

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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C. A WORKPLAN FOR THE NATION

To build one America, we must:

- Strengthen our laws and enforcement strategies to complete the traditional antidiscrimination agenda;
- Define an enforcement agenda to meet the new challenges of racial and ethnic justice; and

- Prevent law violations by reducing tensions and promoting reconciliation

As I have said, these are not federal responsibilities alone. Indeed, they are 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

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.

investigator or prosecutor. As with everything from sidewalk litter to freedom of speech or 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.

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(1) Strengthening Civil Rights Laws and Enforcement Strategies

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.

- **Eliminate hate crimes**

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.⁹ In 1997, the FBI reported 8,049 incidents of such crimes.¹⁰ 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

**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 sentences 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.

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 50 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. 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 pass a Hate Crimes Prevention Act because all Americans deserve protection from crimes of hate. Under our current law, the federal government would not have had the authority to prosecute James Byrd Jr.'s killers. Other than verbally condemning the actions of the three white men—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. This crucial legislation would expand the ability of the Justice Department to prosecute hate crimes by removing needless jurisdictional requirements for existing crimes. The Hate Crimes Prevention Act would

obviate this problem. In Jasper, Texas, the state prosecutors have performed their job heroically. Let's make sure that all Americans have such redress. 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 would strengthen current law by giving Federal prosecutors the power to prosecute hate crimes committed because of the victim's 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 Shepard's murderers. Matthew, a 21-year old college freshman, was beaten in the dead of night, tied to a fence, and left to die alone. He was attacked because he was gay. At Matthew's 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.

Opponents of the civil rights legislation in the 1960s often said, "You can't legislate morality." It is true that a statute cannot exorcize hate—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.

This heinous conduct strikes at the heart of what it means to be an American and at the ideals that define our nation.

- **Expand the antidiscrimination laws to cover stores and retail transactions, under Title II of the 1964 Civil Rights Act**

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 Denny's 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

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Denny's Makes Amends

Not so long ago, the Denny's restaurant chain was synonymous with racism and was busy settling lawsuits brought by minority customers. Fortunately, Denny's recognized it had a problem and responded in dramatic fashion-- in fact, Fortune magazine ~~has~~ named Denny's as one of the top 50 companies for Hispanics, Asian Americans and blacks. (Leadership counts. In 1995, Jim Adamson took over as CEO and put into place a four star strategy: loosen up on the hierarchical environment, make diversity a criterion for managers, require all staff to attend workshops on racial sensitivity and emphasize the importance of diversity. The results? Denny's percentage of minority officers and vice-presidents and above has risen from zero in 1993 to 11% in 1996. In 1993, there were no nonwhites holding the position of director, racial minorities now hold 20% of those jobs. As late as 1993, only one Denny's franchise was owned by an African American. Minorities now own 35% of the company's 737 franchised restaurants, and Akin Olajuwon, an African American, is the chain's second-largest franchisee. Denny's is a shining example of how one company is making good faith efforts to respond decisively beyond the requirements of the law in order to heal racial divisions and bring diversity into the workplace.

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clear to
Denny's?*

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 an 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*,¹¹ I was outraged, because unlike in the case of my Secret Service agents, the federal government had no authority to protect Alonzo's rights.

As 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 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,¹² 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.¹³ 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 defendant's 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.

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- **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.”¹⁴ 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 isn't. Here is what I mean:

Affirmative action is any policy or practice in which race, ethnicity, gender, or disability is used as a factor in decision making. It encompasses a range of techniques, from simple outreach and recruiting, to "thumb-on-the-scale" 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.¹⁵ 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.¹⁶

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 using affirmative action strategies to promote inclusive classrooms. Also pressing, however, is the threat from attacks on affirmative action in selective colleges and universities.

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 "under represented groups" pursuing postgraduate degrees in areas of national need -- primarily science and mathematics. We directed the Education Department to target their outreach and recruitment efforts on under represented 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. **HUD's 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.¹⁷ 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.¹⁸ 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 race-blind admissions policies reap. In California, after the passage of Proposition 209, the two flagship public universities saw dramatic declines in admissions for both Latinos and African Americans. The first class to enter University of California (UC) Berkeley's Boalt Hall School of Law after Proposition 209 had only one African American student. 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 football team based on who runs the 100-yard dash the fastest. Speed is only one factor in football. Blocking, passing, kicking and reading defenses are among the other essential elements of the game. So it is in education -- test scores and grades are not the complete measures of merit. The "merit" argument of most affirmative action critics reflects a twisted and narrow notion of merit that is widely and vigorously rejected

by the leaders of higher education—the very people most directly involved in assessing what makes an institution excel. 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 institution excel at its mission—be it a world-class education, or public safety in a police precinct.

UC Berkeley turned away 800 African American, Latino, and American Indian students with 4.0 GPAs, 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 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, don't end it."

The broader issue, of which affirmative action is only one element, is voluntary compliance with antidiscrimination laws, and voluntary efforts to bring about opportunity and inclusion consistent with our vision of One America. In the discussion of the Federal centerpiece of this work, I stressed the importance of making strategic, *smart* investments, including investments in the technical assistance and public information that will help people who want to do the right thing. I believe that this same emphasis is important for other levels of government and for the private sector.

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D. EXPAND SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL AMERICANS

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 rights for a new century.

Here I want to mention several issues where there is a specific law enforcement dimension to the workplan:

- combat discrimination in K-12 educational opportunity;
- combat worker exploitation;
- combat discrimination in health care;
- conduct an accurate census as the foundation for voting and allocating resources;
and
- ensure environmental justice, so that minority communities are not poisoned by
indifference.

When we close the opportunity gap in these areas, our nation will be stronger to meet next century's challenges.

- **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 1964¹⁹ 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.

There are still blatantly discriminatory situations in which schools that are identifiably minority are unjustifiably starved for resources. But the more common problem is that school finance systems are usually heavily dependent on local property tax revenues. This can make it very difficult for poor schools in poor districts to get the resources they need to serve poor children. 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.²⁰ For instance, lower class sizes may be more important for low income children than others.²¹ 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.²² 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.

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 of minority children.

Resource discrimination is an issue under an old civil rights statute, but it is an increasingly important obstacle as we recommit ourselves to racial and ethnic justice. I do not want to abandon, however, the commitment our nation made to dismantling the lingering effects of slavery, Jim Crow laws, and of discriminatory isolation imposed on non-black minorities. For that reason, 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's 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 demonstrated 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,²³ 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.²⁴ Too often, our practices leave minority students *over represented* in special education and low-track, dead-end courses, and *under represented* in math, science, and high-track gifted programs. Moreover, once students are grouped into low-track classes, evidence shows they rarely move out.

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educational
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Educators who use tracking as an educational tool are often well-meaning and many consider it to be a useful practice.²⁵ 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.²⁶ 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. Dead-end tracking is wrong for any child.

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*.

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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.

- **Prevent worker exploitation.**

After a hard-fought civil war, the Thirteenth Amendment eliminated legally sanctioned slavery in the United States. Unfortunately, slavery and slavery-like practices continue to exist in 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. As Americans, we have protested such practices. As consumers and as people of conscience, we have used our market power to call for accountability. 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. U.S. citizens, legal immigrants, and undocumented workers are being recruited and smuggled into this country expecting 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 just as reprehensible. We must do everything in our power to liberate the victims and punish those who would pervert the American dream in this fashion.

Perhaps the most notorious setting for worker exploitation in America are those workplaces commonly known as sweatshops. 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.²⁷ 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.²⁸ 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.²⁹ Similarly, the New York State Labor Department estimates that sweatshops in New York City represent an annual

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."

loss of \$20 million in social security and employment taxes.³⁰

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.

An especially abhorrent form of worker exploitation is the trafficking of women and children. This often includes the transporting, harboring, transferring, or selling of persons within the United States and international borders for the purposes of forced labor and involves sexual exploitation. There is currently no comprehensive law in our country that sanctions the range of activities recognized as trafficking or that protects its victims. On March 11, 1998, I issued an Executive Memorandum that directed the federal government to combat violence against women and trafficking in women and girls. In accordance with this directive, my Interagency Council on Women is working to develop a strategy to prevent trafficking, providing protections and assistance for trafficking victims, and prosecuting traffickers. In addition, my International Crime Control Strategy highlights the trafficking of women and children as an emerging organized crime issue deserving heightened attention by the United States. But we can do more.

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 a crime bill that expands the coverage of 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.

I also support creating a 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. Such a program would provide temporary legal status to aliens who have been severely victimized by trafficking or similarly egregious offenses, including labor law abuses, and would authorize the Attorney General to convert nonimmigrants to permanent status when it is justified on humanitarian grounds or the national interest, including when critical testimony is offered in the prosecution of

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.

sweatshop operators and where the victim has suffered severe physical or mental abuse.

We can also take steps to enforce and strengthen the Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA), including making full use of the Hot Goods Provision. This provision prohibits the shipment of goods in interstate commerce which have been made in violation of FLSA's minimum wage or overtime requirements, or which were produced in violation of child labor laws.

I also support increasing the number of agents and investigators who are charged with finding and eliminating cases of worker exploitation. Correspondingly, I call on my Cabinet to ensure the proper training of FBI agents, INS agents, Labor Department investigators, and assistant U.S. attorneys to recognize worker exploitation in all of its forms so that they may quickly respond to allegations of forced labor in a manner consistent with the needs of the victims.

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. American consumers understand this. A *U.S. News and World Report* poll showed that six in ten Americans are concerned about working conditions in U.S. companies. *Newsday* further reported that 83% of consumers would be willing to pay an extra dollar on a \$20 item if they knew the garment had not been made in a sweatshop.

Finally, I applaud citizen efforts to combat worker exploitation, such as that of the Duke University student organization Students against Sweatshops. These students developed a groundbreaking policy on licensing contracts which could have a profound impact on reducing abuses. I encourage all educational institutions and professional and professional and amateur sports leagues to voluntarily adopt a code of conduct with which all manufacturing licensees must comply.

- **Combat discrimination in health care**

Someone once asked, what good are civil rights, if the people are too sick and tired to take advantage of them? That is why 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. (See text box.) 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.

But, health disparities are also a function of discrimination—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^g either prevents

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 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 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.

minorities from getting access to health care altogether, or forces them to accept health care delivery systems that, while not separate, are entirely unequal.

Discrimination in health care delivery has been well documented, both in research and through the enforcement activities of the Office for Civil Rights (OCR) at the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS). 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 outcomes between whites and minorities. 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.

do we need to
clarify that
there was no
medical basis
for the differential?

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 OCR settlements 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.

Bridging the health divide is both a public health and civil rights challenge. Unless the role of discrimination is understood, it will be impossible to eliminate the disparities. 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.³¹ Eliminating these disparities will require a comprehensive strategy 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. In fiscal
year 1999, for the first time in
seven years, we secured for OCR
a budget increase greater than a
basic inflationary adjustment.
Despite this increase, the current
funding level for OCR is less

Improving Care Through 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 hospital's 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. Moses Cone has also dramatically reduced the inpatient length of stay by opening an 8-hour short-stay unit—from 10.5 days in FY98 to 6 days for the first six months of FY99. In the same time period, there has been a 33% reduction in in-patient admissions as a result of the new program. As a result of African American physicians and Moses Cone management working together, patients have benefited and the hospital has gained both financially and programmatically.

than the level at which the office was first established, and further investments are needed.

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 such a course to medical students, in which sensitive issues of race are discussed openly. Other institutions should follow suit. Moreover, 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.

Clearly, discrimination is one of the factors, along with the economic gap and the empathy gap, for our health care divide. Eliminating discriminatory barriers to health care for minorities is not only a legal requirement, it is a moral imperative. I call on our schools, health care professionals, and Americans everywhere to work together to make equality in health care a civil rights issue in the coming years.

- **Ensure that every American lives in environmentally safe and healthy communities.**

In 1997-98, a group of residents in Convent, Louisiana, were engaged in just 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.³² Citizens of Convent were already

living under adverse environmental conditions. Many of them kept their doors and windows closed to avoid the area's air pollution. Even so, asthma and other respiratory problems were common. The residents feared that the plant would add to these air pollution woes. The town already had seven manufacturing facilities and there were seventeen in the county.³³ 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.³⁴

The company had already received permits from the Louisiana Department of Environmental Quality, and state agencies were unmoved by the community's concerns, so the residents turned to the protections of Federal civil rights and environmental laws. With the help of the law clinic at Tulane University, they went to court and to the federal Environmental Protection Agency. On behalf of "St. James Citizens for Jobs and the Environment" and other local groups, Tulane filed petitions 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. The PVC plant did threaten new emissions, but was far cleaner than any of the numerous plants

already operating in the immediate area. In its review, EPA had to consider not only the impact of the new plant, but the historical burden of toxic emissions from facilities that had been permitted over decades. And opinion in Convent was split, because the plant meant 255 new jobs and additional benefits for a community where 40 percent of the residents lived below the poverty line³⁵ and unemployment hovered at 62 percent.³⁶ With these stakes, many residents and even the local chapter of the NAACP embraced the PVC project.³⁷

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 were scaling down the scope of the facility,³⁸ so that by late 1998, it appeared that the plant opponents had won their battle.

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 joblessness, or take an unfair environmental burden. Stories like Convent's 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.

The residents of Convent were engaged in a new civil rights struggle: the struggle for “environmental justice.” For me, that term means ensuring that every citizen enjoys equal protection not only under the nation’s civil rights laws but under its environmental laws as well. In this sense, issues of environmental justice need to be understood as far more than local siting disputes.

Communities of color have often been left out of environmental impact decisions—decisions that affect their health and the health of their children. Even more commonly, they have not been considered when funding, enforcement, research or other priorities are set. Moreover, since regulators usually tackle problems on a piecemeal basis, looking at impacts one smokestack at a time, the system often fails to look at the cumulative toxic burdens imposed on communities where there are multiple sources of pollution.

Underlying these disadvantages, too, has been the lingering assumption that it is fair to ask poor and minority communities to subordinate their right to a clean and healthy environment for the sake of needed jobs and investment. This is extortion. “You want jobs? Then be our dump.”

We must not leave in place so debilitating an obstacle to equal opportunity. For example, 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.³⁹ 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.⁴⁰ 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 is a significant factor steering investment away from many communities of color, and 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 feeds other crime in the community.⁴¹ I have pressed Congress to strengthen the tools available to law enforcement in fighting the environmental crime that plagues these communities.⁴²

But there is more. Part of our challenge in the years ahead is to give communities new tools to erase the legacy of toxic burdens they face. And no leader—federal, state, local, civic or corporate—should be uncertain about what needs to be done. Reducing the epidemic rates of asthma in communities of color must be a public health priority. We also must accelerate cleanup of toxic waste sites and expand the community's right to know about toxic emissions in their neighborhoods. And we need to provide new resources for urban parks and open space in low-income and minority communities, which too often lack these essential amenities of community life.

We also need to develop better models for government, ensuring that communities have a voice in the decisions that affect them. Early in my Administration, I asked the Federal government to take the lead in meeting this

challenge. I am proud to have signed an executive order titled, “Federal Actions to Address Environmental Justice in Minority and Low-Income Populations.” This new measure provides that “each 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.”⁴³

As a result of my Executive order, the federal agencies have broadened the way they think about the impacts of major projects, collaborating in new ways with other levels of government and with community groups. For almost 30 years, the federal government has been required to assess the environmental impacts of its actions. The National Environmental Policy Act called upon the government to stop and think about what effect a federal project—a highway, or a dam, for example—might have on the environment. The law required agencies to consider socioeconomic impacts as well, but this mandate was never fully honored and disproportionate impacts on low-income and minority communities too often were ignored. Those impacts cannot be ignored any longer.

What lessons does the battle in Convent teach us? First and foremost, it reminds us that we can ignore issues of environmental justice only at the risk of racial conflict and racial tension. It reminds us of the importance of Federal leadership in ensuring

equal protection under our civil rights and environmental laws. And it reminds us that local people must have a place at the table when decisions affecting their environment and their health are made. Many people concerned with the environment, land use, development and public health may not have thought of themselves as civil rights workers, but in a very real sense they must be.

Finally, Convent reminds us that the cause of environmental justice is inseparable from the cause of economic justice. The battle over the PVC plant was too often presented in the press as a false choice between jobs and environmental protection. But across the Nation, we have shown that we can have the strongest economy in the world while insisting on the strictest environmental standards. We have shown that environmental protection is an essential component of economic growth. This is true across America. Communities will only attract the jobs and investment they need if they are healthy places to raise families, go to work, and go to school. The activists in Convent reminded us that, in America, no community should be forced into having to choose between their health and their jobs.

- **Ensure an accurate Census, because every American counts**

Because the accuracy of the U. S. census directly affects our nation's ability to ensure equal representation and equal access to important governmental resources for all

Americans, I regard a fair and accurate census to be one of the most significant civil rights issues we face. Article I of the Constitution places the census count at the core of our democratic system of governance.⁴⁴ The first census was conducted in 1790, when Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson reported to President George Washington an official count of 3.9 million people. This count included American Indians who were not taxed and “three-fifths of all other persons,” meaning slaves.⁴⁵ As in 1790, we continue to undercount racial minorities – by about *12 million* in the census of 1990.

An accurate census is critical

to all Americans as it is the basis for virtually all demographic information used by

A Sample of Programs Affected by Census Figures

HEALTH CARE. Head Start. Health Education and Training Centers. Nursing Student Loans. Protection and Advocacy for Individuals with Mental Illness. **EDUCATION:** Goals 2000 -- State and Local Education Systematic Improvement Program. Safe and Drug Free Schools. Technology Innovation Challenge Grants. Title I Program for Neglected and Delinquent Children. Special Education. Indian Education. Education for Homeless Children and Youth. Health Professions Student Loans.

ENVIRONMENT. Wildlife Restoration. Air Pollution Control Program Support. Water Pollution Control. Hazardous Waste Management State Program Support.

TRANSPORTATION. Capital Assistance Program for Elderly Persons and Persons with Disabilities. Airport Improvement Program. Highway Planning and Construction. State and Community Highway Safety. **CHILDREN.** Child Welfare Services. Childcare for Families at Risk of Welfare Dependency. Child Abuse and Neglect. **SENIORS.** In Home Services for Frail Older Individuals. Programs for Prevention of Elderly Abuse, Neglect, and Exploitation. Nutrition Services. Independent Living Services for Older Individuals Who Are Blind.

INDIVIDUALS WITH DISABILITIES. Disabled Veterans Outreach Program. Block Grants for Community Mental Health Services. Supportive Housing for Persons with Disabilities. **WOMEN.** Violence Against Women Formula Grant. Maternal and Child Health Services Block Grants. Rural Domestic Violence and Child Victimization Enforcement Grant Program.

RURAL COMMUNITIES. Appalachian Local Access Roads. Rural Telephone Banks. Rural Electrification Loans and Loan Guarantee. Rural Self-Help Housing Technical Assistance. Rural Domestic Violence and Child Victimization Enforcement Grant Program.

policy makers, businesses, and community leaders. Census data directly affects decisions made on all matters of national and local importance, including the development of education, employment, veterans' services, public health care, rural development, environment, transportation, and housing programs, as well as the distribution of hundreds of billions of dollars in critical services. Last year alone, the federal government distributed over 180 billion dollars in federal aid based on census data.

In addition to the funding of critical services, census data also forms the basis on which congressional seats are reapportioned and legislative districts are drawn. Inaccurate data thus has far-reaching consequences for political representation by decreasing the influence of those persons who are less frequently counted.

In 1990, the differential undercount, including the undercount of racial and ethnic minority groups, was the highest ever since the Census Bureau began conducting post-census evaluations in 1940. In fact, the total miscount was over 12 million people,⁴⁶ the equivalent of not counting the entire population of Ohio, Michigan, or most of Illinois. The undercount of minorities was even worse than the national average; the 1990 count missed 4.4 percent of African Americans, 5 percent of Hispanics, 2.3 percent of Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders, and over 12 percent of Native Americans living on reservations. This means that the undercount rate for African Americans was six times

greater, the rate for Hispanics seven times greater, and the rate for American Indians more than seventeen times greater, than that for whites.⁴⁷ Children were also badly miscounted. While children under the age of 18 represented 26 percent of the total national population that year, they accounted for 52 percent of those missed. As a result of this inaccuracy, many individuals were denied an equal voice in their government, or denied their fair share of government resources.

Why were people of color disproportionately undercounted? Experts at the Census Bureau and from panels convened by the National Academy of Sciences found that residents of census tracts with high undercounts shared a number of characteristics: high mobility, language barriers, high level of unmarried residents, nontraditional housing arrangements, neighborhoods that are not trustful to outsiders, and a lack of trust in the confidentiality of the census.⁴⁸ These characteristics are commonly found in communities of color. Because we know what the obstacles are to achieving an accurate count, we can address them. We can make every person count.

First, let's take advantage of our scientific knowledge. In order to prevent future undercounts, Congress passed and I signed the Decennial Census Improvement Act.⁴⁹ This Act authorized the Census Bureau to work with the National Academy of Sciences to determine the best way to count our population.⁵⁰ The panel of experts convened by the Academy unanimously recommended the use of scientific sampling as part of

Census 2000.⁵¹ In fact, they concluded that traditional methods alone would not reduce the undercount: "It is fruitless to continue trying to count every last person with traditional Census methods of physical enumeration."⁵² The nation's leading statistical associations, including the American Statistical Association and the American Sociological Association, have also endorsed the use of sampling.

There has been much confusion about the legality of sampling as a counting method due to a misreading of the Supreme Court's decision in *Department of Commerce v. United States House of Representatives*. The Supreme Court ruled that sampling is prohibited only for apportionment purposes. Thus, we will improve upon our traditional direct counting methods to apportion the 435 Congressional seats among the 50 states. The Court, however, made it clear that the 1976 amendments to the Census Act "changed a provision that permitted the use of sampling for purposes other than apportionment into one that required that sampling be used for such purposes if 'feasible.'"⁵³ If the Secretary of Commerce deems it so, we *must* use statistical sampling to adjust the census data for use in redistricting and distributing funds. Secretary of Commerce Richard Daley has already determined that statistical sampling is necessary, desirable, and feasible. Thus, we must take advantage of modern scientific methods to make sure that every person in America counts.

In addition to the use of statistical sampling, we can improve our education and outreach. First, we will communicate with every home three times: to alert residents that census forms will be arriving soon, to deliver census forms, and then, to remind all households to return the census form. We know, however, that less than two-thirds of all households are likely to mail back their forms. That is why we are sending approximately 250,000 temporary census takers to go door to door to follow-up with households that have not responded to the mailing. Also, for the first time in history, the Census Bureau will sponsor a national advertising campaign urging all Americans to participate in the census. We will target some of these ads to hard-to-count communities. Finally, as Karen Narasaki, Executive Director of the National Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium, pointed out in her testimony before the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, we must recognize the growth of immigrant communities and provide language assistance. We will distribute census forms in a variety of languages as well as provide a toll-free number staffed with multi-lingual operators to assist people with their forms.

Our most important concern for Census 2000 should be accuracy, not politics. Let's use our scientific advantage to make sure that we count each and every American, and improve our education and outreach efforts. Because our federal resources, voice in government, and economic life are based on a fair and accurate census, let's not repeat another undercount. The accuracy of Census 2000 and each decennial census after it

will be an important indicator of our willingness to protect the civil rights of all Americans.

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**E. PREVENT LAW VIOLATIONS 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).⁵⁴ 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 1964.⁵⁵ 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 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.⁵⁶ 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. I called on a number of federal agencies to assist in this effort and in particular, asked CRS to work directly with more than 230 local communities in 17 states to help ease, and work towards eliminating, racial distrust and polarization. In addition to healing the racial divides, CRS has been working to promote the construction of new buildings, and train community leaders and law

enforcement officers in race relations. CRS is, moreover, a principal partner of my Church Arson Task Force. As noted by Mark Logan—an 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 indictments of suspected church arsonists.”⁵⁷

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.⁵⁸ 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 have at their disposal to reduce racial tensions and promote reconciliation.

F. CONCLUSION

America's 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.”⁵⁹ The American revolution is not yet complete. The civil rights movement goes on.

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PART III: THE OPPORTUNITY WE DESERVE

[Introduction to Part III]

[Sections 1-4]

...

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 the over 500 federally recognized tribes. For most of them, it was their first ever visit to the people's house. I hope it is not the last. Native Americans occupy a special place spiritually, culturally, and historically in America. In 1998, I had the pleasure of hosting a White House conference on economic development in Indian country. There I met a young man named Dominic Ortiz from the Prairie Band Potawatomi Nation. Dominic graduated from Haskell Indian Nations University, one of this country's tribal colleges, and transferred to the University of Kansas to major in accounting. While at Haskell, Dominic started his own successful business. Dominic's business is not only thriving, but 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

What did he
business do?
Selling a little
flat - die he
overcome
particular
challenge?

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, 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 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.¹

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 telephones. There is no industry, no factories, and 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 56.5 years, and for women, it is 66 years.² 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.

Today 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 America's 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 the founding of our nation, the United States has recognized many Indian tribes as "domestic dependent nations"³ 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 ^{the} this unique status ^{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.⁴

In 1831, Chief Justice John Marshall recognized that the United States has a special trust responsibility to protect Indian tribes.⁵ That trust responsibilities 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.⁶ 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 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 more analogous to those of third-world nations than of communities in America's heartland.

We also must bear in mind that our nation often has pursued policies that have undermined the capacity of tribal governments to advance 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.

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 with respect to social, economic, and educational attainment levels. Complicating factors such as geographical isolation, under developed infrastructures, and demographics, 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.⁷ 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. Gaming tribes are viewing the revenues from gaming as the key to improving the lives of each of their members as well as enriching the entire community.

As lucrative as it has been for some tribes, gaming is not a panacea for every tribe. While over 200 tribes have gaming operations, only a small portions of tribes accounts for a majority of total gaming revenues.⁸ 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.

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 owned by the federal government and held in trust on behalf of tribes. This trust status and legal protection is extremely important from the perspective of Indian landowners, but there are trade-offs. 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 Veteran's 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 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, one of the essential keys 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 as these children are the future for their tribes and their communities. 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 Nation's total population.⁹ 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.¹⁰

*Age isn't really the
issue - the
W4 is 200 years
old! It's the
condition of the
buildings that
matters.*

I have made education one of the top priorities of my Administration. I have challenged the public schools of this country to hire better teachers, 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. We have a special obligation to prepare them for the future. This is a problem throughout America. That is why I have proposed substantial increases in funding for school construction and repair, with one-half of the bonding authority allocated to the 100 school districts with the largest number of low-income children. This bonding authority is a powerful tool which permits the leveraging of local resources to build new schools and make much needed repairs to older schools. Traditionally, tribes have been denied this tool in order to repair and replace schools on the reservations. For the first time, I have proposed bonding authority for tribes with a mechanism to ensure principal repayment. This authority 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. Just as in the rest of the population, about 90 percent of American Indian children attend local public schools, while only about 10 percent attend BIA-funded schools.¹¹ These children face

unique challenges. Approximately 50 percent of American Indian fourth-graders scored below the basic level in reading and mathematics.¹²

I am proud that 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 institutionalizes 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 1000 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, and less than 10 percent of Native Americans have bachelor's degrees compared with 20 percent of the total population.¹³ I have fully supported this country's 30 or so 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 private schools or the means to leave

their families behind to attend schools that are hours away. Studies show that only about 35 percent of Native Americans who enter mainstream institutions as freshman graduate.¹⁴

Is this saying that
Native Americans
should stay
in tribal
colleges?
I don't think
that's what
we mean -
Add a
sentence to
explain why
this stat
is included

Finally, the cultures of American Indian tribes are a rich part of the heritage of this country. The maintaining of Native languages and cultures is critical. 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 rich native languages and culture.

Crime

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.¹⁵ In contrast to the rest of the country, where nine out of every ten murders involve victims and offenders of the same race,¹⁶ about seven in ten violent victimizations of American Indians involved an offender who was of a different race. Use of alcohol was 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.¹⁷

Gangs are also no longer only the province of inner cities. Youth gangs 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 probably overlap, we must do more to understand the unique nature of gangs in Indian country.

Indian communities often have other unique law enforcement 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.¹⁸

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.¹⁹ 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 Nation's capital.²⁰ In addition, departments often are so woefully under funded that

patrol cars are most likely to be 10 years old, with the odometer showing more than the 60,000 miles that federal regulations say should be the maximum. Most 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 wilderness, not knowing whether this day of duty will be his last. 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 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 will 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 police officers, detention officers, and radio dispatchers will be 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.

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 the rest of this section, I will offer three separate centerpiece proposals outlining how the federal government can provide leadership in each of these areas. This will be followed by a comprehensive workplan, proposing how the entire nation, working together, can close the opportunity gaps in Indian country.

B. CENTERPIECES OF THE FEDERAL WORKPLAN

(1) Comprehensive Educational Mentoring and Record Tracking for Native American Students

While we have made significant strides in improving the quality of education for Native Americans, several formidable barriers remain. We must do more to open the doors of college to every American Indian student who wants to take that step. Only two-thirds of Native American students successfully complete high school—far fewer than other students.²¹ I suspect that one of the big reasons for this is that many Native

American students routinely transfer back and forth from BIA-funded schools to public schools near their reservations. It is believed that this process 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. Currently, we do not keep statistics on this phenomenon. As part of my **Comprehensive Educational Mentoring and Record Tracking System**, I am proposing significant changes to rectify this problem.

Through this mechanism, we would keep statistics on the number of American Indian students who interrupt their education by transferring between BIA-funded and public school systems. We would also conduct research on the consequences of this activity. Finally, we would put in place measures to ensure that a complete record of a student's progress is kept in a single location.

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 set up a mentoring and tutoring program for American Indian students. This program could collaborate with AmeriCorps and the National Senior

Service Corps. Older students, senior citizens, or other adults in the community can play a major role in preparing a young person for higher education. The mentors could work with students and help them as they advance from grade to grade and ensure that they are on the right track to college. I believe that this new mentoring program will succeed in increasing academic performance in Indian schools.

Mentoring can also serve to help preserve Native American culture and language. We should work with tribes to come up with to increase the participation of tribal elders in mentoring. Just as the tribal colleges construct themselves to reflect tribal culture, a part of this proposal is to create groups of students who are assigned to a tribal elder to help support their educational activities. Without recognizing and preserving their culture, these students often are disenfranchised because they do not have any role models. Elders will serve this function by providing guidance and a positive influence to students. Elders can also teach students about tribal history, language, arts, and culture, on their road to a college education. We encourage all schools to create opportunities for the involvement of elders in programs, activities, and mentoring. A two-tier mentoring system can vastly improve the chances that American Indian students will be equipped to obtain a college degree.

(2) Model Community Initiative for Encouraging Economic Development

Essential to the building of One America is the need to bring growth and opportunity to Indian Country. As it is in every other community in America, 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 to set the stage for such growth; and by helping to provide education and training to give Native Americans a better chance to succeed in our modern economy.

One of the best ways to promote economic development within tribes and tribal communities is through the fostering of an entrepreneurial culture. Entrepreneurship and small businesses have always been the backbone of a strong American economy. And these are the keys to job creation and our continued leadership 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 made a \$1 million grant to 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.

(3) Tribal-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 developing federal-tribal-private 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 Administration's 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 with each community having unique but overlapping problems with other Indian communities.

A broader vision, however, is necessary to address the unique needs of tribal communities more comprehensively. That is why I am proposing the **Tribal-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 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' need 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.

C. A WORKPLAN FOR THE NATION

In addition to federal leadership, there is much that we all can do in the areas of education, economic development, and law enforcement to improve the lives of Native Americans as we work to build One America. The Nation's efforts should focus on the following goals:

- Eliminate disparities for American Indians in the public school system;
- Enhance learning for Native American Children through early childhood education which honors cultural traditions.
- Promote cooperation between the federal government, States, local governments, and the private sector to invest in economic development in Indian country;
- Invest in infrastructure in Indian country, both in technology and through transportation systems; and
- Build cooperation to ensure public safety in Indian communities and provide positive influences for Indian youth to stay out of crime.

(1) Eliminate disparities for American Indians in the public school system

American Indian students attend schools operated by state, federal, and tribal governments. As stated earlier, about 90 percent of American Indian students attend state public schools. Because of this, there is a great opportunity for the states, localities, and tribal governments to work together to ensure that Native American students have equal access to high quality curricula, teachers, classrooms, and materials.

In overcoming the gaps in educational opportunities, several unique factors affecting American Indian students, such as high student mobility rates, high drop out rates, and high teacher turnover rates, should be taken into account. There are opportunities for intergovernmental regulation of student transfers and the development of memoranda of understanding about common educational issues and concerns.

While there are unique issues affecting American Indian and Alaska Native students, I believe that as we work to give all American students the world-class education they deserve, we will see some of the most dramatic gains in our hardest pressed communities. In addition to specific support for Native American students and

families, we must overcome gaps in K-12 educational opportunity; provide for high-quality teachers; ensure access to challenging courses; repair and replace old and dilapidated schools; provide technology and training; end social promotion; and hold all of our students to high expectations. If we do all this, we will have made tremendous strides in ending the disparities that plague too many of this Nation's Native American students.

(2) 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. Often they do not have access to early childhood education programs, which are linguistically, culturally, and developmentally appropriate. 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 schools systems must focus on early childhood and pre-school programs so that Indian children are given greater 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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(3) 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.²² From these statistics, it is clear that state and local governments should work in partnerships with tribes to develop economic strategies for entire regions.

(4) Invest in infrastructure in Indian country, both in technology and through transportation systems

Because of their often remote locations, American Indian and Alaska Native communities stand to benefit greatly from the Information Age, yet are in grave danger of being left behind. A recent Department of Commerce study on Internet and computer usage in American 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.²³ States, local governments, tribes, the federal government, and the private sector must all work together to ensure that Indian youth have the access to the Information Age in their classrooms and that Indian communities have access for economic development. We must also continue working with tribes to build roads and to develop water and wastewater systems, including solid waste disposal.

(5) 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 for role models and opportunities. It is thus 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 Justice’s “Volunteers for Tribal Youth (VTY)” Program, we will build a federal-tribal partnership project designed to help American Indian tribes enhance or create sustainable community-based volunteer programs. These

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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 non-profit organizations, will work with tribal communities to identify opportunities for volunteers, including elders, to serve as mentors, tutors, and positive adult role-models 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 community-based volunteer programs.

CONCLUSION

Despite this nations tragic history, we now have a chance, working together with tribes, to make sure the first Americans take their rightful place as part of One America. 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 sacred and constitutional commitments to American Indians and Alaska Natives and then take the necessary steps to end discrimination and close the

opportunity gaps.

Endnotes

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This book has a good overview of
the relationship between the tribes &
the Feds, but it comes across
as being overwhelmingly focused on
the federal role.

Clinton Presidential Records Digital Records Marker

This is not a presidential record. This is used as an administrative marker by the William J. Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

This marker identifies the place of a tabbed divider. Given our digitization capabilities, we are sometimes unable to adequately scan such dividers. The title from the original document is indicated below.

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PART IV: THE COMMUNITY WE MUST BUILD

*It may be just me, but I think
it's weird to quote
yourself*

The unsung heroes of America's long march to racial reconciliation have always been ordinary citizens working together to make a difference.

— Bill Clinton, from *Pathways to One America in the 21st Century*

A. INTRODUCTION

As President and especially during our Initiative on Race, I have had the privilege of meeting and talking with Americans from all parts of our country. Whether I am chatting with my neighbors 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 that I am not reminded that most Americans of all races are people of good faith who are committed to building a stronger America across racial lines. But, at the same time, most Americans do not fully understand the nature or extent of our racial challenges. Many want to do their part. They are just not sure what to do or where to begin. This has greatly limited our ability to forge a consensus for action.

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 put forth my vision of the America we must strive for. In **The America We Deserve**, I presented a number of workplans to guide 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.

In this chapter, I want to talk about two tightly interrelated issues. The first is about developing community -- strengthening connections to others, and finding a common purpose that unites people across racial and ethnic differences. The second is about specific forms of civic engagement -- ways in which we can all participate to help strengthen our democracy and build One America.

I believe that one of the best ways to achieve these goals is the way Americans have always done it -- by stepping out beyond the boundaries of their own lives to join with others for a larger purpose. Many citizens are leading the way. They are already

working -- one person, one neighborhood, one school system, one workplace at a time -- to build, a stronger, more unified American community.

The Empathy Gap

But 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 from what I call an "empathy gap" -- an acute difficulty in seeing others as part of our 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 only about our differences, without any feelings of empathy for others, serves only to divide us. Such thinking can cause people of privilege to view the plight of those less fortunate -- especially minorities -- as the problems of "those people." It can also cause many minorities to believe that no white person can be trusted and that people of color will never be fully accepted as mainstream Americans. 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. Similarly, if people of color retreat into enclaves of isolation, trusting no one but themselves, they will never form the kind of multiracial coalitions that are so necessary for change.

The reason for this empathy gap are the distances—both psychological and physical—that continue to define race relations in America. In addition to the still-fester 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.

There are two ways this problem can manifest itself. First, the empathy gap can produce personal attitudes that give rise to misunderstandings, prejudice, and even racial hostility. Second, the empathy gap can leave us disinterested in, or even blind to, the lives and struggles of others. After all, the most extreme consequence of seeing people as "other" is not seeing them at all. For example, 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 also tolerate national levels of poverty for blacks and Hispanics three times that for whites. A major

Asians

reason for our collective complacency about these problems is that many of the people struggling with these conditions appear to be “other” than ourselves. Thus the empathy gap allows us to live with the racial gaps in opportunity that I outlined in the previous section of this book.

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 make our lives, our neighborhoods, and our communities better places. Second, we need to better understand ourselves as well as others.

Closing the empathy gap by interacting more, and by understanding ourselves more fully, is a matter of both heart and community. It requires that we look inward, that we are truthful with ourselves, 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.

B. CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

(1) What is Civic Engagement? Why It Matters, Especially Regarding Race

As President, I have come to learn that the most exalted title in America is "citizen." There is no greater honor or responsibility than to participate in the give-and-take rhythm of citizenship. That means living fully and freely as an active member of our vibrant democracy. But, 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."¹

In this discussion of civic engagement, I am talking about informal associations like tenants' associations and parent-teacher groups. I also refer to those activities we traditionally think of as "political," like voting and community activism. While the forms of civic engagement are virtually limitless, they have one thing in common: they all build

¹ From older document, "The Work Plan for Increasing Civic Engagement." But where is this quote from? No footnote.

skills, enhance citizenship, and provide experiences which help strengthen American democracy. As we become more involved in the many ties and relationships that comprise community, we move outside the private and into the public sphere.

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.² 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."³

One important way that engagement, trust, improved race relations, and increased political commitment evolve is through the basic organizations of society -- schools, jobs,

² Robert Putnam, "Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital," *Journal of Democracy*, 6:1, January 1995, p.65 -- but get new quote.

³ Putnam, "Bowling Alone," p. 66. Putnam is referring to his study of Italian civil society, *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).

churches, clubs, and institutions founded to support social and political causes. These organizations are at the heart of local communities.

But civic engagement is also essential to our efforts to build One America. One of the reasons that race can seem like such a barrier in contemporary America is because many of us have not yet had the opportunity to interact with, or to work alongside, those whom we think are not like us. Those who have will tell you there is nothing like working with a diverse group, painting a low-income housing project or deciding on a neighborhood watch strategy or trying to register 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 some of the most important reasons:

- ***Improve institutions***

Broader participation by people of different racial or ethnic backgrounds can help reduce discrimination within institutions and expand opportunity. More diverse membership and more active participation are more likely to result in outcomes that will benefit the greatest number of people.

- ***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 strong community institutions are essential to effectively meeting local needs. Communities around the nation have successfully come together to make streets safe, reduce drop-out rates, and build gardens in neighborhoods once filled with graffiti and garbage. Churches, through volunteers from their congregations, 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. In recent years, Americans have made it clear, they want their voices heard. What better way than through civic engagement?

(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 **volunteer** to do public or national service that benefits us all. 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**.

- **Politics and Voting**

*If democracy is America's civil religion, voting is its most important sacrament.*⁴

⁴David Kusnet, "Introduction," *Voting Rights in America: Continuing the Quest for Full Participation* (Washington DC: Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, 1992), p.2.

No one can argue 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. The Walter - McCarran Act of 1952 extended 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, I was not included in that "We the People." And neither were white women, Native Americans, Hispanics, or Asians. 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 Douglas, 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 most powerful 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. 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, registration by mail and registration by state agencies, such as the Department of Human Services in my home state of Arkansas. But there is a wide variance of practices from state to state, and some degree of consistent action would go a long way towards increasing 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. That might mean keeping the polls open longer, voting over two days, or even voting over an entire weekend.

Whatever it takes, we must tear down the remaining barriers to voter participation. Government, at every level, must promote rather than discourage participation. But, citizens from all walks of life must do their part. Let me try an analogy here. 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 considered unacceptable and un-American 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.

- **Citizen Service**

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, people who serve gain immeasurably from what they give to others. Second, service achieves important goals, from tutoring children to bringing health care to rural areas. And finally, service builds and strengthens community ties across boundaries of class and race.

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 in the military.

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 sociologist 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.⁵ The Army has shown that integration can work, but only if we work at it.

I believe so strongly in the great benefits of citizen service that one of the first major initiatives in my administration was to create ^{AmeriCorps} the Corporation for National Service (CNS). CNS works with governor-appointed state commissions, nonprofit organizations, faith-based groups, schools, and other civic organizations to provide opportunities for Americans of all ages to serve their communities. AmeriCorps, a major CNS initiative,

⁵ Charles Moskos and John Sibley Butler, *All that We Can Be: Black Leadership and Racial Integration the Army Way* (NY: Basic Books, 1996). Check NY...

allows Americans of all backgrounds to give a year of service to their community in exchange for money for college.

The President is more important than the agencies, but the agencies, not the President, are the ones who should be doing the work.

more later in section

has engaged more than 100,000 Americans in intensive, results-driven service. At AmeriCorps, volunteers learn new skills, interests, and talents. They meet community needs by, for example, building housing, maintaining parks and other natural resources, and tutoring children. And, importantly, they build community across racial lines.

Harris Wofford, Executive Director of the Corporation, has said that through service, student volunteers "become like a family, bridging racial lines."⁶ And I know that, whenever I talk to people who have been in AmeriCorps, I hear things like, "I like the people with whom I serve," "I met people I never would have met," "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."⁷ Helping people learn lessons like these is what citizen service can do.

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

⁶ CNS document sent to Michelle Cavataio, written by Katherine Dole?, CNS

⁷ Americorps program brochure. First quote from Josh Borus, Boston, Massachusetts. Second quote from Sanjay Garla, Chicago, Ill.

This section is so flat + so light, given the President's role in creating AmeriCorps. He has signed it, is the signature program of his administration. It has a major focus on building community across racial lines + does it well and yet it is buried here just 2 p. The President's own address here + prepared speech are great - why not use some of this language - see attached.

The plan is to lead for major efforts to raise AmeriCorps visibility - I would want to highlight it. Might also want to highlight the diversity of the program - see attached (IV)-16

And why not cite program example or better yet, tell stories of individuals AmeriCorps members - like those who have been in the box for 1000+ personal years.

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 Schools in Louisville, Kentucky are following suit. 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 ^{national}~~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?"⁸

- **Community Groups**

As I noted earlier, U.S. history is replete with examples of community groups that have made our country, and our democracy, stronger. America has always been, and is still today, a civic nation. We form and join school-service groups and sports teams, professional societies and labor unions, social movements and literary clubs. Through

⁸ City Year 1995-1996 Annual Report.

tenants' associations, we make our homes better places to live. Through our neighborhood watch groups, we make our streets safer. 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 to this, 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.⁹

In Santa Ana California, Bridges is a school inter-ethnic relations program that makes a three-year commitment to schools in the region. The project works with parents,

⁹ Promising Practices Binder, PIR, tab K.

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.

Other community groups are formed simply because they allow people who share a common passion or set of interests to come together. Take, for example, faith-based organizations. The United States has more houses of worship per capita than any other nation on Earth.¹⁰ Churches, synagogues, 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.

In San Francisco, Glide Memorial Church has one of the most ethnically and racially diverse congregations in America. This church has also successfully combined worship and community service. Located in one of San Francisco's most diverse neighborhoods, Glide is active in the community, doing everything from running a full-

¹⁰ Putnam, *op. Cit.*, p.67.

time meal service for the indigent to sponsoring a multicultural gospel choir. The church lives by the creed that "no prodigal is rejected, no dogma enforced, but certain commandments beyond the traditional 10 apply." Certainly, Glide is one of the cornerstones of San Francisco's wonderful, diverse community life.¹¹

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.¹² 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

¹¹ Promising Practices Binder, PIR, tab N

¹² See *Newsweek*, June 1, 1998, "God vs. Gangs."

congregations to improve their neighborhoods and build bridges of racial reconciliation surely makes America stronger.

(4) Programs and Practices Focused Specifically on Race

Of course, many wonderful community groups throughout the United States are focused specifically on helping people of color obtain full and equal access to the riches this society has to offer, and on breaking down the barriers of color and class that still divide us. Some organizations are committed to empowering and educating newly arrived immigrants. Some corporations and companies work hard to increase diversity in their own organizations. They also support efforts to improve and invest in low-income, historically black, Latino, and immigrant neighborhoods. Some universities and colleges run special summer programs designed to get young students of color excited about math, science, and technology. During the course of our Race Initiative, my Advisory Board met thousands of people who spend every day making a difference. In the next section, I will discuss just a few of these promising programs. They inspire us all.

C. LESSONS LEARNED FROM THE RACE INITIATIVE:

PROMISING PRACTICES FOR RACIAL RECONCILIATION AND BUILDING ONE AMERICA

We are a country whose citizens are more united than divided. It's just that, sometimes, people of good will need to be shown the ways in which others have begun to heal the racial divides in their communities. 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. While I will highlight a few of these programs in this discussion, for a more complete description, I suggest you see 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. I am convinced that, in order to build the community we deserve, we should build on what we know to be successful. The programs that showed the most promise 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, or promoting leadership and systemic change. Let me say a few words about each of these types of programs.

(1) Raise Consciousness and Encourage Introspection

One important lesson that we learned 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 may sound like the opposite of what we need, given the level of discomfort that we have about this issue. But I believe the only way to get past the discomfort is to break the taboo against talking about it. In my view, too many people believe that talking about race is in fact impolite. They are uncomfortable when the issue is raised. Many of these people believe that the current racial divide is set in stone, so why even talk about the irreconcilable divisions between us.

Our common but unspoken agreement to not 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 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.

We must create more settings where Americans of all colors and walks of life can talk openly and honestly about their racial attitudes. Throughout the country, the Initiative on Race found many groups and settings dedicated to fostering effective racial dialogue.

This kind of dialogue not only helps people learn more about people 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 in

What is Racial Dialogue?

I believe 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 close friend on the telephone. I want to point out however, that although there are many forms of discussion about race that may have a constructive outcome, I think that racial dialogue is a specific type of conversation. Typically, racial dialogue that truly changes people involves at least three critical elements: 1) an atmosphere not oriented towards debating the respective merits of different view, 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.

our nation. Most important, such dialogues allow people who have strong but very different perspectives on race to establish the trust that can be a precursor to joint involvement in projects that combat racial disparities and/or divisions.

We need more person-to person and group dialogues about race so we can better understand other perspectives as well as our own. That is why my Initiative produced a guide to conducting racial dialogue that is designed to be used in a variety of settings: *The One America Dialogue Guide*. In addition to providing instruction about how to organize and conduct dialogues, this guide suggests a few of the many organizations that can be helpful as facilitators.

Racial Dialogue Workshops

Racial dialogue workshops are designed to raise adults' racial awareness and to provide training methods for building a stronger community. Here is a range of 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 racial issues of their daily lives. 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."

(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 heroic 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 Satcher, 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.

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 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 is the overarching reality of 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.

One of the most effective ways adults can ensure that our children grow up in a world of less racial tension is to encourage our school systems to consider using these curricula models or other youth-oriented programs designed to educate them about race.

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.

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."

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 Islanders, 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 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.

Family Education

Here are a few good examples of programs which assist parents in raising children in a 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.

(IV)-30

★ Need to include information here about the First Lady's Millennium Project, including Save America's Treasures. She has visited + helped to raise visibility (+ \$) for many important sites like the African Meeting House in Boston, Harriet Tubman's home in Auburn NY, and the Ganondagan State Historic Site in Victor, NY (an important Iroquois site)

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. People all over the country are starting to come together to exhort media outlets to eschew negative stereotypes and be more reflective of the diversity of the audiences they serve. We need more of these efforts. There are proven community models to guide us.

Historical Memorials

Visitors to Angel Island in San Francisco Bay, California can tour the Island's 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*—a 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.

Should talk about President's
Millennium Committee
here, which calls on
communities all over America
to save a Treasures
Part of their celebration
of the Millennium.
The Millennium Council
(Allen Lovell or Ann Donovan)
can help pull stuff together.

It is not my intention to single out or indict the media as a pillar of racism. People who control media imagery 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, both creators of media images and average citizens should urge these organizations to appropriately reflect different racial groups.

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 *Newswatch 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.

(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; 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 hierarchal 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 create a disinclination to discuss difficult relationships such as race when they arise, even though relationships might be healthier if this discomfort was worked through. Furthermore, though people of different races can work together, other factors, like racial discrimination -- real and perceived -- inhibit people from forming personal connections that transcend racial barriers.

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 their best, such partnerships not only give people a chance to know someone of a different race, they also provide opportunities for these people to see themselves as a team, working together for the first time in a

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 of 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.

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.

(4) Expand Opportunity and Access

We must expand the horizons of the historically disadvantaged. In this chapter, I have argued that the task of healing the divisions in our hearts and communities is not just the work of government. Communities and individuals must lead the way. I have

also maintained that narrowing these divisions is an important precursor to building the consensus for the large-scale policy changes that will expand opportunity. 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.

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

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. 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.

of these immigrants need help in finding employment, health care and other resources that will give them an equal shot at the American Dream. Thankfully, the American tradition of extending a helping hand to newcomers is alive and well. Groups across the country are welcoming, educating, and serving some of our society's newest members.

Many programs throughout the country also bring hope and positive alternatives to at-risk youth. Some of these programs focus on raising awareness; others focus directly on education and helping students

Working with At-Risk Youth

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, 21-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 1981, 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* 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.

Including Ameri Corps Members

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.

achieve success. While policy makers contemplate large-scale initiatives to expand opportunity for all our people, there is a real need for all of us who are concerned about race relations to reach out to disadvantaged minority youth. With a little encouragement, many of these young people will discover something they love, learn to do it well, and become productive adults. My Initiative found numerous 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. In addition to taking action to better understand the role of race in our society and to right the wrongs of our past, we must also focus on building leadership for the future. 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.

March 17, 1999

Recent research has shown 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.

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. We should go out of our way to support organizations that demonstrate a commitment to inclusion and we should call, write or e-mail them to let them know they are doing the right thing.

65/12 & quote
from
Chuck
Supple-
delete
left the
org. on
bad
terms

and provide leadership
training - from service.

Youth Leadership

"We're creating a new cadre of social entrepreneurs. It started with a vision--and research showing that contrary to the myth about Generation Xers, young adults were eager to take leadership in their communities, but didn't have opportunities to do so."

Chuck Supple, President + CEO
-- ~~Galileo Wroblewski, Executive Director,~~
Public Allies

Public Allies is a Chicago-based program that ~~allows young people to serve as community service allies to help improve their neighborhoods.~~ Hugo Miranda, a 24-year-old Mexican American from the Humbolt 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."

Americorps

City Year volunteers are "young enough to want to change the world and old enough to do it." ~~ten~~ Begun in Boston and now active in ~~eight~~ communities across America, City Year teams young adults of all backgrounds with public and private investors to wage a "campaign of idealism" giving young volunteers a chance to lead and ~~succeed.~~ City Year volunteers build community gardens, mentor and tutor children, teach violence prevention and operate school vacation camps.

Americorps
takes promising young leaders
18-30 & places them in
full-time 10-month paid
apprenticeships in non-
profit organizations.
Please make
clear there are
AmeriCorps
Program
corps provided
half way
funding! They
would be tiny
demonstrations if
not for the President!

recruits

of diverse

See attached

through a year
of community service.
Note - The President has
visited city year several
times - he calls it one
of the models for
AmeriCorps

A more daunting but perhaps more effective way to become leaders is to challenge injustice within the organizations we belong to, either as volunteers or employees. We need more people to appropriately but firmly demand that their organizations clean their own house. We must not silently sanction racial injustice in our midst. Without question, it is often uncomfortable for employees or, even volunteers, to raise such questions. Nevertheless, we must summon the courage to bring the issue of racial diversity to 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 diversity.

But many of our people and institutions need help doing this. We need help avoiding the pitfalls of defensiveness and denial. We need help assuring the organization that we do not mean to imply that everyone in the group is a racist. In fact, in most cases, the key to better organizational behavior lies not in finding and routing out hard-core bigots, but rather in changing the inadvertent behavior of people of good will who have influence over how the organization deals with people. We need help to encourage the kind of institutional introspection that will help ferret out and eliminate official policies that have the effect -- intended or not -- of discouraging diversity.

Fortunately, there are some organizations that are taking the lead in not only promoting diversity and inclusion within their ranks, but also in serving as forces for change within the larger community.

These and other promising practices are living proof that our journey to One America is not hopeless. 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.

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.

*

D. CONCLUSION

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 put their lives on the line for justice. For every Rosa Parks or Cesar Chavez, there were and are millions of unknown faces and voices committing their bodies and souls to the cause of racial reconciliation. 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 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.

There is no magic wand the government or organizations can wave to bring about lasting racial reconciliation. Democratic participation -- from exercising the sacred 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 turn a new page in history. As I have said many times, this is now primarily a journey of the heart. And there is ample reason to hope and to act. People of good will are making a difference. To a great extent, we must look ahead and within for guidance. Now, as ever before, we must be our own teachers and leaders. But that doesn't mean we walk a darkened path. There is no shortage of promising people and promising practices lighting the way.

Why is there no federal
work plan in this section?
Should talk about President's
goal of expanding American Corps
to 100,000 over 3 years.

Clinton Presidential Records Digital Records Marker

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Robert
Kennedy

PART V:

THE LEADERSHIP 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.

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." In this chapter, I want to reawaken the slumbering greatness that lies in the heart of every American. 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 work plan to 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 this work of defining a vision and a work plan 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 have at one time or another have voiced 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 and commitment of people like Jesse Jackson, John Lewis, Dorothy Height, Coretta Scott King, Harris Wofford, the late Cesar Chavez and my good friend John Hope Franklin among others. But, 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. But 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. And 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 long march to racial reconciliation.

A national work plan and the promising practices lighting our way are a start. But, to make it all work, we need leadership and citizenship defined by a patriotic zeal that insists on creating justice in our time. I want to describe three areas for concrete action in the months and years immediately ahead:

- ***Community leadership and action:*** We should work in communities around the nation to forge local partnerships of concerned citizens – from elected officials to clergy, and from corporate leaders to teachers. Each community partnership should undertake a broad-based effort to define a vision for One Community that

makes sense for them, identifying the challenges and devising a work plan to meet that vision.

- ***Sectoral leadership and action:*** In addition to community-based efforts, we need to enlist the leadership of key sectors. In recent months, spurred by our efforts in the Race Initiative, three coalitions have formed and are developing exciting agendas for action within the faith community, within the legal community, and within higher education. The latter effort includes leading figures in the corporate community. Each of these groups is working to define its particular mission in building the America we want, translating that mission into concrete steps for both national and local action. I challenge additional sectors – organized labor, the news and entertainment media, teachers, and others – to follow these examples.

-
- ***Federal leadership and action:*** The work plan I have proposed is not primarily about federal action, but building One America will require several important continuing and new federal missions. To keep that effort in high gear and to help wherever appropriate with the work of others around the country, there are specific steps to be taken at the White House and in the federal agencies.

Let me turn to each of these.

B. COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP AND ACTION

When violence and strife exploded in Los Angeles following the Rodney King incident, 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 rise to the challenge. In those moments, America ceases to be a nation of white people and people 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, or the board of a civic organization.

But, convene people to do what? Based on the promising practices and the encouraging work around the country, I think there are a number of steps worth considering.

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. But, beyond the specifics of the challenge, everyone's goal should be to build a broad-based effort, both to bind the community together, and 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 for where the community hopes to be in the years ahead. Or, at least, some agreement on goals and priorities. Is it 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 work plan to address the community's problems of division and unequal opportunity, and to protect and expand whatever positive efforts exist. The work plan 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 do in the remainder of my presidency is work with concerned citizens from around the country to form 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.

C. SECTORAL LEADERSHIP AND ACTION

The ambitious work plan 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. I want to sketch some of this work and suggest other areas where similar initiatives could make an important contribution.

- ***Faith Leaders***

In the fall of 1998, a group of some two dozen 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 work plan 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 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 hopefulness of those clergy and their followers, but

The 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.

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." 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 rekindle some measure of fervor in 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't 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.

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 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 mobilize their colleagues. They intend to mount a bold campaign to raise public understanding of why inclusion in higher education is critical to quality of our universities, and to the economic future of our communities.

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 the 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 8 cities (Boston, Chicago, Denver, San Antonio, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, San Francisco, 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 law requires, promoting voluntary compliance with the laws? I am concerned, for example, about the current misinformation campaign being waged by opponents of affirmative action, who seem intent on hiding the fact that the current Supreme Court has *upheld* affirmative action, provided it is carefully administered and with the appropriate justification.

is this discussion more fully integrated to come? If not, it is a serious omission

- 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.

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. What we need is a way to 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.

- ***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 be handicapped 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 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 work plan 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 work plan on jobs and economic development. The critical question is whether a financial institution or company 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.
- For other companies, the major contribution may be to lead or participate in a strong community-based effort to improve public education. Through a combination of structured mentoring, forceful civic engagement in policy debates over accountability for excellence, support for the active participation of employees in the schooling of their children, and other strategies, American companies can make a real difference to the next generation by being *partners for educational opportunity*.

- Still other companies might make a special effort 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.
- 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. 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. Those problems continue to plague us, as was pointed out by Professor Robert Entman 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 newsroom camera. 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.

May want to say something about children's TV in particular, given the focus on education, earlier

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 assault 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. Just as we expect a higher degree of discretion and support from the media in wartime, I want to challenge the media, by word and deed, to choose the high road of greater inclusion, respect and responsibility. 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 initiative, 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 Laotians, or Argentineans with Dominicans. We need a better understanding of the important distinctions which exist within racial groups.

- 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.

These are just a few items; I could add many more. But there are three overarching goals that I urge leaders in the social science community to consider. First, 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 in 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 weapons development – could help channel government and foundation funding to the most pressing problems.

Second, we need to send the right signals to younger scholars. I hear reports that in many departments and some disciplines, work on race-related problems is discouraged, sometimes quite forcefully. This is perverse. The volume of scholarship on this pressing

national agenda is not what it should be, and those who discourage or disparage such work do us all a disservice. Leading researchers should devise ways to encourage good, needed work, and ensure that career advancement comes to those who do work that matters.

Finally, I am concerned that the under-representation of certain minorities remains a problem in several disciplines. There are several consequences to this. I don't believe that race dictates views or interests, but I do believe that by being inclusive you are more likely to collect a more representative set of perspectives. That's part of excellence. Even more important, we can't expect to fill all of our needs for trained research professionals unless we make full use of all of America's human resources. And increasingly, those resources are in people of color. I challenge the social science community and university leaders to revisit the problem of building a pipeline of talent that will make the disciplines even stronger in the next century.

Let me conclude this section by tying together four themes from this book. Part III discussed the opportunity we deserve, and Part IV discussed some of the promising practices and forms of civic engagement that will help us build the community we need. In this section, I have challenged key sectors of society to develop and execute their own racial reconciliation work plans. Social scientists can help us understand which policies

and which practices will make a difference, and help us measure our progress from the America we see to the America we want. Leaders in business, 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.

Above all else, it is clear that progress will not come without exercising leadership and paying dues. The responsibility for progress can't be delegated, it must be owned by millions of good Americans who believe that justice matters.

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 national security demands in World War II and Korea, or the riots in the 1960s. 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 needed to break the shackles of our historic shame. And the federal government surely has a role to play.

In connection with the work plan to create the opportunity we deserve, I have suggested many ways to build on our accomplishments and take additional needed federal steps in education, jobs, economic development, civil rights enforcement, and other areas. But in addition to ideas, resources and exhortation, I think there are some concrete assignments. Let me mention three: 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 work plan forward at both the national level and in states and communities around the country.

- ***Revive the U.S. Civil Rights Commission***

Since its inception in 1957, the Civil Rights Commission has investigated voting complaints and any denial of the nation's equal protection laws. The Commission has also monitored the efficiency and effectiveness of civil rights enforcement agencies. In addition, it has served as an important advisor to

Past Federal Civil Rights Leadership

- 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.

[more to come]

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 being considered. 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 within the federal government, with a greater emphasis on *fairness and inclusion* in federal agencies.
- The Commission's assessment would include both employment issues and diversity compliance in government contracting consistent with the need to get the best products at the best prices.
- 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.
- ***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. I share their commitment to make Federal agencies the model for how all public and private sector enterprises should function. In the Clinton-Gore administration, we've made important additional steps.¹

Clinton-Gore Civil Rights Accomplishments

- 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.

[MORE TO COME]

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 asked 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.

To assure this important work gets done, I have asked the Office of Management and Budget, working in tandem with a revived Civil Rights Commission 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, until we truly are One America.

• ***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. The primary mission of that

White House Conference on One America

One way to fuel our momentum flowing out of the new White House Office on the President's 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 work plans 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.

Office is to focus the efforts of my staff on how best to move forward with the work plan for the nation I have described in this book. For example, I believe this Office can play a valuable role in helping me to 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 close the disparity gaps that cripple our children and our communities.

I believe the White House Office on One America will keep both the White House

and Federal agencies focused on the paramount issue of racial reconciliation. Whether you are a corporation or a congregation, a lawyer or a laborer, a reporter or a researcher, I want to ask every individual and organization that hopes to make a contribution to this hard work to also stay focused. We must not, as we have so often done in the past, allow our attention to drift away from a problem so important to the future of our nation.

[Editorial endnotes:]

1. Need additional material for civil rights accomplishments text box. Ben Johnson.

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