, by getting meaningful on-site work experience, rehabilitating and building housing for low-income and homeless people. In addition, the Work Force Investment Act, which I signed into law in August 1998, is a bipartisan effort to work with states and local communities to strengthen our nation's job training system to create opportunities for economically disadvantaged young people.

#### Some Youth Employment Models In the FY 2000 Budget

**YouthBuild.** A 75 percent funding increase for YouthBuild programs, which provide disadvantaged young adults with education and employment skills building housing for low-income and homeless people.

**Right Track Partnership.** \$100 million to promote partnerships between schools, employers, and community-based organizations that devise innovative, community-wide approaches to move economically disadvantaged, limited-English proficient youth into post-secondary education, training, and higher paying careers.

**Regional Youth Employment Initiative.** \$50 million to help urban Empowerment Zones and Enterprise Communities (EZ/ECs) link their economic strategies to their broader metropolitan region, spurring employment of disadvantaged youth.

**By partnering with employers, educators, labor unions, and community and faith-based organizations, we can work to improve the futures of our young people. On such partnership, for which I have also proposed increased federal investments is Job Corps. Job Corps is the nation's largest residential education and training program for disadvantaged young people. It is a time-tested program, touching the lives of 100,000 young people every year. There are several other pr**



omising approaches I believe the federal, state and local governments should pursue, partnered with private and voluntary sector entities. Some of these strategies address the spatial mismatch I talked about earlier.

We know quite a bit about what works, but we need the resolve of all Americans to get the job done. The years ahead, in the midst of our prosperity, offer an exciting opportunity to make important progress. In particular, I encourage us all to apply the lessons learned from one of the programs of which I am most proud the Welfare to Work Initiative, which brings together the mutual interests of businesses and people searching for jobs.

In May 1997, I launched the Welfare to Work Partnership, an independent organization made up of business partners that have made a commitment to hire and retain former welfare recipients. Today, under the leadership of Eli Segal, the Partnership has engaged more than 10,000 business members who have hired more than 410,000 welfare recipients. But the success of this effort can be measured in more than raw numbers. Many businesses report that, when done properly, a welfare-to-work program leads to job retention that is higher than that of non-welfare hires. And many welfare-to-work employees tell us that the experience has brought a new sense of pride and purpose in to their lives and into their hopes for their children.

Recent information released by the Department of Health and Human Services shows that the percentage of welfare recipients working has tripled since 1992 and all states met the first overall work participation rates required under the welfare reform law. But I know we can do more. We must renew the welfare-to-work program which is set to expire in the year 2000 and expand our investment to help states and communities build upon their record of success. We must also address one of the greatest challenges to moving people from welfare into the workforce transportation.

I spoke of the spatial mismatch earlier, but it is an especially difficult challenge to people on welfare. Two-thirds of the new jobs in America are in the suburbs, while three-fourths of welfare recipients are in the cities, or in isolated rural areas. I have proposed additional federal investments in reverse commuting transportation grants and in welfare-to-work housing vouchers to address this location mismatch between jobs and the jobless. In the longer run, however, state and local governments must shift their transportation systems to ensure fairness so that, for example, high road and commuter rail subsidies that disproportionately serve middle class commuters and neighborhoods are balanced with effective transportation that connects distressed communities with the job-rich, thriving parts of regional economies. And, with federal assistance, housing programs must be tools to break up concentrated poverty by giving workers flexibility to seek housing wherever they can find work.

#### Welfare-to-Work Partnerships

Macys East began its welfare to work program in February 1997 and its success has been so extraordinary that the company expanded the initiative to all regions. Compared with other hires, those hired through the program have better attendance, are more punctual, stay with the company twice as long, and have been promoted at far greater numbers. Potential candidates go through a demanding training program that covers work habits, life skills, and retail sales skills.

The Chase Manhattan Corporation was an early participant in welfare reform because of the banks commitment to community development. The bank's multifaceted program incorporates funding and technical support for programs to help people on welfare find and retain jobs. Chase participates in the Neighborhood Jobs initiative with the Rockefeller Foundation, the Community Employment Alliance, and the Enterprise Foundation. As one of the country's largest financial institutions, Chase saw welfare-to-work is a business imperative, opening up a new pipeline to fill entry-level Chase jobs while helping individuals and communities. Several Chase business divisions formed a steering committee to ensure the programs success.

The Welfare to Work Initiative works to strengthen fa

milie sand this includes men. I am especially pleased about the \$150 million targeted to lower-income fathers to assist them in paying child support and becoming a part of their children's lives. Under this program, states and communities will use Welfare to Work funding to provide job placement and job retention assistance to low-income fathers who sign personal responsibility contracts committing them to work and pay child support. This effort will further increase child support collections, which have risen 80 percent since I took office. In order for welfare reform to be a success, it is important to focus on the whole family; we must increase the employment of low-income fathers so they can contribute to the support of their children.

#### Welfare to Work FY 2000 Budget Package

Low-income fathers. \$1 billion to help 200,000 long-term welfare recipients in high-poverty areas move into lasting unsubsidized employment. The initiative, as reauthorized, will provide at least \$150 million to ensure that every state helps fathers fulfill their responsibilities by working and paying child support, providing job placement and job retention assistance.

#### Housing vouchers

\$430 million for 75,000 welfare-to-work housing vouchers, a 50% increase. Vouchers help families move where the jobs are, or secure more stable housing, which helps job performance.

Transportation assistance. \$150 million to double Access to Jobs, a reverse commuting competitive grant program supporting innovative state and local transportation solutions such as shuttles, van pools, new bus routes, and connector services to mass transit to help low income workers get to work.

Tax credits. \$530 million to extend Welfare to Work Opportunity Tax Credits for employers that hire welfare recipients and other disadvantaged individuals. Already, 10,000 companies have joined the Welfare to Work Partnership and hired, retained, and promoted hundreds of thousands of former welfare recipients.

As a nation we have historically focused on the needs of families through such programs as Aid to Families with Dependent Children, which provided income support to families with children deprived of parental support, and Emergency Assistance which provided short-term emergency services and benefits to needy families. These were efforts to help keep the unemployed from total destitution. Now we must do more to move the unemployed into jobs. And we must begin by addressing the intolerably high unemployment rates for young people particularly minority youth.

I have asked my Cabinet to work with the private sector, state and local governments, and non-profit organizations to develop a Youth to Work initiative that will target the needs of younger adults the same way that we have welfare recipients. Just as we have engaged 10,000 business members to hire more than 410,000 welfare recipients, the time is ripe for creative action to address the unemployment rates of younger adults in areas of concentrated poverty. By combining private and public leadership, by tapping local and national resources, by marrying the efforts of employers and schools, training programs, and childcare providers, transportation systems and criminal justice systems, I believe that community by community we can end the seeming inevitability of unemployment rates in distressed neighborhoods that are five and ten times the average in the surrounding region. We can build on the success of the past six years to expand opportunities for the next generation.

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#### Conclusion

In 1964, at the height of the civil rights movement, President Lyndon Johnson declared unconditional war on poverty. For much of the ensuing 35 years, we have waged a valiant struggle to redeem that ideal. I believe, after years of drifting, we have begun to turn the tide. But two critical things have been

missing. Until now, we have not made full use of the power of financial markets to create jobs and rebuild distressed communities. And we have too often failed to see that, in these communities young adults will face special challenges reaching to grasp that first rung of the opportunity ladder.

Now, as we ren

ew our commitment to giving all Americans the chance to live out their dreams, we must do all we can to unleash the untapped potential of people living in our most distressed communities. We will not do it with words, slogans, or good intentions. It is going to take the kind of vision, partnership, investment, and capital that helped turn around the South Bronx and dozens of other revitalized communities. And to the extent that stereotypes about race and poverty have been a barrier, we must believe, as I do, that every American has something to contribute. All they need are the tools of opportunity. With those tools in hand, they can become powerful partners in our efforts to build a strong and vibrant One America for the 21st Century.

Endnotes: Part III: The Opportunity We  
Deserve

[Introduction to Part III]

[Section 1, Education

[Section 2, Economic  
Development]

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### 3. Community Security, and A Criminal Justice System

t  
hat Serves All Americans Fully and Fairly

#### A. Introduction

I ask every Ameri

can who lives in a safe community to imagine what it would be like to live in a neighborhood where you and your family feared violence every day. Are we willing to remain a nation that seems to tolerate having communities where law-abiding residents live in fear and other law-abiding persons fear to enter? More than anywhere else, our highest-crime communities many of which are communities of color want, need, and deserve strong law enforcement to restore order, reduce crime, and help build hospitable environments for families and businesses. But we must not substitute prisons for playgrounds, or parole officers for church deacons and college teachers. As we redouble efforts to ensure every family's right to a safe community, we must take action in every community across our nation to keep young people out of crime and build trust and confidence in the criminal justice system across racial lines.

When Americans are asked what issues concern them most, crime is often near the top of the list even though we've been reducing violent crime rates. Most of us live in relatively safe and crime-free communities, confident that our children won't get mixed up in crime and will have the chance to succeed to their full potential. And most of us believe that the criminal justice system exists to protect and to serve us to ensure public safety, prevent crime, and promote justice.

Some Americans, however, live in communities in which crime is pervasive and fear of crime is constant. Some children grow up struggling to avoid being victims of crime, in places where their peers are more likely to go to prison than they are to go to college. Some law-abiding citizens have had experiences with our criminal justice system that lead them to believe that they are more likely to be targets of law enforcement than they are to be served by it. And more often than not, the people and communities facing these conditions are people and communities of color.

Several of our deepest and most complex challenges of race in America arise in the context of criminal justice. Today, crime rates are at their lowest levels in nearly 25 years. Since 1993, the violent crime rate has dropped more than 18 percent nationwide, including a 28-percent drop in the homicide rate, which is at its lowest level in 30 years. These are astonishing achievements. Nonetheless, as the Adv

isory Board on Race said in its final report, Racial disparities persist in both the realities and perceptions of crime and the administration of justice.

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spite recent, substantial decreases in criminal victimization across racial lines, persons of color remain significantly more likely than whites to be victims of crime, especially violent crime. For example, American Indians are more than twice as likely to be victims of homicide than whites or Asian Pacific Islanders; Hispanics are approximately 3 times more likely; and blacks are approximately 8 times more likely. The homicide rate for black males is 58 per 100,000, compared to 5 per 100,000 for white males. Homicide, moreover, remains the leading cause of death for young, black males, and ranks second for young Hispanic males. Persons of color are also significantly more likely than whites to fear crime. Black and Hispanic households, for example, are approximately twice as likely as white households to identify crime as a neighborhood problem.

See Att

ached: Victims of Homicide Graph

Also sobering are data on victimization of women of color. A forthcoming Justice Department study found that victimization of African American women was 32 percent greater than for white women. An earlier study found that Hispanic women were victims 21 percent more often than non-Hispanic women. Most sobering, a 1999 Justice Department study revealed that American Indian women are twice as likely to suffer from a violent crime than women of all other races. In fact, the rate of violent crime experienced by American Indian women is nearly 50 percent higher than that reported by black males. These startling numbers tell a story that is often missed in discussions about crime: not only are communities of color more likely to be victimized by violent crime, but women in those communities are especially at risk.

Most crime

is intraracial. Nine out of every 10 murders, for example, involve victims and offenders of the same race. So, the fact that minorities are disproportionately more likely to be victims is connected to the fact that minorities are disproportionately committing offenses. Nonetheless, whites commit a majority of all crime, including a majority of all violent crime.

Here's another key fact. Over

all, the greater risk of crime faced by minorities is due to extremely high crime rates in a small number of poor, largely urban communities of color, with much of that crime being committed by and against young males.

Why do these con

ditions exist? It is too easy to throw up our hands and blame it all on some culture of lawlessness which most of us have only read about or seen on television, and which too many people unfairly adopt as a stereotype. But we must look beyond the footage on the local TV news. Despite what some may say, I believe that the crime in our highest-crime communities is neither inevitable nor incurable. Much of it can be stopped and prevented if we refuse to ignore it and if we are resolute in our approach to establishing order, raising healthy children, and building strong communities. Consider this parallel: In education, we are spurred to expect excellence by believing that every child can learn. In criminal justice, we must believe that every family in every community can be safe.

While

poverty, family disruption and residential instability are terrible pressures for anyone to bear, they are not and should not be excuses for crime. America was built upon a foundation of mutual responsibility. Strengthening that foundation is critical if we want to build the One America we deserve. Freedom and opportunity only work when they are exercised with responsibility. Having said that, we know that responsibility is a two-way street. While we must demand that people respect and obey the law we also have a responsibility to create the conditions necessary for all our citizens to live with security and to choose hope over fear. So while poverty, family instability and the absence of opportunity are not excuses for crime, we cannot deny that they contribute to crime and the destruction of the personal and social bonds that are so necessary for healthy communities. Absent these factors, rates of criminal offending and victimization



on do not differ significantly by race, but the communities in which these troubling conditions exist together are often communities of color.

In the worst-case

scenario, young people who grow up in these communities have limited legitimate opportunities, few role models, and little community supervision. Add to these conditions the proliferation of guns and illegal drug markets, and you have high rates of crime among youth and young adults. The community costs are dramatic. In addition to the direct costs to victims and their families, there are substantial psychological, social, and economic costs for the other law-abiding citizens who live there. We must not forget that in the poorest, highest crime neighborhoods in this country, the vast majority of people get up every day, go to work, obey the law, pay their taxes, and do their best to raise their kids. In these communities, however, fear of crime limits social interactions and destroys the sense of community. Fear of crime restricts economic investment and job opportunities. Fear of crime creates the very conditions of social disorder in which crime itself can flourish. It is these communities in which strong, effective law enforcement is needed most.

However, persons of color often have

less trust and confidence in law enforcement than whites, and these perceptions of unfairness limit the effectiveness of law enforcement in communities of color. For example, more than 7 out of 10 blacks believe that blacks are treated more harshly by the criminal justice system than whites, and more than 4 out of 10 whites agree. Furthermore, of those crime victims who did not report the incident to police, approximately twice as many blacks than whites say they did not report the crime because the police would not care or would be inefficient, ineffective, or biased. Why do so many believe the system is unfair? There are many reasons, of course, both historical and current: the use of so-called racial profiling, incidents of police brutality, racial disparities in incarceration rates and sentencing, the lack of diversity in the criminal justice system, and of course the ever present sense that the rich get a better shake than the poor.

-- The Clinton-Gore Administration Record --

The Data: Crime rates are

declining a 21 percent drop in violent crime victimizations since 1993, and the lowest crime rates in 25 years. The record that helped achieve this:

The 199

4 Crime Bill: After six years of gridlock, a bipartisan majority in Congress passed the toughest, smartest Crime Bill in the nation's history, including: funding for 100,000 more police; a ban on the manufacture and importation of 19-types of assault weapons; a targeted "Three-Strikes-and-You're-Out" provision to put career violent offenders behind bars for life; an expanded death penalty for drug kingpins and nearly 60 additional categories of violent felons; funding for 100,000 more prison cells to help states ensure that violent offenders serve their full sentences; a registration requirement and increased penalties for violent sexual offenders; and the Hate Crimes Sentencing Enhancement Act.

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ting Gun Violence: Won passage of the Brady Bill, which has helped to prevent over a quarter of a million felons and other prohibited purchasers from buying handguns since taking effect in 1994. The National Instant Criminal Background Check System (NICS) took effect in November 1998, and has already conducted over 3.4 million background checks. In March 1999, President Clinton directed the Secretary of the Treasury and Attorney General to develop a national strategy to increase gun prosecutions and further reduce gun violence. The strategy will include: expanded efforts to identify illegal gun markets and gun hot spots; improved coordination with state and local law enforcement; closer supervision of gun criminals on parole or probation; and innovative, community-based efforts to reduce gun violence.

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Let me be clear: I believe the justice system

is for the most part fair, though areas of unfairness remain. These limited areas are serious problems by themselves, but their existence also feeds perceptions that the system fails to protect people of color, or deal with them fairly.

During a meeting I had last year with a group of black journalists, I asked how many of them had been stopped by the police within the last few years for no reason other than the color of their skin. Every one of them raised his or her hand.

and. Whether this is a matter of reality or perception and I believe it is a combination both it must be addressed by all of us with responsibility for law enforcement and community security.

And while many minority communities want and need strong law enforcement, they are bearing an enormous price for high rates of incarceration, especially for young men of color. Today, one-third of all young, black males are under the supervision of the criminal justice system (on probation, in prison or jail, or on parole). In a few places, such as Baltimore, more than 50 percent of young, black males are under criminal justice supervision. Overall, the chance that a young male will go to prison during his lifetime is approximately 4 percent for whites, 16 percent for Hispanics, and nearly 30 percent for blacks. While persons of color comprise less than one-third of the overall population in the United States, they comprise more than two-thirds of the Federal and state prison populations, with blacks alone comprising nearly 50 percent of the prison population. These rates of imprisonment have substantial social and economic effects on minority communities, contributing to the rise in poor, single-parent, female-headed households, the lack of employable males of color, and the disenfranchisement of 1.4 million black males alone--they do not vote because under state laws they are not permitted to.

Building Safer Communities  
The Clinton-Gore Administration Record  
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Restricting Youth Access to Guns, with the Youth Crime Gun Interdiction Initiative in 37 cities to help trace crime guns to their source, as well as identify and arrest adults who traffic firearms to children; a Presidential Directive to enforce the "zero tolerance" policy for guns in schools, consistent with the Gun-Free Schools Act; and expansion of the Safe and Drug-Free Schools Act to help make all schools safe, disciplined and drug-free. Recently, the President announced new legislation to strengthen the Brady Law and the assault weapons ban and restrict youth access to guns.

Fighting Domestic Violence, including championing the Violence Against Women Act (VAWA), with \$1.6 billion over five years to hire more prosecutors and improve domestic violence training among prosecutors, police officers, and health and social services professionals, and dramatic increases in funding for shelters.

Combating Drug Use, by year after year proposing the largest anti-drug budgets ever, helping to increase Federal counter-drug spending by nearly 40 percent since 1993. Overall drug use is half the level it was at its peak in the 1970's; drug-related murders are down by 40 percent since 1992; the first-ever paid anti-drug media campaign has been launched nationwide; and youth drug use is starting to decline. The number of drug courts has increased from an estimated 12 in 1994 to more than 400 in 1998, combining drug testing, sanctions, supervision and treatment to push nonviolent, drug-abusing offenders.

These conditions are intolerable. No American should have to live in constant fear of crime. No American should have reason to mistrust the very officers of the state assigned to protect him or her. No American should grow up believing that a stay in prison is a rite of passage. We must take action to eliminate these conditions and to build a criminal justice system that serves Americans of all races fully and fairly. There are voices in every community arguing that there is something fundamentally wrong with the system. I disagree, but I also believe we can do better. We must do three things:

First and foremost, we must reduce crime and restore order in selected communities of color where crime and fear of crime are greatest. We must not cite high crime rates as an excuse for tolerating the fear, suffering and costs. That would be the worst kind of blaming the victim. Every American has the right to live in a safe community, and we should not be able to identify high-crime neighborhoods based on the race of the residents who live there.

Second, we must prevent young people of color

r from becoming involved in crime and the criminal justice system. The present situation is dramatic. For black males born today, the odds of going to prison are greater than the odds of going to college. And racial disparities from arrest through incarceration are greater in the juvenile justice system than in the adult system. We must intervene to prevent juvenile delinquency before we lose another generation of minority youth to crime, as either victims or offenders. And for the kids who do get in trouble, we must intervene in their lives to help them become productive and successful members of society.

Third, we must build trust and confidence in the criminal justice system among persons of color. The vast majority of law enforcement officers in this nation are dedicated public servants of great courage and high moral character who deserve the respect of citizens of all races. I also want to stress that the tools of community policing, a subject I will discuss more below, are helping to restore trust in the justice system in thousands of communities. Furthermore, contrary to what some may believe, evidence shows that racial discrimination is not endemic to law enforcement. Evidence also reveals, however, that racial stereotypes and biases still exist, incidents of police brutality based on race still occur, and policies that have an unjustified disparate impact on persons of color still operate. No person should be the target of law enforcement based on the color of his or her skin, and when such abuses occur we will prosecute the offenders to the fullest extent of the law. We must eliminate these conditions and increase fairness and trust in the criminal justice system.

In summary, to help us achieve our vision of One America, our workplan for criminal justice must increase community safety, prevent young people from entering the system, and build confidence and trust in law enforcement. We have laid the foundation for this work, and we have already made important progress. The cornerstone of that foundation is community policing, an approach to criminal justice that emphasizes strong partnerships between law enforcement and communities to prevent crime.

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## B. The Foundation for the Workplan: Community Policing, and the Clinton-Gore Record

### (1) Community Policing

While increasing law enforcement can help reduce crime in our highest-crime communities, it must be the right kind of law enforcement done in the right way. A relatively new model of law enforcement, community policing is based on a few interrelated principles. First, reducing disorder in communities tends to encourage citizens to interact with one another and their community, which can lead to decreases in crime and fear of crime. Second, police must identify and help solve the underlying community problems that cause crime, rather than simply make arrests. Frequently, this involves collaborations with social service, education, or other agencies. Third, reducing disorder and solving community problems require strong relations between law enforcement officers and the communities they serve: police must not only know the concerns and needs of law-abiding citizens but look to these same citizens for information about neighborhood crime. Finally, citizens and community organizations can play a vital role as partners in solving community problems, and these efforts can directly improve community cohesiveness to further reduce crime.

Before I ran for President, I traveled across the country and visited different cities where local officials were leading the way in solving some of the nation's most difficult domestic problems. One of the places I visited was Charleston, South Carolina, where Police Chief Reuben Greenberg was at the forefront of the community policing movement. Through community policing, Chief Greenberg was both driving down the crime rate in public housing and strengthening the relationship between local police and community residents.

When I became President, one of my top priorities was to help our cities hire more police and expand the community policing movement. Vice President Gore and I were proud to work with an unprecedented

d coalition of teachers, clergy, law enforcement and elected officials, and other community leaders to pass our initiative to put 100,000 more community police on the street. Today, we have reached this goal and helped expand community policing to thousands of police departments across the country. Since 1993, the number of communities implementing community policing has increased from hundreds to more than 11,300. Our efforts are making a difference. Crime and fear of

crime have dropped to their lowest levels in a quarter century. And I have asked Congress to extend the program by adding another 50,000 officers.

Our effort

ts in community policing provide a solid foundation for achieving the goals of enhancing safety in our highest crime communities, keeping young people out of the criminal justice system, and increasing trust and confidence in law enforcement. To fully achieve these goals, we should build on that foundation by applying the lessons learned from community policing in other areas of the criminal justice system, such as local prosecutors offices, our courts, and the probation and parole systems.

It is essential that the community itself be fully engaged in both the development and implementation of any new public safety effort. Without that involvement, targeted law enforcement efforts may be perceived not as comprehensive community building but as a full-scale assault on selected minority neighborhoods. Instead of increasing public safety, we can end up increasing mistrust of law enforcement, thereby actually reducing its effectiveness.

#### Community Policing and the 21st Century Crime Bill

Over a decade ago, forward-looking police chiefs built on research and their own experiences to develop a new approach to fighting crime in American communities. These police chiefs and scholars recognized that when police were isolated from the community in which they serve operating from the precinct station house or from the patrol car they were handicapped in the fight against crime. The chiefs came up with a new strategy for law enforcement: community policing.

The Clinton/Gore Administration embraced this new approach in the Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS) Act, created in 1994. In May, 1999, the President urged adding 50,000 officers as part of his proposed The 21st Century Law Enforcement and Public Safety Act. Designed as an extension of the successful 1994 Crime Act, among the other key provisions:

Punish and prevent youth crime and violence by giving prosecutors new tools to punish the most violent juveniles and curb witness intimidation by gang members, promoting prompt and certain punishment for all juvenile offenders, and working to prevent at-risk youth from committing serious crimes in the first place by supporting comprehensive community-based initiatives.

Break the cycle of drugs and crime by expanding drug courts, helping states and localities implement zero tolerance drug supervision programs that test, treat, and punish all drug-involved offenders, and putting into place tough provisions on money laundering to help staunch the flow of illegal drug profits.

Protect all crime victims by enhancing penalties for child abusers who kill and adults who commit violent crimes in the presence of a child; and by keeping up the fight against domestic violence.

Research shows that by improving the legitimacy of police in the eyes of the community, we can not only reduce tensions, but also help prevent crime. Building that police legitimacy requires training police and citizens to interact effectively, with mutual respect, and building lines of communication through community meetings and other mechanisms. In all of this, however, we must recognize that racial and ethnic differences, festering as mistrust and suspicion, stand in the way of achieving what both the community and the police seek: the community security to which every American is entitled.

Chicago



## os Alternative Policing Strategy (CAPS)

### Chicagos Alternative Policing Strategy

(CAPS) seeks to identify and resolve problems of crime at the neighborhood level by putting more police on the street, training police and citizens in problem solving and partnership building, and holding hundreds of community meetings each month around the city at which thousands of Chicagoans interact with their community policing officers. Evaluations of CAPS show that the effort has been successful in reducing crime, reducing fear of crime, and improving relations between citizens and law enforcement.

The community must also be fully engaged because each community's crime problem is to some extent unique, and the law-abiding citizens of each community are the best resource for understanding the roots of the crime and fear of crime they face. Partnerships are, therefore, the heart of community policing. Evidence shows as with Chicagos Alternative Policing Strategy (CAPS) that the expansion of community policing has contributed greatly to the decrease in crime across our nation and to better police-community relations.

As difficult as these problems are, there is reason to hope. Law enforcement need not be a losing battle if we use what we know, invest what we can, and stay focused on the goal of community security.

### (2) Gangs, Guns, and Drug

s

Increased law enforcement can help prevent crime, and these returns can be greatest in our highest crime communities. According to a recent study, each additional police officer assigned to a big city prevents six times as many serious crimes each year as an officer assigned nationally by population. But to be most effective, increased law enforcement must be aimed at the right places and factors.

Crime is largely a concentrated phenomenon. Even within our highest crime areas, the vast majority of crime occurs in relatively few places and at relatively few times. Studies have shown that as little as three percent of all street addresses can account for as much as 50 percent of the crime in a given community. These hot spots within hot spots may include buildings, parks, or street corners that serve as havens for criminal activity. The best law enforcement strategies identify high-crime places through computer mapping, and then increase police patrols at those high-crime places at high-crime times. Importantly, research shows that enhancing such targeted law enforcement does not simply displace crime, but actually reduces it.

In addition, whatever unique problems exist in a given high-crime community, two problems likely to be pervasive are guns and drugs. And we know that at the heart of the violent crime problem is the combination of guns and drugs. Alfred Blumstein and other noted criminologists postulate that the rise in violent crime in our highest-crime communities during the 1980s was the result of a rise in gun violence among youth caused by the emergence of crack cocaine. According to Professor Blumstein:

[C]rack arrived in the mid-1980s, initially in the larger cities, and spread from there to the smaller cities. Because crack required many more sellers to meet the increased demand... there was major recruitment of young minorities to serve in that role. They were carrying valuable property—drugs or the proceeds from the sale of those drugs—and so they had to take steps to protect themselves from robbery. Because they were dealing in an illegal market, they could not call the police if someone tried to steal their valuables. Their self-protection involved carrying handguns. Because young men are tightly networked and highly imitative, their colleagues—even those not involved in selling drugs—armed themselves also, at least in part as a matter of self-protection against those who were armed. That led to an arms race in many inner-city neighborhoods.

It is widely recognized that violence has always been part of teenage males' dispute resolution repertoire, but that has typically involved fights, the consequences of which were usually no more serious than a bloody nose. The lethality of the ubiquitous guns contributed in a major way to the doubling of the homicide rate by (and of) those 18 and under.

One important lesson from this theory is that guns do kill people, and that truth is especially plain in the struggles of young people of color in our most disadvantaged communities. But we also know that guns and teen violence are not exclusive to communities of color. As we have seen in the senseless multiple shootings at schools, hatred, fear and gun violence respect no racial boundaries. We must look beyond the stereotyped notion that youth violence is solely an inner-city phenomenon. We must ask ourselves, what would make a teenager of any color pick up a gun and kill? Sadly, it takes events like Columbine to get the nation's attention. But I share the grief and outrage of thousands of parents in communities who live with violence day in and day out, praying that their child will not be next.

We don't have all the answers, but we do know that in places where community supervision is limited, many young people are armed, and gangs exert great influence, disputes are more likely to be resolved through gun violence. About 40 percent of all murders committed in the United States each year are committed by persons under 24 years old with guns. In the words of criminologists Philip Cook and Mark Moore, There are very few drive-by knifings, or people killed accidentally by stray fists. We must take action to stop gun violence and to keep guns out of the hands of those who should not have them, including convicted felons and juveniles. The one thing that Columbine has in common with our most distressed urban communities is the easy access to guns. That is why I have pressed for new, tougher measures, including strengthening the Brady Law to prevent any juvenile convicted of committing a violent crime from ever buying a gun, and requiring background checks to anyone attempting to buy weapons at a gun show. I have also proposed a crackdown on illegal gun trafficking, closing the loopholes in our assault weapons ban and raising the legal age of handgun possession from 18 to 21 years. (As I write this, these measures are moving through the Congress.)

#### The Boston Gun Project

The

Boston Gun Project presents an innovative approach to deterring violent crime: combining the efforts of the Boston Police Department, the departments of probation and parole, the U.S. Attorneys and county prosecutors offices, the Attorney General's Office, school police, youth corrections, social services, and other partners, the Ceasefire Working Group meets with gangs, makes it clear that violence will not be tolerated, and backs up that message with swift and strong reactions if violence does occur. The strategy has demonstrated that communicating up-front the consequences of gang violence and backing up the message brings about impressive results.

In addition, we must crack down on gang activity. Today, there are an estimated 23,000 gangs with 665,000 members in 2,000 jurisdictions across the country, and there is evidence that these numbers are growing. Research shows that gang members account for a high percentage of crime in our highest crime communities and that gang membership itself encourages criminal activity. We must prevent and reduce gang membership and crime. In large part, this means increasing support for prevention programs aimed at our young people. Simply put, we must draw the line against gang and gun violence in our highest crime communities. By doing so, we can reduce crime and save lives. For example, in Boston, law enforcement and community leaders—especially clergy leaders—came together in 1996 and made clear to gang members that any gun violence by any gang member would be met with a massive, comprehensive crackdown against all members of the gang. The result was an immediate decline in the number of juvenile homicides in Boston to zero for two consecutive years. Still, researchers tell us that we know far too little about the strategies most likely to work in different communities. Gangs sow chaos, and we must redouble our efforts to combat them not only with effective police work, but also by strengthening families, improving our schools, and strengthening the community institutions that create hope.

Finally, while the use of some drugs is decreasing in many places, the percentage of persons who commit crimes under the influence of drugs is increasing, and drug markets continue to threaten order in our highest-crime communities. That's why we cannot ease up our battle against drug use and illicit drug markets. However, we must also acknowledge that the war on drugs has taken a terrible, disproportionate toll on persons in communities of color—compounding the destruction from the drug scourge itself. So, with more effective enforcement

, we need a reinvigorated focus on prevention, treatment and promoting greater fairness in administration of our drug laws.

We have made important progress in the war on drugs, but we cannot incarcerate ourselves to victory in these most needy communities.

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### C. Building on the Foundation to Ensure Security in Our Highest-Crime Communities: Hot Spot Partnerships

Our record of accomplishments and proposals provide the foundation needed to face head-on the special challenges in our worst crime areas. Unless we do, these communities will be left behind, and so will our goal of building One America.

#### (1) Tighter Targeting of Federal Resources for Partnerships in Crime Hot Spots

Although crime rates are dropping across the nation and for all racial groups, they remain unacceptably high in a small number of deeply poor, mostly minority communities. These high-crime areas are concentrated in urban centers, but exist in other areas as well, including parts of Indian country. In 1998, we took action at the federal level to target community policing resources to our highest need cities, and I have proposed similar targeting of future federal community policing resources as well. But we must do more.

I believe the federal government should take the leadership in supporting Crime Hot Spot Partnerships, working with state and local governments to promote comprehensive community policing and crime prevention initiatives targeting neighborhoods of concentrated disadvantage, social disorder, and high crime rates. Like multiple fire hoses aimed at the center of a blaze, Hot Spot Partnerships would pull proven community safety efforts together in a single stream targeted at the centers of danger.

#### Inside a Crime Hot Spots Partnership

To qualify for federal assistance, communities would be required to bring all the actors to the table (federal, state, and local; public and private; law enforcement and other services; and, most important, concerned citizens and community leaders) to develop a strategy to prevent and combat crime in specific highest-crime neighborhoods.

These community strategies, and the partnership agreement to implement them, include concrete goals for reducing crime, reducing fear of crime, increasing confidence and trust in law enforcement, and more. For accountability, continued federal support would be tied to progress.

Strategies would vary, but probably include such elements as (1) enhancing community policing, (2) rebuilding community social infrastructure, and (3) proven prevention programs aimed at young people, such as mentoring and after-school programs.

This third element is key. Just as overcoming disparities in educational achievement requires taking early action, preventing crime by teens and young adults requires early action to increase community supervision, provide adult support, strengthen families, and instill a belief in opportunity. All of this should go hand-in-hand with other community and economic development efforts aimed at our most distressed communities. That means including business, education, faith and other sectors as partners in the development of community plans.

In important respects, my proposal is akin to the very successful community empowerment strategy embodied in the Empowerment Zones initiative. Com

munities demonstrating initiative and creativity in tackling conditions in their highest-crime neighborhoods would receive added funds and flexibility, tied to results. The targeted federal assistance might be drawn from a range of existing and proposed programs, perhaps using the flexibility available under current and proposed laws. If, for example, we took just a fraction of the tens of billions of dollars the Federal government will spend on crime enforcement and prevention over the next five years, and invested that to leverage break-through efforts in Hot Spots, that would amount to a major down payment toward ensuring that no communities are left behind as we continue to drive down crime rates.

Many strategies show promise for reducing crime in our highest-crime communities. But hard evidence from program evaluations is never as extensive as we would like on a subject of this importance. In part, this is hard though not impossible for social science to measure. The idea I have proposed above, therefore, is designed to be flexible and to support innovative local approaches to reducing crime, but at the same time to make the most use out of the things we know can work.

My hope is that Congress will complete action on the pending crime proposals in a manner which leaves sufficient flexibility to fashion a Hot Spots Partnership initiative without further legislation. By focusing the resources of many programs and many actors on the concentrated problems facing our highest-crime neighborhoods, we can vastly improve public safety, and we can do so in a way that helps keep young people out of crime while building greater confidence and trust in our criminal justice system.

## (2) Build Stronger Communities

While law enforcement is important, crime prevention in most communities is a consequence not only of government or law enforcement, but is primarily based on the strength of the community itself, and the families within it. As one authority has put it:

Each person's bonds to family, community, school and work create what criminologists call informal social control, the pressures to conform to the law that have little to do with the threat of punishment. Informal controls threaten something that may be far more fearsome than simply life in prison: shame and disgrace in the eyes of other people you depend upon.

Emerging research shows that crime rates in communities are related to what researchers call collective efficacy, which simply means the degree of social cohesion in a community—the extent to which neighbors know, trust, and look out for one another; the more there is, the lower the crime rates. So, formal law enforcement efforts must be fully aligned with and support a range of community- and school-based efforts that leverage informal social controls from parent-teacher associations to neighborhood watch programs.

However, communities with the highest crime rates not surprisingly have the worst social conditions for preventing crime: pervasive unemployment, family disruption, residential instability, and symptoms of disorder and seemingly petty lawlessness. According to Wesley Skogan:

Disorder is evident in the widespread appearance of junk and trash in vacant lots; it is evident, too, in decaying homes, boarded-up buildings, the vandalism of public and private property, graffiti, and stripped and abandoned cars in streets and alleys. It is signaled by bands of teenagers congregating on street corners, by the presence of prostitutes and panhandlers, by public drinking, the verbal harassment of women, and open gambling and drug use. What these conditions have in common is that they signal a breakdown of local social order. Communities beset by disorder can no longer expect people to act in a civil fashion in public places. . .

Researchers have found that perceptions of disorder have many ill effects on urban neighborhoods. Disorder not only sparks concern and fear of crime among neighborhood residents; it may actually increase the level of serious crime. Disorder erodes what control neighborhood residents can maintain over local events and conditions. It drives out those for whom stable community life



life is important, and discourages people with similar values from moving in. It threatens house prices and discourages investment. In short, disorder is an instrument of destabilization and neighborhood decline.

We can and must take action to rebuild community infrastructure and strengthen the forces of cohesion. One simple key is to get organizations involved. Existing community organizations can and must reach into high-crime neighborhoods, encourage civic participation, and build a foundation of community support. Furthermore, the community can be an essential partner in helping to restore order in high-crime communities by cleaning up areas and promoting positive activities for youth. Indeed, these roles might be more appropriate and successful ones for citizens and organizations than a more traditional law enforcement role. Finally, we must promote quality education and strong economic development to overcome the concentrated disadvantage that plagues many high-crime communities. The elements of the work plan I have proposed in these other areas are also vital to building secure communities.

### (3) Keep Young People Out of Crime and the Criminal Justice System

After increasing dramatically for nearly a decade, juvenile crime has been decreasing rapidly for the last few years at rates even greater than adult crime. Too many children are still falling prey to crime, however, as either offenders or victims. And kids who commit crime are significantly more likely to become adults who commit crime. There are nearly 3 million juvenile arrests across the nation each year, and children of color are over represented in those arrests and at every stage in the juvenile justice process. For example, minority youth constitute approximately 32 percent of the juvenile population, but they represent 68 percent of the juvenile population in detention. The further you go in the process, the worse the disparities look: black youth constitute approximately 15 percent of the juvenile population, but blacks alone account for 26 percent of juvenile arrests, 32 percent of delinquency referrals to juvenile court, 41 percent of juveniles detained in delinquency cases, 46 percent of juveniles in correctional institutions, and 52 percent of juveniles transferred to adult criminal court after judicial proceedings.

To some, these figures raise serious concerns about the fairness of the juvenile justice system. I, too, am very troubled. But we must face facts. The numbers also reflect disparities in the commission of crimes and the need for greater efforts to keep our young people, especially young males of color, out of crime and the criminal justice system. Once again, research suggests that racial disparities in the commission of crimes by youth are closely tied to factors such as concentrated poverty, family disruption, and residential instability that plague many communities in which children of color are raised. Controlling for those factors, juvenile offending rates do not differ significantly by race. Therefore, supporting efforts in our highest crime communities, described above, to increase law enforcement, enhance community policing, rebuild collective efficacy, and promote economic development will help reduce and prevent youth crime. However, in addition to and as part of those efforts, we must also renew our commitment to prevention and treatment programs aimed directly at youth and young adults to ensure that our children have every chance to succeed in life rather than getting caught up in a life of crime. But none of this will matter unless young people themselves seize these opportunities and take responsibility for leading healthy, productive lives.

### Prevent Crime by Supporting Young People

Several strategies show evidence of success at keeping young people out of crime and the criminal justice system and would likely have a disproportionately positive effect on young people of color. Implementing those strategies successfully will require the support and participation of families, schools, and communities. At the federal level, in 1998, I was proud that we launched a Values-Based Violence Prevention Initiative to support community-based efforts led by civic and religious organizations and designed to target the problems facing young people, including youth violence, truancy, and gangs. I believe these efforts show great promise, and we must do more at all levels of government—especially at the community level.

## e Prevention Programs

In Houston, police opened a police substation in a neighborhood storefront, where officers met with community residents, held community meetings, and developed programs to bring the police and community closer together. Special patrols monitored known trouble spots in the neighborhood, and officers met regularly with local school administrators. In addition, the city has begun to invest \$46 million in revitalizing the city's 77 parks, an effort intended to reclaim parks as safe and beautiful public spaces after many had become havens for gangs and drug activity.

Boston has also adopted several innovative strategies for curbing youth crime: in addition to the Boston Gun Project (see previous text box), Operation Night Light pairs one probation officer with two police officers to make unscheduled visits to the homes, schools, and workplaces of high-risk youth probationers between 7 p.m. to midnight, rather than the traditional hours of 8:30 a.m. to 4:30 p.m. The program has succeeded in coordinating the efforts of correctional officers and police officers and has shown promising results with youths on probation.

First, as reported in the education section of this chapter, emerging evidence shows that early childhood and family support programs can help reduce criminal activity years and even decades later. The Perry Preschool project in Michigan, for example, provided early childhood education and in-home family support for low-income, black children ages three to five and their families. Children who participated in the project were found to be less than one fourth as likely to become involved in crime by age 24 as children who did not participate in the program. Similar programs have also been found to reduce child abuse, which is a great evil in itself and a risk factor for future child delinquency and adult criminality. We must increase support for early childhood development, family support, and quality pre-school programs to reduce juvenile delinquency and increase educational achievement.

Second, after-school programs can help reduce delinquent activity. Data show that juvenile crime peaks sharply at 3 p.m., just as school lets out, and remains high until approximately 8 p.m. It is during these hours of 3 p.m. to 8 p.m. that our kids are often on their own and most likely to fall prey to gangs, drugs, and/or crime. By keeping schools open to serve children and their families during these hours, we can provide our children with safe havens from crime, promote constructive activities, and develop educational and other skills.

Third, many young people get into trouble because they lack adult and/or community supervision. Mentoring programs can prevent juvenile crime by providing that supervision and vital support. For example, a recent study of the Big Brothers and Big Sisters of America program, which has existed for more than 90 years, found that children participating in the program, 60 percent of whom were children of color, were significantly less likely to use drugs or alcohol, get into fights, or skip school than kids who did not participate in the program. If we are going to prevent our young people from getting involved in gangs and crime, more caring adults must get involved in the lives of our young people as mentors. Community-based organizations and institutions are often the best sources for this kind of civic investment.

### Promote Appropriate Punishments When Children First Get in Trouble

Rates of criminal recidivism—repeated law-breaking—among juveniles and adults are astounding. Data show that the majority of adult prisoners released from state prison are rearrested within three years, and these recidivism rates are highest for persons of color. For some violent juvenile and young adult offenders, arrest and incarceration are necessary, justified, and effective. In many instances and many ways, however, we can do more to intervene in the lives of young people who commit crimes or delinquent acts and help them and their families turn their lives around. Once again, several strategies have shown signs of success.

First among these strategies are youth, gun, and drug courts, as well as drug treatment more generally. These courts provide alternative interventions for non-violent youth offenders and offer treatment and other

er services as long as those offenders stay out of further trouble. Drug courts have become particularly important, both for children and adults. Data show that the majority of all crime is committed under the influence of drugs, including alcohol, or to get money to buy drugs. Drug courts and related treatment strategies can help reduce recidivism by offering first-time, non-violent offenders drug treatment, but requiring consistent drug testing and exacting immediate sanctions for failing a drug test. There is a related challenge posed by the fact that too many of those arrested for drug offenses never get the treatment that makes it more likely that they will overcome their addictions. Most people on probation, parole, or in prison have some form of drug history, but we have not done enough to reduce their drug use and the criminal behavior it often provokes. That's a self-defeating approach to fighting crime, and we must do better.

Second, programs that promote what is called restorative justice can help reduce repeat offending. Restorative justice holds youth offenders responsible for their delinquent acts to both their victims and communities. Delinquent youth are required to make restitution and perform community service, but they are also given adult mentoring and employment training. Studies indicate that such programs can reduce recidivism and strengthen community values. In addition, both offenders and victims who participate in restorative justice report greater respect for the criminal justice system, which may also reduce criminal offending.

It's not enough to just hope that families, and perhaps churches and schools, will keep youngsters on the right path, or straighten them out if things go wrong. Wishing that things would be like they were in some idealized past is a romantic and ineffective response to those who are struggling against all but overwhelming problems. It takes hard work by loved ones and by people in positions of community or public leadership, to help young people make the right choices for their future.

Our country has a higher proportion of our people in prisons and jails than any other democracy. While we have had important success in reducing violent crime in recent years, it remains intolerably high, especially in our poorest communities. Taken together, these facts are overwhelming proof that we need far more emphasis on prevention and diversion, to stop criminal behavior before the seeds of wrongdoing take root in adolescent minds. It has been said that the best social policy is a good job. There's much truth to that, because a good job anchors a strong family and strong families anchor a vibrant community. Yes, we must redouble our efforts to create jobs so that no community is left behind. But meanwhile, we cannot write off children and leave them vulnerable to crime or the seduction of criminal behavior. We cannot build the One America we want if one in six black children born today, and one in eleven Hispanic children, can be expected during their lives to spend time in a prison, while white children face only a one-in-40 lifetime chance of incarceration.

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#### D. Build Fairness and Trust in Our Criminal Justice System Across Racial Lines

There is no more fundamental tenet of our governmental system than the entitlement of every person, inscribed in our Constitution, to equal protection under the law. That seemingly simple notion means many things in many contexts. But at its heart, it means that the state shall not without compelling reason treat people differently because of such factors as race, color, or national origin. The criminal justice system is the most powerful domestic arm of the state. It has the power to restrict individual freedom and, in extreme cases, even to take human life. With that power comes the great responsibility and obligation to implement our laws fairly and justly.

Today, persons of color continue to have less confidence and trust in our criminal justice system than whites. In a recent poll, for example, a majority of blacks said they believe that the criminal justice system is biased against them. These perceptions are based on a number of experiences, incidents, and policies that lead some law-abiding people

persons of color to believe that they are likely to be targeted or threatened by law enforcement for no reason other than the color of their skin.

For white

Americans, it is difficult but important to fully understand what this means. Recently, the brother of a young, black member of my staff got his drivers license. But, as my staff member explained to me, before his brother was allowed to drive, his parents would have to have the talk with him. I wasn't sure what that meant. The talk in this case was that when (not if, but when) the young man is stopped by the police for no reason other than the color of his skin, he is to hide his frustration and anger so that an upsetting situation does not escalate into a dangerous one. Many African Americans have dubbed this phantom crime Driving While Black. Two United States attorneys who are African American talked at a recent Department of Justice conference about having similar conversations with their own children. That is a talk that most white parents do not have to have with their children. And it is a talk that no American family should have to have.

The lack of trust and confidence in our criminal justice system among persons of color is not only morally disconcerting, it also limits the effectiveness of law enforcement. People who don't trust the police or have confidence in them may not report crimes, may not cooperate in investigations, and may even work against law enforcement by sticking up for acquaintances involved in crime. Recent studies show that persons are more likely to obey the law when they believe the law and its officers are legitimate, and when they are treated with respect. One study in Milwaukee, for example, found that persons arrested for or domestic violence who believed they were treated fairly by law enforcement officials in their interactions were significantly less likely to commit another act of domestic violence compared to those who believed they were treated unfairly. A similar study found that persons who perceived that police treated them fairly in their interactions (such as when they were stopped by the police for traffic offenses) were less likely to commit minor crimes (such as parking violations or petty theft). While the studies may not put the social science question to rest, these troubling results are in a way unsurprising. The fact is that we are all more likely to obey rules, respect authority, and feel like members of a community when we believe that the rules are legitimate, the authority treats us fairly, and the community respects our concerns. None of these are excuses for committing crime. They are reasons to enforce the laws fairly.

We must

take action to build the same levels of confidence and trust in our criminal justice system among persons of color that other Americans have. In no small part, this means improving relations between law enforcement and minority communities. Community policing can play an important role here by establishing stronger lines of communication through community meetings, door-to-door visits, and more and by building partnerships between citizens and law enforcement. In addition, we must do a better job of training law enforcement officials in how to interact effectively with citizens of all races. Finally, we must address several important and difficult issues underlying the present racial gap in trust and confidence in our criminal justice system, including such issues as racial profiling, police brutality, disparities in incarceration rates and sentencing, and the lack of diversity in law enforcement.

The answer to the question of whether there is discrimination in the administration of justice should not be, We don't know there is discrimination. The answer must be, We know there is not discrimination, and we have processes in place to ensure that. Clearly, we're not there yet.

#### (1) Combat Racial Profiling

I discussed my general views concerning racial profiling in Part II of this book. I know that reconciling the day-to-day reality of street-level law enforcement with racial and ethnic justice concerns is not always as simple as some people on both sides of the issues argue. That said, I believe that to achieve our vision of One America with community security and community faith in law enforcement, all levels of government must take this issue head on. While, as I have said, the vast majority of police officers do great honor to the badges they wear with pride, we must continue to hold accountable those who abuse their power through the use of excessive or deadly force and by the use of the morally indefensible, deeply corrosive practices



ce of racial profiling.

First, we must promote greater training for law enforcement officers on how to avoid basing their actions on improper racial stereotypes and how to interact fairly and constructively with citizens of all races in ways that de-escalate situations and build trust. The Department of Justice is working on this at the national level, and many local jurisdictions have already tackled this challenge.

Second, we must improve data collection so that we know the extent to which persons of color are being inappropriately targeted by law enforcement and can take steps to restrict such actions.

Third, we must use the full force of our civil rights law enforcement agencies to correct situations in which persons of color are being inappropriately targeted by law enforcement. Specifically, the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department investigates the most serious allegations of this sort; I believe this work is vital to public confidence in the criminal justice system, and needs the ongoing support of U.S. attorneys as well as state and local officials.

On June 9, 1999 at a summit of civil rights and law enforcement leaders in Washington, I directed the Departments of Justice, Treasury and Interior to begin gathering data on the race, ethnicity and gender of individuals subject to traffic and pedestrian stops, inspections at entries into the United States and certain other searches by federal law enforcement agencies including the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Drug Enforcement Agency, Customs Service and National Park Service. The Justice Department will analyze this data to determine whether and where law enforcement engage in racial profiling and what concrete steps we need to take at the national level to eliminate it anywhere it exists. I also asked all state and local police forces and their agencies to make the same commitment to collecting this data. And I challenged Congress to provide them with the resources they need to take this step as a bill sponsored by Michigan Representative John Conyers would do. We all have an obligation to move beyond anecdotes to find out exactly who is being stopped and why. We all have an obligation to do whatever is necessary to ensure equal protection under the law.

#### Executive

Memo for the Secretary of the Treasury, the Attorney General and the Secretary of the Interior  
Fairness in Law Enforcement: Collection of Data  
June 9, 1999

We must work together to build the trust of all Americans in law enforcement. We have great confidence in our Federal law enforcement officers and know that they strive to uphold the best principles of law enforcement in our democratic society. We cannot tolerate, however, officers who cross the line and abuse their position by mistreating law-abiding individuals or who bring their own racial bias to the job. No person should be subject to excessive force, and no person should be targeted by law enforcement because of the color of his or her skin. Stopping or searching individuals on the basis of race is not effective law enforcement policy, and is not consistent with our democratic ideals, especially our commitment to equal protection under the law for all persons. It is neither legitimate nor defensible as a strategy for public protection. It is simply wrong.

To begin addressing the problem of racial profiling, Federal agencies should collect more data at all levels of law enforcement to better define the scope of the problem. The systematic collection of statistics and information regarding Federal law enforcement activities can increase the fairness of our law enforcement practices. Tracking the race, ethnicity, and gender of those who are stopped or searched by law enforcement will help to determine where problems exist, and guide the development of solutions.

I therefore direct you to design and implement a system to collect and report statistics relating to race, ethnicity, and gender for law enforcement activities in your department. Specifically, you shall:

(1) develop a proposal within 120 days, in consultation with the Attorney General, for a system of data collection and an implementation plan for a field test of that system, including the law enforcement agency components, sites, data sets, training, and other methods and procedures to be included in the field testing. You shall implement field tests within 60 days of finalizing their proposals;

(2) to the extent practicable, collect data that is sufficiently detailed to permit an analysis of actions relevant to the activities of the included law enforcement agencies by race, ethnicity, or gender. Such actions may include traffic stops, pedestrian stops, a more extensive inspection or interview than that customarily conducted with entrants to the United States, requests for consent to search, or warrantless searches. Data acquired pursuant to this memorandum may not contain any information that may reveal the identity of any individual; and

(3) provide to the Attorney General a summary of the information collected during the first year of your field test, including civilian complaints received alleging bias based on the race, ethnicity, or gender of the complainant in law enforcement activities; your process for investigating and resolving such complaints; and the outcomes of any such investigations. The Attorney General shall report to me, in consultation with relevant agency heads, on the results of the field tests with: (i) an evaluation of the first year of the field test; (ii) an implementation plan to expand the data collection and reporting system to other components and locations within the agency and to make such system permanent; and (iii) recommendations to improve the fair administration of law enforcement activities.

In addition, within 120 days of the date of this directive, you shall provide a report to me on your training programs, policies, and practices regarding the use of race, ethnicity, and gender in your law enforcement activities, along with recommendations for improving those programs, policies, and practices.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

(2)  
Eliminate Police Brutality

No issue looms larger than the issue of police brutality. We all know many of the most egregious incidents, from Rodney King to Abner Louima to Amadou Diallo. We have all read the headlines: New York Police Officer Accused of Brutalizing Haitian Immigrant. We have also lived through the racial tension and even community violence that such incidents can spark. But what we must understand is that to many persons of color, incidents of police brutality are more than just discrete, horrific acts; they are seen as examples of what could happen to them if they are caught in the wrong place at the wrong time with the wrong kind of officer. That lack of trust is a reality, and it is corrosive.

But there is another reality. Most police officers are, quite simply, heroes who do an extremely difficult job with fairness, honor, and skill. Furthermore, most officers abhor the improper use of force because it hurts their legitimacy, makes their jobs more difficult and, most importantly, is inconsistent with their responsibility to enforce the law. When we take action against police misconduct, we are not taking action against our law enforcement officers, we are taking action to support good law enforcement and to protect all citizens from crime. Simply put, police brutality is a violent crime made more vile by the fact that it is committed under the supposed authority of the state, by servants of the community, and sometimes appears, when it does occur, to be motivated by racial or ethnic prejudice.

I want to make two points here: First, we know too little about police use of excessive force. As of 1994, federal law requires the U.S. Department of Justice to collect and analyze data on excessive use of force. While a preliminary report suggests that police use of force occurs infrequently but disproportionately involves persons of color, this study is very limited, and more comprehensive analysis is needed. What is clear is that all levels of government can do a much better job monitoring police use of force and communicating to police and citizens that excessive use of force is unacceptable and will be punished. That is what both professionalism and

airness require.

But, second, apart from the need for better monitoring and information, we must acknowledge that excessive use of force against persons of color still occurs. There are just too many examples, some horrific, to ignore the problem. Later in this book, I will challenge communities across the nation to formulate workplans to help achieve their vision of a healed, opportunity community in a just One America. I believe that any such community workplan must include a determined effort to root out police brutality and punish those who commit it.

I pledge whatever advice and assistance the experience and resources of the federal government can offer, because police brutality is destructive of the trust so essential to community law enforcement. We know some of what works. Police leaders have found certain training to be helpful, including how to communicate across racial lines, how to de-escalate situations, and how to use force only in appropriate circumstances and in appropriate ways. It helps to have clear mechanisms for dealing with allegations of excessive use of force that include clear chains of management and independent review. And finally, federal and state prosecutors must be prepared to combat brutality through appropriate enforcement actions, because these are crimes in which the victims include the community and justice itself.

### (3) Ensure Fairness in Incarceration and Sentencing

While persons of color make up less than one-third of our nation's population, they make up more than two-thirds of the state and federal prison populations. Blacks account for 43 percent of arrests, 54 percent of convictions, and 59 percent of prison admissions for violent crime. Moreover, America has a greater percentage of its citizens behind bars than any other nation in the world, except Russia. These rates of imprisonment and racial disparities are disconcerting regardless of the cause and, as I have argued, we must take bolder steps to prevent crime and recidivism. However, in terms of fairness in the administration of justice, the key question is to what extent are present disparities caused by discrimination in the administration of justice. Most of us believe that discrimination is a very small factor, but some of our citizens feel otherwise. Still more of us suspect that, even if there is not discrimination, there is some subtle role of racial difference and color that has stacked the deck.

Having said that, the best available evidence indicates that most of the existing disparities in the administration of justice from arrest through sentencing are not due to discrimination, but are primarily due to underlying disparities in the commission of crimes: once the crime is committed, the rates of arrest, conviction and imprisonment do not seem to differ significantly by race. For example, a recent analysis by the U.S. General Accounting Office (GAO) compared racial differences in arrest rates for several violent crimes to data from a national survey of crime victims concerning the race of their assailants. GAO found no significant difference between the two, suggesting that controlling for criminal offending, arrest rates do not differ significantly by race. In addition, a study by the U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics tracked more than 10,000 adult, felony defendants in the nation's 75 largest cities through all stages of the criminal justice process. The study, which focused on black and white defendants, found that the defendants were equally likely to be prosecuted and convicted, and received the same sentence regardless of race.

Finally, there is a key area in which disparities in the administration of justice raise immediate concerns of discrimination. Racial disparities in drug arrests and sentencing are dramatic. In part, this is an unintended consequence of the war on drugs. Let me be clear: I believe that drugs, drug use, and especially drug trafficking should be unlawful and subject to punishment. Drugs destroy individuals, families, and communities, and threaten the strength of our nation. However, we cannot ignore the disproportionate impact that drug laws and enforcement have had on persons of color in America. Blacks, for example, are approximately five times more likely than whites to be arrested for drug-related offenses.

The war on drugs is a war for our communities and children, not a war against them. That is why I have urged increases in support for prevention and treatment. This also means making sure kids get the message on drugs, and we

have launched at the federal level a \$200 million anti-drug media campaign to promote that message. However, this also means revising drug policies and practices that have an unjustified negative impact on persons of color. Chief among these is the present gap in sentencing for crack versus powder cocaine. Under present federal law, possession of 5 grams of crack cocaine triggers a 5-year mandatory minimum sentence, the same sentence imposed for possessing 500 grams of powder cocaine, a 100:1 ratio. Black defendants comprise 84 percent of those convicted in federal court of crack cocaine offenses, compared with 30 percent of those convicted of powder cocaine offenses. There are some legitimate justifications for treating crack cocaine offenses more harshly than powder cocaine offenses, but, as the Advisory Board on Race said in its final report, the disparate racial effect of the present policy and the racial division it engenders make the present 100:1 ratio morally and intellectually indefensible. I believe we should, in effect, lower the sentence for crack cocaine while raising the sentence for powder cocaine to reduce the present sentencing disparity to 10:1 and, thereby, reduce the reality and perception of unfairness.

#### (4) Increase Diversity in Law Enforcement

Police and prosecutors, judges and jurors, are officers of our society empowered on behalf of all of us to enforce the laws and serve all of us. Quite simply, they are likely to receive greater trust and confidence when all persons in society see themselves reflected in those officers. When it comes to diversity in law enforcement, we are, to some extent, caught in an unfortunate cycle. Increasing minority representation in law enforcement may increase trust in law enforcement among citizens of color. But the lack of trust and confidence in law enforcement among persons of color likely makes it more difficult to attract minority law enforcement officers.

We have made some important gains in diversifying law enforcement. In 1993, persons of color comprised 18 percent of all police officers in local police and sheriffs departments across the nation and 30 percent of all officers in larger cities. Since that time, our COPS initiative has helped fund nearly 100,000 additional police officers in communities across the nation. And one goal of that initiative has been to increase diversity in law enforcement. Furthermore, I am proud that, as President, I have appointed several minorities to some of the country's top law enforcement posts and appointed more persons of color as federal judges than any other President in our nation's history. We must continue this progress at all levels of government and in all segments of the criminal justice system.

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#### Conclusion

All that we have talked about ensuring public safety, keeping young people out of crime, and guaranteeing fairness in the administration of justice is crucial to building One America. Crime and fear of crime threaten some of our American communities and too many of our fellow citizens. We cannot ignore the frustrations of many Americans of color who too often experience injustices at the hands of our criminal justice system.

But I do not think you can talk about crime in America, especially the proliferation of crime and violence among young people of color in deeply poor communities, without talking about the values and the lessons we teach our young people. A child's world view, whether positive or negative, is formed early in life, not only by the love or lack of love we show them, but also by the investments we make or don't make in their futures, the values and images we present them through the media, and the opportunity or lack of opportunity that surrounds them. We cannot be satisfied when some states spend more on prisons than education, or when America, the land of the free, has one of the highest incarceration rates in the world. Doesn't it make more sense to invest in our children at the front end of their lives in education, in prevention, in strong communities than to pay at the back end by building more and stronger prisons in which to warehouse them? We cannot talk about race and crime in America without talking about our commitment, as parents and as a nation,



ion, to embrace all children as our own and to give them something to say yes to.  
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Endnotes: Part III: The Opportunity We Deserve

[Introduction to P

art III]

[Section 1, Education]

[Section 2, Economic Development & Jobs]

[Secti

on 3, Crime]

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#### 4. A Renewed Commitment to Civil Rights

##### A. Introduction

On a hot August day in 1963, the civil rights movement in America reached a watershed moment when hundreds of thousands of citizens of all colors joined in the famous March on Washington. As a 17-year-old boy growing up in the rural South, I was inspired by the determination of those who boarded buses and organized car-pool caravans, some traveling thousands of miles, intent on redeeming the unfulfilled promise of America. When the architects of our republic wrote the magnificent words of the Constitution and Declaration of Independence, said Martin Luther King, Jr. at our memorial to The Great Emancipator, they were signing a promissory note to which every American was to fall heir.... We refuse to believe that there are insufficient funds in the great vaults of opportunity in this nation.

The vision of the peaceful warriors of that time has moved us further down freedom's trail and much closer to our ideal of One America. In a twenty-year period, we built the indispensable legal foundation for our progress on issues of equality and opportunity, including such legislation as the Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1968, the Voting Rights Act of 1965, as well as landmark court cases such as *Brown v. Board of Education* (striking a mortal blow at separate-but-equal Jim Crow laws). I have said that we must go beyond the civil rights agenda of the past to fashion new civic covenants for the new century. These must include, the guarantees of educational and economic opportunity as well as community security. But we cannot move forward without addressing continuing civil wrongs rooted in continuing discrimination.

Although the finish line remains some distance away, in the last several decades, we have made great strides in prohibiting discrimination in the law. We have also built a strong national consensus around the belief that all Americans should have equal access to opportunities without regard to race. As a result, much of the overt racial prejudice and hatred that has plagued our nation for centuries has been dramatically reduced. As the Advisory Board on Race said in its final report, Those who argue that there has been no change... and that racism is an unchanging fixture in American life are, in our observation, incorrect.

My Advisory Board made this prescient observation: [N]ow, more than ever, racial discrimination is not only about skin color and other physical characteristics associated with race; it is also about other aspects of our identity, such as ethnicity, national origin, language, accent, religion, and cultural customs. While overt racial prejudice has diminished, the discrimination of today is often more camouflaged. In a sense, this makes it more dangerous: If you are denied a job, apartment, or prompt service in a store on the basis of bigotry that is never expressed, and even cloaked in politeness, then you have no signal telling you to object, to fight. In order to build One America, to finish the work that we have started, it is vitally important that all Americans understand that discrimination

intentional or not, obvious or camouflaged still exists and that each of us has the opportunity and responsibility to help eradicate it. This is about more than enforcing laws. It is about living up to our values and keeping our promises.

With our unprecedented strength, it is all the more intolerable that there are still doors to opportunity that are padlocked by prejudice. That is why I have proposed substantial new investments to strengthen civil rights enforcement at the federal, state, and local levels. Although money by itself will not achieve our civil rights goals, a strong enforcement agenda depends on a sufficient level of resources. For the 1999 budget year, I proposed and Congress enacted the largest increase in funding for civil rights enforcement in nearly two decades. I am committed to continuing this progress, and have therefore proposed a second round of investments for the 2000 budget, bringing the two-year increase to 28 percent. (See text box)

Both now and in the years ahead, however, the federal governments responsibilities in our nations workplan must include more than added resources: First, we must act strategically to put the federal investments where they will do the most good. Second, we must continually explore fresh approaches to winning greater compliance with the law, using tools that complement our litigation. Third, we need better coordination among the agencies and the White House to keep everyone focused, to share strategies, and to forge partnerships with our state, local and private enforcement partners. And fourth, we need to hold ourselves accountable, and do a better job of teaching the wider public about these issues. To that end, we must establish a permanent program of ongoing data collection to provide the best achievable measurements of the extent of discrimination in various sectors of American life. Let me explain each of these a bit more.

Investing strategically: There are several particular areas where what we do in the next few years can have an important effect on the national effort to build One America. Here are some examples:

The Federal government should lead all of the nations enforcers by working to eliminate the unconscionable backlogs in processing discrimination complaints. That is why we are making important new investments in the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, while the Commission continues to streamline its operations.

While states must lead the way in the fight against hate crimes, they should be backed up by the full force of federal power. Our investments in the Department of Justice will help us do that.

Because a quality education is so fundamental, the Department of Education must increase its vigilance and creativity in ensuring that school districts that receive Federal funds obey the antidiscrimination laws in their allocation of all resources from quality teachers to roof repairs to computers.

And, because the rapidly changing demography in many communities can create new enforcement problems, the enforcement agencies must make sure that their caseloads reflect the new realities. For example, there may be housing discrimination against a new population of Asian immigrants in a Midwest city, or language discrimination against Hispanics in a Southern community more accustomed to black-white issues.

Civil Rights Enforcement (Budget Authority in Millions of Dollars)

1998 Actual	1999 Enacted	2000 Proposed	% Change
			Equal Employment Opportunity Commission

279  
 312  
 28.9%  
 HUD: Fair Housing Activit  
 ies  
 30  
 40  
 47  
 56.7%  
 DOJ: Civil Rights Division  
 65  
 69  
 82  
 26.2%  
 DOJ: Civil Rights  
 Enforcement Partnerships  
 --  
 --  
 5  
 NA  
 DOL: Office of Federal Contract Compliance  
 Programs  
 62  
 65  
 76  
 22.6%  
 DOL: Civil Rights Center  
 5  
 5  
 6  
 20%  
 Education: Office fo  
 r Civil Rights  
 62  
 66  
 73  
 17.7%  
 HHS: Office of Civil Rights  
 20  
 21  
 22  
 10%  
 USDA: Ci  
 vil Rights Programs  
 15  
 16  
 19  
 26.7%  
 U.S. Commission on Civil Rights  
 9  
 9  
 11  
 22.2%  
  
 DOT: Office of Civil rights  
 6  
 7  
 8  
 33.3%  
 EPA: Office of Civil Rights  
 2  
 3  
 2  
 --  
 S  
 ubtotal:  
 518  
 579  
 663  
 28.0%  
 There are other examples, but the principle is simpl

c: if we cant solve every problem, we have to make the enforcement choices most likely to bring about systemic improvements leading to One America. That also means trying new approaches.

New approaches: Like other federal activities, civil rights law enforcement has to be conducted within a framework of fiscal discipline and competing national priorities. It is increasingly important to use the best social science evidence we can to help target investigations and enforcement where our actions will have the greatest impact on opportunity and on the publics understanding of racial and ethnic justice. For example, the kind of matched-pair testing I described earlier as one tool for detecting discrimination, can help agencies identify regions or sectors where problems are most severe. Federal enforcers can identify and develop the best practices of this sort and share them with their state and local colleagues.

But enforcement is a last resort, because the laws will be most effective when voluntary compliance is highest. Part of our civil rights success is that most Americans now embrace the principle of nondiscrimination. We can make even greater strides by helping people of good will understand how to evaluate their own practices and avoid even inadvertent actions that are unfair and perhaps illegal. Several federal agencies have taken important steps to promote voluntary compliance, and this effort will be increasingly critical in the years ahead. For example, the EEOC will provide employers across the country with the tools to evaluate and improve their pay policies, so that they may voluntarily make their employment practices fairer. I should also say that straightforward advice about what the law requires, delivered professionally by enforcement authorities, will be an antidote to the swirl of misinformation that too often confuses the public about what is or is not lawful, especially concerning affirmative action.

Finally, being smart with federal investments means recognizing that enforcing the antidiscrimination laws is a responsibility we share with other levels of government. I have proposed to Congress that the Justice Department award competitive grants to state attorneys general a Civil Rights Enforcement Partnership to help demonstrate effective strategies. Just as we have tried to use federal resources to support states and localities in their fight against crime, we should do more to support their fight against discrimination.

Improved coordination: Earlier in my Administration I issued a directive establishing an interagency working group on civil rights enforcement. That collaboration has been valuable, but I believe we can do more. I have now instructed my White House chief of staff to convene on a regular basis a senior working group on civil rights enforcement to be composed of both cabinet and subcabinet officials. I expect this group to do four things. First, to review and resolve any policy issues that are languishing in the bureaucracy. Second, to ensure that enforcement agencies are working cooperatively and sharing insights and resources as appropriate. Third, to establish effective avenues of communication with those outside the federal government concerned with civil rights enforcement issues. And finally, to give me a written report every month. In addition to consultations with state and local enforcement authorities, this group will also seek input from public interest organizations, both liberal and conservative, who may want to offer suggestions about how to improve our performance. At the agency level, the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department will continue to be first among equals in the effort to bring coherence to the varied work of federal enforcers, and will be strengthened in that role by the increased resources in my proposed budget. As a down payment on this aspect of the federal workplan, I have budgeted \$82 million in FY 2000 for the Justice Departments Civil Rights Division a 19-percent increase over FY 1999 and the largest increase in nine years.

Accountability and public understanding: All of these efforts, however, must be tied to results, because if todays enforcement tools and methods cant get the job done, we must find better ones. Moreover, the confused public discussion of where we are on race cries out for better information. The sad fact is that we know much more about how we are doing at producing soybeans and machine tools, and how many television sets are in use on Tuesday at 9:00 p.m., than we do about how much discrimination there is in such areas as housing, employment, ordinary dealings in a retail store, access to insurance or a bank loan, fair expectations for a child from his or her teachers, and fair treatment when a health professional prescribes



a medical procedure (or doesn't). This must change.

#### The Foundation: Modern Race-Related Civil Rights Laws

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibited discrimination based on race, color, religion, or national origin in: various places of public accommodation; in employment; and in any federally assisted program, such as local schools or hospitals.

The Civil Rights Act of 1968, prohibits racial discrimination in the sale or rental of housing; this also includes steering clients to specific neighborhoods on the basis of race or subjecting them to discriminatory application procedures.

The Voting Rights Act (1965) prohibits states and localities from denying or abridging the right to vote on account of race, color, or membership in a language minority group.

My workplan requires a renewed commitment to change, and we need information to gauge our progress, focus our investments and continually improve our strategies in the years ahead. I believe the Federal government should take the lead, working closely with the best researchers, in developing a consensus set of social science tools to measure discrimination and publish a regular report card on how America is doing. I have asked Congress for the funds to launch this effort, building on valuable research over the years at several agencies, especially HUD. I envision this as a collaborative effort of several federal agencies: the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, the Council of Economic Advisers, the National Science Foundation, as well as the independent National Academy of Sciences.

Authoritative information ought to be one of the guiding forces in policy debates on race. I know that research alone can't dissolve prejudice or bring opposing sides together. But the great majority of our people are idealistic enough to want a better community, and practical enough to value information that will help us build it.

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#### B. Completing the Traditional Agenda: Strengthening Civil Rights Laws and Enforcement Strategies

Civil rights enforcement is not solely a federal responsibility. Indeed, it is not the responsibility of governments alone. At root, our laws are a formal statement of our civic ideals and mutual commitments. They have a moral basis, and a moral force in our lives that should not depend on the constant presence of a government investigator or prosecutor. As with every thing from sidewalk litter to freedom of religion, the most important kind of enforcement is that which we do in our private lives in defining and pursuing the kind of community we want.

The simple business of enforcing antidiscrimination laws should be a bipartisan commitment. We should be able to agree on at least this much: enforce the law, and promote voluntary compliance with it. The ground-breaking federal civil rights laws of the 1960s have provided a basic safety net for millions of Americans and fundamentally transformed our society. Nevertheless, I believe that important gaps in civil rights law, and their enforcement, remain.

##### (1) Eliminate Hate Crimes

#### Hate Crimes: Administration Accomplishments

As part of the 1994 crime legislation, the Hate Crimes Sentencing Act provides longer sentences for hate crime offenses. In 1996 alone, enhanced se

ntences were applied in 27 cases.

The Church Arson Prevention Act, supports prosecutions of racially motivated arson and desecration against houses of worship.

The Administration established the National Church Arson Task Force to oversee the investigation and prosecution of church burnings across the country. This Task Force combines over 200 FBI, ATF, and Justice Department officers alongside state and local colleagues.

There is nothing more important to the future of this country than our standing together against intolerance, prejudice, and violent bigotry. No American should be subjected to violence on account of his or her race, color, national origin, religion, sexual orientation, gender or disability. Americans of conscience were horrified by the vicious murder of James Byrd, Jr. in Jasper, Texas and the cowardly torture-murder of Matthew Shepard in Wyoming. But we must do more than shake our heads in shame; we must back up our outrage with tough sanctions against those who perpetuate these crimes. Hate crimes are criminal acts driven by bias against another person's race, religion, disability, sexual orientation, or ethnicity. In 1997, the FBI reported 8,049 incidents of such crimes. Of these, 5,546 were based on the victim's race or ethnicity. It is suspected that many more go unreported. My administration has stood strong against hate crimes through vigorous prosecution under the civil rights statutes. Since 1989, over 500 defendants have been convicted on federal criminal civil rights charges for interfering with the federally protected rights of minority victims. I am proud of what we have done to combat hate crimes, but there is much more to do.

First, we must continue to enforce our civil rights laws vigorously. Under Attorney General Janet Reno's leadership, the Justice Department has taken aim at hate crimes with more prosecutions and tougher punishments. To increase our effectiveness, we have assigned substantially more FBI agents and prosecutors to work in this area, and the Justice Department has marshaled the support of every United States Attorney to establish or strengthen community enforcement strategies to combat hate crimes. The centerpiece of the Attorney General's Anti-Hate Crime Initiative is the formation of local working groups in each federal judicial district consisting of local community leaders and federal, state, and local law enforcement officials. These working groups are helping to improve coordination, community involvement, training, education, data collection, and as an education tool, the Justice Department is also spearheading the creation of hate crime resource guides for teachers, law enforcement personnel, and state and local prosecutors.

Second, we must ensure that when hate crimes do occur, we have the law enforcement tools necessary to identify the perpetrators swiftly and bring them to justice. In this regard, we must pass a Hate Crimes Prevention Act because all Americans deserve protection from crimes of hate. Currently, the law requires we prove that the defendant committed an offense not only because of the victim's race, color, religion, or national origin, but also because of the victim's participation in one of six federally protected activities.

The federally protected activity requirement has impeded our efforts to prosecute hate crimes. For example, the federal government can prosecute a violent, racially-motivated hate crime that occurs in a public school's parking lot, but we may lack jurisdiction if the crime occurs in a private yard across the street from the school. To point out another outrageous limitation, the federal government's ability to respond to a racially motivated attack that occurs in front of a convenience store may depend on whether or not the store has a video game inside. In fact, under our current law, the federal government does not have the authority to prosecute James Byrd Jr.'s killers. Other than verbally condemning the actions of the perpetrators at least one of them an avowed racist who chained Mr. Byrd to a pickup truck in the predawn darkness and dragged him to his death, we would not have been able to use the power of the state to sanction this crime. We must close this gap in the law. The Hate Crimes Prevention Act will expand the Justice Department's ability to prosecute hate crimes by removing needless jurisdictional requirements for existing crimes. Our federal officers must have the authority to work in concert with state and local law enforcement agencies to end hate crimes.

In addition to removing jurisdictional barriers, the Hate Crimes Prevention Act will strengthen current law by giving Federal prosecutors the power to prosecute hate crimes committed because of the victims sexual orientation, gender, or disability. As in the case of James Byrd, Jr., the federal government did not have the legal jurisdiction to prosecute Matthew Shepards murderers under current law. Matthew, a 21-year old college freshman, was beaten in the dead of night, tied to a fence, and left to die alone. At Matthews funeral, his cousin predicted that Matt will have made a difference in the lives of thousands. I want to make sure he does. Congress should enact a bill that sanctions all hate crimes on an equal basis.

Let me emphasize that with the enactment of the Hate Crimes Prevention Act, state and local law enforcement agencies will continue to take the lead in investigating and prosecuting all types of hate crimes. For instance, the Justice Department will continue to defer prosecution in the first instance to state and local law enforcement officials except in highly sensitive cases where the federal interest is significant. The Justice Department will also refrain from following up a state prosecution with a federal prosecution of the same incident unless the state has left a substantial federal interest demonstrably unvindicated. The Hate Crimes Prevention Act will, however, strengthen our ability to work effectively as partners with state and local law enforcement, and to serve an important backstop function with regard to a wider range of hate-motivated violence than federal law currently permits.

Opponents of the civil rights legislation in the 1960s often said, You cant legislate morality. It is true that a statute cannot exorcise that is a personal demon that calls for a moral cleansing. But law does have a function in proclaiming our values and teaching right from wrong. In that sense, over time, law can squeeze hate out of our public lives and eventually out of all but the most diseased hearts. The starting point is to make violent acts of hate against our neighbors a federal crime. And we should do it.

## (2) Expand Antidiscrimination Laws to Cover Stores and Retail Transactions

On April 1, 1993, 21 members of my Secret Service detail were preparing for my visit to the Naval Academy and stopped for breakfast at a Dennys Restaurant outside of Annapolis, Maryland. Fifteen of the agents, who were white, were served quickly. Six African American officers, however, waited for nearly an hour. As it turned out, their food had been ready for 20 minutes, but no one served it to them. Fortunately, in this case, it turned out that the federal government had the authority to enforce the agents civil rights under Title II of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. That federal law entitles all persons to the full and equal enjoyment of public accommodations without regard to race, color, religion, or national origin.

But Alonzo Jackson was not as fortunate. He was the young African American, honor roll student who, in 1995, entered a Eddie Bauer clothing outlet in Fort Washington, Maryland wearing a shirt he had purchased at the store the day before. A security guard accused Alonzo of shoplifting the shirt he was wearing and demanded to see a sales receipt. When Alonzo was unable to produce the receipt, the guard forced him to remove the shirt and exit the store. Only when he returned with the sales slip that evening did the store return the shirt. When this story was first reported in the Washington Post, I was outraged, because unlike in the case of my Secret Service agents, the federal government had no authority to protect Alonzos rights.

### As Title

Title II is currently written, the federal government has jurisdiction over a limited number of public accommodations, including hotels, restaurants, movie theaters, sports arenas, and gas stations. We do not, however, have jurisdiction over many retail establishments and other enterprises that provide everyday goods and services including clothing stores. Thus, despite the fact that the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department receives numerous reports of discrimination based on race or national origin in the provision of everyday goods and services by retail establishments, and despite the fact that social science research and everyday experience tell us that such discrimination is all too common, the Federal government often lacks authority to respond. Our limited authority discourages individuals from bringing important complaints to our attention and



undercuts our ability to redress and deter discrimination. And it probably discourages victims from finding out whether there are state or local laws that might provide a remedy, too.

We need a stronger federal law. I support amending Title II to extend anti-discrimination protections to establishments that provide goods and services to the public. The Justice Department should also have authority to seek monetary damages for proven violations; we need more than the defendants promise just to not do it again. (I also believe gender should be added to the list of protected classes.) This is not, however, only a federal responsibility. I urge state and local authorities to ensure that they have strong statutes against discrimination in retail businesses, and to consider proven instances of such discrimination in licensing decisions wherever appropriate.

The common indignities faced by many citizens of color when they go shopping, or to a restaurant, or attempt to rent a car or repair a television are so at odds with the America we want and so corrosive, that they cannot be tolerated. Our laws should express that value, and judges and juries should provide lessons when necessary.

### (3) Defend Affirmative Action Programs and Promote Voluntary Compliance

The Supreme Court recognized in *Adarand Constructors, Inc. v. Peña* that, the unhappy persistence of both the practice and the lingering effects of racial discrimination against minority groups in this country is an unfortunate reality, and government is not disqualified from acting in response to it. It is my view that not only is the federal government not disqualified from responding to the practice and impacts of racial discrimination, we have an active responsibility to do so. That is why in July of 1995, I stood in the Great Rotunda of the National Archives and pledged my Administration's support for affirmative action as one of the tools we still need in order to open up opportunities, combat discrimination, and promote inclusion.

We have made much progress. The civil rights gains of the last 50 years have brought us from Jim Crow to a new era. Yet, there is still much work to do. We continue to face egregious cases of bias, ranging from hate crimes to landlords who refuse to rent to people based on their race or ethnicity. We are also confronted with more subtle, but no less offensive forms of prejudice these days. The recent study of medical treatment published in the *New England Journal of Medicine* proves that despite our best efforts, and even in the absence of intentional racism, some physicians treat patients with identical symptoms differently—the only differentiation being the race and gender of the patients. Thirty years ago, our nation made a clear and strong statement against discrimination. Led by a Republican President and a bipartisan Congress, America firmly embraced the principles of affirmative action.

Affirmative action began simply as a means to an end of enduring national purpose—equal opportunity for all Americans. It is time to recommit ourselves to this principle. Richard Nixon and his advisers argued, based on experience under the civil rights statutes, that saying "Thou shalt not discriminate" is not always enough to break bad habits or outright bigotry. They were right. Since then, there has been much confusion about what affirmative action is and is not. Here is what I mean:

Affirmative action is any effort taken to expand opportunity for women or racial, ethnic, and national origin minorities by using membership in those groups that have been subject to discrimination as a consideration. It encompasses a range of techniques, from simple outreach and recruiting, to using gender, race, ethnicity, or national origin as a factor in making decisions about, for example, how to allocate resources or whom to hire. Affirmative action must be carefully justified, either by a need to remedy or prevent discrimination, or by a well-reasoned need for inclusion. And it should never be used if there are reasonable, effective alternatives available, or if the purposes of the policy have been achieved.

Affirmative action does not mean numerical quotas—that is, rigid numerical straight jackets. Indeed, except in very

rare court-ordered situations, quotas are illegal and always have been. Nor is affirmative action, when done the right way, a policy under which race and gender trump merit. I believe, instead, that in order to achieve merit and excellence we have to both prevent discrimination and try our best to be inclusive, so we get the benefit of everyone's talents.

As I discussed in Part II, *The America We Want*, I fully recognize how controversial this issue has been and is likely to remain. But racial progress has always been controversial, so the disagreements alone must not be enough to cause us to abandon a tool that remains effective and needed. There is ample empirical evidence showing that affirmative action not only works but that no other approach could produce the same results. Most recently, this was emphatically confirmed by the work of the former presidents of Princeton and Harvard, William Bowen and Derek Bok. Their book, *The Shape of the River*, is a comprehensive review of the benefits and costs of affirmative action in college admissions. In conducting their study, Bowen and Bok found that modest efforts, which opened the doors of higher education to many who otherwise would have been shut out, produced compelling benefits. Young people admitted through race-conscious admission programs did as well as their peers, both in college and in later life. An earlier work by Charles Moskos and John Sibley Butler, *All That We Can Be*, documented the same benefits in our military, particularly the Army.

But we should always be willing to scrutinize these programs for fairness. In 1995, I called for a top-to-bottom White House review of affirmative action. We found irrefutable evidence of continuing discrimination that could only be addressed through a continued reliance on affirmative action. Affirmative action continues to be an important tool in our fight to close opportunity gaps, such as those I described in Part I, *The America We See*.

But our review also showed that there was room for improvement. In some cases, we found that a program was poorly designed to advance its mission. In other cases, the design was fine, but circumstances had changed without the program being updated. I directed our agencies to review their programs, and to modify or terminate those that did not comply with the standards of fairness. As you can see in the text box below, my Administration has taken seriously its charge to mend our use of race in federal programs. At the same time, we have held firm to our commitment to giving all Americans a chance to develop and use their talents, to be full partners in our common enterprise.

There is one other area of affirmative action policy that demands national attention: the growing dangers of resegregation in education. Earlier, I mentioned the problem of deepening racial isolation in elementary and secondary schools, and the importance of creating inclusive classrooms. Also pressing, however, is the threat from attacks on affirmative action in selective colleges and universities.

#### Some Agency Affirmative Action Programs That Were Terminated or Modified

**Department of Defense Rule of Two.** The Rule of Two program set aside procurement contracts for bidding by Small Disadvantaged Businesses (SDBs), where the contracting officer found that there were two or more qualified SDBs that could perform the contract. While there may be some limited circumstances in which this process might be permissible due to significant disadvantages hindering the ability of minority firms to compete, DoD was not limiting the practice to these circumstances. We directed DoD to end this method of issuing contracts to SDBs. **Department of Education Graduate Assistance in Areas of Need.** This program provides grants for fellowships to students from underrepresented groups pursuing postgraduate degrees in areas of national need -- primarily science and mathematics. The Department of Justice advised the Education Department to instruct their college and university grantees to target their outreach and recruitment efforts on towards underrepresented groups, but that they not limit fellowship opportunities to minority students. **Department of Energy Subcontracting Practices.** The Energy Department was authorizing its Management and Operating Contractors -- generally its national laboratories -- to set aside some subcontracts for SDBs. We directed the Energy Department to discontinue authorizing the use of set asides as an approved



means of achieving subcontracting goals. Department of Transportation Federal Railroad Administration Minority Business Enterprise Program. This program benefited only minority firms and not disadvantaged firms generally. The program also applied a uniform 15% goal on all recipients. The Department has altered the program. Department of Commerce Public Telecommunications Facilities Program. Congress directed the Department of Commerce to seek to increase the number of minorities and women in the management of public television stations. We worked with the agency to develop a new system permitting applicants to demonstrate that they are responsive to program diversity in a number of ways and not limited to showing significant minority and female representation in management positions. Department of State Minority Fellowship Program. This program provided minority applicants with a special track into Foreign Service positions. The State Department has since made significant changes in the program, both in program selections and in the way in which selected persons qualified into the Foreign Service. HUDs Section 202 and Section 811 Supportive Housing Programs. Section 202 and Section 811 are statutory programs under which HUD funds the development of housing for elderly persons and for persons with disabilities. For both programs, HUD had used three race-conscious criteria for selecting the nonprofit organizations to develop the housing. We directed HUD not to limit the bidding to minority-owned firms, but only to assess the ability of firms to provide housing to minority communities. Department of Energy Scholarship Programs. We directed the Department to revise a scholarship program so that scholarships were no longer limited to minorities in New Mexico, but instead were available to students attending New Mexico colleges without the use of racial criteria.

The

Supreme Court has interpreted the Constitution to permit government entities to use affirmative action provided it is done the right way with a compelling justification, and narrowly tailored means. The Court and Congress have also made it clear that our civil rights laws permit private individuals and organizations to use affirmative action as well. There is, nevertheless, a well-organized, albeit misguided movement around the country to outlaw the use of race as a factor in admissions.

My support for properly tailored affirmative action policies to create diverse student bodies is informed by the knowledge of what racial-blind admissions policies can reap. After the passage of Proposition 209, California abolished the use of race as a consideration in admissions for graduate and professional schools in 1997 and for undergraduate institutions in 1998. As a direct result, the two flagship public universities saw dramatic declines in admissions for both Latinos and African Americans. Most dramatically, the University of California (UC) Berkeleys Boalt Hall School of Law enrolled one lone African American student down from 20 in the previous year. The number of Chicanos also dropped, from 22 students in 1996 to six students in 1997. There were no Native American students in either year. In 1998, the numbers of minority enrollees improved somewhat nine African American students and 16 Chicanos but they still remain far below that in the last year of affirmative action.

On

the undergraduate side, the number of African American, Chicano, or American Indian students to be admitted to UC Berkeleys Fall 1998 class plunged by 61 percent from the previous year, when race was still a factor in admissions. The number of racial minority students to be admitted to UC Berkeley was the lowest it has been since 1981 when the campus began to record racial information. The second most competitive UC campus, UCLA, announced a decline of 36 percent. All but two of the UCs eight undergraduate campuses announced drops in the enrollment of racial minority students. For the 1999 school year, the University of California announced that it had admitted nearly as many African American, Latino, and American Indian students as it had before banning affirmative action. A closer look at the numbers, however, shows a polarization among the eight campuses. UCLA's minority admissions remained relatively flat and although the number of underrepresented minorities rebounded at UC Berkeley, the increase did not make up for last years sharp decline. The UC rebound, in fact, has been achieved by redistributing racial minority applicants to the less competitive institutions. UC Riverside, for instance, has admitted nearly twice as many African Americans and Latinos as it did two years ago. While we should commend the UC systems outreach and recruitment efforts that are largely responsible for the admissions rebound, every campus should benefit from a racially diverse educational environment; we cannot afford to move towards the resegregation of our most elite public institutions.

Some Americans have misconstrued these results as confirmation that merit has won out. This could not be further from the truth. Using a simple set of test scores and grades to pick a college class, treating them as though they are a complete and accurate assessment of merit, is like picking a CEO because he was a top salesman. Everyone would agree that top corporate executives should be judged on a broad range of qualities — from leadership and interpersonal skills to analytical skills and the ability to communicate. So it is in education — test scores and grades are not the complete measures of merit. What about the young man or woman who has excelled in high school while working after school to support the family? What about the those young people who, against all odds, finished at the top of their class and earned the opportunity to be the first in their family to attend college? What about the pride they bring to their families and communities and the example they set for the young ones looking up to them? These are quintessential American qualities that cannot be measured by simple tests. These are the kind of qualities that have made this nation strong and we would be foolish to discredit them. The use of race as a factor in school admissions can be done without compromising true merit — the full range of qualities needed to make an individual or an institution excel.

[DISCUSSION BELOW OF ADMISSIONS DATA TO BE UPDATED FOR CA, TX, WA]

For its Fall 1998 class, UC Berkeley turned away 800 African American, Latino, and American Indian students with 4.0 GPAs and at least 1200 on the SAT. These students were denied admission not because they were unqualified, but because of a political decision that barred inclusion as a consideration in the admissions decision. I believe that such decisions not only close off opportunities for minority students unjustly, but also deprive non-minority students of a valuable opportunity to learn from and with a richly diverse set of peers. Those students will be less well prepared for the society and economy they will lead. And all of us will be poorer for it.

I also want to take this opportunity to respond to those who attempt to use affirmative action for partisan advantage as a wedge issue. Some have tried to pit communities against one another. They tell one group that it has suffered because another group has prospered. They claim, for example, that Asian Americans will be harmed by race-conscious policies, particularly in the context of college admissions. If affirmative action were practiced by applying restrictive quotas, then Asian Americans would be harmed. Restrictive quotas, however, are a distortion of affirmative action and I believe they are wrong. As Professor Frank Wu of Howard University and others have demonstrated, this divisive tactic blatantly misrepresents the intention and effects of affirmative action. It directs all of us to think along the lines of nothing more than self-interest and encourages us to believe in the false notion that whatever helps one of us must necessarily harm someone else. We know this to be false, and we should continue to think of affirmative action as a means for expanding opportunities for all Americans.

To clear up this and other misunderstandings about the use of race based admissions policies in higher education, my Administration will work with colleges, universities, and graduate schools to promote constitutionally sound affirmative action policies, as well as to ensure that the public at large has an opportunity to learn the truth about the benefits of affirmative action in higher education. We will commit to offering guidance to institutions of higher education, and we will continue to defend against challenges to proper affirmative action policies in court. Beyond that, I will continue my work, strengthened by the efforts of the White House Office on the President's Initiative for One America, to educate the public on the value of affirmative action.

Affirmative action began as a bipartisan effort. For most of its existence, it has enjoyed support from people who have recognized the values, regardless of their ideological backgrounds. Major corporations have embraced it, and introduced innovations in its application. Public opinion surveys consistently show that a majority of Americans believe racial discrimination is wrong and are willing to put in place reasonable policies to address it. Yes, we should look to the day when remedies such as affirmative action are no longer needed to equalize opportunity in America. But until we reach that day, affirmative action, done the right way, can help us move forward. I repeat what I said in 1995: Mend

it, dont end it.

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### C. Defining a New Civil Rights Agenda to Achieve Racial Justice

As I have said, the next frontier of our civil rights agenda is the expansion of opportunities for all Americans. I have talked about expanding educational and economic opportunity and guaranteeing community security as new civil covenants for a new century. In this section, I will discuss several areas on which I would like to focus our law enforcement efforts so that our civil rights agenda takes into account the growing diversity of our nation and the educational and economic rights of all Americans.

#### (1) Combat Discrimination in K-12 Educational Opportunity

I began my discussion of the workplan to build One America with a blueprint for closing achievement and resource gaps in education. Eliminating continuing racial disparities in education must be our highest priority. As we have seen, many of these disparities and the underachievement they spawn are rooted in the panoply of challenges confronting communities of color from poverty and joblessness to the problems of adult literacy and low expectations. I have suggested ways we can tackle those issues. But there is a civil rights component to this problem that demands our attention as well. Education Secretary Richard Riley has called education the new civil right. I agree. In my lifetime, we have seen the abolition of legal segregation and overt discrimination in education. Today, it is economics rather than Jim Crow that perpetuates much of the educational racial divide. But to address the new dynamics of educational disadvantage, we need a new and broader combination of tools, including aggressive civil rights enforcement.

There are a number of federal and state laws prohibiting racial discrimination in educational opportunity, including constitutional provisions of many states that guarantee a fair and efficient system of public education as a right to all their residents. At the federal level, Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibits racial discrimination by any recipient of federal funds, including states and local education systems. The Title VI regulations, enforced by the Department of Education's Office for Civil Rights, prohibit not only intentional discrimination, but also policies and practices that have an unjustified disparate impact by race. This standard is often misunderstood, but it is of great importance and makes great sense.

Mere disparities, however troubling, are not the same as unlawful discrimination. We attack such disparities because to do so reflects our values, and ultimately strengthens America. In contrast, unjustified racial disparities are unlawful under our civil rights statutes. What does this mean? In short:

If a recipient of federal funds has some program or practice that has a disparate impact by race, they must show two things. First, they have to be pursuing some sensible, legitimate purpose. And second, if there is some alternative way to achieve their purposes while avoiding the racial impact, they have to use the alternative. In other words, the federal government will not spend money to support programs that unnecessarily perpetuate or increase America's racial divides.

This is particularly important in the case of educational opportunity. I have asked the U.S. Department of Education's Office for Civil Rights to develop guidance on federal law and policy that reflects the obligations of states and school districts to ensure non-discrimination in allocating resources among schools and school districts under Title VI. I have also asked that the Education Department work with the Justice Department to identify situations in which the federal government can participate in negotiations or, if necessary litigation, to help ensure that the promise of equal opportunity embedded in federal civil rights laws is fulfilled in every facet of our school systems. As noted by William L. Taylor, Vice Chair of the Citizens Commission on Civil Rights, while the federal role in education is limited, it is critical: The constitutional provision

ons calling for a strong national defense and for steps to promote the general welfare establish a national interest in a strong educational system.

Tracking  
and Discrimination

Since 1993, the Office for Civil Rights has paid particular attention to tracking and the placement in special education:

In 1997, the New York City Board of Education agreed to curb inappropriate referrals of minority students for special education and other restrictive special educational settings. To improve the quality of services to students with disabilities, the Board agreed to a multi-faceted strategy that included parent training regarding special education procedures, measurement of learning outcomes, and replication of successful intervention models for at-risk students.

In 1995, the Georgia Department of Education adopted new selection criteria for gifted programs abandoning sole reliance on IQ scores, to use a broader set of evaluation tools. The new method for identifying gifted students is legally sound, far more educationally sensible, and includes far more minority children.

As we approach the new century, poor and minority children continue to be the inheritors of our nation's segregationist history. One critical way in which this past manifests itself today is through the unequal distribution of resources. The difference in actual total revenues that public school districts expend per student can range from \$5,382 to \$11,290 as it does in Vermont, \$6,773 to \$11,895 in New York, \$7,364 to \$12,502 in New Jersey, or \$6,868 to \$15,413 in Alaska. The most common cause of this disparity is the heavy dependence of school finance systems on local property tax revenues, with the local contribution to education revenues being close to 50%. This funding scheme can make it very difficult for poor schools in poor districts to get the resources they need to educate their students, including qualified teachers and services such as early reading programs, preschool, and smaller class sizes. Because a disproportionate number of racial minority children live in concentrated poverty 67 percent of children living in extremely poor neighborhoods are African American or Latino children it is minority children who are currently facing the greatest educational barriers. As I noted earlier in the education workplan, just looking at the dollars spent per pupil can be very misleading. Frequently, high poverty, largely minority schools need more resources to help their students succeed. For instance, lower class sizes may be more important for low income children than others. More funds may also be necessary to support facilities improvements since 67% of schools in central cities report having at least one inadequate structural feature. In short, the educational needs in these schools are often greater. I believe this should be a factor in judging compliance with the civil rights laws.

A part of our nation's workplan in civil rights enforcement must be to support states and school districts who choose, even absent a court desegregation order, to do what they can to resist the residential patterns and socioeconomic forces that too often push our schools towards what I think of as a post-civil rights resegregation. Many school leaders recognize that such patterns of racial isolation are bad for all of our kids, and they make it much more difficult to build One America. Our civil rights laws must be applied in a way that gives maximum support to voluntary policies intended to promote integration.

But there is another legal concern. Today, many minority children are racially isolated through such practices as tracking and assignment to special education classes. These practices drive the continued segregation of students even within schools that are racially diverse and even within a classroom.

Let me be clear about my position here. The purported purpose of tracking is to help students by tailoring the educational curriculum to student aptitude. But too often that purpose is subverted. What I object to are tracking policies which sort children for all or most of the day based on general achievement and behavior rather than on demo



nstrated aptitude in particular subjects. This sorting begins as early as elementary school, where 65% of math and science classes are tracked, and is all too frequently correlated with race and poverty more than with ability. I am opposed to sorting policies that have resulted in a disproportionate number of African American and Latino students being assigned to low-ability mathematics and science classes, and thereby significantly under-represented in gate-keeper courses such as eighth-grade algebra or ninth-grade geometry which are prerequisites to higher level courses. Too often, our practices leave minority students over-represented in special education and low-track courses, and under-represented in math, science, and high-track gifted programs. Moreover, once students are grouped into low-track classes, evidence shows it is difficult to move out.

Educators

who use tracking as an educational tool are often well-meaning and many consider it to be a useful practice. Few teachers, counselors or schools track students explicitly on the basis of race. There is evidence, however, that even well-intentioned tracking policies have limited educational utility and often have harmful consequences. For instance, low-ability classes are often taught by less-qualified teachers and receive fewer resources. This is where sound education policy and effective civil rights enforcement come together. If a school's practices fail to meet standards of sound educational policy, and at the same time work to further disadvantage minority kids, it is a potential issue for law enforcement as well as policy reform. If done well, the two reinforce each other, and the result is more opportunity and better learning outcomes for all children.

So, I encourage educators and policy makers to embark on a national dialogue about tracking to ensure that our educational policies comport with our goal for equal educational opportunity, in word and in deed.

As a parent and

a former state governor, I have learned that successful educational reform depends on the resolve and decisions of states, school districts, and individual schools. The federal government, however, has for over a generation been the insurer of equal educational opportunities and we have a role to play now. Where racial disparities in core educational opportunities exist, we must as a nation work to end the practices that contribute to those inequities. We must not return to a system of separate and equal under a different guise. It did not work in the past, and it will not work now.

## (2) Combat Worker Exploitation

Uncovering

Worker Exploitation: Sweatshops

In August, 1995, the world was shocked and horrified by the discovery of 71 Thai garment workers forced to work behind barbed wire and under armed guard in El Monte, California. The workers sewed garments 18 to 20 hours a day, for less than 60 cents an hour. Many of the workers endured this involuntary servitude for years, and were sewing for some of the nation's top manufacturers and retailers. Once discovered, the Asian Pacific American Legal Center led a small band of activists, including the Thai Community Development Center and Korean Immigrant Workers Advocates, to gain the workers' freedom and then worked furiously to secure shelter, food and medical care for the workers. Their freedom, however, did not mean the end of the struggle.

With the help of the Asian Pacific American Legal Center, the workers fought back. Joined by a group of Latino garment workers who labored at a related factory run by the same captors of the Thai workers, they brought a federal civil rights lawsuit against the manufacturers and retailers for whom they had sewed. They also spoke out publicly against worker abuses and called for corporate accountability as a way to end the egregious violations of labor law, civil rights and human rights in our nation's garment sweatshops. "Together, the Thai and Latino workers have shown that workers will not tolerate abusive conditions," says Julie A. Su, attorney at the Asian Pacific American Legal Center and lead counsel for the workers. I am hopeful that the workers' struggles and story will change the way garment companies do business, so that the horror of El Monte will never, ever be repeated."

After the Civil War, the Thirteenth Amendment was adopted to end slavery. Unfortunately, slavery-like practices continue to exist in

n America and we need strong civil rights protections to end them. We are all too familiar with stories in the media of children and women in other countries working for two dollars a day to produce our toys, clothes, and other merchandise. Most of us would be shocked to think that some of these same horrible practices could be happening right in America.

Unfortunately that is the case. Worker exploitation involves U.S. citizens, legal immigrants, and undocumented workers who are recruited for what they are told are good jobs, only to be forced to work against their will under abominable conditions. This kind of exploitation is a close cousin to slavery, and we must liberate the victims and punish those who would pervert the American dream in this fashion.

Sweatshops, typified by blocked fire exits, unsanitary bathrooms, and poor ventilation, abuse some of the most vulnerable among us--immigrant women and women of color. Because these workers are threatened with job loss or deportation and are held in coercive conditions, their exploitation has been largely invisible.

In addition to humanitarian concerns, sweatshops are bad for our economy. The Labor Department estimates that over half of the 22,000 sewing shops operating in our country violate minimum wage and overtime laws. Many sweatshops pay their employees in cash and evade tax liabilities. In California alone, hundreds of thousands of primarily immigrant workers have been denied their rightful wages and the state has lost over three billion dollars in uncollected taxes. Similarly, the New York State Labor Department estimates that sweatshops in New York City represent an annual loss of \$20 million in social security and employment taxes.

Over the past few years alone, the Justice Department has liberated over 200 victims of worker exploitation. And we have taken steps to ensure the safety of victims so they will be more willing to step forward and testify. Prosecutions succeed in large part because victims help the authorities, often at great risk to themselves.

There is currently no way to reach those who force others to work through debt bondage or psychological coercion, when there is not also evidence of force or threats. We need to expand federal law beyond the Supreme Court's narrow, nineteenth century interpretation of involuntary servitude so that we can reach traffickers who hold workers through coercion and subject them to horrible working conditions.

#### Uncovering Worker Exploitation: Agriculture

In 1997, notorious farm labor contractor Miguel Flores was sentenced to fifteen years in jail for holding over 42 Guatemalan and Mexican immigrants as slaves in the fields of Florida and South Carolina. A three-year investigation by the U.S. Border Patrol and the Wage & Hour Division of the Department of Labor dismantled Flores' operation, which provided labor to farmers up and down the eastern seaboard. Flores and his henchmen, who were also successfully prosecuted, recruited undocumented aliens at the U.S./Mexico Border, transported them in inhuman conditions across the country, confining as many as 26 victims in unsafe vans for days at a time.

Upon their arrival in Flores' isolated labor camps, Flores told them that they owed him for their transportation, and threatened them with death if they dared leave without permission. Flores hunted down and pistol-whipped workers who tried to leave. After months of forced labor, the victims were able to escape. In an investigation noteworthy for cooperation with Latino community advocates and immigrants rights groups, dedicated agents and prosecutors followed the migrant trail to find the widely dispersed victims and bring Flores to justice. According to Department of Justice prosecutor Lou de Baca, "Whether in migrant fields, brothel houses, or sweatshop factories, we must work together to fight these barbaric practices. A model of cooperation among agencies and with the advocacy community, the relationships formed by the Flores case resulted in the creation of the National Worker Exploitation Task Force, through which we are finding and stamping out modern-day slavery. I also support creating a n

new nonimmigrant visa classification that will strengthen our ability to detect, investigate, and prosecute cases of trafficking of aliens, while offering protection to victims of such offenses. Their testimony is often critical in prosecutions of sweatshop operators.

We can also take steps to enforce and strengthen the Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA), increase the number investigators, and ensure proper training government agents and prosecutors.

The private sector must also do its part. I support voluntary apparel industry initiatives designed to ensure that clothes and footwear purchased in the United States are manufactured under humane working conditions. I was proud to announce a voluntary code of conduct that prohibits child labor, guarantees a minimum or prevailing industry wage, and provides for a maximum 60-hour work week. We all understand that businesses are in business to make a profit. Labor rights, however, must be a part of the basic framework within which businesses compete.

### (3) Combat Discrimination in Health Care

Improving the health care of people of color must be a leading civil rights issue in the new century. The racial disparities in health status are well documented. The underlying causes include poverty, lack of access to quality health services, environmental hazards in homes and neighborhoods, and the absence of effective prevention programs tailored to specific community needs.

#### Health Disparities

A baby born to an African American mother has twice the risk of dying in the first year than a white baby. An American Indian baby is 1.5 times more likely to die.

African American men suffer from heart disease at nearly twice the rate of whites.

Cervical cancer is nearly five times more likely among Vietnamese American women than white women. Liver cancer among Vietnamese Americans is more than 11 times higher than whites.

#### Diabetes

Diabetes in African Americans is approximately 70 percent more common than in whites; and the prevalence in Hispanics is nearly double that of whites.

#### Hispanic children

Hispanic children are five times more likely to be without a usual source of health care than white children.

Hispanics of all ages are the most likely to be uninsured. Nearly three in 10 Hispanic children have no insurance coverage.

But, health disparities are also a function of discrimination. As a subject we have been reluctant to discuss. As David Barton Smith, director of the Healthcare Management Program at Temple University noted, The solution [to the health care divide] that we seem to have drifted into is not to talk about race. Yet, all too frequently, discrimination either prevents minorities from getting access to health care altogether, or forces them to accept health care delivery systems that, while not separate, are entirely unequal.

Evidence shows that even when factors such as education, insurance, income, and access to quality health care services are held constant, there are still disparities in the system. For example, a recent Georgetown University study vividly highlighted the problem, showing that the race and sex of hypothetical patients had a significant effect on the treatment decisions of the physician. Georgetown University researchers documented that physicians would refer African American women for heart catheterization significantly less often than they would refer identically situated white men. This study suggests that race and gender independently influence how physicians manage chest pain. The quality of health care was color-coded.

This is a persistent problem, and as we struggle in the larger arena of health system improvements, we must not lose sight of it. Recent enforcement settlements by the Office for Civil Rights (OCR) in the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services have uncovered a number of issues, including:

**Medical redlining.** OCR negotiated a settlement agreement with a national home health agency that had instructed employees that they were not required to provide service to persons residing in predominantly minority areas of New Haven, Connecticut, because these areas were designated as unsafe.

**Segregation.** OCR negotiated corrective action in a New York City hospital which had segregated maternity wards, with one floor serving predominantly minority patients and the other, non-minority patients.

**Language minority patients.** OCR negotiated an agreement with a University hospital in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania whose inadequate language assistance practices had resulted in serious problems for a Hispanic woman who came to the Emergency Room with vaginal bleeding and lower abdominal pain due to her high risk pregnancy.

**Access.** OCR negotiated an agreement with a hospital in a Texas border town which provided its security personnel with uniforms similar to the uniforms worn by the U.S. Border Patrol. In the settlement, the hospital agreed to discontinue the use of the uniform, which had the effect of discouraging the local Hispanic population from using the facility.

At the same time we work to improve the overall health of the American people, I have committed the nation to an ambitious goal of eliminating, by the year 2010, the racial and ethnic disparities in six areas of health status: infant mortality, cancer screening and management, cardiovascular disease, diabetes, HIV/AIDS, and immunizations. Eliminating these disparities requires involving public health experts, civil rights groups, community leaders, medical professionals, and the private sector. The United States Surgeon General is leading the effort on the public health front. We must bolster that effort with an equally aggressive enforcement initiative to eliminate discrimination in health care. Here's how I propose we do it:

First, in any legislation establishing a Patients Bill of Rights, I will support the inclusion of civil rights protections that safeguard against discrimination contributing to health disparities. Second, we must ensure the aggressive enforcement of existing anti-discrimination laws by federal, state and local authorities. Third, the federal government must do more to educate all our citizens about their health care rights. All too frequently, victims of discrimination in health care do not realize that they have been victimized as such discrimination is extremely subtle. We also have a responsibility to work with health care providers. The rapid growth of managed care raises distinct civil rights concerns, especially in connection with Medicaid managed care programs that involve populations who are disproportionately minority, and who frequently have limited English proficiency. I have asked HHS to develop a civil rights best practices guide for managed care providers that would assist them in complying with their civil rights obligations.

Finally, we need to foster change at the so-called point of service - improving the relationships between patients of color and their health care providers. I am calling on hospitals, HMOs, medical schools, and other institutions that train health care professionals to establish formal training programs which will foster cultural sensitivity. The University of Wisconsin Medical School offers a course to medical students on racial issues in medicine. Other institutions should follow suit. Relatedly, the discrimination documented by OCR and in the medical literature reinforces the compelling need to ensure that the health care profession reflects the ever increasing diversity of the population. I commend the efforts of the Association of American Medical Colleges to ensure the enrollment of 3000 minority students in medical schools by the year 2000. Similar programs are needed throughout the health sciences.

Improving Care by  
Increasing Opportunity



In 1997, the Moses Cone Health System in Greensboro, NC received a grant from the National Surgical Adjuvant Breast and Bowel Project to increase minority cancer patients' access to clinical and prevention clinical research trials. During this same period of time, several African American physicians began to emphasize the apparent opportunity gaps for minority physicians within the system. For instance, very few African Americans were part of the senior management team, sat on the important committees, or were included in the newer physical contracting alliances. Subtle differences existed as well, including the perception of disparate treatment on the part of hospital personnel and with regard to access to unassigned patients. In response, the hospitals' health systems administrators and physicians came together to resolve these outstanding problems.

This has resulted in several concrete outcomes. For example, the hospital learned from meeting regularly with African American physicians that some sickle cell patients in the community were dissatisfied with the quality of their care. Because the relationship between the hospital's African American physicians and Moses Cone management had been strengthened by their regular meetings, the two groups were able to come together, along with the Sickle Cell Disease Association of the Piedmont, to improve patient care. Today, sickle cell patients report better overall satisfaction. Moses Cone has also dramatically reduced the inpatient length of stay by opening an 8-hour short-stay unit. As a result of African American physicians and Moses Cone management working together, patients have benefited.

Eliminating discriminatory barriers to health care for minorities is not only a legal requirement, it is a moral imperative.

#### (4) Ensure That Every American Lives in Environmentally Safe and Healthy Communities

In 1997-98, a group of residents in Convent, Louisiana, were engaged in about the biggest fight of their lives. A multinational corporation was threatening to build a \$700 million plastics manufacturing plant next to the small, mostly black, low-income community. The factory would produce polyvinyl chloride (PVC), a plastic resin used in tubing, piping, and a variety of other products. But the factory would also release 3.6 million gallons of wastewater each day and six hundred thousand pounds of toxic emissions annually into the Mississippi River. The PVC factory would be joining the seven manufacturing facilities already located in the town, and the seventeen factories in the county.

This concentration of industry, plus the array of hazardous-waste incinerators, oil refineries, and landfills that lined this stretch of land between Baton Rouge and New Orleans had earned this area the nickname Cancer Alley due to the unusually high levels of certain health problems, including asthma and respiratory problem.

The residents went to court with a petition under the Clean Air Act to revoke the plant's permits. They also filed a complaint with EPA under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, claiming that the community was being subjected to discrimination in the process of siting the factory.

The civil rights and environmental issues were complex and divisive, and opinion in Convent was split. The plant meant 255 new jobs and additional benefits for a community where 40 percent of the residents lived below the poverty line and unemployment hovered at 62 percent. With these stakes, many residents and even the local chapter of the NAACP supported the PVC project. Before these issues could be resolved, however, the company announced that it was shifting the proposed location of its plant to elsewhere in Louisiana and was scaling down the scope of the facility. The residents had won a truly David and Goliath struggle.

Why should we care about this story? The battle in Convent typifies the challenges facing too many communities of color across the country as they confront decades of neglect and systematic exclusion from the government decisions that together have left their communities blighted and their health threatened. It illustrates the false and dangerous choice that is all too often given the powerless: take the joblessness, or take an unfair environmental burden. Poor people and people of color, while being most vulnerable to public health hazards, have the fewest

resources with which to deal with environmental harms. They often have the least mobility, both in terms of employment and residence, and thus, even in the face of toxic exposure, they usually cannot find new jobs or homes. Stories like Convents are a warning to us that unless we lift the toxic burden that these communities have borne unjustly and for too long, the battle lines will be drawn again and again in other communities determined to overcome this insidious legacy.

Studies consistently show that poor people and people of color bear the disproportionate burden of not only toxic waste facilities, but air pollution, lead poisoning, pesticide poisoning, and garbage dumps. In 1987, the United Church of Christ Commission for Racial Justice published Toxic Wastes and Race in the United States, a report concluding that race is a major factor in the presence of hazardous wastes in residential communities throughout the United States.

It found that three out of every five African Americans and Mexican Americans lived in communities with uncontrolled toxic sites. The evidence indicates, moreover, that race plays a more significant role than poverty in the siting of environmentally dangerous facilities. In California, for instance, the three classes of toxic waste dumps are all situated in or near Latino communities. These problems are not limited to hazardous waste sites. For example, 75 percent of the residents in rural areas of the Southwest—a very disproportionate number of whom are Latino—are drinking pesticide-contaminated water. Moreover, more than two million tons of uranium tailings have been mined and dumped on Native American reservations, the result being that Navajo teenagers are said to have reproductive organ cancer at seventeen times the national average.

Convent represents

the potential of an emerging movement of people in communities just like it, from the barrios of Los Angeles to the South Side of Chicago, from Albuquerque to Chester, Pennsylvania. This new movement is fusing civil rights law and environmental law into a discipline known as environmental justice. Environmental injustice, as defined by the United Church of Christ, is racial discrimination in environmental policy-making and enforcement of regulations and laws, the deliberate targeting of communities of color for toxic waste facilities, the official sanctioning of the presence of life-threatening poisons and pollutants in communities of color, and the history of excluding people of color from leadership of the environmental movement. As a corollary, environmental justice to me means ensuring that every citizen enjoys equal protection from public health hazards not only under the nation's civil rights laws but under its environmental laws as well. Environmental justice disputes have been around for decades, but it must move to the forefront in the 21st century.

Environmental justice is especially

critical to safeguarding the health of our children. Race and income remain all too reliable as indicators of children's health, and many of the most serious health threats are directly linked to environmental quality. Asthma, which is a major cause of school absences among children, provides perhaps the most compelling example. A 1998 study by the American Lung Association reported that the incidence of childhood asthma is almost twice as high for blacks, and three times as high for Puerto Ricans as for whites. We know that air quality, both indoors and outdoors, is closely linked to the asthma attacks that keep children out of school, and that minority communities are disproportionately exposed to unhealthy air. Our efforts to close the racial gap in educational achievement is made more difficult because the environmental health gap produces illnesses and absences that can drag down achievement for some kids.

Lead poisoning

provides another striking example. We know the devastating effects of childhood lead poisoning on intellectual capacity and educational prospects. Unfortunately, we also know that despite our overall success in reducing childhood lead poisoning, minority communities continue to suffer far higher rates. Toxic burdens similar to lead poisoning too often remain invisible, so the damage they do to lives and to opportunity is too little noticed. But we can see the illness gap, and we must act.

Environmental degradation also plays a role in steering

investment away from many communities of color, and it contributes to the flight from metropolitan areas that isolates an underclass in many of our inner cities. Environmental conditions also affect the incidence of crime. When police take steps to stop polluters from using streets and vacant lots of poor neighborhoods as dumping grounds for toxins, it helps stop the cycle of collapse that f

ceeds other crime in the community. I have pressed Congress to strengthen the tools available to law enforcement in fighting the environmental crime that plagues these communities.

But we must do more. Part of this entails defining an antidiscrimination agenda, and part of it is about an anti-indifference agenda. No leader—federal, state, local, civic or corporate—should be uncertain about what needs to be done. Reducing the epidemic rates of asthma, accelerating cleanup of toxic waste sites, expanding the community's right to know about toxic emissions, providing resources for urban open space—these are among the concrete actions for our workplan.

We also need to ensure that communities have a voice in the decisions that affect them. Congress and state legislatures have included public participation provisions in a number of environmental laws, including the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA). For almost 30 years, NEPA has required the federal government to assess the environmental impacts of its actions, and involve the public in the process.

Early in my Administration, I issued an executive order, Federal Actions to Address Environmental Justice in Minority Populations and Low-Income Populations. This new measure provides that [E]ach Federal agency shall make achieving environmental justice part of its mission by identifying and addressing, as appropriate, disproportionately high and adverse human health or environmental effects of its programs, policies, and activities on minority populations and low-income populations. My goal is for federal agencies to broaden the way they think about the impacts of major projects, and to collaborate in new ways with other levels of government and with community groups.

There are other vehicles for combating environmental racism. One such tool is Title VI administrative advocacy. EPA's regulations, under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, prohibit disproportionate impacts in the administration of environmental programs, including siting and enforcement. So that we may better use this tool, I have asked EPA's Office of Environmental Justice to develop and distribute guidance with regard to the filing and review of Title VI administrative complaints.

Government action is essential to bring about environmental justice, but community activism remains our most potent tool. Community residents, working together with environmental and civil rights organizations, across the country have stopped the siting of toxic waste disposal facilities in their communities and forced industry to move from a pollution control to a pollution prevention mode of operation. Motivated by the threats that toxic wastes pose to family health and community survival, women activists in particular have assumed the leadership of environmental justice struggles. In some ways, individual Americans have been more effective than our laws and regulations in reducing toxic waste, and have stepped into the shoes of the civil rights activists of the 1960's.

#### Concerned Citizens of Central LA

CCSCLA is a community-based organization made up of residents, businesses and organizations of the Vernon-Central neighborhood of South Central Los Angeles. CCSCLA was started up in response to a \$535 million bond issue sponsored by the City of Los Angeles which would have allowed for the development of the LANCER Municipal Waste Incinerator in a community of African American and Mexican American residents; the facility was designed to be a 13-acre incinerator, burning 2,000 tons per day of municipal waste. CCSCLA, made up primarily of women and mothers, won its battle despite having little political experience. CCSCLA forged alliances with a wide range of international, national, and grassroots environmental groups, as well as women's groups, and targeted all levels of government.

The women of South Central Los Angeles adopted many of the strategies of the earlier civil rights movement, including public protests, lobbying, reports and fact finding, and educational hearings. The next generation of leaders is already showing its mettle. TIME magazine recently honored three young members of CCSCLA -- Maria Perez, Fabiola Tostado, and Nevada Dove -- as heroes for the planet. In the tradition of their mothers, they are fighting to close and cleanup a school built on



a bed of soil and groundwater contaminated with hexavalent chromium.

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D.

Prevent Violations of Law by  
Reducing Racial Tensions and Promoting reconciliation

Finally, I want to talk about what the federal government is doing and what other levels of government can join in doing to help communities and neighborhoods ease racial tensions. In 1959, Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson first introduced the idea of establishing a federal agency to assist communities in restoring and maintaining racial peace: It could be one of the longest and most far reaching steps toward an ultimate solution of the civil rights issue that could be taken, he said. Five years later, President Lyndon Johnson signed into law the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which included in it the authority to create the Community Relations Service (CRS). The bill was a rejoinder to the disappearance of Mickey Schwerner, Andrew Goodman, and James Chaney in the little Delta town of Philadelphia two weeks earlier, and a cry against the 80 beatings, 35 shootings, 35 church burnings, and 30 burnings which took place in Mississippi in the summer of 1964. It reflects our nation's willingness to use the resources of the federal government to help bridge racial divides and calm simmering passions.

CRS was created to help our nation move from separation to inclusion, discrimination to equal participation, and inequity to equity. Despite the many accomplishments of civil rights laws, we have not been able to legislate away racial and ethnic conflicts, and individual expressions of racial hatred. That is why CRS is so very critical. It is a cadre of experienced and committed men and women working at the grassroots level to bring conflicts and disturbances relating to race, color, or national origin to peaceful resolution. CRS lends its assistance when asked or when it learns that a community may need its assistance. Through impartial mediation and conflict resolution procedures, it helps local leaders resolve problems and restore community stability. CRS has no law enforcement authority and does not impose solutions, investigate or prosecute cases, or assign blame or fault. CRS is an example of how the federal government not only enacts laws from Washington, D.C., but works to build peaceful communities.

The partnership between CRS and local communities has been fruitful, and CRS has proven itself to be the premier agency in preventing and resolving racial and ethnic conflicts. For instance, when a 55-year-old Vietnamese man was killed by a shotgun blast at point-blank range in St. Louis, police and immigrant advocates requested CRS conciliation and mediation services. The murder had catalyzed pre-existing racial tensions between the Southeast Asian and African American communities who were mistrustful of one another. The community asked CRS to open up communications between the two communities, and to help law enforcement work with the community in investigating the case. CRS worked hard to improve communications between the police and a community mistrustful of law enforcement. The value of CRS is that it works where conflicts arise in the community and supports the work of committed individuals, organizations, churches, and local governments in resolving their disputes.

Because of its track record, I called on CRS when one of the worst blights in our national past began to reproduce itself over 500 Black churches burned or desecrated over a period of two years. While we did not have hard evidence of a national conspiracy, it was obvious to everyone concerned that racial hostility fueled some of those devastating flames.

My priorities were to help communities and churches rebuild, enforce the rights of all Americans, and prevent future church fires. CRS played a major role as a principal partner of my Church Arson Task Force. In 230 communities in 17 states, CRS teams worked to ease racial tensions, train local leaders and aid in the rebuilding effort. As noted by Mark Logan, ATF Officer of the Year Without CRS, we could not have done it. We needed CRS on the ground, calming the community and making sure a volatile situation did not get much worse. With CRS help, we were able to conduct a thorough investigation which led to i



ndictments of suspected church arsonists.

CRS has a long history in community building, and their continued efforts will be even more necessary as our growing racial and ethnic diversity presents new challenges. In my FY 2000 budget, I have requested over \$10 million to support its efforts. This is an important step towards restoring CRS capacity to respond to communities facing racial disruptions and civil strife. But we must continue to strengthen CRS. This is one of the most valuable tools communities can use to reduce racial tensions and promote reconciliation.

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## Conclusion

Americas long struggle for racial reconciliation was ennobled by what we now call the civil rights era. From the struggles for a seat on the bus, to the struggles for a seat in Congress; from the integration of our schools to the guarantees of voting rights for people of color, our commitment to civil rights has been a commitment to redeem the promise of America. Today, many of the old battles have been won, but new ones have emerged. We must not rest until the stain of discrimination is washed invisible from the fabric of our society until every American is assured that skin color or accent or cultural custom has no effect on the quality of education or health care or public service they receive. On that summer afternoon almost 40 years ago, on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial, John Lewis joined with Martin Luther King in calling for our long march to justice to continue until true freedom comes, until the revolution of 1776 is complete. The American revolution is not yet complete. The civil rights movement goes on.

Endnotes: Part III: The Opportunity We Deserve

[Introduction to Part III]  
[Section 1, Education]  
[Section 2, Economic Development]  
[Section 3, Crime]  
[Section 4, Civil Rights Enforcement]

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## 5. Creating Opportunities for Native Americans

### A. Introduction

In 1994, I held a historic meeting at the White House with American Indian and Alaska Native tribal leaders from over 500 federally recognized tribes. For most of them, it was their first ever visit to the peoples house. I hope it is not the last. Native Americans occupy a special place spiritually, culturally, and historically in America.

Last year, while hosting a White House conference on economic development in Indian country, I met a young man named Dominic Ortiz from the Prairie Band Potawatomi Nation. Dominic graduated from Haskell Indian Nations University, one of this countrys tribal colleges, and transferred to the University of Kansas to major in accounting. While at Haskell, Dominic started his own successful business. His business is not only thriving, it has allowed him to finance his education. Dominic embodies the entrepreneurial spirit sweeping through Indian country. Just as he is creating his own future, we must give all Native Americans the support and tools they need to determine their own futures through their own acts and decisions.

We are living in a time of great prosperity and hope. Our economy is the strongest in a generation. For the first time in three decades, the budget is balanced. There are nearly 18 million new jobs since I took office, wages are rising at more than twice the rate of inflation, home ownership is at its highest rate in history, and unemployment is at its lowest in almost thirty years.

But, for many Native Americans, the picture is quite different. American Indians lag behind the general U.S. population on many socioeconomic measures. According to the 1990 Census, the median family income of American Indians was \$21,750, about 62 percent of the \$35,225 median for all families. And by some measures this gap appears to be widening. In 1979, 27 percent of American Indian persons were living below the poverty level compared to 12 percent of the U.S. population. By 1989, 31 percent of American Indians were living in poverty compared to 13 percent of the U.S. population.

The Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota is one of the poorest places in America. The stark beauty of the vast plains contrasts with the harsh existence of the people who live there. Housing is scarce, overcrowded, and often lacking indoor plumbing, electricity, or a telephone. There is no industry. No factories. No technology. Two of every three adults living on the reservation are out of work. The average life expectancy for the Oglala Sioux men who live there is only 56.5 years, and for women, it is 66 years. Similar conditions exist on reservations across our nation where the lack of paved roads, telephone lines, and other physical infrastructure serve as major barriers to economic development. We expect all of these conditions in a struggling third world country, not in a thriving America.

Today, however, we have a real opportunity to expand prosperity to every corner of our nation. Indian Country and Native Americans must not be left behind.

Before Europeans landed on Americas shores, Indian nations were self-governing societies with remarkable scientific, artistic, and cultural achievements. The 558 federally-recognized tribal governments are a permanent part of the political structure of our nation. Since our founding, the United States has recognized many Indian tribes as domestic dependent nations with sovereign powers over their members and territory and has entered into numerous treaties with various tribes pledging protection and guaranteeing tribal self-government. It is because of this unique sovereign relationship between the federally recognized tribal governments and the United States that Indian status under federal law is characterized as a political rather than a racial or minority classification.

In 1831, Chief Justice John Marshall recognized that the United States has a special trust responsibility to protect Indian tribes. That trust responsibility is manifested in treaties, agreements, court decisions, statutes, executive orders, and in the overall course of dealings between the federal and tribal governments. These executive, legislative, and judicial actions charge the United States Government with legal and moral obligations of the highest responsibility and trust toward Indian Tribes. Under federal law, the United States has a legally enforceable fiduciary responsibility to protect tribal lands, assets, resources, treaty rights as well as a general obligation to fulfill the mandates of federal laws with respect to American Indians and Alaska Natives.

Regrettably, our nation has not always lived up to these legal and moral commitments. Between 1778 and 1871, when the last treaty was signed, Indian tribes ceded millions of acres of land to the United States. In treaties of cession, tribes generally retained or reserved lands or rights in lands in exchange for certain federal protections, services, and benefits, such as law enforcement, education, medical care, and technical and agricultural training. All too frequently, these solemn promises made in treaties were broken. Our failure over a century and more to invest sufficient resources to meet these obligations has hindered the social and economic advancement of Native Americans and has produced economic conditions on many reservations that bear witness to the dishonorable stain on our nation's character.

We also must bear in mind that our nation often has pursued policies that have undermined the capacity of tribal governments to spur the social, economic, and institutional development of tribal communities. As well-intended as these policies may have been in the minds of those promoting them, efforts to coerce the assimilation of Native Americans served largely to weaken and destabilize the very institutions best-suited to serve the community tribal governments. The time has come to break decisively with the past and stop trying to impose conditions on tribes. As reflected in my executive order on tribal consultation,

we must work with tribes on a government-to-government basis, recognizing their ability to steer their own course and set their own priorities. In my discussions with tribal leaders, it has become clear that their three top concerns are economic development, education and community safety. And while these concerns are shared by most Americans, the dire conditions faced by many Native Americans, especially those living on reservations, adds a special urgency to our response.

## Economic Development

Economic and business development is clearly a top priority in virtually every tribal community. Even though economic conditions in Indian country have improved in recent years, American Indian and Alaska Native communities continue to lag behind the rest of the United States by most social, economic, and educational measures. Complicating factors such as geographical isolation and under developed infrastructure add to the challenges confronting tribes as they work toward a better standard of living and quality of life for tribal peoples.

As the new millennium dawns, there is reason to be hopeful, however. A small, but significant number of tribes have succeeded in reducing poverty and unemployment through the aggressive pursuit of new economic activities. Tribal gaming operations have produced the most dramatic success stories. What began with a handful of tribal bingo halls in the early 1980s has grown into a more than \$7 billion a year industry. The revenues from gaming have allowed some tribes to pursue economic development strategies such as starting new business enterprises, investing in infrastructure, and building concert halls, sports arenas, and golf courses.

As lucrative as it has been for some tribes, gaming is not a panacea for every tribe. While over 200 tribes have gaming operations, most of the overall gaming revenue is generated by only a small number of tribes. Revenues from the development of natural resources such as timber, minerals, and oil and gas remain a major source of income for tribal governments, and farming and ranching continues as a way of life for many reservations residents. Nonetheless, the mere fact that numerous tribes have achieved significant, sometimes dramatic, measures of success appears to have stimulated a growing sense of optimism throughout Indian Country.

But, as we have said, access to the tools of opportunity—credit, investment and jobs—is essential to building strong and stable communities. This is a critical gap in most Native American communities. Securing business loans and mortgages is often difficult for individuals in poor, minority communities, but, in Indian Country, it is virtually impossible. Conventional approaches to resolving this situation are problematic on reservations and other Indian trust lands because of the peculiar legal status of such lands, particularly in the case of mortgages. Reservation land is held in trust by the federal government on behalf of tribes. This trust status and legal protection is extremely important from the perspective of Indian landowners, but there are tradeoffs. Banks are extremely reluctant to make loans without collateral or the ability to foreclose on a property in the event of a default. To extend the availability of loans for homes on Indian trust lands without breaching the trust doctrine, the Departments of Housing and Urban Development, Agriculture, and Veterans Affairs have authority to issue government-insured loans. The process, however, is complex and time-consuming requiring coordination between at least two separate federal agencies.

I believe that Native Americans, like every American should have the opportunity to own their own home. That is why as part of the first-ever White House Conference, Building Economic Self-Determination in Indian Communities, I announced a One-Stop Mortgage Center Initiative to streamline lending procedures, coordinate the federal agencies involved in providing support for mortgage lending on reservations, and encourage greater private-sector lending. I am also pleased that the Treasury Department's Community Development Financial Institutions Fund is in the process of developing a study and action plan, which will identify barriers to private lending and investment in Indian country and will recommend solutions in order to increase access to capital and credit for Native American populations.

## Education

As I have said many times, an indispensable key to economic and human development is education. It is critically important that American Indian and Alaska Native students receive the same educational opportunities that are available to other students. The Native American population is young—39 percent of the American Indian population was under 20 years old in 1990, compared with 29 percent of the Nations total population. We must work with tribes to ensure that future generations of Native Americans, descendants of the great warriors such as Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse, are able to forge successful lives, whether on or off the reservation.

Elementary and secondary education is normally thought of as the domain of state governments, but, out of its trust responsibility, the United States is responsible for two school systems—one serving the children of military personnel and the other serving the children of tribal communities. Of the 185 BIA-funded elementary and secondary schools on reservations today, approximately half of the buildings are over 30 years old, and approximately 20 percent are over 50 years old. Many of these schools require replacement or much-needed health and safety-related repairs and improvements that together comprise a roughly \$700 million backlog.

I have made education a top priority of my Administration. I have challenged the public schools of this country to hire better teachers, to set high standards, to become more accountable, to fund school construction and fix crumbling buildings, and to wire every classroom to the Internet. These same challenges are even more crucial for BIA-funded schools. With buildings crumbling and decaying, it is nearly impossible to wire these classrooms to 21st century technology. It would be a grave injustice to fail these children because we have a special obligation to prepare them for the future. For the first time, I have proposed legislation that permits the leveraging of local resources to help repair and replace these federal schools. This legislation provides for \$200 million in bonding authority in both FY2000 and FY2001 for these federally-funded schools with additional funds which will help attract investors by helping to repay principal. This legislation will empower the Tribes to make significant changes in their communities.

Although we must work to improve the BIA-funded schools, we must also work to ensure that the public school system serves American Indian children. About 90 percent of American Indian children attend local public schools, while only about 10 percent attend BIA-funded schools. Many of these children face unique challenges. Approximately 50 percent of American Indian fourth-graders scored below the basic level in reading and mathematics in recent tests.

Little is likely to change without more concerted focus. That is why I signed an executive order designed to improve the academic performance of American Indian and Alaska Native students in grades K-12. This executive order puts in place a process to ensure that there is strategic planning with respect to Native American students. One of the first outcomes of this process is my proposal to begin training and recruiting 1,000 new teachers for areas with high concentrations of American Indian and Alaska Native students. This initiative provides financial assistance to students who commit to teach in the targeted areas, provides assistance for the creation of programs to train teachers, and allows for continuing education to ensure that the quality of teachers remains high.

As we improve elementary and secondary education for Native American students, we must make a college education a reality for each and every American Indian child. Less than two-thirds of Native Americans are high school graduates compared with 75 percent of the rest of the population. Less than 10 percent of Native Americans have bachelors degrees compared with 20 percent of the total population and studies show that only about 35 percent of Native Americans who enter mainstream institutions as freshmen are graduates. We must create support structures in mainstream institutions for Native American students, and we must do more to encourage American Indian students to attend college. I have fully supported this countrys cadre of tribal colleges. These institutions, located directly in Indian communities, provide the chance for a college education to students who do not have the funds to attend more expensive schools or the means to leave their families behind to attend schools that are hours away.



Finally, the cultures of American Indian tribes are a rich part of the heritage of this country. We all have a stake in maintaining Native languages and cultures. Yet, there is an alarming decline in the use of Native languages indigenous to the United States. We must work with tribes to preserve the languages, before it is too late.

#### Community Safety

While we have made remarkable strides in fighting violent crime throughout the nation in the last several years, tragically, in the same period of time, violent crime has been on the rise in Indian country. Recently, the Department of Justice, in its first comprehensive analysis of Indians and crime, reported that American Indians are victims of violent crimes at more than twice the rate of the rest of the country.

In much the way that illegal drugs and crime are linked in society as a whole, use of alcohol is a major factor in violent crimes involving American Indians. American Indian victims reported a drinking offender in 46 percent of all violent victimizations, such as rape, sexual assaults, robberies, and other assaults, about 70 percent of jailed American Indians convicted for violence reported that they had been drinking at the time of the offense.

Another problem is that youth gangs are no longer a plague of inner cities. They are becoming more prevalent in Indian country. While some of the conditions which lead to gangs elsewhere such as extreme and pervasive poverty, lack of role models, and limited opportunities are at work, we must do more to understand the unique nature of gangs in Indian country.

Indian communities often have other unique law enforcement and public safety problems. While soaring homicide rates have shortened life expectancy for black men in urban areas, the death toll on reservations often results from motor vehicle accidents and suicides. For American Indians, suicide is the eighth leading cause of death. Accidents are the third leading cause of death on Indian reservations.

Part of the problem is clearly a lack of police officers and other law enforcement resources. While there are 2.8 police officers per 1,000 citizens in rural counties nationwide, there are only approximately 1.4 officers per 1,000 citizens on Indian reservations. There are only about 2,000 BIA police and uniformed tribal officers patrolling 56 million acres of Indian lands in the lower 48 states, protecting more than 1.4 million residents. By contrast, 3,600 police officers protect the 540,000 residents of our Nations capital. In addition, departments often are so woefully under funded that patrol cars are most likely to be 5 to 10 years old, with the odometer showing considerably more than the 60,000 miles that federal regulations say should be the maximum. Many Indian police are armed with old six-shot revolvers instead of the semiautomatic weapons that most other police departments have, and most officers do not have bullet-proof vests.

Law enforcement on reservations is also hampered by the overall geographic isolation, the vastness of the area to be covered, and the lack of adequate emergency support services in tribal communities. Many officers must drive hundreds and hundreds of miles to assist other officers. The Navajo Nation alone is 26,500 square miles. It is incomprehensible that a police officer must venture alone, out-manned and outgunned, into an immense landscape. All too comprehensible is the fact that, like many others in poor minority communities, many American Indians have lost faith in the criminal justice system. There is a perception that the federal government has turned its back on helping to protect these communities.

In order to make Indian people feel safe in their homes and in their communities and to restore some trust and confidence in law enforcement, I have made law enforcement in Indian country a priority. Since 1995, the Justice Department's Office of Community Oriented Policing Services has awarded approximately \$68 million through 395 grants to 187 Indian tribes and Alaska Native villages. These grants have funded the salary and benefits for almost 900 police officers in Indian Country. In 1997, I directed the Attorney

y General and the Secretary of the Interior to collaborate on a plan for a new organizational structure for Indian law enforcement that streamlines budgeting and identifies manpower needs. In addition, I asked Congress for a significant increase in funding for law enforcement and public safety in Indian Country, including funds for new tribal police, detention facilities, juvenile justice programs, and tribal courts, as well as additional FBI agents and Bureau of Indian Affairs officers, so that we might dramatically improve public safety in Indian Country.

The Interior and Justice Departments joint law enforcement initiative continues to significantly increase federal law enforcement resources in Indian Country. During the first year of the program, 30 additional FBI agents, 32 new BIA criminal investigators, and over 200 new BIA and tribal police officers, detention officers, and radio dispatchers have been deployed. In addition, through the COPS program, tribal governments will be provided a series of flexible options to address specific and critical community needs by hiring new, fully trained and equipped community police officers or by equipping and training current police personnel. Increasing law enforcement personnel in Indian Country only addresses part of the problem. We should work with tribes to assist in providing alcohol and drug abuse prevention programs, as well as juvenile delinquency prevention initiatives.

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Through extensive federal-tribal consultation, it is evident that tribes and tribal communities view economic development, education, and crime prevention as the three areas in need of immediate attention. In addition to federal leadership, there is much that we all can do in these areas to improve the lives of Native Americans as we work to build One America. Let me turn now to that broader workplan.

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## B. Education

### (1) Mentoring, Monitoring and Research for Native American Students

While we have made significant strides in improving the quality of education for Native Americans, several formidable barriers remain.

One of the main reasons for the low rate of high school graduation among Native American students is that many of them routinely transfer back and forth from BIA-funded schools to public schools near their reservations. Experts believe this turmoil interrupts the educational process, diminishing a student's ability to advance in a normal fashion. Having a student's records spread between two or more school systems also makes it more difficult for teachers to adequately assess a particular child's skill levels. As part of my Comprehensive Educational Mentoring and Research System, I am proposing significant changes to rectify this problem. But currently, we don't even have good statistics on this phenomenon.

In fact, there are many aspects of education for Indian children that demand more study. Through my Native American education executive order, I directed top officials in the federal government to develop a comprehensive federal research agenda on Indian education. Through sustained investments in research and evaluation in this area, I hope to improve accountability, identify best practices, and better understand the barriers to Indian student achievement, such as the effects of frequent transfers between BIA schools and public schools.

Mentoring and tutoring can also help pave the way to higher achievement and higher education for Native American students. Students who receive mentoring or tutoring on a regular basis are more likely to complete high school and go on to college. I am proposing that we work closely with tribal governments, school administrators, and the

tribal citizenry to encourage and promote a mentoring and tutoring program for American Indian students. Older students, senior citizens, or other adults in the community can play major roles in preparing young people for higher education. The mentors could follow and work with students as they advance from grade to grade to ensure that they are on the right track to college. I believe that these kinds of activities can go a long way towards our goal of increasing academic performance in Indian schools. Local Native American student mentoring programs can also avail themselves of the help AmeriCorps and the National Senior Service Corps can provide. They should also be encouraged to take advantage of other Federal resources, such as the Gaining Early Awareness and Readiness for Undergraduate programs (GEAR-UP). GEAR-UP provides funds for mentoring, tutoring, and academic and career counseling to help students in high-poverty schools prepare for and attend college.

By involving tribal elders in mentoring, we can also help preserve Native American culture and language. Many Indian students are proud of their heritage and are hungry for knowledge of their roots and the rich cultural legacy of their people. Too often they are frustrated in this quest, adding to their sense of alienation. In addition, there are very few role models they can look up to and learn from. Tribal elders can fill this gap by providing both the historical knowledge and a positive influence to students. I believe that a strong mentoring system that honors Indian culture can vastly increase student achievement and the numbers of American Indian students that are prepared to go on to college.

## (2) Eliminate disparities for American Indians in public school systems

American Indian students attend schools operated by state, federal, and tribal governments, with about 90 percent in state public schools. States, localities, and tribal governments as well as the BIA must do a better job of working together to ensure that Native American students have equal access to high quality curricula, teachers, classrooms, and materials.

Key factors contributing to the education gap include, high student mobility rates, high drop out rates, and high teacher turnover rates. We find these problems in many communities, especially poor and minority communities. But in concert with the other challenges of life in Indian Country, they demand that tribal, state and local governments come together to develop concrete strategies focused on Native American children.

I believe that as we work to give all American students the world-class education they deserve, as I described in the education section of the workplan, we will see some of the most dramatic gains in our hardest pressed communities.

## (3) Enhance learning for Native American children through early childhood education which honors cultural traditions

American Indian children often do not come to school ready to learn. They have often had to face serious health and safety issues. Most do not have access to early childhood education programs which are linguistically, culturally, and developmentally appropriate. Head Start, which includes Indian Head Start, provides grants to local, public and private agencies for comprehensive child development services for low-income children up to age 5 and their families. Since 1993, my Administration has expanded Head Start by almost 70 percent. In addition, the Bureau of Indian Affairs funds over 20 Family and Child Education (FACE) projects, which serve over 1,500 families. The FACE program provides early childhood opportunities for Indian children with curricula and activities that recognize their unique culture and educational needs. All school systems must focus on early childhood and pre-school programs so that Indian children are given the kind of assistance that meets their unique educational needs. These programs should promote school readiness, enhance native language development, and increase the potential for learning among young American Indian and Alaska Native children.

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## C. Economic Development

### (1) Model Community Initiative for Encouraging Economic Development

We won't have One America unless we bring growth and opportunity to Indian Country. As in other communities, the private sector must be the engine of growth in Indian Country. But the Federal government can help by catalyzing private sector growth; by supporting development of the infrastructure necessary as a foundation for such growth; and by helping to provide education and training to give Native Americans a better chance to succeed in our modern economy.

Fostering of an entrepreneurial culture is one of the best ways to promote economic development within tribes and tribal communities. Entrepreneurship and small businesses have always been the backbone of a strong American economy. And these are vital to job creation in the global economy of the 21st century. We must work with Indian Country to find ways to capitalize on the strengths of small and medium-sized businesses in order to diversify the economies of each and every community. We must provide the tools and assistance Tribes need to nurture home-grown firms, encourage innovation and risk-taking, and enhance investment in new businesses.

Finding the start-up money for new businesses and new building is a daunting task for anyone, but, as I said earlier, access to capital is next-to-impossible in Indian communities. I am proud that the Community Development Financial Institutions (CDFI) Fund, which works alongside mainstream institutions in expanding access to capital in low-income communities, has begun several successful activities in Indian Country. The CDFI Fund has invested in a number of Native American-owned CDFIs and CDFIs serving Native American communities. For example, the Fund is working with First American Credit Union, which provides basic financial services to 15,000 Native Americans throughout Arizona and parts of New Mexico and Utah, helping leverage capital to support small agricultural and Native American craft businesses. The CDFI Fund is also conducting a study on barriers to lending and investment, and will make recommendations for ways to expand access to capital in Indian Country.

I also have made the provision of equity capital to new markets a priority with my proposed New Markets Initiative. I propose to spur investment for business growth in low and moderate income rural and urban communities, including Indian Country, with initiatives such as targeted Small Business Investment Companies (SBICs); BusinessLINC, which helps link larger businesses to smaller firms; and legislation for tax credits and New Markets Venture Capital Firms, which would provide capital and technical assistance to small businesses. Finally, 18 American Indian and Alaska Native tribes were selected to participate in the Round II Empowerment Zones (EZs) and Enterprise Communities (ECs). Indian tribes are participating in two of the five EZs, including the Oglala Sioux Tribe on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota and the Desert Communities EZ in California with three participating Indian tribes. Of the 20 ECs, eight include tribal entities. Under these programs, the federal government provides tax benefits for businesses, flexible grants to carry out comprehensive revitalization strategies, and the ability to apply for waivers from federal programs enabling local communities to better address their particular needs.

We also must all work together to ensure that the dream of home ownership becomes a reality in Indian Country. Under my Executive Memorandum, HUD and Treasury, in conjunction with the Interior Department and tribal partners, are helping to streamline the mortgage lending process in Indian Country, cutting down the barriers to private sector home mortgage lending. In addition, HUD, in close cooperation with tribal leaders across the country, is working to create a national housing model called Shared Visions to build and renovate affordable housing on tribal lands and to help more Native Americans become homeowners. This model strives to increase the number of affordable, quality homes and to make it easier for Native Americans to obtain mortgages by encouraging private sector partnerships, streamlining federal regulations, and improving coordination among federal agencies and tribes. As



part of the project, a nonprofit will be established to provide financial help, low-cost financing, down payment assistance, and home ownership counseling.

Finally, we must help tribal governments to invest in technology infrastructure. Many places on reservations do not have telephones, computers, or Internet access. The Department of Commerce is conducting a study to identify the infrastructure technology needs in Indian country and will set forth proposals to address these needs. The federal government, along with Tribes, states, and the private sector, must work together to ensure that reservations are hooked up to information technology and that the infrastructure to support this technology are put in place.

By focusing federal resources on improving economic development in Indian Country through creating an entrepreneurial culture, providing access to capital, encouraging home ownership, and investing in technology infrastructure, we will help tribal governments bring growth and opportunities to Indian Country.

(2) Promoting cooperation between the federal government, States, local governments, and the private sector to invest in economic development in Indian country

We must encourage more cooperation between state, local, and tribal governments. Because of the sovereign status of tribes, states cannot directly tax tribal governments. Along with this lack of ability to directly tax tribes, there is a misperception that Tribes do not contribute to the local economy and that revenues flow from states to tribes, but not in the other direction. One study estimates that the annual spending by reservation residents, tribal governments, and reservation-based businesses create over 300,000 jobs and generates \$10 billion in wage and salary income in the national economy. Locally, reservation residents, tribal governments, and reservation-based businesses create \$246 million in annual tax revenues for state and local governments. Reservation residents spend some \$3.1 billion of their \$7.4 billion annual household income off the reservation for consumer goods and services. Tribal governments and reservation-based businesses together purchase consumer goods and services off-reservation totally over \$5.5 billion annually. From these statistics, it is clear that state and local governments should work in partnerships with tribes to develop economic strategies for entire regions.

(3) Investing in infrastructure in Indian country, both in technology and through transportation systems

We must of course continue working with tribes to build roads and to develop water and wastewater systems, including solid waste disposal. But I am especially concerned that Indian country also have the new infrastructure for the information economy. Because of their often remote locations, American Indian and Alaska Native communities stand to benefit greatly from the information technology, yet are in grave danger of being left behind. A recent Department of Commerce study on Internet and computer usage in America shows that, although many more Americans now own computers, minority and low-income households are still far less likely than white and more affluent households to have personal computers or access to the Internet. Even more disturbing, this study reveals that this digital divide between households of different races and income levels is growing. States, local governments, tribes, the federal government, and the private sector must all work together to ensure that Indian youth have the access to 21st century technology in their classrooms and that Indian communities have access to the technology so critical for economic development.

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#### D. Community Safety

(1) Tribal Government  
Based Law Enforcement Initiative

A safe community provides the foundation upon which economic development can flourish for all Native Americans. But we must fight crime and ensure public safety in Indian country the right way. That means

ans developing federaltribalprivate partnerships that respect tribal sovereignty while making sure that much needed resources are used to improve the quality of life in Indian Country. Community policing has been the cornerstone of my Administrations law enforcement initiatives. This model provides a community-based approach to law enforcement, by providing flexibility in identifying problems, and creating a partnership between citizens and law enforcement. This model fits well with Indian country, where each community has unique but overlapping problems with other Indian communities.

A broader vision, however, is necessary to address the special needs of tribal communities more comprehensively. That is why I am proposing the Tribal Government Based Law Enforcement Initiative. This initiative is based on the idea that comprehensive strategies and coordinated funding are the most effective way for the federal government to assist communities in addressing local problems. There are three primary objectives: (1) to gather insights and information from local leaders to form the basis for effective solutions to their law enforcement problems; (2) to address community problems in a comprehensive way through effective planning and appropriate funding; and (3) to promote inter-tribal exchanges of ideas and experiences, as well as to promote coordination among tribes for more efficient use of resources. Here s how it would work:

Through the use of technical assistance, the federal government will work with tribes, on a government-to-government basis, to help them identify the unique law enforcement and public safety problems in their community. Tribes will assess their communities needs and priorities and develop appropriate strategies to address them. Through this process, the communities will develop a comprehensive plan to address law enforcement and public safety concerns.

The communities will use these plans to apply for law enforcement funds in a new, coordinated process with one application rather than on a piecemeal basis. This will ensure that the communities can maximize the use of federal funding in a coordinated, problem-solving manner. The goal of this project will be to help Indian communities develop comprehensive strategies for improving public safety.

The project will have an evaluation component and tribes will be encouraged to set performance goals for reducing crime.

This project should be expanded at successive phases to tie into other agencies besides the Department of Justice. Particularly in Indian communities, a large portion of the crime problems are tied to alcohol and substance abuse. In order to address these problems in a comprehensive way, law enforcement should work in tandem with other federal programs to solve the underlying cause of many of the incidents of crime.

This initiative will empower communities to solve their law enforcement problems at a local level and in a comprehensive manner, and rebuild a sense of confidence in law enforcement in Indian country.

- (2) Build cooperation to ensure public safety in Indian communities and provide positive influences for Indian youth to stay out of crime

Tribal communities are among the youngest population groups in America, and many tribal youth are at risk. The development of youth gangs has been a disturbing trend in Indian Country, and many tribal youth lack role models and opportunities. That is why it is critically important that we develop strategies for creating a more stable environment for tribal youth in both the short and long term.

Through the Department of Justices Volunteers for Tribal Youth (VTY) Program, we will build a federaltribal partnership project designed to help American Indian tribes enhance or create sustainable communitybased volunteer programs. These programs will be specifically aimed at creating positive opportunities for youth and reducing youth and/or gang violence. The Department, working in partnership with 18 federal and national nonprofit organizations, will work with tribal communities to identify opportunities for volunteers, including elders, to serve as

mentors, tutors, and positive adult rolemodels for American Indian youth. To that end, this program intends to provide tribal communities with the financial resources, training, technical assistance, organizational guidance, networking assistance, and other resources necessary to create and sustain communitybased volunteer programs.

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## Conclusion

Despite this nations tragic history, we now have a chance, working together with tribes, to make sure the first Americans are full participants in One America, and full partners in bringing it about. Tribal communities stand at the threshold of a new era, filled with the promise of greater prosperity and a higher quality of life. Native American children must have the same opportunities to succeed in our thriving economy as any child. And Native American families must be given the tools to live out their dreams and fulfill their God-given potential. We can make this a reality in the coming millennium if we acquire a better understanding of our moral and constitutional commitments to American Indians and Alaska Natives, and then take the necessary steps to end discrimination, respect tribal cultures, and close opportunity gaps.

## Endnotes:

Part IV: The Community We Must Build

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is local leadership that will transform talk into reality. This movement must be led by those who know the needs and concerns of their communities.

Angela

E. Oh,

Presidents Advisory Board on Race

## A. Introduction

As President, I have had the privilege of meeting and talking with Americans from all parts of our country. Whether I am chatting with my old friends back home in Arkansas, or listening to the concerns of urban families struggling to give their kids a decent education, or trading insights with students from Maine to California not a day goes by without my being reminded that most Americans of all races are people of good will who are committed to building a stronger America across racial lines. Many want to do their part. They are just not sure what to do or where to begin.

In *The America We See*, I described the present challenges facing us on the issue of race: lingering discrimination, persistent disparities and strained race relations based on the fears and stereotypes in our hearts. In *The America We Want*, I offered my vision of the America we must strive for. In *The America We Deserve*, I presented a number of workplans suggesting what we all must do to get to the promised land.

But solving specific problems in education, in law enforcement, in economic development can be difficult for reasons that go beyond the challenges at hand. Finding solutions can be hard for reasons that are more than skin deep and are, at root, matters of the heart. An indispensable element of One America must be the development of a new sense of community strengthening connections to others, and finding a common purpose that unites people across racial and ethnic differences. One of the most potent ways to do that is through civic engagement in which we all participate to help strengthen our democracy and build a more perfect union.

## The Empathy Gap

Before I talk about the specific things we must do, I want to discuss why building One America sometimes seems so elusive. A big part of this problem is that, despite all of the progress we have made in civil rights and race relations over the past half-century, we still suffer what I call an "empathy gap" -- an acute difficulty in seeing others as part of our own community or part of our lives.

For too long, we have primarily defined ourselves by the things that make us different -- color, gender, religion, class. And while diversity makes America rich, thinking about our differences in a manner that excludes feelings of empathy for others, serves only to divide us. Poisoned personal attitudes then give rise to misunderstandings, prejudice, and even racial hostility -- on all sides. People of privilege may view the plight of those less fortunate -- especially minorities -- as the problems of "those people." Many minorities come to believe that no white person can be trusted and that people of color will never be fully accepted into America's mainstream. Yet, if people retreat into enclaves of isolation, trusting no one but themselves, we will never form the kind of multiracial coalitions that are so necessary for change, and so necessary to build communities.

All of this has devastating public policy consequences. It is much harder to marshal public will to empower and improve the lives of the less fortunate, or to join with people to strengthen communities and institutions, if the wealthy see poor minorities only as people "other" than themselves. As one consequence, and despite our basic goodness as a people, the empathy gap leaves some of us uninterested in, or even blind to, the lives and struggles of others. Many of us do not even know about the extraordinary levels of unemployment on Indian reservations that would cause public outrage in suburbs or even urban centers. We lament but tolerate levels of crime within urban ghettos five times what we find in even non-affluent suburbs. We have watched as reported violence against Asian Pacific Americans has jumped 17 percent and harassment by an alarming 161 percent since 1995. We also tolerate national levels of poverty for blacks and Hispanics three times that for whites, and even greater for some Asian American subgroups. Complacency allows us to live with the racial gaps in opportunity, and is a major obstacle to building One America.

The reasons for this empathy gap are the distances -- both psychological and physical -- that continue to define race relations in America. In addition to the festering wounds of our divisive past, we still, too often, live and work and study separated by lines of class and color. Ultimately, the inability to see others is a failure of heart that hurts us, both as individuals and as a nation.

I believe that there are two ways for us to close the empathy gap. First, we need more interaction. Much of our inability to see others goes away when we work together to improve our workplaces, our neighborhoods, and our communities. Second, we need to better understand ourselves as well as others.

Closing the empathy gap through interaction and understanding is a matter of both heart and community. It requires that we look inward, that we are honest, and that we reconcile ourselves with our deepest feelings about race and class, about biases, and about prejudices. But it also requires that we look outward, that we remain hopeful, and that we reconcile ourselves with our neighbors and with those whom we don't yet know so that we can build stronger communities. In the rest of this chapter, I will discuss ways that we can build One America through old-fashioned civic engagement and by looking to the promising practices of thousands of Americans who are showing us the way.

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## B Civic Engagement

### (1) What is Civic Engagement? Why It Matters, Especially Regarding Race

As a public servant these many years, I have learned that the



vitality of our nation and our communities depends on whether and how we fulfill our responsibility to participate in the give-and-take rhythm of citizenship.

That means living fully and freely as active members of our vibrant democracy. Civic engagement can be practiced in many ways. As Robert Fullinwider says, civil society "extends from churches and soccer leagues to reading groups to social movements. It encompasses highly organized national federations as well as informal neighborhood crime watches; it includes associations as large as the AARP and as small as the family. Its activities produce an amazing array of goods from community safety to companionship to medical care to spiritual guidance."

Civic engagement involves informal groupings like tenants' associations and parent-teacher groups, as well as those activities we traditionally think of as "political," like voting and community activism. You don't have to be involved in something called "politics" to make democracy stronger. But you do have to be involved with your neighbors to make your community stronger. And you do have to make efforts that cross lines of color and class to build One America.

Civic engagement is the cornerstone of democratic self-government. When French social theorist Alexis de Tocqueville visited the United States in the 1830s, he saw Americans' propensity to form civic associations as the key to their ability to make democracy work. Recent scholarship has indicated that Tocqueville was right: historically, Americans have been unusually civic. And, in the words of Harvard political scientist Robert Putnam, "The norms and networks of civic engagement powerfully affect the performance of representative government."

I believe that many aspects of the citizenship we need for One America—engagement, trust, improved race relations, increased political commitment—are nurtured by the basic organizations of society. These include schools, jobs, congregations, clubs, and institutions founded to support social and political causes. Government can play an important role, but for much of the hard work, the answers and the energy must come from these other sources.

That is why government action must be coupled with civic engagement in our efforts to build One America. Race seems like such a barrier in contemporary America because many of us have not yet had the opportunity to interact with, or to work alongside, folks we think are not like us. People who have will tell you there is nothing like working with a diverse group, painting a low-income housing project, deciding on a neighborhood watch strategy or trying to register and organize voters for an upcoming election. There you all are, doing your jobs and planning together, when suddenly, you see your community, and your self, in a whole new light.

To build One America, we must all become more involved in our communities. Here are four important reasons why:

**Improve Institutions:** The active participation of diverse groups within organizations not only promotes racial reconciliation, it also makes it more likely that their work will benefit the greatest number of people. A school PTA, a labor union local, a girl scout troop are obvious examples.

**Create trust and cooperation among people:** Bringing people of different racial and ethnic backgrounds together around a shared goal gives people a chance to respect and trust each other while broadening understanding. Furthermore, it helps individuals understand the needs of a larger community and nation.

**Help meet community needs, with and without government partnership:** Of course, government at all levels is an important partner in, and sometimes an important leader of, voluntary activities. But without strong community institutions government often fails to meet local needs. Communities around the nation have successfully come together to make streets safe, reduced drop-out rates, and literally build gardens in neighborhoods once filled with graffiti and garbage. Congregations, through volunteers, have taught classes on child-rearing for young parents, on language acquisition for newly-arrived immigrants, on computer skills for working adults.

## Take Charge of Your Own Future

: Civic engagement is the essence of empowerment. America works best when Americans take personal responsibility for decisions that affect them and their children.

### (2) Civic Engagement in Practice: Ways to Become More Involved

In the United States, there are countless ways to get involved. We can participate in formal, more traditional politics or we can engage in national service such as the AmeriCorps program. We can join other community groups, like churches or clubs, whose main purposes might be social or recreational, but which help us build community ties and relationships that are so important in a healthy democracy. Finally, we can join with others in groups that give us the opportunity to improve race relations.

If democracy is America's civil religion, voting is its most important sacrament.

No one can deny that an essential element of American democracy is an active government of, for and by the people. We can decide to participate in politics in many ways by serving in local government, by working on campaigns, by running for office or by becoming part of a social movement. But, regardless of whether we choose to become political activists, all of us of voting age should participate fully in the political process by casting our ballots. America's preeminent leadership for peace, freedom, and prosperity both here at home and around the world is fueled by the simplest but most powerful act of our democracy: voting. In many ways the struggle for civil rights and racial progress in America is analogous to the struggle for voting rights. And this struggle has not been all black and white.

The 15th Amendment declared

the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude. But new barriers, like poll taxes and literacy tests, were erected to prevent blacks and poor whites from casting their ballots.

It was not until that historic confrontation on Selma's Edmund Pettus Bridge and the monumental Selma to Montgomery march that the Voting Rights Act of 1965, outlawing these racist impediments, was passed. Full voting rights for women were not secured until the passage of the 19th amendment in 1919. It wasn't until 1924, with the passage of the Indian Citizenship Act, that Native Americans won the right to vote. It took until 1952 for the Walter-McCarran Act to extend full citizenship and voting rights to Asian immigrants. And only after the elimination of English-only elections through the passage of the Voting Rights Act Amendments of 1975, did the final barriers to Hispanic voting rights fall.

Consider the fact that while our Declaration of Independence and Constitution proclaimed liberty and justice for all, originally this only applied to property-owning white males. Barbara Jordan once put it in stark terms, when she said of the Preamble to the Constitution, We the People. It is a very eloquent beginning. But when the document was completed on the 17th of September in 1787, it was not included in that We the People. America's on-going efforts to right those wrongs is marked by the blood, sweat and tears of scores of voting rights warriors from Frederick Douglass, Sojourner Truth and Elizabeth Cady Stanton to Martin Luther King, Willie Velasquez and Viola Liuzzo, who was one of a number of white freedom riders who lost their lives at the hands of bigots while working with blacks in the south for equal voting rights in the 1960s.

The right to

vote is not only a sacred testament to the struggles of the past. It is the indispensable weapon in our current arsenal of efforts to lift up and empower those who have traditionally been left out, particularly people of color. So much progress from the passage of civil rights laws to the increase in the numbers of minorities holding elected office is the direct result of citizens exercising their right to vote. And so many of the needed changes in public policy, including those I have suggested as a One America workplan, require active support by voters. Otherwise little will change. But, today, too many of us take our right to vote for granted. In recent presidential elections in France, for example, nearly 85 percent of the eligible voters went to the polls on election day. In America, there aren't more than two states that ever have an 80 percent turnout, even during a presidential election when interest runs very high.

So, we must do more to encourage greater participation in the electoral process. One way to do that is to make voter registration easier. Some states are already doing this with such methods as election-day registration and registration by mail. And all states are required to participate in Motor-Voter, so you can register when you renew your drivers license. All states should take action to increase voter participation.

While there are any number of steps we can take to accomplish this goal, let me mention just two. First, I believe we will continue to experience real frustration in our efforts to increase voter participation in traditionally underrepresented groups unless we make a concomitant effort to reduce the barriers that illiteracy imposes. Increasing adult literacy is one of the building blocks of our educational workplan for building One America. I believe it will also result in an enormous increase in voter participation throughout the nation. Second, if we really want to go from 50 percent to 80 percent voting participation, we must make it easier for working families to get to the polls. Some have suggested keeping the polls open longer, voting over two days, or even voting over an entire weekend. I believe all of these ideas deserve serious consideration. We should renovate the infrastructure of democracy for the 21st century.

Whatever it takes, government, at every level, must promote rather than discourage participation. But, citizens from all walks of life must do their part. Let me give you an analogy. There was a time when people carelessly threw paper or soda cans on our streets and sidewalks. We called them litterbugs. Through sustained public and private pressure, we changed that destructive behavior. Today, littering is unacceptable in most communities. We must bring about a similar cultural change in our attitudes toward voting. A failure to vote must be as widely rejected as throwing litter in the civic square. Voting must be seen for what it is: a patriotic duty, essential to strengthening our democracy and building One America.

Another way we can act in the public arena to build One America is through citizen service. Service to others is a bedrock American value that reaps tremendous benefits. First, and perhaps most importantly, service improves the quality of life for Americans. Citizen service plays a critical role in such efforts as increasing childhood immunizations, bringing health care services to rural areas, and expanding educational opportunities for all students. Second, service builds and strengthens community ties across the boundaries of class and race. Finally, people who serve gain immeasurably from what they give to others. There are many ways to serve: from working on a neighborhood beautification project to serving on a tenants' board, from volunteering overseas in the Peace Corps to serving at home in AmeriCorps.

The military provides a powerful example of how to build ties across boundaries of class and race. Since the armed forces were racially integrated in 1948, the U.S. military has shown that when men and women of various backgrounds work together towards a common goal, they can overcome many social and cultural divisions. In addition, a system like the Army's, which uses what researchers Charles Moskos and John Sibley Butler call "race-savvy," and not "race-blind," principles, allows people of color to reach the highest levels of leadership. The Army has shown that integration can work, but only if we work at it. And for the military, where unit cohesion is indispensable to national security, pursuing equal opportunity and racial reconciliation the right way are matters of life and death.

Americans have a long tradition of coming together to meet our nation's challenges. During the Depression, President Roosevelt created the Civilian Conservation Corps, the CCC, which engaged the unemployed to work to clear trails, fight fires, plant trees, and build state parks. Thanks to the CCC, Americans today are able to hike the Appalachian Trail and enjoy the beauty of Skyline Drive in Virginia. In the 1960's, President Kennedy called for young people to serve in the Peace Corps. As a result, Americans taught English, provided health care, and brought running water and electricity to communities in Africa, Asia, and South America. Peace Corps volunteers continue to serve throughout the world, and I have asked the Congress to increase our investment so that more people, both here and abroad, can reap the rewards of this outstanding service opportunity. AmeriCorps builds on this tradition of national service.

When I started running for President in 1991, I had this idea of young Americans working on the grass-roots level to get things done and while doing so, strengthening our communities. I also knew that we needed to open the doors of college to everyone. AmeriCorps is the blending of these ideas service and education. As President, one of my first major initiatives was to create the Corporation for National Service (CNS), the agency that administers AmeriCorps. CNS works with states, nonprofit organizations, faith-based groups, schools, and other civic organizations to provide opportunities for Americans of all ages to serve their communities. Six years later, AmeriCorps is thriving.

Over 100,000 people have served in AmeriCorps in just four years of the full-time program, and they are getting things done. In 1998 alone, AmeriCorps members: taught or tutored 500,000 students and mentored 95,000 more; recruited 39,000 volunteers; immunized 64,000 children; helped with disasters in over 30 states; worked with over 3,000 safety patrols; local law enforcement and civilian groups; trained 100,000 people in violence prevention; built or rehabilitated 5,600 homes and helped put 32,000 homeless people in permanent residences; and worked with people with AIDS and other serious diseases. America is a better place today because of AmeriCorps. I hope to continue our investment so that by the year 2003, and every year after, 100,000 young people will be serving in AmeriCorps.

In addition to getting things done, AmeriCorps has brought America together. AmeriCorps members are diverse, ranging from high school dropouts who achieve their GEDs through the program to individuals with postgraduate degrees who bring needed specialized skills to communities. AmeriCorps looks like America: 21 percent are African American, 11 percent Hispanic, 3 percent Asian American, 2 percent Native American, and 61 percent white. And they are all ages, although most are under 30, and from all economic backgrounds.

#### AmeriCorps Programs

**Opening Doors.** AmeriCorps\*VISTA Members in Washington County, Oregon are working to ensure that low-income women gain access to maternity care and related support services.

**AmeriCorps\*NCCC.** AmeriCorps\*NCCC is a ten month residential national service program that takes its inspiration from the Civilian Conservation Corps. Corps members work on environmental projects, as well as in disaster relief, education, and public safety. AmeriCorps\*NCCC Members live on one of five campuses that serve the different regions of the United States.

**Notre Dame Mission Volunteer Program.** Over 100 AmeriCorps Members in eight cities have tutored over 2,700 students in elementary and middle schools resulting in significant improvements in reading levels and completion rates of homework. In addition, Notre Dame AmeriCorps Members have helped over 650 adult learners advance toward their GEDs. Members provide conflict mediation skills and training opportunities in the schools where they serve, and all sites have noted up to 50% reductions in the number of violent incidents.

Harris Wofford, Executive Director of the Corporation, has said that through service, student volunteers "become like a family, bridging racial lines." And I know that, whenever I talk to people who have been in AmeriCorps, I hear things like, "I got to know people I never would have gotten to know," and "We were all so different and yet, when we worked together, we grew together, and it made my life different and better." AmeriCorps volunteers have said things like, With AmeriCorps, I saw beyond my neighborhood for the first time, and I learned that change is not easy, but that it is possible. AmeriCorps is about relishing, celebrating and honoring our differences in ways that bring us closer together, instead of driving us apart.

Many states and cities have also taken up the challenge of citizen service. Minnesota and Florida have adopted new education standards that use service-learning, a creative way of educating in which young people learn through actively participating in coordinated service experiences. Philadelphia and Chicago, two of our largest school districts, have similar policies; Detroit, Milwaukee, the District of Columbia, and the Jefferson County Public Sch



schools in Louisville, Kentucky are following suit. At least twenty-one smaller school districts award credit for community service. All are following the leadership provided by the state of Maryland which, in 1993, became the first state in the nation to require all public school students to engage in service-learning as a prerequisite for graduation.

Citizen service has, in fact, become a national movement, and young Americans are taking the lead. As some in the citizen service movement have put it, we hope that one day, the most commonly asked question of an eighteen year-old is, "Where are you going to do your service year?"

The third avenue for civic engagement that can help build One America is participation in community groups. Touqueville's observations still ring true: America has always been, and is still today, a civic nation. We join school-service groups and sports teams, professional societies and labor unions, social movements and literary clubs, tenants associations and neighborhood watch groups. And through all civic associations, we get to know our neighbors, helping to narrow the empathy gap as we better understand our differences and learn how much we do have in common.

Some civic organizations enrich our basic public institutions. For example, parent-teacher groups are vital to improving our schools. And some of these groups are taking greater action to ease racial tensions in education. For example, schools in the Yakima Valley region of rural Washington state, where people of many different racial backgrounds now live on tribal homelands, experienced growing ethnic and political conflicts toward the end of the 1980s. In response, a consortium of 13 schools came together to form EMPIRE (Exemplary Multicultural Practices in Rural Education). This group sought to increase the cultural awareness of both staff and students while increasing parent involvement. The results have been astounding. Academic achievement at participating schools has gone up, discipline referrals have declined, and parent involvement in the schools has tripled.

In Santa Ana California, Bridges is an inter-ethnic relations program that makes a three-year commitment to schools in the region. The project works with parents, staff, and the entire community to improve the educational environment, particularly for many Spanish-speaking students and families. In 1996-1997, Bridges worked with 15,000 students and 2,400 teachers in 56 schools. The project makes a special effort to inform Spanish-speaking parents about the school system: how it functions, and how to ask for help from teachers and administration. Both Bridges and EMPIRE are examples of supportive, pro-active civic organizations that make American society work.

Faith-based organizations can lend both practical activism and moral leadership to our efforts to build One America. The United States has more houses of worship per capita than any other nation on Earth. Churches, synagogues, mosques and other faith-based organizations are crucial to our social landscape, encouraging introspection, dialogue, moral and ethical consideration, and service work. Many faith-based organizations also work hard to improve race relations and to build community across class and color.

The FAITHS Initiative in San Francisco is an inspiring example of faith in action for racial reconciliation. Since 1994, this multi-ethnic, interdenominational, interfaith effort, of more than 300 congregations and faith-based organizations, has explicitly sought to improve race relations. According to Director Dwyane Marsh, We are not merely interested in providing social services and helping fill the gaps resulting from cutbacks in government funding. We are concerned with the prophetic, with the systemic issues and root causes that lead to poverty and injustice.

There are other examples. In Boston, churches are playing a big part in that city's successful efforts to fight crime the right way. Faith-based involvement is ensuring that prevention and education, not just incarceration, are a part of the crime-fighting equation. Clergy and police have come together to make sure that, as law enforcement works to fight crime in high-risk neighborhoods, this does not cause greater racial polarization. African-American churches, in particular, have mobilized and are working in high-risk neighborhoods, helping troubled youth avoid violence, improve their reading, and get jobs. These

efforts have helped Boston achieve a dramatic reduction in juvenile crime over the last five years.

The fact that Americans attend so many diverse houses of worship, and have found so many fulfilling forms of religious and spiritual life, is in itself good for communities. And the fact that many of those houses of worship provide ways for their congregations to improve their neighborhoods and build bridges of racial reconciliation surely makes America stronger.

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### C. Promising Practices for Racial Reconciliation and Building One America: Lessons Learned From the Race Initiative

Many people of good will are hungry for ideas, and want to learn the ways in which others have begun to heal the racial divides in their communities. In order to build the community we envision, we should build on what we know to be successful. That is why my Advisory Board put together a compendium of "Promising Practices for Racial Reconciliation," which describes more than 125 programs throughout the country that are actively working on bridging racial divisions and moving us closer to One America. I will highlight a few of these programs in this discussion, but for a more complete description, I recommend the publication, Pathways to One America in the 21st Century: Promising Practices for Racial Reconciliation.

While researching and visiting these programs, we learned a lot about what works to promote racial reconciliation. The most promising efforts focused on one or more of the following goals: raising consciousness and encouraging introspection, educating on racial issues, promoting racially inclusive collaborations, expanding opportunity and access and promoting leadership and systemic change. Let me say a few words about each of these.

#### (1) Raise Consciousness and Encourage Introspection

One important lesson from the initial year of our Race Initiative is that we must confront, through honest dialogue, the subtle ways that race affects how we see ourselves and how we interact with others. To some, becoming more conscious of race sounds like the opposite of what we need, given the level of discomfort that we have about this issue. Many people believe that talking about race is impolite. They are uncomfortable when the issue is raised. And some believe that the current racial divide is set in stone, so why even talk about our differences.

The common but unspoken agreement not to talk about race because it is too divisive is, ironically, counterproductive. In fact, our silence about the issue helps perpetuate divisiveness and the sense that people in other groups are different. The truth is that most people actually do have quite strong and well-articulated opinions and emotions about race. They just rarely have the opportunity to share them in a setting of respectful listening with those who view the issue differently. So we continue to talk almost exclusively to people who hold similar opinions. This prevents us from broadening our understanding and developing the ability to engage in respectful and productive exchanges with people who hold another point of view.

#### What is Racial Dialogue?

We need many more forums for productive conversations about how race affects us and society, be they in town hall meetings, at the kitchen table, or with a friend on the telephone. The first step is always bringing people together who have traditionally been separated by race or class. For some communities this in itself is a big step towards racial healing.

But for those who are ready to engage in a direct dialogue about race, my Advisory Board, through study and observation, identified three elements critical to effective racial dialogue: 1

) an atmosphere not oriented towards debating the respective merits of different views, but rather examining similarities and differences in perspectives, to create new insights; 2) conversation formats designed to allow each participant to both speak and listen to others; and 3) a facilitator whose conscious goal is to expose and explore the underlying agreements and disagreements about race that are often unexamined or assumed to be unresolvable.

Although there are never guarantees that a dialogue will go well, the existence of these elements greatly increases the likelihood of success.

So, one key to racial progress is creating more settings where Americans of all colors and walks of life can talk openly and honestly about their racial attitudes. Throughout the country, we found many groups and settings dedicated to fostering racial dialogue that not only helps people learn more about those who are of a different color, it also introduces the very real possibility that racial issues can someday be transcended. When people come together in settings where they can honestly probe their anger, comfort, guilt, curiosity, frustration or other responses related to race, it becomes more possible for them to see beyond their own perspective and gain a richer understanding of how race functions for different individuals and communities, in our nation. Most important, such dialogue allows people who have strong but very different perspectives on race to establish the trust that can be a precursor to joint involvement in action projects that combat racial disparities and divisions.

#### Racial Dialogue Workshops

Racial dialogue workshops are designed to raise adults' racial awareness and to provide training methods for building a stronger community. Here are a few examples.

Some inter-racial discussion groups don't talk about race at all. They are designed to foster fellowship and community-building with the belief that if people work together they will naturally bridge their racial divides. The Club, a small group of black and white residents in Kosciusko, Mississippi, meets monthly to discuss issues and problems relevant to life in the region. The Club started with 10 members--5 black and 5 white--and has now grown to 38. Club members are a truly diverse group of people, and include the Mayor, two city council members, a janitor, and several retirees. New members must join with someone else of a different race.

The Study Circles Resource Center, which is active in 120 communities across the country, encourages citizens of different backgrounds to meet in small discussion groups, or circles, to talk about their beliefs and hopes for the future within the context of some of the more difficult issues of their daily lives. Sometimes the circle focus is on racial matters, other times the focus is on some challenge facing the community, with race a secondary concern. This sustained, deliberate and often painful dialogue allows study circle participants to learn from one another while developing methods for positive community change. The program stresses the importance not only of racial diversity, but also of bringing together people of different genders, classes, ages and religions.

Community-St. Louis, sponsored by the National Conference for Community and Justice, has trained over 200 people to serve as racial justice change agents. The idea is that these change agents will fan out across the community to bring their unique insights and influence to decision-making tables throughout the St. Louis region. Their training program begins with a six-day residential workshop called Dismantling Racism. This intensive program is designed to increase participants' understanding of racism, its effect on individuals as well as society. Participants live, discuss, and study together for almost a full week, and thus examine carefully their own attitudes and behaviors, as well as receive feedback from peers. One of the participants commented, "Dismantling Racism forced me to engage in issues of privilege and oppression at new levels of my heart and mind. The realizations were painful. The group process was difficult, and yet I felt supported by the positive attitudes and skills of the facilitators and my fellow participants."



To encourage more person-to-person and group dialogues about race, my Initiative produced The One America Dialogue Guide. In addition to providing instruction about how to organize and conduct dialogues in a variety of settings, this guide suggests a few of the many organizations that can be helpful as facilitators.

## (2) Educate on racial issues

We must

improve our understanding of the facts about the history and current state of race relations in America. Racial misunderstandings and animosities can result from a lack of knowledge. If we are to make progress on race, we must improve our understanding of the facts about America's legacy of racial struggle, filling in the blanks of history and painting a truer picture of where we stand today.

First, at the simplest level, we must do a better job of informing all Americans about the contributions of our nation's diverse racial groups. For too many of us, not just whites, the only notable people of color are stars in the sports or entertainment worlds. We are less likely to know about people of color who have made notable contributions in science, law, the military, politics, the arts, or engineering. We are all familiar with the names Michelle Kwan, Michael Jordan and Jimmy Smits. But do you know what people like David Satchler, Maria Tallchief, or Eric Shinseki have contributed to American life? People from every group have made extraordinary sacrifices and accomplished extraordinary things. This is the essence of our thriving multi-cultural democracy. But this story is often not fully told. To rectify this problem, people can take steps to educate themselves. These steps can be as simple as reading a book, seeing a movie, watching a play, or visiting new areas that can expand one's understanding of the history and current lives of a group different than one's own.

## School Curricula

Teaching Tolerance is a project run by the Southern Poverty Law Center dedicated to helping educators foster respect for diversity among their students. Their award-winning kits, America's Civil Rights Movement and The Shadow of Hate, chronicle the history of intolerance in the United States and citizens' struggles to overcome prejudice. More than 50,000 kits have been distributed, free of charge, to schools and community organizations. A third kit, Starting Small, is aimed at helping early childhood educators in their efforts

Facing History and Ourselves is a national education and teacher training organization which asks students to make an essential connection between historical events, such as the Holocaust, and the moral choices they confront in their own lives. A parent of a Facing History student said that "In no other course was my daughter exposed to real dilemmas as complex and challenging. In no other course has she been inspired to use the whole of her spiritual, moral, and intellectual resources to solve a problem. In no other course has she been so sure that the task mattered seriously for her development as a responsible person."

Second, let's not lose sight of the institutional responsibility here. Those places that we turn to for education—our schools, places of worship, and the media—must do more to fill in the knowledge gaps about the contributions of different groups and the history, both good and bad, of our long march to racial reconciliation. But, a true understanding of race in America must go beyond stories of heroes and holidays. We must bring those stories and times to life by describing the dimensions of the challenges we have faced throughout history and analyzing how they have shaped our past and our present. Imagine talking about the problems of ethnic conflicts in Africa and Northern Ireland based on nothing more than a list of historical figures and treaty dates. Imagine understanding America's own struggle for independence without understanding the depth of feeling behind such words as "taxation without representation," or "give me liberty or give me death."

Schools are obviously central. Given the tremendous demands on school systems, it may seem unrealistic to expect them to make



make up for past omissions with a massive new effort to provide students with a full education about race. It is my strong belief, however, that we must do a better job of giving young people the full picture of America's racial history, including the sacrifices and contributions all our citizens have made to strengthen our nation. This is not only the right thing to do. It is essential if we are to properly prepare our young people for the national and global diversity that will characterize the 21st century. Fortunately, there are tools for helping schools do this. My Initiative highlighted a number of curricula that schools can obtain that are designed to foster greater knowledge of race issues and racial tolerance among our youth.

These tools can ensure that our children grow up in a world of less racial tension.

#### Family Education

Here are a few good examples of programs which assist parents in raising children in an increasingly diverse world:

Community Cousins, in San Diego was formed in 1992 in response to civil unrest that flared up in the aftermath of the Rodney King incident. Its founder, Diane Brock, had a simple idea: the best way to promote racial healing was to bring families together across racial lines as friends in an environment of social interaction and support to foster inter-racial understanding. Today, Community Cousins has been integrated into regular YMCA programming in San Diego and has paired over 200 Asian American, African American, Hispanic and white families. The cousins have formed extended family networks, often getting together for game nights, or to celebrate holidays, but always with the goal of raising their children without racial stereotypes.

The Xerox Corporation, together with California Tomorrow and Work-Family Direction, has developed what they call a Family Toolbox. This hands-on training guide is designed to help parents talk to their young children about race and diversity.

But schools

do not bear the only responsibility for educating children about race. Hillary and I have often said that parents and caregivers are a child's first teachers.

Sometimes it is hard to talk to your child about race. But thankfully, across America people are learning to do so, and they are sharing lessons about how to teach children well.

#### Historical Memorials

Visitors to Angel Island in San

Francisco Bay, California can tour the Islands immigration station, through which many Chinese-Americans and other Asian-Americans first entered the United States. During the first half of this century, many Chinese were detained on the island for long periods and were interrogated according to the requirements of the now-infamous Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. The Angel Island Immigration Station Foundation is dedicated to preserving and restoring the station, as well as to sponsoring events and publications that educate the public about Pacific Rim immigration.

The Underground Railroad Education and Preservation Initiative program of the National Park Service was created to highlight the heroic efforts of people of all colors who risked their lives to help African slaves escape to freedom.

The Ganondagan State Historic Site in Victor, NY preserves the remains of a large 17th century Seneca village. It is also the home and burial place of Jikohsaseh, the Mother of Nations who was instrumental in bringing five warring Indian nations together under one Great Law of Peace, or the Confederated Iroquois.

Communities across America are also educating about race by preserving buildings, neighborhoods and monuments that are testament to the rich diversity of our history. From Angel Island in California, the point of entry to the United States for many Chinese-Americans and other Asian Pacific Isl

anders, to Underground Railroad safe houses which sheltered run-away African-American slaves, memorials honor the heroic struggles of our past. They remind us of how hard it has sometimes been to be a racial minority in this country. And they shed light on the many cultures that have always flourished in America.

We should preserve them, learn from them, treasure them. That is why the First Lady and I are so proud of the White House Millennium Council. As a way to mark the end of this century and the beginning of a new millennium, we have challenged communities across the nation to launch projects that help us honor the past and imagine the future. And the First Lady has visited numerous historical sites to stress the need to preserve them so that they can continue to educate and inspire future generations. Among the sites she has visited are Harriet Tubman's home in Auburn, New York and the Ganondagan State Historic Site in Victor, New York which is cherished as the home and burial place of one of the most important figures in Iroquois history, Jikohnsaseh, the Mother of Nations.

We must also make sure that other informal sources of education -- especially print media, television, and radio -- include racially diverse opinions, story ideas, analysis, and experts. Here and there, now and then, people have come together to exhort local or national media outlets to eschew negative stereotypes and be more reflective of the diversity of the audiences they serve. We need more of these efforts on a sustained basis, and there are proven community models to guide us.

#### The Media

"I'd like to think that we see diversity in journalism as neither an artificial exercise in social engineering nor as a 'specialty' area. Rather, I'd like to believe we see it as central to journalistic excellence and to the democratic ideals upon which America is based and the First Amendment was penned to protect."

-- Erna Smith Chair, Journalism Department  
San Francisco State University

Several organizations are working with the media to ensure that racially diverse opinions, story ideas and analyses are being incorporated into their reporting. For example, San Francisco State's News Watch Project monitors media depictions of different racial groups to raise consciousness about stereotypes and other equity issues. The group publishes a quarterly journal, runs a website, provides tips for journalists, and comments on current media coverage of diverse people. This is a national collaboration of the major associations representing journalists of color, along with the National Lesbian and Gay Journalists Association.

People who control media imagery and content are no more subject to having biases against minority groups than others. However, I do think that because the media play such an important role in teaching, confirming, or countering racial stereotypes and divisions, both creators of media images and average citizens should press these organizations to do all they can to be part of the solution. They should understand that indifference or inadvertence makes them part of the problem.

#### (3) Promoting racially inclusive collaborations, especially on the job

In much of this chapter, I have said that one way to tear down racial barriers is for people to come together in service across lines of race and culture. If we serve together, if we work with each other, we will make sure that our diversity is not an instrument of our national undoing in the 21st century, but rather a rich resource to make our union more perfect.

Despite the fact that we know this, there are still unfortunate facts of life that prevent us from easily working and serving together. Most of us do not live in proximity to people of other races; too few of us have close friends of other races or socialize in mixed settings. Our religious communities, where a great deal of volunteer work is done, are also, by and large, segregated. The truth is, in 1999, Americans have few opportunities other than the workplace to get to know each other as equal peers in a personal way.

While the workplace might be the strongest exception to the trend of segregation, even it has limitations. It is often not enough to tally up the numbers and announce that there is a good mix of diversity in the company. Too often, people of color are over-represented in certain levels or divisions of the company. And, as has historically been the case, these are often the lowest paying, most menial positions. Many people of color rarely get a chance to interact with others on the job outside their group. Even in some non-profit organizations, dedicated to improved group relations, we still see the persistence of hierarchical patterns where people of color are subordinate to whites who hold most of the positions of management and authority. So, when looking at diversity in the workplace, we must do more to end the kind of job stratification that results in racial isolation, covered up by surface diversity.

In addition, concerns about the maintenance of smoothly functioning working relationships often make people unwilling to discuss race-related difficulties, even though working through the discomfort might improve the workplace. More generally, subtle racial barriers often exist that get in the way of real personal connections. If there is diversity in your workplace, ask yourself: Of the five coworkers with whom you feel closest, how many are of a different race or ethnicity? For too many of us, I suspect the answer is none.

#### Workplace Collaboration

IBM views workforce diversity as the bridge between the workplace and the marketplace.

--J

T. Childs, Jr., Vice President, Global Workforce Diversity, IBM

IBM has been a leader in promoting workforce diversity. Recipient of the Ron Brown Award for Corporate Diversity Leadership, IBM hired its first disabled employee in 1914, began recruiting professional women in 1935, and wrote its first Equal Opportunity Policy in 1953. Today, IBM has eight workforce diversity task forces.

Darden Restaurants, Inc, the parent company of Olive Garden and Red Lobster Restaurants, has made diversity a main course in their daily operations. They have found that creating a workforce reflective of the diversity of its patrons, and treating both well, is not only the right thing to do, it is good for business. To achieve these goals, Darden has developed diversity tools, benchmarks and performance plans at all levels.

As a nation we must continue to press for reductions in workplace discrimination. But we must also seek out other opportunities for people to join forces and work interdependently as peers. At the best, such partnerships not only give people a chance to know someone of a different race, they also provide opportunities for people to see themselves as a team, working together for the first time in a cooperative way. This contributes to the tearing down of racial barriers and negative stereotypes. Through the course of the Initiative, my staff discovered a number of programs that pursue racial reconciliation by creating such working relationships, some of which are described in Pathways to One America.

#### (4) Expand Opportunity and Access

We must extend a helping hand to new immigrants and at-risk youth. Communities and individuals must lead the way. Certainly, it is important that government play a major role in expanding opportunities. And I have worked hard at that throughout my presidency. But expanding opportunity and access for those who have been left out is too big and important a job to leave to government alone. Everyone must be a healer.

#### Immigrant Assistance

Volunteers at the Delhi Center of Santa Ana, CA help immigrant families--doing everything from tutoring schoolchildren to delivering meals to AIDS patients. The Center serves over 20,000 people a year, most of whom live in a multi-ethnic, primarily Hispanic community.

unity. The Center places a special emphasis on providing culturally sensitive counseling and prevention classes to clients who have tested positive for HIV/AIDS.

For 25 years, Seattle's Asian Counseling and Referral Services (ACRS) has been providing multi-lingual, multi-cultural health services to approximately 13,000 people annually from 13 ethnic groups. Collectively, staff members speak over 25 different languages and dialects.

The Bridging the Gap Project, Inc. of Atlanta works to improve the health and human services provided to Georgia's diverse immigrant community, which includes newcomers from Bosnia, Somalia, Haiti, and Southeast Asia. At the heart of the project is a telephone hotline, through which 38 staff members speaking 20 languages help recent immigrants obtain emergency assistance from police and fire departments. The project also runs programs for immigrant youth, for landlords and their immigrant tenants, and regularly convenes a Multicultural Crime Task Force. Bridging the Gap is based on the idea that the biggest challenge in settling immigrants in this country stems not from racial barriers but from misunderstandings related to cultural differences. So, in addition to the service it provides immigrants, the program also provides extensive diversity training for mainstream service providers.

There are many programs across the nation that meet the challenge of expanding access and opportunity to those who need it most. Take the case of many new immigrants, who because of poverty and language and cultural barriers, face a particularly tough time. Many of these immigrants need help in finding employment, health care and other resources that will give them an equal shot at the American Dream. Groups across the country are welcoming, educating, and serving some of our society's newest members.

#### Working with Young People

Across the country, many programs are dedicated to expanding opportunities for young people disadvantaged by poverty and racial discrimination. Sometimes they are the outgrowth of a single person with a vision.

We have to be the family for the young people we help. We've got to show love, because if it's not us, it'll be people on the street.

--Val Joseph, Executive Director, Inner Strength

In 1994, 2

1-year old Val Joseph, a student at Atlanta's Morehouse College founded a program called Inner Strength. Motivated by his personal encounters with homelessness, poverty and gang life, Val wanted to prevent other young black males from taking the wrong path. Inner Strength helps young men develop leadership and academic skills through wilderness training, health education, and tutoring. Inner Strength's first participants were 10 young men from area housing projects and street corners. Today the program is located in the Atlanta University Center, a network of historically black colleges and universities in Atlanta.

In 198

1, Eugene Lang, pledged to give each 6th grade student at P.S. 121 in East Harlem money for college when he heard that 75% of the students there were expected to drop out before they completed high school. He offered a powerful incentive, backed up by mentoring, tutoring and other academic assistance. Today, I Have A Dream, an AmeriCorps program, includes more than 60 projects in 57 cities nationwide and serves more than 10,000 students through a network of thousands of sponsors and volunteers.

Double Discovery, located on the campus of Columbia University, serves over 1,000 low-income and first generation college-bound youth in New York. Participants receive extensive mentoring, tutoring, and other enriching opportunities. 94% of the program's students enroll in college. The title double discovery refers to the two-way relationships that develop between the students, volunteers and staff.

Many programs throughout the country also bring hope and positive alternatives to young people. Some of these programs



s focus on raising awareness; others focus directly on education and helping students achieve success. While policy makers contemplate large-scale initiatives to expand opportunity for all our people, there is a crying need for people-based initiatives that reach out to disadvantaged minority youth. With a little encouragement, virtually any child will discover something they love, learn to do it well, see the opportunity to become a productive adult, and accept responsibility to seize that opportunity. My Initiative found many projects focused on expanding opportunity that can serve as models.

#### (5) Promote Leadership and Systemic Change

We must prepare future leaders to change our institutions and society. We need a cadre of new, enlightened leaders who will take us, not only the next step, but to the finish line in our journey to One America. Research shows that, today, American youth want to step up to that challenge. Fortunately, there are a number of programs that are giving them the tools they need to succeed.

#### Youth Leadership

Public Allies provides opportunities for young adults to practice a new style of leadership that is best suited to address America's challenges for the next century. Within our rapidly changing demographic landscape, they are learning how to bring people together from diverse backgrounds to share responsibility and strengthen communities.

-- Chuck Supple,  
President & CEO, Public Allies

Public Allies is an AmeriCorps program that takes promising young leaders, 18-30, and places them in full-time 10-month paid apprenticeships in non-profit organizations. The program teaches leadership through community service. Hugo Miranda, a 24-year-old Mexican American from the Humboldt Park section of Chicago joined the Public Allies Apprenticeship Program in 1995. He taught adult basic education classes while completing a team service project, involving nine other people of diverse backgrounds. In our diversity, we would find amazing unexpected solutions, said Miranda. No matter what our opinions or experiences, we all have something to offer.

City Year AmeriCorps volunteers are young enough to want to change the world and old enough to do it. Begun in Boston and now active in ten communities across America, City Year recruits teams of diverse young adults to wage a campaign of idealism through a year of community service. City Year volunteers build community gardens, mentor and tutor children, teach violence prevention and operate school vacation camps.

But while the Bible teaches us that a child will lead, we all must rise to the challenge of leadership in the 21st century. We can begin by becoming active and vocal citizens and consumers, going out of our way to support organizations that demonstrate a commitment to inclusion.

A more daunting but much-needed avenue for leadership is to challenge injustice within the organizations we belong to. Whether serving as a volunteer, employee or member, we must firmly demand that our organizations clean their own house. It is not leadership to rest silent in the face of racial injustice in our midst. Without question, it is often uncomfortable for employees or, even volunteers, to raise such issues. Nevertheless, people of good will who seek to lead must summon the courage to put hard issues on the table. In fact, with the tremendous demographic changes that will usher in the 21st century, every organization ought to be talking about this issue. In no small measure, our success in becoming One America, depends on the commitment our institutions have to racial reconciliation and inclusion.

But many of our people and institutions need help doing this. It can be a challenge to avoid the pitfalls of defensiveness and denial, and to also avoid implying that everyone is a racist. In fact, in most cases, the key to better organizational behavior does not lie in finding and routing out har-

d-core bigots. Rather, the challenge is to change the inadvertent behavior of people who influence how the organization deals with people. We need to promote the kind of institutional introspection that will help ferret out and eliminate official policies that have the effect intended or not of maintaining barriers. Fortunately, there are some organizations that are taking the lead in promoting inclusion within their rank, and also in serving as forces for change within the larger community.

#### Corporate Leadership

Race relations remains a critical factor in the quality of community life. What's been missing has not been the will of many well-intentioned groups and people. What's been missing has been leadership in business and government. We've been too timid to put the R-word racism on our agenda for social change.

-- Robert D. Haas, Chairman  
and CEO, Levi Strauss & Co.

Project Change, sponsored by Levi Strauss, organizes effective volunteer coalitions to fight racism in schools, banks, community boards and other local institutions. It works to dismantle community-wide policies and practices that foster racial discrimination. And it seeks to diffuse tension between majority and minority groups, and promote fair representation of the community's diversity in the leadership of important community institutions.

The Cleveland Mortgage Credit Association of Boston is addressing inequality in the mortgage industry. Cleveland Mortgage officials created several task forces to ensure that all people who apply to them for mortgages were treated fairly at every stage of the process. As a result of Cleveland Mortgage's efforts, the financial community called on other mortgage institutions to bolster their anti-discrimination policies, communicate more directly to the public about these policies, offer bias-reduction training to company officials, and regularly review operations for evidence of discriminatory treatment. These and other promising practices are living proof that if we work at it, our journey to One America will succeed. They show us how to open our hearts, close the empathy gap and build stronger communities. But I am sure that the people behind each of these programs would tell you that racial reconciliation is not an exact science. It requires trial and error, constant assessment and evaluation and sometimes a huge dose of faith. So, as you consider starting your own efforts, be flexible, be determined and be open to new ideas.

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#### D. Conclusion

There is no magic wand the government or organizations can wave to bring about lasting racial reconciliation. Democratic participation from exercising the right to vote to engaging in citizen service holds the greatest power and promise in the years ahead. It will require all of us to close the book on our past and write a new page in history. As I have said many times, this is not only a struggle for opportunity, or for equal rights under law. This must be a journey of the heart.

Americans often mark history by the grand events and heroic figures that make their way into headlines and textbooks. Surely this is true when we talk about our struggles with race. But there is another way to look at the history of racial progress in America. For every Martin Luther King there were thousands of citizens behind him willing to stand up for justice. For every Rosa Parks, Cesar Chavez or Fred Korematsu, there were countless unknown faces and voices committing their bodies and souls to the cause of racial reconciliation. And there still are. They toil, every day, often unseen, in storefront meeting rooms, in our many houses of worship, in the civic groups and service clubs that give outlet to America's great yearning for unity and compassionate action. These are the people who have always been in the trenches and on the front

t lines of America's long march to racial reconciliation. It would be a mistake to think that America's continuing progress on race must await the bold acts of the few. What is needed today is the constant commitment of the many.

And

there is ample reason to hope and to act. People of good will are leading this journey and making a difference. But we must be our own teachers and leaders.

That doesn't mean we walk a darkened path. There is no shortage of promising people and promising practices lighting the way.

Endnotes: Part V:

The Leader  
ship We Need

No social advance rolls in on the wheels of inevitability. Every step toward the goal of justice requires sacrifice, suffering, and struggle; the tireless exertions and passionate concern of dedicated individuals. I

Martin  
Luther King, Jr.

## A. Introduction

On February 4, 1968, in one of his last and most powerful sermons, this century's great champion of racial reconciliation, Martin Luther King, Jr. proclaimed his own legacy when he asked people to remember him as a drum major for justice...peace...and righteousness. He told his rapt audience that day, Everybody can be great because everybody can serve.<sup>2</sup> As I said earlier, building One America is not just the work of government or even of committed organizations. Building One America is the job of every American.

In this report, I have offered my vision of One America with racial and ethnic justice and proposed a workplan to help get us from the America we see to the America we want. I have also described some of the promising practices that committed people of good will are using around the country to make a difference in their own lives and those of their neighbors. So now, the question is how to move from a discussion that may in many respects be preaching to the choir and build it into a movement for renewal that engages broad numbers of our fellow citizens. How do we make defining a vision and a workplan a shared undertaking for many, rather than the personal mission of a dedicated few?

Over the years I have been privileged to get to know some of the heroes from earlier periods of our struggle for opportunity and racial justice, and can even count some as friends. More than a few of them have voiced at one time or another some sadness that new waves of leadership and broad scale activism in the cause of civil rights somehow failed to materialize in the years after Martin Luther King's death. This is not to discount the continuing hard work of scores of committed individuals, many of them familiar figures. Still, it was as if the combination of assassinations, Vietnam and riots just knocked the wind out of our idealism, or some of it, anyway. While in those intervening years we saw good and important progress in rights for women, in respect for the environment, and in concern for human rights abroad, the racial justice agenda somehow got stuck in low gear, or worse.

In a sense, my generation, mostly too young to be central participants in the civil rights movement of the 1950s and early 60s, has yet to define its contribution to this historic struggle. In part, perhaps, we thought continuing progress was inevitable. That was wrong. In part, perhaps, we thought it prudent to pause and digest the changes already set in motion. That was wrong, too. And perhaps some of us thought that what work remained could be taken care of by others, while we turned our attention to personal matters, or to other causes. This, too, was wrong. But the most worrisome thing of all is that we have done too little to impress upon our children the need for them to pick up the mantle and take their places in our nation's long march to racial reconciliation.

A national workplan and the promising practices lighting our way are a start. But, to make it all work, we need leadership and citizens

hip defined by a patriotic zeal that insists on creating a deeper justice in our time. I want to describe three areas for concrete action in the months and years immediately ahead: community leadership and action; sectoral leadership and action; and federal leadership and action.

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## B. Community Leadership and Action

When violence and strife exploded in Los Angeles following the Rodney King verdict, countless residents and community leaders responded with inspiring efforts to build bridges that would not only heal wounds but create opportunity. When more than 190 black churches, white churches, synagogues, and mosques were burned or desecrated during 1995-96, we witnessed an awe-inspiring outpouring of concern and assistance across all lines of race and faith and party.

When Jasper, Texas, was shaken to its core by a hideous hate crime, residents and leaders worked tirelessly to hold together, and in doing so, taught us all that some evils can be conquered with understanding. What all these examples prove is that when communities are faced with a crisis, our better angels soar to the challenge. In those moments, America ceases to be a nation of people divided into categories of color. America at its best is people of all colors united for the common good.

As in so many other areas, racial reconciliation and building opportunity simply won't happen unless there is committed engagement by people in communities and institutions around the nation. But in the absence of a crisis, we may be tempted to leave this work to so-called national leaders, such as politicians, clergy, business executives or the heads of nonprofit organizations. Such leaders can perhaps help set a tone, point out examples, offer support, and provide critical seed resources. But it takes all of us working together to prevent the kind of devastating crisis that pulls us together only after much pain and suffering. At the end of the day, we will make the most fundamental kind of progress when we do work that is personal, and build change with our neighbors.

To help spur this work, I hope that in the coming years leaders of good will in individual communities will rededicate themselves to working together across racial and ethnic lines in community partnerships designed to help us build that more perfect union. It doesn't matter how these partnerships come about. In many places, there may already be a vesting place, such as an active ecumenical council of faith leaders, or a human rights commission with broad-based public legitimacy. In other places, convening a group of leaders might require a special initiative by a mayor, a tribal leader, a newspaper publisher, an archbishop, a leading employer or the board of a civic organization.

Based on the promising practices and the encouraging work around the country, I think there are a number of things these people can do.

First, a community partnership has to ensure that it is representative of the diversity in the community. That's not to say that there aren't circumstances in which it makes sense to work on relations between a more limited set of people, or that a particular opportunity agenda can't focus on the exceptional needs of one group. That kind of focus may make sense at any given time. Everyone's goal, however, should be to build a broad-based effort, both to bind the community together, and to unite it in action.

Second, the partnership should make an assessment of where the community is: the problems and strengths, challenges and resources. What demographic changes are occurring? What about the state of opportunity? How well are the schools serving all of the children, and which neighborhoods suffer disproportionate joblessness, or face shortages of day care?

Third, there has to be some agreement on a vision of where the community hopes to be in the years ahead. Or, at least, some agreement on goals and priorities: Is it



t enforcement of the anti-discrimination laws, or closing the racial gap in educational achievement? Is it building community trust in the police department, or changing the transit system to get workers to distant jobs? Is it increasing the rates of voter registration and participation, or cleaning up brownfields of toxic contamination?

Fourth, the partnership should formulate a workplan to address the community's problems of division and unequal opportunity, and to protect and expand whatever positive efforts exist. The workplan should be a road map for what various actors and institutions can do to make a difference. And members of the partnership should have assignments and a way to make their efforts accountable to the larger community.

The critical ingredient in all of this is a core group of citizens who will be committed to this work. And so, the question is: Who will lead?

One of the things I most want to encourage during the remainder of my presidency is the continued creation of community partnerships for One America. We can learn from each other how best to do this important work, and draw to our effort people of good heart and firm will.

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### C. Sectoral Leadership and Action

The ambitious workplan for the nation also requires that the leadership of key sectors in our society make investments of their own. As part of our race initiative, members of my staff have tried to encourage such efforts by leaders in the faith sector, higher education, and the legal profession. In addition to presenting a brief summary of this work, I want to suggest other areas where similar initiatives could make an important contribution.

#### Faith Leaders

In the fall of 1998, a group of some forty leaders from a cross section of the faith community met for two days at the White House to wrestle with the challenge of building One America. Led by Sanford Cloud Jr., President of the National Conference for Community and Justice (formerly the National Conference of Christians and Jews), the participants in this summit have launched an effort to define a workplan for how the faith sector might deepen and broaden its contribution to the struggle for racial and ethnic justice. The question they posed for themselves was, What special role can religious leaders and institutions take at the national level and in communities across the nation—a role that makes use of our particular strengths?

The preliminary report of the Faith Communities Leadership Summit recommends:

Faith leaders must work to reconcile spiritual belief, principle and behavior.

Faith leaders must identify and label racism as a sin (an evil that must be addressed)

Faith leaders must name overcoming racism and classism as a top priority for the nation.

Faith leaders need to embrace the notion that they are morally bound to engage in anti-racist activities.

Faith leaders need to address racism within their own religious institutions.

Specific action steps and organizing strategies to put these principles into practice are being developed

The civil rights struggle of a generation ago drew great strength from religion and religious leaders. So many important figures in the struggle came out of the pulpit, and so many congregations emptied their pews, to march and sing and, when necessary, fill jails. Faith not only fueled the activism and hope

fulness of those clergy and their followers, but also was the vehicle for some of the most compelling moral appeals to the public at large. Again the words of Dr. King ring ever true: It may be that our generation will have to repent not only for the diabolical actions and vitriolic words of the children of darkness, but also for the crippling fears and tragic apathy of the children of light.<sup>3</sup> Some have argued, indeed, that when the explicitly religious aspect of the struggle waned, so too did the moral energy of the movement. The assassination of Dr. King was a mortal blow indeed. So, now, in struggling to refocus on a broad-based commitment to One America, the question for us is how to draw strength from America's great tradition as a faith-loving and worshipful people.

At a conference on this subject held in 1998 by the Harvard Civil Rights Project, several faith leaders and religious thinkers active in civil rights work discussed the importance of religion in shaping their personal commitments and work. But when pressed, they admitted that they very rarely make explicit use of their faith or spirituality when working to pull people into a commitment and action. This can be right. If religion is the language of values most familiar to so many people, then surely we miss the mark if we try to inspire values-based reconciliation while censoring faith from our messages.

#### Glide Memorial

United Methodist Church in San Francisco shows us how to put the power of faith to work in promoting racial reconciliation. With more than 8,000 members of all races and denominations, Rev. Cecil Williams explains that the spiritual quest and the quest for racial harmony are inseparable. He says, To know God is to do justice. At Glide, certain commandments beyond the traditional 10 apply. These include embracing the values of unconditional love and acceptance to reach across the traditional barriers of color, class and gender.

I am convinced that the contribution of religious institutions and religion to building One America, community by community, is more than battalions of committed clergy, free meeting space in church basements, and mailing lists. I am convinced that this is a struggle that God wants us to wage, and there is every reason to proclaim it so. For this reason, I can think of no more important area for sectoral leadership than this one.

#### Higher Education

There is a strong consensus within the higher education community on the importance of assuring access to under-represented minorities. Moreover, countless institutions and their leaders say that racial and ethnic diversity are central to their missions. They say that diversity enhances the quality of education for all students, and their institutions do the most good for their communities when they are inclusive. But there is a lot of public confusion surrounding this issue, and the attacks on diversity policies threaten to slam shut the doors for large numbers of minority students at many selective institutions.

In response to this, and to the importance of assuring a pipeline of well prepared high school graduates, the American Council on Education and several university presidents are joining hands with key business leaders to launch a public education campaign on the importance of diversity to the mission of higher education. This effort could signal a major breakthrough. For too long, almost all of the discussion of the importance of bringing under-represented minorities into higher education has been conducted within higher education circles on campuses, in specialized journals, at conferences. But the entire nation has a stake in this debate, and university leaders and business leaders who know first hand what educational excellence means, and what the economy requires, can and must play a greater role in that public debate.

#### The Legal Profession

In 1963, President Kennedy met with leaders of the legal profession and challenged them to create a mechanism to provide much needed legal representation to those fighting for civil rights. This led to the creation of the Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, which now has both a national office in Washington, D.C. and affiliates in eight cities (Boston, Chicago, Denver, San Antonio, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, San Francisco).

sco, and Washington, D.C.). Over the years, the Lawyers Committee has provided vital assistance to individuals, and to the cause of civil rights generally, by mobilizing the expertise and resources of private law firms. The question now is, what more can the legal profession do, especially in light of the new challenges of opening opportunity to all in our increasingly diverse communities.

To respond to this challenge, Deputy Attorney General Eric Holder has been meeting with key leaders of the profession to define the issues and map a strategy. As with leaders in the religious community and the higher education sector, I am hopeful that their work will mobilize the considerable resources of a key sector in American social and economic life. These are some of the questions I hope they will consider:

How can the profession redouble its efforts to make pro bono assistance available to individuals and community groups seeking to enforce the anti-discrimination laws? Have all possible creative solutions been tried from the use of trained para-professionals to methods of mediation?

Can the profession take more responsibility to help the public understand what the laws do and do not prohibit, so that people understand what they may voluntarily do, and also understand what the laws require them to do? I am concerned, for example, about the current campaign being waged by opponents of affirmative action, who seem intent on hiding the fact that the Supreme Court has upheld affirmative action, provided it is carefully administered and has the appropriate justification.<sup>4</sup>

Can the profession dramatically expand problem-solving partnerships between lawyers and neighborhood groups, community development organizations and others working on the opportunity agenda, making use of lawyers' skills in analysis and planning, drafting, counseling, transactional work, and other forms of non-litigation practice? It may be, for example, that what a local group needs is not a law suit, but a lobbying strategy to influence state education policies or local environmental decision-making. It may be, as Vice President Gore has emphasized, that a powerful long term solution to racial justice is the creation of more businesses in minority communities. Lawyers can donate their time and energy to help such businesses flourish.

A good lawyer can help a client with a wide range of tasks and the nation's largest corporations make ample use of those skills. We must tap that same level of full-service commitment and creativity to help empower the groups and leaders who are struggling to make a difference in building One America. I will do what I can--with the support of Deputy Attorney General Holder, the President of the American Bar Association, the co-chairs of the lawyers committee, and the presidents of the minority bar associations--to reach out across the country to get lawyers involved in these endeavors.

#### The Corporate Sector

In my experience, business leaders are some of the most ardent supporters of combating discrimination, promoting inclusion, and closing the opportunity gap. Why? Apart from simple decency, they understand like no one else that corporate growth and American prosperity will suffer unless we make progress on the issues of race. So, the question is, what can and should business leaders do to help make that case to the American people, and to help build that more productive, inclusive, economically secure nation?

I already mentioned that corporate leaders are participating with university presidents in a higher education coalition. But there is more that corporate leaders might do. Generalizations are difficult because companies are so different. I can't offer a universal formula that makes sense for a major bank holding company, a fast-food franchise, and a mid-sized high tech firm. Part of the challenge is to define a workplan that makes sense in particular business segments. For example:

For some companies, there is an important opportunity to work on the challenge of bringing capital markets and investment flows to under-invested communities, as I described in the workplan on jobs and economic development. The critical question is whether a financial institution or com

pany is making a fair assessment of the business opportunities in minority communities looking at under-served markets and untapped opportunities in much the same way that multinationals look at emerging markets abroad.

American companies can make a real difference to the next generation by being partners for educational opportunity and excellence. This can be done through a combination of measures such as, structured mentoring, a vocal insistence on accountability for excellence and support for the active participation of employees in the schooling of their children.

Still other companies might make a special effort--as many already are-- to create career tracks for young employees in connection with school-to-work and welfare-to-work strategies.

In some sectors, companies might join together to combat discrimination and strengthen business development by nurturing small and mid-sized suppliers and subcontractors owned by minority entrepreneurs, or located in poor minority communities. For example, Bell Atlantic in cooperation with the Small Business Administration has agreed to target \$1.88 billion in contract awards to minority and women-owned businesses between 1999 and 2000.

In many communities, and in the nation as a whole, corporate leaders should seek opportunities to explain to the broader public not just each other why it is so imperative that we work together towards One America, making the most of our diversity.

I recognize that this agenda is not naturally a high priority for most companies, who generally wade into public debates over taxes, regulatory matters, or some extraordinary issue unique to their company or industry like a banking bill or a threatening wave of litigation. But the best businesses always think about the long run. They think about preparing for the future, and addressing risks before they become crises. It is precisely that strategic perspective that must bring enlightened companies to lead on race. It is an investment in their own companies, and in America's future. When it comes to race, what's good for these companies is good for America, and what is good for America is good for business.

#### The News and Entertainment Media

The Kerner Commission was emphatic about the need for the news media to step up to the plate on the issue of race, pointing to problems in news coverage, stereotypes, and the absence of minorities in the newsroom.<sup>5</sup> Those problems continue to plague us, as was pointed out by Professor Robert Entman, a noted author on the subject of race and the media, in his report to my Advisory Board. Today, many newsrooms are far more diverse, but too many of the old images and practices remain. Hispanics, in particular, remain very under-represented on both sides of the news camera.<sup>6</sup> In this age of 24-hour punditry, there is a conspicuous absence of racial diversity on those ubiquitous television expert panels. But when it comes to stories about crime, drugs, or welfare, the picture is quite different, both in print and broadcast news. Finally, minorities are making only small gains in the decision-making ranks of the editors and producers who have the most power to change industry practices over time.

In the entertainment media, there are parallel problems. We see far more African Americans on television and in the movies than thirty years ago, but still largely segregated and type-cast. Hispanics and Asian Americans are all but invisible. Native Americans are invisible.

These decisions, whether the result of benign neglect or conscious exclusion, have the cumulative power of imprinting lasting racial impressions on the minds of Americans. The fact is, if we don't see One America in the continual barrage of media messages, it makes it all the more difficult for us to believe in it and work towards it. Even more troubling, if the media do things to fuel racial distrust and otherness, they make the problem worse.

Let me be clear: We cherish the First Amendment. But the First Amendment protects expression and speech from government intrusion; it shouldn't muffle



or muzzle public concern. Nor should it immunize the media from civic responsibility. I want to challenge the media, by word and deed, to choose the high road of greater inclusion, respect and responsibility. I recognize the formidable difficulties in shaping and implementing an effective workplan--one that generates results, not just lip service. Decision making in the day-to-day work of reporters, producers and executives is subtle and complex. But industry leaders, and all of us, must find a way. This must be an indispensable part of our journey to One America.

#### Social Science Researchers

In October, 1998, over five hundred researchers from around the nation met to take stock of race in America under the auspices of the National Research Council, which is the research arm of the National Academy of Sciences. At the request of my race initiative, with funding from several agencies, the NRC is pulling together a volume of papers by leading scholars, some of which I have used in Part I of this book to describe the America we see. As historic as that conference and the pending volume are, there is still more we should seek from the social science research community.

The work of my Advisory Board, as well as the work undertaken by the NRC researchers, identified several important issues, including:

We need more basic information about certain racial groups and subgroups. The data needs are greatest for Native Americans, but we also need more detailed information about Asian American and Hispanic subgroups. For example, we can make serious mistakes by incorrectly lumping Japanese-Americans with those who have immigrated from Laos, or Argentineans with Dominicans. As noted throughout this book, aggregate data masks important and dramatic differences within racial groups as influenced by immigration patterns and country of origin.

We need a better sense of how much discrimination still exists. We can't hope to resolve controversial issues like the need to strengthen enforcement, or the continuing importance of affirmative action, without some common ground on the basic facts.

We need solid research to reduce the amount of rhetoric and guesswork that goes into our policy debates in education, community economic development, housing and other opportunity strategies that bear on racial disparities.

I have asked the President of the National Academy of Sciences, the Director of the National Science Foundation, and the Director of the White House Office of Science and Technology Policy to find a way to build some consensus in the disciplines about the research priorities for the next few years. I believe such a set of ideas, not unlike what we try to do in some areas of biomedical research or defense technology research, could help channel government and foundation funding to the most pressing problems.

Social scientists can help us understand which policies and practices will make a difference, and help us measure our progress from the America we see to the America we want. Leaders in business, religion, organized labor, the media, the legal profession and many other sectors can be anchors in the development of Community Partnerships for One America. Their involvement can help define a vision and formulate action to close the opportunity gap and build the kind of community we want.

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#### D. Federal Leadership and Action

If you think back over the past several decades, the issue of race has on occasion been a federal priority. But this has mainly been when there was an immediate crisis -- such as the riots in the 1960s or the need for soldiers of all races to come to the nation's defense during World War II and the Korean

War. I believe we have a moment of opportunity now, as Americans from all walks of life focus on the demands of change in the century ahead. We must use this pivotal moment to invest the energy, determination and resources to propel us forward once again. And the federal government surely has a role to play.

While there is much work to do throughout the federal government, let me mention three critical priorities: reviving the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, ensuring that the Federal government is a model business, and establishing a mechanism at the White House and across federal agencies to help drive the workplan forward at both the national level and in states and communities around the country.

#### Revive the U.S. Civil Rights Commission

##### Executive Branch Leadership on Race in the Modern Era

In 1948, President Truman signed an executive order integrating the military and mandating equality of treatment and opportunity for all service personnel without regard to race, color, religion or national origin.

In 1965, President Lyndon Johnson signed an executive order making it the policy of the U.S. government to provide equal opportunity in Federal employment and in employment by Federal contractors on the basis of merit and without discrimination because of race, color, religion, or national origin.

Since its inception in 1957, the Civil Rights Commission has investigated voting complaints and referred denials of the nation's equal protection laws to the appropriate Federal agency. The Commission has also monitored the efficiency and effectiveness of civil rights enforcement agencies. In addition, it has served as an important advisor to Presidents and Congress on matters of racial discrimination and as a collector and clearinghouse of vital information. Most of its work has been in response to public complaints, but in the context of our national effort to build One America, some important changes are needed. For example:

In addition to monitoring the efficiency and effectiveness of civil rights enforcement agencies, the Commission can undertake a comprehensive, systematic assessment of civil rights compliance within the federal government itself, shedding light on issues of fairness and inclusion in federal agencies.

The Commission's assessment would include both employment issues and diversity compliance in government contracting.

The Commission could issue periodic report cards to keep the public and the Congress informed of what each federal agency is doing to promote fairness and inclusion.

#### Selected Clinton-Gore Civil Rights Accomplishments

Launched Presidential initiative on Race and created first-ever White House office on One America.  
Most diverse Administration and Cabinet in history.

Two-and-a-half times more small business loans to African American and Hispanic entrepreneurs and three times as many for Asian and Pacific Americans.

Historic settlement of civil rights class action suit brought against the Department of Agriculture by African American farmers.

Signed a landmark executive order on environmental justice, mandating that every federal agency identify and address disproportionately high and adverse health and environmental effects of its programs and policies on minority and low-income populations.

Ordered assessment of affirmative action programs in support of President's pledge to

mend, not end affirmative action.

Increased EEOC budget to reduce backlog of discrimination complaints.

Enhanced penalties for hate crimes and hosted first White House Conference on Hate Crimes.

Signed a measure authorizing the creation of a national monument to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. on the National Mall in Washington, D.C.

President Clinton convened an historic White House meeting with the leaders of all federally recognized Indian tribes.

Established an initiative to end racial and ethnic health disparities, setting a national goal of eliminating longstanding disparities by the year 2010 in six key health areas: infant mortality, diabetes, cancer screening and management, heart disease, AIDS and immunizations.

More generally, the Commission and its extensive network of volunteer-based State Advisory Committees represent an enormous resource for the national conversation on race. Its hearings, its deliberations, and its research reports can inform that discussion and model for us how some of the most difficult questions can be constructively addressed by people of good will.

#### Model Enterprise

Over the years, Presidents have made a number of efforts to put the conduct of the Federal government on the side of racial justice. In the Clinton-Gore administration, we've taken important additional steps to make Federal agencies the model for how all public and private sector enterprises should function. But I am not satisfied. The nation as a whole has not come far enough, and we should have even higher expectations for the people's government than we do for other organizations. For example:

Allegations by employees of discrimination in federal agencies can be handled more expeditiously, especially by using innovative dispute resolution techniques and ensuring that there are adequate resources for handling claims in a timely way so that employees aren't waiting in line for justice, while agencies are left in doubt about the legitimacy or fairness of their personnel actions.

The affirmative action programs agencies use when awarding contracts to suppliers, builders and other companies are intended to combat the discrimination faced by entrepreneurs in various fields of business. These programs need to be continually evaluated so that they can be strengthened and streamlined where needed, and curtailed or phased out where their goals have been achieved.

When the government serves the public, either directly or by distributing funds to other levels of government, it is absolutely critical that it does so with scrupulous fairness. I was deeply troubled by the tragic stories about black farmers who, for decades, were mistreated under federal programs enacted to help all farmers. Secretary Dan Glickman has taken bold steps to put those abuses behind us, and to see that no similar abuses exist elsewhere in the U.S. Department of Agriculture. I have instructed the heads of all federal agencies and departments, working with the Attorney General, to make comparable efforts to ensure that there are no unattended problems of racial unfairness in the way we serve the public.

This last point is an especially important yet challenging one. To assure this important work gets done, I have asked the Office of Management and Budget to lead this government-wide effort. This is not an overnight assignment. It will take years, and in fact it will require ongoing commitment from Administrations to come. For the government as much as for citizens, achieving our vision of One America requires taking responsibility. And responsibility starts at home.

White House  
Conference on One America

One way to fuel our momentum flowing out of the ne

White House Office on the Presidents Initiative on One America is to convene a White House Conference on One America. Focusing on ways to strengthen the bonds between all races and all citizens, this conference would assess progress on our national, sectoral and community workplans for racial reconciliation. It would also highlight our efforts to close opportunity gaps in such areas as education, economic development, the media, and criminal justice.

#### The White House Role

Finally, on February 5, 1999, I announced the creation of the White House Office on One America, headed by a senior member of my staff, Ben Johnson. This is the first time in our history that there has been a White House office specifically charged with keeping the nation focused on closing opportunity gaps and making our dream of racial reconciliation real. The One America office will focus the efforts of my staff on how best to move forward with the workplan for the nation I have described in this book. For example, I believe this Office can play a valuable role in helping spur the formation of Community Partnerships for One America and in encouraging the leadership of key sectors to contribute to this struggle. The Office can also help promote continuing public debate about the policy ideas that I and others have concerning what we can do to expand opportunity and eliminate the disparities that cripple our children and our communities.

I believe the White House Office on One America will help me keep both the White House and Federal agencies focused on the paramount issue of racial reconciliation. And it is my sincere hope that future Presidents, be they Democrat or Republican, will maintain this office.

#### Building One America

Building One America requires a new kind of leadership. Instead of looking outward for signs of hope, we must first look in the mirror and know that change is our responsibility. Rooted in the heart, that wisdom has the power to connect us in ways that nourish our dreams for a future that is better than our past. Whether you are able to give guidance to a single child or lead a national movement for justice, it all begins with a personal commitment to racial reconciliation. As the song says, Take a look at yourself and make a change.

#### \*\*\* Conclusion

[To be Done]

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#### Endnotes:

1. King Jr., Martin Luther. qtd. in Respectfully Quote d. ed. Suzy Platt. (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Inc., 1992), p. 318.
2. King Jr., Martin Luther. "The Drum Major Instinct." A Testament of Hope: The Essential Writings of Martin Luther King, Jr. ed. James Melvin Washington. (Cambridge: Harper & Row, 1991), p. 259.
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4. See Regents of the University of California v. Bakke 438 U.S. 265 (1978); United Steelworkers of America, AFL-CIO-CLC v. Weber 443 U.S. 193 (1979); Fullilove v. Klutznick 448 U.S. 448 (1980); Mississippi University for Women v. Hogan 458 U.S. 718 (1982); Firefighters Local Union No. 1784 v. Stotts 467 U.S. 561 (1984); Wygant v. Jackson Board of Education 476 U.S. 267 (1986); City of Richmond v. J.A. Croson Co. 488 U.S. 469 (1989); and Metro Broadcasting, Inc. v. Federal Communications Commission 497 U.S. 547 (1990); Adarand Constructors, Inc. v. Peña 515 U.S. 200 (1995). In some decisions (Fullilove, Metro Broadcasting, Weber) the Supreme Court has upheld affirmative action programs as constitutional; in others (Bakke, Hogan, Stotts, Wygant, Croson,) the Court has invalidated certain provisions of specific programs. In no decision, however, has the Court ever explicitly rejected the basic principle of affirmative action. The Court often invalidates

programs that carelessly or unjustly implement affirmative action, but it also holds constitutional those programs which survive tests of heightened or strict scrutiny. Put simply, although the Court sometimes strikes down specific affirmative action programs, it realizes that the fundamental principle upon which those and similar programs are based violates neither the 14th Amendment nor federal civil rights legislation.

5. National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1967), p. 384.

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Part IV: The Comm



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LEAP Asian Pacific American Public Policy Institute and UCLA American Studies Center, 'The State of Asian Pacific Americas: Policy Issues to the Year 2020' 11 (1993)

2. ...choosing a single identity may entail certain unacceptable psychological costs as one surrenders meaningful personal history. Another option...is the strategy of blending...ones cultural and racial allegiances to form a truly multiracial identity. These individuals may select from a host of cultural elements and experiences to create a kind of tailor-made identity. This kind of identity affirms ethnic traditions and ancestry, as well as incorporating a variety of alien elements into a single cultural repertoire and identity. C. Matthew Snipp. 1997. Some Observations about Racial Boundaries and the Experiences of American Indians. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. 20 (October): 667-689.

2. Farley, Reynolds *The New American Reality*, 1996. Pg.248

3. Accomplishments

4. Accomplishments

5. Aimee Cabooses et al., Empirical Study of Barriers to Upward Mobility of Asian Americans in the San Francisco Bay Area, in Gail M. Nomura et al., eds., *Frontiers of Asian American Studies: Writing, Research and Commentary* 93 (1989)

6. Bdrpt p. 45

7. Leadership Conference Education Fund. 1997. Cause for Concern: Hate Crimes in America. (January). Washington, DC: Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, p. 1. In 1995, there were 2,988 anti-black hate crimes, another 1,226 against whites, 500 against Hispanics, and over 350 directed against Asians (op cit., p. 7). In 1996, there were 4,469 anti-black crimes, another 1,384 anti-white hate crimes, 710 against Hispanics, and 527 anti-Asian hate crimes. See *Hate Crimes Statistics: 1996*, Uniform Crime Reports, Criminal Justice Information Services Division. Washington, DC: Federal Bureau of Investigation; table 1, 5. The Southern Poverty Law Center also reports regularly on such hate crimes.

8. Fair Housing News (October 1998) of the Fair Housing Center of Metropolitan Detroit, p. 1. Of the 1,160 total lawsuits, 611 or 53 percent involved race.

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Co

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===== END ATTACHMENT 1 =====

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: MARY LEE VANCE <MLVANCE@WPGATE.GMU.EDU> ( MARY LEE VANCE  
<MLVANCE@WPGATE.GMU.EDU> [ UNKNOWN ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:15-NOV-1999 02:31:30.00

SUBJECT: Forward: Part 2

TO: cmurphy@vedp.state.va.us ( cmurphy@vedp.state.va.us [ UNKNOWN ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: cleean@roa.org ( cleean@roa.org [ UNKNOWN ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Kimberly A. Miller ( CN=Kimberly A. Miller/OU=OMB/O=EOP [ OMB ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: tomcat71@nfis.com ( tomcat71@nfis.com [ UNKNOWN ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: swisner@mindspring.com ( swisner@mindspring.com [ UNKNOWN ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: pas0113@hotmail.com ( pas0113@hotmail.com [ UNKNOWN ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: amclose@hotmail.com ( amclose@hotmail.com [ UNKNOWN ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: mlvance@gmu.edu ( mlvance@gmu.edu [ UNKNOWN ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: LJ.Johnson@erols.com ( LJ.Johnson@erols.com [ UNKNOWN ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: STEPHEN.E.THATCHER@CUSTOMS.TREAS.GOV ( STEPHEN.E.THATCHER@CUSTOMS.TREAS.GOV [ UNKNOWN ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: costello@calib.com ( costello@calib.com [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: ghaven@bellatlantic.net ( ghaven@bellatlantic.net [ UNKNOWN ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: kfaunce@argoneng.com ( kfaunce@argoneng.com [ UNKNOWN ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: pseattle1@aol.com ( pseattle1@aol.com [ UNKNOWN ] )  
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TO: alexms7@aol.com ( alexms7@aol.com [ UNKNOWN ] )

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TO: MLVANCE@WPGATE.GMU.EDU ( MLVANCE@WPGATE.GMU.EDU [ UNKNOWN ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: kimberly.a.rogers@us.pwcglobal.com ( kimberly.a.rogers@us.pwcglobal.com [ UNKNOWN ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: jaimie@qis.net ( jaimie@qis.net [ UNKNOWN ] )  
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TO: wdantzler@netbasecorp.com ( wdantzler@netbasecorp.com [ UNKNOWN ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: valeta70@hotmail.com ( valeta70@hotmail.com [ UNKNOWN ] )  
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TO: mmulligan98@hotmail.com ( mmulligan98@hotmail.com [ UNKNOWN ] )  
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TO: druckerb@hn.va.nec.com ( druckerb@hn.va.nec.com [ UNKNOWN ] )  
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TO: stvthat@erols.com ( stvthat@erols.com [ UNKNOWN ] )  
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TO: jdwl@erols.com ( jdwl@erols.com [ UNKNOWN ] )  
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TO: barkerjun0397@cs.com ( barkerjun0397@cs.com [ UNKNOWN ] )  
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TO: kbswick@bellatlantic.net ( kbswick@bellatlantic.net [ UNKNOWN ] )  
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TO: knowlton\_todd@bah.com ( knowlton\_todd@bah.com [ UNKNOWN ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: sanbornFD@aol.com ( sanbornFD@aol.com [ UNKNOWN ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: kferrisg@aol.com ( kferrisg@aol.com [ UNKNOWN ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: christina.macdonald@andrews.af.mil ( christina.macdonald@andrews.af.mil [ UNKNOWN ] )  
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TEXT:

All -

More upcoming events in the DC area. Mary Lee

Subject: FWD: HKYP Volleyball e-mail list

Subject: FWD: Bone Marrow Drives

Subject: FWD: Citizen Summit Pre-Registration for Asian & Pacific

Americans

Subject: FWD: Veteran's Day Rally

Subject: FWD: Job opportunities

Subject: FWD: need your help spotting technology policy fellows

Subject: FWD: LOKA Scholarship Program

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Subject: FWD: HKYP Volleyball e-mail list

For all interested HKYP Volleyball Players:

An e-mail listserv list has been created to inform everyone of the schedule of play and schedule deviations of the weekly HKYP Volleyball play at Rock Creek Elementary. The list may also be used for pertinent general volleyball information. To subscribe to this list, please send a

blank e-mail to [hkyp-vball-subscribe@egroups.com](mailto:hkyp-vball-subscribe@egroups.com).

If you experience any difficulties in subscribing to this list, please notify [wongk168@yahoo.com](mailto:wongk168@yahoo.com).

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Subject: FWD: Bone Marrow Drives

Here is the information on the bone marrow drives:

NOVEMBER 21

2:00 to 5:00 p.m.

1028 N. Monroe Street

Arlington, VA

(703) 243-0853

DECEMBER 19

2:00 to 5:00 p.m.

Arlington Public Library

1015 N. Quincy Street

Arlington, VA

Tentative: NOVEMBER 28

Anup Jalota Ghazal Concert

5:00 p.m.

High Point High School Auditorium

3601 Powder Mill Road, Beltsville, MD

The web-site is [www.marrowminded.org](http://www.marrowminded.org)

Please contact Seema Chauhan: [seemac58@hotmail.com](mailto:seemac58@hotmail.com)

Note from the group: MarrowMinded.org is a Washington DC-based non-profit organization dedicated to raising awareness about Leukemia in

the South-Asian community. We, in association with NMDP (National Marrow Donors Program) and SAMAR (South Asian Marrow Recruiters) organize drives across the US to register South Asians to be potential marrow donors.

MarrowMinded.org has the following main goals:

- Increase Leukemia awareness among South-Asians through awareness campaigns;
- Increase the pool of registered South-Asian marrow donors through blood-test drives.
- Act as a support group for South-Asians with Leukemia.

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Subject: FWD: Citizen Summit Pre-Registration for Asian & Pacific Americans

Citizen Summit Pre-Registration for Asian & Pacific Americans

Thursday, Nov. 18, 1999, 6:30 p.m. - 8:30 p.m.

Saturday, Nov. 20, 1999, 9:00 a.m.-4:00 p.m.

Location: Washington Convention Center, 900 9th Street, NW

The Williams' administration brings a new vision to the upcoming millenium with an emphasis on community participation and empowerment. Mayor Williams invites all DC residents to the upcoming Citizen Summit to voice their concerns and needs of the District. By mobilizing and coordinating our efforts collectively, we can effectively advocate quality services for the Asian Pacific American community in the District. As the fastest growing minority community for the last decade, Asian & Pacific Americans have a vital role to play in the District's social, economic, and political arena. Your participation and input can help develop program initiatives and improve the delivery of government services to all residents in the District including Asian community members. The Office of Asian & Pacific Islander Affairs strongly urges your presence at the Nov. 20th Summit to ensure that the

voice of the Asian Pacific American community will be heard. Bilingual interpreters speaking Chinese, Vietnamese, and Korean will help you make your voices heard.

Please pre-register today via email to [gchen-eom@dcgov.org](mailto:gchen-eom@dcgov.org). For other information, please call Greg Chen at 202-727-3120. We look forward to your participation.

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Organization: \_\_\_\_\_ # of people to attend

Phone: \_\_\_\_\_

Please check the following dates:

A. I will attend the Summit both on Nov. 18, and 20.

B. I will attend the Summit on Nov. 20 only (The Summit).

C. I will attend the Summit on Nov. 18 only (The Kick-off Reception).



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Subject: FWD: Veteranûs Day Rally

Action Alert

What: VETERANS' DAY Rally

When: November 11, 1999  
Thursday 9:30 AM - Noon

Where: Arlington National Cemetery  
Memorial Drive sidewalk  
outside of Gates  
METRO stop: Arlington  
National Cemetery

Theme: "Rally to Remember Our Heroes"

10 AM Roll call of our departed comrades  
11 AM Wreath Laying Ceremony by President Clinton  
11:45 Brown Bag picnic lunch

Uniform:  
Veterans in Khaki uniforms & overseas caps.

Community supporters please bring your friends & donation\$ for  
McDonald?? lunches for our vets & their spouses.

Questions & suggestions requested.

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"There are many Filipino Americans who have fought bravely alongside  
American soldiers for freedom and democracy and I hope that our country

pays them the tribute that they deserve... it is important that they be

given the full benefits that they earned by their service."

- Hillary Rodham Clinton, First Lady  
October 16, 1999 New York City

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ERIC LACHICA, ACFV Executive Director  
2500 Mass. Ave. NW - Washington DC 20008

Check our website:  
<http://www.homestead.com/filamvets/s1327.html>

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Subject: FWD: Job opportunities

From: Mark.Chang@hugonet.com

Hello everyone,

The company I'm with has won a couple new contracts and is looking for folks with any of the following skill sets:

- Java
- Java Beans
- Lotus Notes development
- Lotus Notes administration
- Search Engine experience
- Web Usage monitoring (eg. Sightscope, Sightseer, Webtrends)

If you or anyone you know might be interested, call first (703.351.1289), send resume later. Consultant hourly-based compensation starts at \$80,000/yr on up.

Please feel free to forward this to anyone else who might be interested.

Thanks,

-Mark Chang

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Subject: FWD: need your help spotting technology policy fellows

I am writing to you in hopes that you will be able to suggest worthy candidates for an exiting new fellowship program. In the year 2000, The

New America Foundation plans to award between twelve and twenty fellowships to help outstanding writers, thinkers, and policy analyst establish themselves as credible new voices in the country's public policy debates. Currently, we are particularly eager to recruit fellows who have original points of view on how technology is changing America's civic culture and patterns of governance.

Successful Fellowship candidates receive annual stipends ranging from \$15,000 to \$75,000 (depending on experience and writing plans). Fellows who choose to work out of our offices in Washington, DC also receive office space, research assistance, and health insurance. New America Fellows also receive a range of professional development services to help them become established in their area of expertise and gain exposure via television, radio, and speaking appearances.

NAF fellows must possess sufficient writing ability to publish in first-tier, general interest newspapers and magazines. Fellows pursuing book contracts must be able to produce manuscripts accessible to the informed, general public. NAF is not interested in underwriting work for academic publications, trade journals, or political campaigns.

NAF fellows also must be able to advance original ideas, not merely report on people or events. Those ideas need not be strictly confined to

the realm of politics and policy, but must have broad implications for the nation's civic culture and public philosophy. NAF applies no ideological litmus tests on candidates, other than to require that their thinking not be dominated by the familiar doctrines of the Left or Right.

The Foundation is an independent, non-partisan public policy institute committed to developing a new public philosophy for the next century. Chaired by journalist James Fallows, NAF's Board includes Eric A. Benhamou, chairman & ceo of 3Com Corporation, as well as former National Economic Council Chair Laura D'Andrea Tyson, Novell Chairman &

CEO Eric Schmidt, Prof. Randall Kennedy of Harvard Law School, and Fareed Zakaria, managing editor of Foreign Affairs.

More information about the program is available on our website at [www.newamerica.net](http://www.newamerica.net), or by contacting:

Phillip Longman,  
Senior Editor & Fellowship Program Director  
New America Foundation  
1630 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.  
Washington, DC 20009  
(202) 986-2700  
[Longman@newamerica.net](mailto:Longman@newamerica.net)

If any worthy candidates come to mind, we'd very much appreciate hearing about them. We'd also welcome any suggestions you might have for how to communicate the availability of these fellowships.

Sincerely,

STEVE  
Steven C. Clemons  
Vice President  
New America Foundation  
1630 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.  
Washington, DC 20009  
(202) 986-2700  
[clemons@newamerica.net](mailto:clemons@newamerica.net)

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Subject: FWD: LOKA Scholarship Program

The League of Korean Americans, USA, Inc. (LOKA-USA) is pleased to announce the 1999 Scholarship Program for students in need of financial

aid. Though eligibility is open to all students in the U.S., students of disadvantaged groups, physically disabled, or pursuing vocational training, with strong commitment to community service will be considered

with high priority.

The criteria for selection under this program include scholastic standing and academic achievement, leadership and community service, character and citizenship. Three to five scholarships will be offered in 1999. One or two letters of reference from academic, professional, business or community associates and an official transcript must be attached to the application. Applicants should include pertinent information about their goals or circumstances in a cover letter to assist the Scholarship Committee in reaching a decision.

The selected students will receive the \$500 - \$1000 award on December 5 at the LOKA-USA's Scholarship Fund and Award Banquet at the McLea Hilton Hotel, 7920 Jones Branch Dr., McLean, Virginia. The Scholarship recipients must be present at the Banquet to be awarded.

If you have any questions, please contact Mr. Eung Deok Yoo, Scholarship Committee Chairperson at (202) 783-7830 or Mr. Seung Wan Chong at (703) 761-1212 or Arnanix@aol.com..

The application should be completed in full and returned to the LOKA-USA Scholarship Committee (including reference letter(s), an official transcript and the cover letter), postmarked NO LATER THAN NOVEMBER 10, 1999 for consideration

LOKA-USA Scholarship Committee  
910 3RD Street, NW  
Washington, DC 20001  
e-mail : yed@netconnect.net or LOKAUSA@acninc.net

Thank you,

Kim Miller  
PRC, Public Sector Inc.  
(703)556-1915  
(703)556-2683(fax)  
miller\_kim@prc.com

Mary Lee Vance, Ph.D.  
George Mason University  
Director Academic Support and Advising Services  
MSN 2E6, 4400 University Drive  
Fairfax, Virginia 22030-4444

Phone: 703-993-2470  
Fax: 703-993-2478  
E-Mail: mlvance@gmu.edu  
Web: [www.gmu.edu/departments/advising/advising.html](http://www.gmu.edu/departments/advising/advising.html)