

MEMORANDUM FOR TODD STERN

FROM: Shirley Sagawa
RE: Comments on Race Book
DATE: March 26, 1999
cc: Melanne Verveer, Clara Shin, Ben Johnson

"Package"
as it
went out.

I have reviewed those chapters of the Race book provided by Phil Caplan on March 19. While it is a little hard to comment on the overall book without seeing the missing pieces, I had several concerns about what is otherwise a very thorough and thought provoking book. I also have smaller suggestions which are indicated on the attached pages.

Major concerns:

- 1) Treatment of women of color. In reviewing the book, I identified only one instance where a special issue facing women of color was identified -- I believe it dealt with violence against women. It would be a major shortcoming if this book did not deal seriously with the dual discrimination faced by women of color in employment, housing, and many other contexts, as well as the effect that the large number of African American men who are incarcerated has on African American families. I was also concerned that in the section on crime, there was no discussion of domestic violence. I would strongly urge that more women of color be asked to give input into the text.
- 2) Treatment of Asian Americans. I was stunned in reading the introduction that there was not a single indication that race bias against Asian Americans exists or is problematic in any way. Then, reading the rest of the book, I realized that the introduction in fact reflected most of the rest of the text. Obviously Asian Americans as a whole face somewhat different issues than other minority groups, particularly in education and employment. But that doesn't mean that bias isn't harmful. I find it particularly problematic when people have stereotypical views of Asians as always successful, when new immigrants from southeast Asia have stats that are as bad or worse than Hispanics and African Americans. Asians are the targets of hate crimes like other minority groups, and are invariably stereotyped by the media. I do not believe that Asians have somehow avoided the "empathy gap," they are underrepresented in top-level positions and government, and there is significant tension between Asians and other minority groups (ie Korean groceries and the African American community, which blew up in the 1980s and is still a source of tension). I would urge a fuller treatment of Asians in the book, including the introduction.
- 3) AmeriCorps. I was disappointed to find that the only mention of AmeriCorps was two paragraphs in Part IV, when the program is a signature program of the President's and it has been very successful in bringing people of many different backgrounds together in a common purpose.

Please look at the attached speeches to get a sense of what the President has said about the program. I would have given AmeriCorps a much more prominent treatment -- its very soul is to bridge the divide and create common ground. Two AmeriCorps programs are cited in a sidebar, Public Allies and City Year, but they are not identified as AmeriCorps programs. I would be happy to help develop a fuller treatment but did not have time to suggest language and meet the deadline today. I would also have included a federal workplan for community and mentioned the President's goal of expanding AmeriCorps to 100,000 members.

4) Education section. Despite a lot of improvements, I still found the Compact confusing. Regarding the treatment of vouchers and choice, I could not discern a coherent argument why, if public school choice improves education, private school vouchers would not have a similarly positive impact. We need to do a better job articulating the harm that vouchers would do to public education, and therefore to children, than is currently reflected in the chapter.

5) Millenium project. Part IV, dealing with community, calls on communities to educate about race by preserving buildings and monuments that are testament to the rich diversity of our history. That has been a special focus on the First Lady's Save America's Treasures project, which is part of the Millenium Council's work. Her efforts should be highlighted there, and readers should be encouraged to participate in the Millenium Communities challenge issued by the President.

6) Affirmative Action. Is there a serious discussion of affirmative action in one of the chapters to come?

7) Other issues. Child care and welfare-to-work ought to be referenced somewhere. Perhaps they are to come?

I hope this is helpful. Please don't hesitate to call if you need clarification of any point.

opportunities than ever today, we still see evidence of unequal treatment. It is borne out most strikingly in the litany of disparities in jobs and wealth, in education, in criminal justice that so often still break down along the color line.

added
If we are ever going to truly overcome, we must begin to see our diversity as a source of solidarity and strength, not division and weakness. And we must begin by first, getting the facts right and then daring to be honest with ourselves and each other. That was one of the most potent reasons I launched the nation's first presidential initiative on race in 1998. And that is one of the core goals of this report.

In these pages, I will offer a rough blueprint and a bold challenge that calls every citizen to action in a renewed commitment to racial reconciliation. I will lay out three pathways for our journey: the pathway of opportunity, taking steps to make sure everyone benefits from America's growing prosperity by closing the opportunity gap; the pathway of community, building stronger bridges to connect people across lines of class and color by challenging them to take personal responsibility for uniting around a common agenda; and the pathway of the heart, coming to grips with the conscious and unconscious ways our obsession with race has distorted our views of ourselves and each other.

In Part I, *The America We See*, I will present the facts about race in America today, including demographic trends, evidence of disparities, and evidence of progress.

In Part II, *The America We Want*, I will outline my vision for the future by challenging us to think outside the box about a set of vexing questions surrounding our growing diversity. In Part III, *The Opportunity We Deserve*, I will present workplans designed to ensure equal opportunity in education, criminal justice, jobs and economic development and civil rights enforcement. In Part IV, *The Community We Must*

Build, I will explore the ways in which groups and communities are connecting people and toppling racial barriers. And finally, in Part V, *The Leadership We Need: The Road Forward*, I will issue a call for the leaders in every community and every sector of American life and commerce to develop their own workplans for racial reconciliation. Throughout this report, I will discuss the nation's special relationship and obligation to improve the lives of the first Americans -- Native Americans.

why single out
here?

*

What will the America we want look like? What vision should guide our work? To begin with, *opportunity* will be shared so deeply and broadly that an observer will see no evidence of a past with slavery or conquest or nativist discrimination. Whatever forms of misery remain, they will not be the special burden of any racial or ethnic

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

- The right to a world-class education, and an equal opportunity for educational achievement;
- The right to have one's community be part of the nation's economic mainstream, neither ignored nor left behind; and
- The right to community security, with safety for one's family and home.

meaning?

The workplan to secure these rights must combine public investments and personal inspiration, community engagement and committed leadership. I know we can do it.

The good and hard work that I have seen across our nation while President has

PART I: THE AMERICA WE SEE

A. INTRODUCTION

One of the most frustrating aspects of our ongoing national dialogue on race is the extent to which we find the nation stuck in a wheel-spinning debate about where we are in our journey to One America. Over and over we ask ourselves, "Is our racial glass half empty or half full?" Some would say that we have bridged the racial divide, largely eliminated discrimination and achieved equal opportunity by enacting antidiscrimination laws. They point to the growth of the minority middle class and exceptional achievers like Gloria Estefan, James Edward Olmos, Oprah Winfrey and Colin Powell and assert that any persistent racial problems or disparities are more a failing of personal responsibility than of society at large.

3 entertainers

more diverse
insist

On the other hand, there are those who, in the face of demonstrable progress over the past 50 years, insist that minorities in America are no better off today than a generation ago. They argue that racism is omnipresent, quietly sanctioned and the root of all evil in their lives and their communities—from perceived inequities in criminal justice to the fact that they did not get that job or promotion they so desperately wanted. There is a kernel of truth in each point of view, and in this chapter I hope to bring them to light while separating fiction from fact.

while we may not finally settle the "glass half full or empty" debate, perhaps we will see the kernel of truth in another point of view, which is always the first step to finding common ground. If we can agree on the America we see, we will have a better chance of smooth passage to the America we want.

Same
Phrasing
2 pages
earlier
clear

B. DEMOGRAPHICS

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

Fact: Whites currently make up 73 percent of the population; African Americans, 12 percent; Hispanics, 11 percent; and Asian Americans, about four percent. Hispanics will become the largest minority group in just a few years. Fifty years from now, whites will no longer be the majority race in America.

Myth: American Indians are a dying race.

Fact: The American Indian population is young. According to the 1990 Census, 39 percent of the American Indian population was under 20 years old, compared with 29 percent of the total U.S. population. The median age of Native Americans was 26 years old, considerably younger than the U.S. median age of 33 years.

this country.

Let me begin by stating my own uncomplicated conclusion: despite much progress and the strongest economy in 30 years, I am convinced by sound scientific evidence that discrimination against minorities continues today.

There is ample evidence of old-fashioned, blatant door-slamming, name-calling, even violent prejudice. The brutal 1998 truck-dragging murder of a black man, James Byrd, Jr., is a chilling recent example—and not the only one. But minorities today are often subject to a more subtle, less demonstrative brand of this affliction. Anyone who has ever experienced discrimination, including poor white southerners, understands the deep hurt and anger that it spawns. But aside from these emotional wounds, discrimination rips a hole in the social fabric of our nation and is a leading cause of many of the disparities I spoke about above. In this section, I will present concrete evidence of the continuing existence of discrimination, and offer a renewed call for the elimination of this cancer from the soul of our nation.

necessary?
poor people all
over the country

Hate crimes, ranging from hateful harassment to murder, are perhaps the most pernicious signs of old-fashioned discrimination, and they are sadly on the rise. In 1995, there were nearly 5,000 acts of hate crime against racial and ethnic groups, and nearly 3,000 more against other groups. In 1996, the number increased to 6,700 race incidents. And it is not all black and white. In June 1995, arsonists burned down the home of a

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*Add an
Asian
example?*

Latino family in Palmdale, California, spray painting "white power" on their walls. A recent report on the subject of hate crimes concludes: "From killings and beatings to acts of arson and vandalism, these hate crimes injure or even kill thousands of people, terrify countless others, divide Americans against each other, and distort our entire society."⁴ I agree and will do everything in my power to punish, as quickly as possible, those who commit such acts.

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

Let me offer a couple illustrations. The Department of Housing and Urban Development has sent identically matched "testers"—one white and one African American—to look for apartments in a score of cities throughout the United States over the last six years. What they found was convincing evidence that discrimination was occurring. The Justice Department has used testers to investigate housing discrimination

E. INTERGROUP RELATIONS

Myth: In 1963, 6 out of 10 whites agreed with the sentiment that they have a right to keep blacks out of their neighborhoods. The same or a higher number of whites believe that today.

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

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

Fact: Despite modest gains, most neighborhoods remain hypersegregated, while schools are becoming increasingly separated by race, after progress in the 1960s and 1970s.

We have talked about our progress in breaking down the legal apparatus of social and economic separation over the past 50 years. Now I want to say a few words about the changes in personal attitudes and behavior that have accompanied this progress. Again, the picture is a mixed bag. On the one hand, there is clear, incontrovertible evidence that Americans have made great strides in interracial relations, but on the other, there is still a small, but hard-core group of extreme racists sprinkled through our midst. And many of

*where do these
myths come from?
I don't think
people believe
this*

reflection of the distance between our communities and experiences. Big challenges, from closing the perceptual gaps that divide us to eliminating the very real inequalities among races, continue to impede our path to One America.

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

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

This chapter does not mention any discrimination against Asian Americans. There are lots of reports that document such discrimination. Also, even though Asian's do as well or better than whites economically, our data is broken down by ethnic groups. If we are going to fight against poor white Southerners, the least we can do is acknowledge that all Asians are not the stereotypical hyper achieving monolith that many believe. I also think we need to acknowledge the special situation of women of color who face dual discrimination.

These findings confirm what we already know, in our hearts, to be true about the kinds of educational experiences we want to provide all our children. Imagine what we could learn from them if they learned in truly diverse classrooms.

But currently we are not making the most of our growing student diversity. One grave challenge we face is the achievement gap between white, black, and Hispanic children. It is true that over the last few decades, we have made important progress in educating students of all races. Though improvement has often been slow and uneven, test scores, high school graduation rates, and college participation rates have increased for all racial and ethnic groups. In some cases, these improvements have been greater for students of color than for whites, thus narrowing achievement gaps.¹³

Nonetheless, as the wide disparities in SAT and other measures illustrate, substantial challenges in educational achievement remain. [Insert graphs with SAT and NAEP trends by race.] Racial gaps in achievement persist throughout the "pipeline" -- from preschool through higher education. Consider these stark examples:

¹³ For example, since 1976, even as the pool of students taking college entrance exams has grown dramatically, average SAT scores for students of color have increased 21 points for Mexican Americans (from 781 to 802 out of 1600), 24 points for Asian Pacific Americans (from 932 to 956), 42 points for American Indians (from 808 to 850), and 58 points for blacks (from 686 to 744), while average scores for whites have increased only 2 points (from 944 to 946). See *Digest of Education Statistics 1997* 132, Table 128.

Why Mexican
Am + not
Hispanic?

attend separate schools, with black and Hispanic children relegated to inferior schools.²⁹

Those laws are gone. But residential segregation remains, especially in urban centers, and it has been exacerbated by "white flight" as more and more middle class whites and others have moved to the suburbs or sent their kids to private schools.

In addition, we continue to fund schools based largely on local property taxes. This has left many poor, minority communities struggling to fund their schools from a limited and often shrinking tax base. These same schools have trouble attracting and keeping the best teachers, and they must cope with all of the challenges of life in high poverty communities. The result of both poverty-concentration and racial isolation is that, nearly a half-century after *Brown v. Board of Education*, many black and Hispanic children still attend inferior schools.³⁰

These conditions are socially and economically destructive. They are also morally unacceptable. While we point fingers in every direction, individual opportunity and our national strength suffer. How much genius and creativity are we failing to harness because of continuing racial disparities in educational opportunity? What would our lives

²⁹ Question: True of Hispanic kids, too? Where? Chris?

³⁰ See, e.g., Linda Darling Hammond, "Inequality and Access to Knowledge," in *Access to Knowledge: An Agenda for Our Nation's Schools*, ed. J. Goodland and P. Keating, New York: College Entrance Examination Board (1990).

The changes I have suggested for ESEA are built on a number of principles that are fundamental to reforming education for our most underprivileged children, without regard to race. But making these kinds of changes is also critical for racial justice. The racial gap in achievement is the area in which the shortfall between our national ideas and stark realities is most dismaying. Therefore, closing the gap should be our nation's number one education goal. In this workplan, I describe a way in which we can achieve that goal. The major elements of the workplan include accountability for real education results -- students learning more -- rather than for more plans and promises; flexibility and some added federal funding, both of which will be awarded competitively, and will continue only if schools improve; and high standards for all students.

and

For the broad Federal programs in ESEA, I have proposed specific attention to ideas that we know can make a difference, such as quality teachers, and combined that with an emphasis on accountability for results. The Compact will take this emphasis on results a step farther, with a single minded focus on the particularly egregious problem of racial disparities. How individual states, districts or schools make progress is far less important than gaining their commitment -- backed by accountability -- for doing what is needed. I know this will not occur overnight or without debate, but I believe that in the end there will be a consensus: our nation's ideals and our national prosperity require a new determination to make quality education for all a reality. On this issue, people of good

— **Teaching.** The foremost problem is the shortage of high-quality teachers. Study after study confirms what many of us have always known -- teachers are our most valuable educational resource.⁴¹ As class size decreases and teacher quality increases, all students, especially poor and minority children, perform better. Yet today, poor and minority children are more likely than their white peers to be taught in moderately larger classes by less-qualified, less-experienced teachers. Nearly 50 percent of teachers in poor, minority schools leave after only 3 years.⁴² As I noted earlier, students of color are also more likely to be taught by teachers without certification, without a degree in their field, and with lower test scores -- and all of this at schools where student underachievement is commonplace.⁴³

odd phrasing

But this is an issue that we can do something about -- and an issue on which our action will have tangible effects. Studies show that if we can rectify these problems, much of the racial disparity in student achievement disappears.⁴⁴ We have already taken an

⁴¹ See, e.g., Eric Hirsch, "Teacher Policy: A Summary of Current Trends," in *State Legislative Report*, National Conference of State Legislatures, Vol. 24, No. 5, (February 1998).

⁴² ED/Scott Palmer. Is it from Darling-Hammond?

⁴³ See, e.g. Linda Darling-Hammond, "Unequal Opportunity: Race and Education," *Brookings Review*, Vol. 16. No. 2, March 22, 1998.

⁴⁴ *Id.* Darling Hammond, on p. 4 (non-publication copy) says that "After controlling for socioeconomic status, the large disparities in student achievement between black and white students were almost entirely due to differences in the qualifications of their teachers." See about Ferguson's article.

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important step with Federal legislation in 1998 to help schools decrease class size; I hope that Congress will carry through on this commitment. Building on that, we must ensure, through recruitment, training, and professional development, that the teachers in those classes are fully prepared in the subjects they teach and in effective pedagogical methods. More of our brightest Americans must be encouraged to become teachers; colleges must commit to better teacher education; and more of our best teachers, including teachers certified by the prestigious National Board for Professional Teaching Standards, must be inspired and given incentives to teach in our highest-need communities.

we must find better ways to help new teachers succeed and encourage them to stay in the profession.

— **Curriculum.** Students of all races must have equal access to challenging courses.

This is important not only for reasons of equity, but also because studies have shown that high school curriculum is one of the single most important predictors of students' college success.⁴⁵ That is why it was so important to me that federal legislation early in my Administration gave a vital boost to the high-standards reform movement, including the effort to ensure that poor children are offered challenging course work.⁴⁶ Progress, however, is too slow. Today, poor and minority children are far more likely than middle class and white students to take "math for consumers" rather than a solid course in algebra. Today, minority students are far more likely than whites to attend a high school that offers

Also - ed reform efforts as Governor led by the first lady

⁴⁵ Scott? Is this right?

⁴⁶ Data? What part of the early administration proposals concentrated on poor and minority kids' curriculum?

inner cities, where large percentages of minority students attend outdated, dilapidated schools often just miles away from the modern suburban schools complete with the latest technology. These conditions are also prevalent in our rural and tribal areas, where schools are antiquated and inadequate.

The Federal government can and should help with this problem, but at least for the time being, politics seems to have gotten the better of good sense. Meanwhile, the best leadership at the state and local level recognizes that we cannot expect our children to raise themselves up in schools that are literally falling down. We must keep all of our schools in top-notch physical condition, and we must build new schools where needed.

-- **Technology.** Closely related to this is the importance of overcoming racial and class disparities in access to technology.⁴⁹ The changing nature of the economy is one of the major reasons that this gap is so critical. As recently as the 1950s, 20 percent of the workforce was professional, 60 percent was unskilled, and 20 percent was skilled. But today, fewer than 20 percent of the workforce is unskilled, while more than 60% of all jobs require advanced technical and organizational skills.⁵⁰

doesn't really make point very dramatically

⁴⁹ Disparity in tech access: do we have a quote or a stat here?

⁵⁰ Labor, Commerce, Education, SBA, and NIFL report, Lisa Stuart, etc. 21st c. Skills for 21st c. Jobs Report, www.vpskillssummit.org. Stuart and colleagues cite Frank Levy and Richard J. Murane, Teaching the New Basic Skills: Principles for Educating Children to Thrive in a

surprisingly, even students in larger, more traditional schools are learning more.⁶² Experts believe that the higher scores are a result of the competition generated by charter schools. In East Harlem, charter schools and public school choice have shown, over more than two decades, that we can reduce racial gaps in achievement by providing all students the kinds of educational opportunities they deserve.

So why
not private
school voucher?
Nowhere is the
case made that
Vouchers would
benefit minority
students.

(2) Increasing College Participation and Graduation

While improving K-12 opportunity and achievement is the long-term solution in education, we must take additional action to increase college participation and graduation. Let me mention just three that are central to our pursuit of racial and ethnic justice in One America.

- ***Expand college enrollment and financial aid***

We must continue to expand college access and ensure that all students who want

⁶² "Study Backs School Choice," *The New York Times*, February 24, 1998, p. A21.

Finally, students of color are underrepresented across the board in graduate education. Recent changes in some universities' affirmative action policies have led to ~~some~~ precipitous, and well-publicized, drops in black and Hispanic law and medical school attendance.

This situation is especially dramatic in the science and technology arenas. Almost 95 percent of all doctorates in science and engineering are earned by whites or Asian Pacific Americans, and the number of black doctorates is smaller now than 20 years ago.⁷⁰ This is untenable. As a simple demographic matter, as well as a democratic one, if we want breadth, depth and excellence in these professions, we must be inclusive, and we must reach out to black and Hispanic students.

- ***Support minority-serving institutions and build college partnerships***

We must support minority-serving institutions, including historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs), Hispanic-serving institutions (HSIs), and Tribal colleges. These institutions have played and continue to play a vital role in educating

⁷⁰ Scott; Artie Bienenstock. Snyder thinks that this last number (black doctorates smaller than 20 years ago) is wrong. Other stat from *Digest of Education Statistics, 1998*, NCES.

correctness. We know that, for minorities, racial isolation in K-12 education is almost always combined with concentrated poverty, and quite often with an underperforming education system; integrated schools are far more likely to narrow the racial disparities in achievement. ^{etc?} Moreover, integration has real, tangible benefits for *all* students, and for our society. Diversity improves teaching and learning by providing a range of perspectives that enrich the learning environment. It teaches good citizenship by giving students the opportunity learn with, learn from, and build relationships with people different than they are. It improves students' preparation for employment by teaching them how to function in work settings with people of different backgrounds and beliefs. And it fosters the advancement of knowledge by encouraging students to study a rich variety of issues and cultures.

Integration is vital to the healthy functioning of our economy, our democracy and our society. To encourage it, we must take several actions:

- ***Reduce racial segregation among and within K-12 schools***

Today, 67 percent of black students and 74 percent of Hispanic students attend primary and secondary schools with greater than 50 percent minority enrollment, and more than one-third of black and Hispanic students attend schools with more than 90 percent

did not report the crime because the police would not care or would be inefficient, ineffective, or biased.¹⁸ Why do so many believe the system is unfair? There are many reasons, of course, both historical and current: the use of so-called racial profiling, incidents of police brutality, racial disparities in incarceration rates and sentencing, the lack of diversity in the criminal justice system, and of course the ever present sense that the rich get a better shake than the poor.

Let me be clear: I believe the justice system is for the most part fair, though areas of unfairness remain. These limited areas are serious problems by themselves, but their existence also feeds perceptions that the system fails to protect people of color. During a meeting I had last year with a group of black journalists, I asked how many of them had been stopped by the police within the last few years for no reason other than the color of their skin. Every one of them raised his or her hand. Whether this is a matter of reality or perception—and I believe it is a combination of both—it must be addressed by all of us with responsibility for law enforcement and community security. *necessary?*

And while many minority communities want and need strong law enforcement, they are also bearing an enormous price for high rates of incarceration, especially for young men of color. Today, one-third of all young, black males are under the supervision

¹⁸ [BJS data summary, 27.]

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believing that a stay in prison is a rite of passage. We must take action to eliminate these conditions and to build a criminal justice system that serves Americans of all races fully and fairly. I believe we must do three things:

First and foremost, we must reduce crime and restore order in selected communities of color where crime and fear of crime are greatest. Every American has the right to live in a safe community, and we should not be able to identify high-crime neighborhoods based on the race of the residents who live there.

Second, we must prevent young people of color from becoming involved in crime and the criminal justice system. The present situation is dramatic. For black males born today, the odds of going to prison are greater than the odds of going to college. And racial disparities—from arrest through incarceration—are greater in the juvenile justice system than in the adult system. The debate about whether there is something fundamentally wrong with "the system" is not going to be settled, but that should not stop us from responding to these disparities decisively: we must intervene to prevent juvenile delinquency before we lose another generation of minority youth to crime, as either victims or offenders. And for the kids who do get in trouble, we must intervene in their lives to help them become productive and successful members of society.

2nd time mentioned I think

? maybe

Community policing is a relatively new model of law enforcement that focuses on preventing crime by restoring order in communities, solving community problems, and building partnerships between law enforcement officers and the citizens they serve. Community policing is based on several interrelated principles: First, studies show that reducing disorder in communities can help reduce fear of crime, encourage citizens to interact with one another and their community, and thereby decrease crime itself. Second, preventing crime requires more than making arrests; police must also identify and help solve the underlying community problems that cause crime. Third, both reducing disorder and solving community problems require strong relations between law enforcement officers and the communities they serve. In order to reduce disorder and fear of crime, police must get to know the concerns, needs, and values of law-abiding citizens. In order to solve problems that cause crime, police must look to these same law-abiding citizens for information about those problems. Finally, citizens and community organizations can play a vital role as partners in reducing disorder and solving community problems, and these efforts can directly improve community cohesiveness, which in turn can further reduce crime.

*A little
more
complicated
than it
needs to
be*

Before I ran for President, I traveled across the country and visited different cities where local officials were leading the way in solving some of the nation's most difficult domestic problems. One of the places I visited was Charleston, South Carolina, where

Police Chief Reuben Greenberg was at the forefront of the community policing movement. Through community policing, Chief Greenberg was both driving down the crime rate in public housing and strengthening the relationship between local police and community residents.

*What's the
one cost -
what did
he do?*

When I became President, one of my top priorities was to help our cities hire more police and expand the community policing philosophy. Vice President Gore and I were proud to work with an unprecedented coalition of teachers, clergy, law enforcement and elected officials, and other community leaders to pass our initiative to put 100,000 more community police on the street. Today, we have nearly reached this goal and helped expand community policing to thousands of police departments across the country. Our efforts are making a difference. Crime and fear of crime have dropped to their lowest levels in a quarter century. And I have asked Congress to extend the program by adding another 50,000 officers.

Our efforts in community
policing provide a solid foundation for
achieving the goals of enhancing safety
in our highest crime communities,
keeping young people out of the

**Community Policing and the Clinton-Gore
Administration**

[Text box on ways in which the Administration has
promoted community policing.]

instrument of destabilization and neighborhood decline.³⁷

repeats quote
In short, concentrated disadvantage and community disorder greatly reduce collective efficacy and, thereby, promote crime in our highest crime communities. We can and must take action to rebuild community infrastructure and strengthen the forces of cohesion. One simple key is to get organizations involved. Existing community organizations can and must reach into high-crime neighborhoods, encourage civic participation, and build a foundation of community support.³⁸ Furthermore, the community can be an essential partner in helping to restore order in high-crime communities by cleaning up areas and promoting positive activities for youth. Indeed, these roles might be more appropriate and successful ones for citizens and organizations than a more traditional law enforcement role. Finally, we must promote quality education and strong economic development to overcome the concentrated disadvantage that plagues many high-crime communities. The elements of the workplan I have proposed in these other areas are also vital to building secure communities.

³⁷ Wesley G. Skogan, *Disorder and Decline; Crime and the Spiral Decay in American Neighborhoods*. 2-3 (1990).

³⁸ Wesley Skogan, *The Community's Role in Community Policing, in Communities: Mobilizing Against Crime, Making Partnerships Work*, U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice Journal, 34 (August 1996).

example, provided early childhood education and in-home family support for low-income, black children ages three to five and their families. Children who participated in the project^d were found to be less than one fourth as likely to become involved in crime by age 24 as children who did not participate in the program.⁴⁵ Similar programs have also been found to reduce child abuse, which is a great evil in itself and a risk factor for future child delinquency and adult criminality.⁴⁶ We must increase support for early childhood development, family support, and quality pre-school programs to reduce juvenile delinquency and increase educational achievement.

Second, after-school programs can help reduce delinquent activity. Data show that juvenile crime peaks sharply at 3 p.m., just as school lets out, and remains high until approximately 8 p.m.⁴⁷ It is during these hours of 3 p.m. to 8 p.m. that our kids are often on their own and most likely to fall prey to gangs, drugs, and/or crime. By keeping schools open to serve children and their families during these hours, we can provide our children with safe havens from crime, promote constructive activities, and develop

note the
acknowledgment
in this area

⁴⁵ J. Berrueta-Clement et al., *Changed Lives: The Effects of the Perry Preschool Program on Youths through Age 19* (1984); Lawrence Sherman, *Family-Based Crime Prevention, in Preventing Crime: What Works, What Doesn't, What's Promising*, U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs Report prepared by the University of Maryland Department of Criminology and Criminal Justice 4-10 to 4-15 (1997); James F. Short, Jr., *Poverty, Ethnicity, and Violent Crime, 1998-99* (1997); Greenwood, *supra* note __, at 115.

⁴⁶ See Sherman, *supra* note __, at 4-1 to 4-15.

⁴⁷ *Juvenile Offenders and Victims*, *supra* note __, 26.

Need to look
at more recent
Perry preschool
report
It's a longitudinal
study that
shows that
thinking up
to age 30 by
now

better job of training law enforcement officials in how to interact effectively with citizens of all races. Finally, we must address several important and difficult issues underlying the present racial gap in trust and confidence in our criminal justice system, including such issues as racial profiling, police brutality, disparities in incarceration rates and sentencing, and the lack of diversity in law enforcement. It is to those issues that I now turn.

- ***Restrict racial profiling***

“Racial profiling” refers to the use of race, color, or ethnicity by law enforcement as a factor in identifying criminal suspects. Several studies as well as individual cases indicate, for example, that law enforcement officials are often more likely to stop motorists who look black or Hispanic for traffic violations, to search black motorists for drugs following a stop, and to question Hispanic persons about their immigration status.

Let me be clear: this is not about the use of race as the single reason for attention by police or other officials, because there is always some kind of added triggering circumstance—whether it is erratic driving, being in a place where authorities have good reason to suspect criminal activity, etc. The problem is that a reasonable person might look at that triggering circumstance and consider it too trivial, such as a minority teenager driving in a “white” suburb. On the other hand, the controversy isn’t about the use of race

not trivial -
wrong!

“the table”
in previous
section

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?
Story is a little
flat - did he
overcome
particular
challenge?

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

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
WT is 200 years
old! It's the
condition of the
buildings that
matters.*

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 -
we need to
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.⁵

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

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

(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.

*There is a to
Indian Head
Start which
should be
mentioned*

(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

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

— already exist?
why is this DOT
expensive
cooperation for
Native Service
has a lot of tribal
programs—
should mention

18. Trends in Indian Health, Department of Health and Human Service, Indian Health Service, 1997.
19. FBI's Uniform Crime Report.
20. Washington Post, February 15, 1999.
21. 1990 Census.
22. Prepared statement of Robert F. Robinson, President of the Center for Applied Research, Inc., submitted to the U.S. Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, Economic Development Hearing, April, 1998.
23. "Falling Through the NET II: New Date on the Digital Divide," Department of Commerce, 1998.

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

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.

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

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

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 action is so fast + so light, given the President's role in creating AmeriCorps. He has often said it is the signature program of this administration. It has a major focus on building community across racial lines + does it well. And yet it is buried here, not at the top of the President's own admin. It has a great proposal here, but it is some of his language - see attached

The President asked for a major effort to raise AmeriCorps visibility - I think he would want to highlight it here. Might also want to highlight the diversity of the program - see attached

And why not cite AmeriCorps members, like those who have been in the box for 20 or 30 years. Or better yet, tell stories of individuals who have been in the box for 20 or 30 years.

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 Pres. Bush's
Millennium Communities
here, which calls on
communities all over America
to save a treasure as
part of their celebration
of the Millennium.
The Millennium Council
(Ellen Lorell or Ann Donovan)
can help pull stuff together.

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 AmeriCorps 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.

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.

* I wish to quote from Chuck Supple - who left the org. on bad terms

and provide leadership training - to a 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
- Celeste 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."

City Year volunteers are "young enough to want to change the world and old enough to do it." Begun in Boston and now active in ^{ten} 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

Americorps

Also promising young leaders 18-30 + places them in full-time jobs with non-profit organizations.

Please make clear there are AmeriCorps programs

AmeriCorps programs provide

half their funding! They

would be fine

demo program if not for the President

recruits

of diverse

through a year of community service.

Note - The President has visited city year several times - he calls it one of the models for AmeriCorps

"Public Allies provides opportunities for young adults to practice a new style of leadership that is best suited to address America's challenges for the next century. Within our rapidly changing demographic landscape, they are learning how to bring people together from diverse backgrounds to share responsibility and work together to strengthen communities."

Chuck J. Supple, Pres. & CEO, Public Allies

See attached

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 crops
to 100,000 over 3 years.

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 discussed more fully in chapter 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.

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.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

February 10, 1999

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT AMERICORPS CALL TO SERVICE EVENT

Richie Coliseum
University of Maryland
College Park, Maryland

2:34 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Ladies and gentlemen, when I was listening to Stephen and Leslie and Justin and Pepe talk, I was reminded of why I wanted to be President -- so that I could give young people like them the chance to make America a better place. (Applause.)

I want to thank all those who are here today who have supported our efforts. I thank Harris Wofford for his outstanding leadership of the Corporation of National Service. (Applause.) Deb Jospin and John Gomperts of AmeriCorps. I thank Governor Glendening and Lt. Governor Kathleen Kennedy Townsend for making Maryland America's leading state for citizen service. They have really done -- (applause.) I thank my good friend, Prince George's County Executive Wayne Curry; Senator Mike Miller, my longtime friend; and Mayor Jacobs, thank you for making us welcome. Carson Dailey, thank you for the work MTV did on those wonderful spots, the PSAs.

I would like to thank also the mother of the Lt. Governor, my good friend, Ethel Kennedy, for being here today. (Applause.) And I thank Mark Gearan, our Peace Corps Director, and I'll say a little more about the Peace Corps in a minute and its relationship to AmeriCorps.

I'd like to thank one person who is not here today, but who was on the front lines of creating AmeriCorps, Senator Barbara Mikulski, your United States Senator from Maryland. I thank her.

(Applause.) I want to thank the President of the University of Maryland, on my right; and the President of the Student Government of the University of Maryland, on my left -- (applause) -- for making me welcome. Avery and Dr. Mote, thank you. (Applause.)

You have already heard from Dr. Mote and others that six years ago I came here to celebrate the end of the Summer of Service, which was our dry run for this national service program. We wanted to work out the kinks and see whether we could make this idea go. There were three people who are here who were instrumental on that day; I would like to thank them: Georgia Sorensen, Marilyn Smith and my former White House staffer, whom I miss very much, Bill Galstone. Thank you all very much for what you have done. (Applause.)

And I thank the University of Maryland for the College Park Scholars, the Team Maryland Athletes -- (applause) -- the work-study students that are tutoring, and the others from the students and faculty who demonstrate the power of citizen service.

Let me say to all of you, when I ran for President in 1992 I wanted to get America working again and moving again, but I also wanted to bring America together again. It seemed to me that we had two great problems. One is that our economy was not functioning very well and we seemed to be getting weaker, but also that we seemed to be letting our divisions overcome what we have in common.

Martin Luther King once said that the old law of an eye for an eye sooner or later leaves everyone blind. I always believed that America's differences could be the source of our strength if we respected and we celebrated our differences, but we understood that, underneath it all, there was something that bound us together that was more important.

So, as I look back on the last six years, I think we can all take a great deal of pride in what our country has achieved together -- economically, the longest peacetime expansion in history; the lowest peacetime unemployment rate since 1957, 42 years ago -- (applause) -- welfare rolls cut nearly in half; the lowest crime rate in over a quarter-century. I think those are great things.

But I think we can also celebrate the evidence that we are coming together -- over 90 percent of our children across all

racial and ethnic lines immunized against serious childhood diseases for the first time in history; the doors of college literally open to all with the HOPE scholarship, the lifetime learning tax credit, the more generous Pell grant, more affordable student loans, more work-study slots. Those things matter.

But maybe most of all, those of you here in Americorps, and those in citizen service -- whether in the Peace Corps, serving our country in the military, or serving in some other way -- embody the determination of America to draw closer together as we grow more diverse. And that, I think, is terribly important.

When you saw the four Americorps volunteers up here speaking, and each of you identifying with them in turn -- if they worked in your project or you knew them -- you know they were a picture of America, of the changing face of America, and the best of America that never changes.

If you look around the world today, at many of the challenges that I face as your President and that the United States faces -- the sad trip that the First Lady and I recently took to Jordan for the funeral of our friend, the King of Jordan, who survived decades of assassination attempts -- literally decades of assassination attempts, probably 50 in all -- to stand as a symbol of peace among people in a very tough neighborhood, who use religion as a reason to find their differences more important than their common humanity. All over the world today you see that. If the United States wants to lead the world toward peace and freedom and prosperity in a new century in a new millennium, it is actually quite an advantage for us to have within our borders people from all races, all religions, all ethnic groups, all cultural backgrounds doing all kinds of different things.

But we cannot do good around the world unless we are good at home. And, therefore, we have to find this magical balance, being honest about our differences of opinion on matters from the serious to the mundane -- and I'll leave it to you to decide whether it was serious or mundane when the President asked me take sides in the basketball game. (Laughter.) You've got a great team here, though, I'll tell you that, I've watched it. (Applause.) We have to find a way to do that, to say, this is what I believe, this is where I stand, this is what I'm for -- and also to say how lucky we are to stand on the verge of a new

millennium in a totally global society, where people are being brought closer together than ever before, and we are finding ways to relish, to celebrate, to honor our differences in a way to bring us closer together, instead of driving us apart.

AmeriCorps is the living, breathing symbol of the answer to that. Where we do not ask people to check their differences at the door, but we do ask them to reaffirm our common humanity. We do not ask for a handout, but we do ask for a hand up for everyone who needs it, and we say we are going forward together. That is what you represent. That is my fondest hope for America. And I thank you for your service. (Applause.)

You know, all during the 20th century, the tradition of citizen service grew stronger in America. In the great Depression I remember my parents telling me about the chance President Roosevelt gave able-bodied, unemployed people to work in the Civilian Conservation Corps -- the CCC. They cleared trails, they fought fires, they planted trees. They built whole state parks -- the Appalachian Trail, Skyline Drive in Virginia; parks in my home state that Hillary and I have stayed in, with rather interesting names like Petit Jean, and Devil's Den. I have in the back office of the White House an old CCC cap -- a cap that one of the volunteers wore in the '30s, that I found wedged in between a chimney and a wall, in a cabin in a state park in the mountains of north Arkansas. And I have kept it with me all these long years, to remember the unifying power of citizen service in one of the most difficult moments of the 20th century for the United States.

President Kennedy in the 1960s asked young people to serve in the Peace Corps -- to teach English, to provide health care, to bring running water and electricity to some of the most remote villages in Africa, Asia and South America. My brother-in-law served in the Peace Corps in Colombia. And the other night, he was getting together with some of the people who served there with him. When we were getting ready to come out here today, and Senator Wofford came in with Mark Gearan, the present Peace Corps Director, we were celebrating the fact that, if our new budget passes, we will have more people serving in the Peace Corps in the next two years than have ever served in any given year. We'll be back at an all-time high.

And we were lamenting the fact that we just had to

withdraw our Peace Corps volunteers from Eritrea and Ethiopia, two countries that I have felt particularly close to in the last couple of years, because of the trouble the two countries are having -- the threat to go to war. And the Peace Corps volunteers, going all the way back for decades, have volunteered to try to come in and solve the conflict and deal with the disputed area of land. I don't know if they will accept it, but think of that. All these years later, people that were there years and years and years ago remember what it was like -- not to give a handout, but to give a hand up, and to ask people to understand that their differences are not as important as what they have in common.

So I thank our Peace Corps volunteers, I thank Mark Gearan, and I thank all of you in AmeriCorps, because you are in the rich tradition of America's citizen service, from the CCC to the Peace Corps to AmeriCorps.

Now, six summers after I first came here, AmeriCorps is thriving. There now have been over 100,000 people serve in AmeriCorps in just four years of the full-time program. Everywhere I go around the country I see you -- I see you in all kinds of different contexts. I was in San Jose right before the election and there were a lot of -- the Peace Corps volunteers had just come to start their mission, and so I saw them standing on the street as I pulled into the hotel. And I asked them all to come see me and we took a little picture -- and they were from everywhere.

And then when I went home to Arkansas after the terrible tornadoes a couple of weeks ago, in both the communities I visited there were AmeriCorps volunteers there and there were people there who, believe me, would never have come to Arkansas in their lives if they hadn't been in AmeriCorps. (Laughter.) I know it was good for the people they were helping and I think it was pretty good for them.

This has been an astonishing encounter for tens of thousands of people. Now, all of you know what it's like -- I love talking to people who have been in AmeriCorps because I always hear two things -- number one, they're proud of what they did to help people -- teaching a child to read, or immunizing a child, or having a playground that's safe in an area that used to be dominated by gangs, or cleaning up some polluted site, or doing something to preserve the environment. I love that.

The second thing I always hear is, "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;" "we were all so different and, yet, when we worked together, we grew together, and it made my life different and better." That is what AmeriCorps needs to do -- and that is what America needs to do.

America needs to think of itself as sort of a giant AmeriCorps, the Peace Corps at home, getting things done together. Getting things done together. (Applause.) If our budget passes this fall, we can boost the number of AmeriCorps volunteers by one quarter, to 50,000 members. In our new budget we want to keep expanding AmeriCorps every year so that by the year 2003, and there forward, every year 100,000 young people will be serving in AmeriCorps. (Applause.)

But I want to challenge the young people of this country -- and the not so young who are willing to do it -- to sign up for AmeriCorps, to see for yourselves what you can do to solve America's problems and reap America's promise. I want to challenge high school students, as well. Maryland has done a wonderful job as the Governor and the Lt. Governor said, being the only state in the country to actually require community service as a part of a public education. In our balanced budget we propose to allow high schoolers for the very first time to join AmeriCorps by serving part-time during the school year and full-time in the summers.

And I want to challenge, again, the young people beyond this room, to dedicate a year or two of your lives to a cause larger than yourselves. It may be your best chance to change the lives of others for the better, and to enrich your own life in the process.

Today, so many young people have the time and freedom and energy they will never have in the future, to tackle the kind of challenge Americorps represents -- to pack a bag at a moment's notice, to fight a forest fire, or move into our most remote towns or Native American reservations to teach children, or work with churches in some of our toughest neighborhoods. At the end of your service, as all of you know, Americorps will provide help to pay for college or pay off student loans. So I ask you all to help me reach others -- to take advantage of this opportunity, to use this moment to prove that this generation of young people, far from being a generation of cynics and slackers, is instead a

generation of doers and patriots. (Applause.)

Lt. Governor Kathleen Kennedy Townsend quoted something her father said. I would like to close with a quotation from Senator Robert Kennedy, in a speech he gave to college students in South Africa when I was a young man. It resonated around the world, and every person my age, which was then your age now -- every young person I knew, without regard to their party or their opinions or anything else, was riveted by the notion that a United States Senator could go to South Africa and talk to the young people about building a different future, a long time before, for the first time in over 300 years, all South Africans had a chance to choose their future.

This is what he said: "Each time a man stands up for an ideal, or acts to improve the lot of others, or strikes out against injustice, he sends forth a tiny ripple of hope, and crossing each other from a million different centers of energy and daring, those ripples build a current that can sweep down the mightiest walls of oppression and resistance."

That is still true today. For those in AmeriCorps, I thank you for sending forth those ripples of hope. I thank you for bringing out the best in yourselves and others.

For those who could still yet serve, I ask you to join the rest of your fellow citizens in building that bridge to the 21st century that all can walk across, arm-in-arm, to the best days of America.

Thank you and God bless you. (Applause.)

END

2:54 P.M. EST

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

January 18, 1999

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO AMERICORPS VOLUNTEERS AND REGENCY HOUSE RESIDENTS

Regency House
Washington, D.C.

1:53 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much. Good afternoon, everyone.

AUDIENCE: Good afternoon.

THE PRESIDENT: First of all, I'd like to say that I am very grateful to be here at Regency House with all of you. I want to thank the Residency Council for making us feel welcome -- Sarah Beaner, Kenneth Brown and others.

I want to say to the members of the press here -- you know, the press, they all think that we're all on automatic, because they give us little notes here to read about every place we go. But I think it would be interesting for you to know the note I got on Regency House here: Sarah Beaner is the president of the Residency Council; Kenneth Brown is the past president and is now serving as the vice president -- not such a bad idea. (Laughter.) The Regency House has 157 tenants. The tenant population is made up of seniors and the disabled. They are all current in their rent. (Laughter.) Good for you, that's great. (Applause.)

Let me say to the Mayor and Councilmember Patterson and Delegate Norton, I am honored to be here to participate in Martin Luther King Day as a day of service, as provided by law and in the spirit of what Dr. King said. And I am proud that I now live in a city with truly outstanding leadership. Eleanor Holmes Norton has been my friend for a very long time and is one of the most remarkable women in any leadership capacity of any kind in the United States. D.C. is fortunate to have her.

The Mayor, in his former life, was actually a member of our administration in the Agriculture Department. And you know, it didn't really offend me that we'd already torn the wall down by the time he showed up -- (laughter) -- because he's working hard and he's got a lot of things to do. And I feel good about what he's going to achieve. And, Mr. Mayor, you just stay on the job and I'll tear a wall down for you any day you want, any time, anywhere, and I thank you. (Laughter and applause.)

I want to thank David Gilmore, of the D.C. Housing Authority; and my great member of the White House staff, Ben Johnson, who did used to be a former director of D.C. Public Housing. The others whom the Vice President mentioned with AmeriCorps -- Deb Jospin, John Gomperts. But mostly I want to thank these young volunteers behind me. (Applause.)

Near the end of Dr. King's life he envisioned a partnership in America across racial lines. He could never have imagined that America would become so diverse as it is today. But AmeriCorps, it seems to me, is the living, breathing embodiment of the way Martin Luther King thought all of America ought to work. And that's what I wanted to do when we established it.

You might be interested to know that in only four years, since we've set AmeriCorps up and got it going, more than 100,000 volunteers have joined AmeriCorps. It took the Peace Corps 20 years to reach that milestone. And they have done unbelievable things to make America a better place: helping to deal with natural emergencies, helping to build houses, helping to tutor children, helping to immunize children, working in a thousand communities across this country.

And if you just look at these young people standing behind me, you know they come from all different parts of America, they come from all different backgrounds, they had different kind of reasons for joining AmeriCorps. They came here after different points of experience in their lives. And I'm very, very proud of them and I thank them.

You should know that today more than 100,000 volunteers are out there keeping Dr. King's dream alive. AmeriCorps members, seniors, students, soldiers are rehabilitating buildings, painting schools, cleaning neighborhoods, reading to children. They are doing what Dr. King would want us to do.

I also want to mention on other thing. The Vice President talked about the need to continue to fight discrimination. Dr. King believed that every American, regardless of race, religion or background should

be able to live in a home without discrimination. Today, on this Martin Luther King Day, I am pleased to announce the largest settlement in history in a lending discrimination, for home lending. (Applause.)

Let me tell you about it, it will affect a lot of people's lives. Thanks to the efforts of the Department of Housing and Urban Development, under the leadership of Secretary Cuomo, the Columbia National Mortgage Company will offer -- listen to this -- \$6.5 billion in home mortgages and extra effort to help 78,000 minority and low and moderate income families unlock the door to homeownership. This settlement was made under the Fair Housing Act which Congress passed just six days -- just six days -- after Dr. King was killed. He had worked for years to outlaw discrimination in housing. And many who voted for the measure said they did it in tribute to him. So here all these years later -- 31 years later, to be exact -- we're proud that it's happened on Dr. King's national holiday.

Now let me just say one final thing. Yesterday in the church that Hillary and I attend they observed Dr. King's birthday with some special music. They had a wonderful singer from the Army Chorus, they did a lot -- but one of the songs they sang that I love so well was one of Martin Luther King's favorite hymns and it embodies what we are doing here today. The first line of the hymn is, "If I can help somebody," and the last line is, "then my living will not be in vain."

All these people are here not only because they want to help you, but because their lives are richer because of it. And we're all learning and growing. And besides that, as the press pointed out, it did the Vice President and me a lot of good to pick up those hammers and crow bars and tear something down. (Laughter.) You know, we do this desk work all the time and we do this word work all the time, and there's not always a beginning, a middle and an end. There was a beginning to that wall, a middle and it is no longer, it is over. (Laughter.) So we are very grateful that you gave us the chance to be part of this today and we thank you. (Applause.)

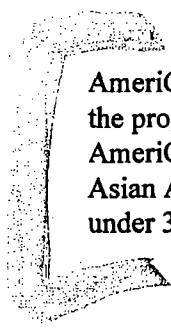
Again, I want to say I hope all across America people will hear this. Look at these young people -- they're here with you, they're getting something out of this, too. Their lives will be richer and better. They will be wiser sooner. They will be more sensitive and more understanding more quickly in their lives because of the experience they've had here and the other experiences in AmeriCorps. Every American needs to serve. And remember what Dr. King said, everyone can be great because everyone can serve.

Thank you and God bless you. (Applause.)

Now, I know we're done, but I want to say a special word of recognition to Melodie Scales and Beth McCarthy of AmeriCorps who work with me, and to Donald Stokes, who is a resident here. I'd like for them to come up and be recognized, since they work with the Vice President and me. Come on up here. (Applause.) This is our crew and if you need a wall torn down, you couldn't do better than this. (Laughter and applause.)

END

2:05 P.M. EST



AmeriCorps members are diverse, ranging from high school dropouts who achieve their GEDs through the program to individuals with postgraduate degrees who bring needed specialized skills to communities. AmeriCorps does look like America -- 21 percent is African American, 11 percent Hispanic, 3 percent Asian American, 2 percent Native American, and 61 percent white. They are all ages, although most are under 30. They are from all economic backgrounds.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Cleveland, Ohio)

For Immediate Release

June 3, 1998

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
CITY YEAR CONVENTION

John Carroll University
Cleveland, Ohio

2:25 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you. Well, since 600 City Year members like Leslie and Casey wrote and invited me, I thought the least I could do was to show up. (Applause.) I want to thank Leslie for that very wonderful introduction and for the terrific letter. I thank Casey for what he said. When he started talking about his mother I almost started to cry, too. (Laughter.)

I'd like to thank Harris Wofford and Eli Segal. I'd like to thank Mayor White and Congressman Sawyer for coming with me today. Father Glenn, thank you for making us feel so welcome here at John Carroll. (Applause.) I thank the City Year Board of Trustees for their service, and the county and city officials and state officials here for their service.

Thanks again, Leslie and Casey. And let me also say a special word of thanks to Alan Khazei and Michael Brown, the founders of City Year. (Applause.)

I found City Year, you know, back in 1991, when it was a much smaller program, beginning in Boston. And I was there as a candidate for President with about a one percent name recognition in Massachusetts. And so I had a lot of time on my hands. (Laughter.) And I spent the better part of the day, as I recall, talking to the young people in City Year.

I wanted to be President because I felt that our country needed to take a new course if we were going to prepare for the 21st century so that for all of you, the American Dream of opportunity would be alive for everyone who was responsible enough to seize it; so that our country would still be a leading force for peace and freedom and prosperity and security in the world; and so that we would come together across all the lines that divide us into one America, bound in no small measure by citizen service.

Now, since 1991 and the election in 1992, my belief that our country could do better has certainly been vindicated. I am grateful beyond measure that, thanks to people like you and my friends in Congress and Americans throughout the country, we've been able to change America. I'm grateful that we have the lowest unemployment rate in 28 years, the lowest welfare rolls in 27 years, the lowest crime rates in 25 years. I'm grateful. (Applause.)

But what I want to say to you today is that all of these

achievements basically leave us free to chart the right course for America toward the 21st century. Part of it must be done in Washington; part of it must be done in the hearts and minds and lives of our citizens, where the greatness of America has always resided.

One of the things I think I ought to mention today because it's so timely in Washington is that we have a chance to pass comprehensive legislation to protect young people from the dangers of tobacco and we ought to do it and do it right away. (Applause.) I just came from an elementary school here in Cleveland where I met a lot of City Year-AmeriCorps volunteers. They had worked with young children in this elementary school -- the Steven Howe Elementary School -- to write 1,500 book reports this year, to build a new playground.

But one of the things I'd like for every child in that grade school to know is this: Smoking-related illnesses kill more people every year than AIDS, alcohol, car accidents, murder, suicides, drugs and fires combined -- combined. And 90 percent of all smokers started before they were 18, even though it's illegal to sell cigarettes to children under 18. Three thousand young people start smoking every day; a thousand will have their lives shortened because of it. So I say again, while there are some in Congress who seem determined to stall, stop or kill the tobacco bill, we will never have a better chance to save a thousand lives a day and save a million kids in the next few years. And I hope you will help me send a loud message back to Washington, D.C. to act and act now. (Applause.)

There are a lot of other things that we are working on back there that will shape the world you will dominate as adults. We're about to have our first balanced budget and a surplus in 29 years, and before we spend a penny of it, I want us to make sure we know how we're going to save Social Security so we don't bankrupt your generation when my generation retires. It's not right. (Applause.)

While we're strong and prosperous, I want us to do everything we can to invest in education so that not only our colleges, but our grade schools, our junior high schools, our high schools are the best in the country, and every child of whatever race or income or station in life will get a world-class education starting at kindergarten. (Applause.)

I want the Congress and the country to accept changes in the Earth's climate as real and commit ourselves to reduce the problem of global warming, even as we continue to grow the economy. We have to face the environmental challenges of the 21st century, and the sooner that we get at it, the better off we're going to be. (Applause.)

There are many other things I want the Congress to do in health care and campaign finance reform and adopting the initiative that the First Lady and I have tried to advance for a 21st Century Fund to put money into research -- in biomedical research and scientific research -- to build the next generation of the Internet and also to preserve our precious natural heritage.

But I will tell you this. If America hasn't learned anything from you in the last four years since we've had the AmeriCorps program going, we should have learned that in the end, we will never be the country we ought to be, we will never meet the challenges that are there before us, we will never fully seize the opportunities that are there, until America believes in and practices citizen service. (Applause.)

As I said, when I started running for President in 1991, I had this idea -- but it was just an idea in my mind -- that we had two big problems. We needed more idealistic, energetic young people out there working in our communities, helping to solve problems at the grass-roots level and touching other children one on one, helping people that would

otherwise be forgotten; going to places where the private economy would not otherwise send them; and we also needed to open the doors of college to everyone. So I had this general idea, and then when I went to City Year in Boston the lights came on in my mind and I said this is what I want to do. (Applause.)

You know, out of the national service of our soldiers in World War II came the G.I. Bill, which educated a whole generation of my parents and created the great American middle class. Out of the all too short service of President Kennedy came the Peace Corps, which took the idea of citizen service around the world. And I still see it as I travel for America -- our best ideas and our greatest humanity manifest in these Peace Corps volunteers all across the world. I saw them recently when I was in Africa.

Out of AmeriCorps has come a blending of the two, taking the idea of service and the idea of education -- it's almost like the Peace Corps comes home, in larger numbers -- with a G.I. educational bill for citizen service. That is what we have done. (Applause.)

In only four years, nearly 90,000 young people have served through AmeriCorps in their communities; nearly 50,000 have become eligible for the education benefits. This year alone more than 40,000 AmeriCorps positions are being filled around the country. And every young AmeriCorps volunteer -- as anyone else could see from your enthusiasm -- typically will generate 12 more volunteers helping on whatever the service is. (Applause.)

Last year AmeriCorps members taught or tutored 500,000 students, mentored 95,000 more, recruited 39,000 more volunteers, immunized 64,000 children, helped with disasters in over 30 states, worked with over 3,000 safety patrols, with local law enforcement and civilian groups, trained 100,000 people in violence prevention, built or rehabilitated 5,600 homes, helped put 32,000 homeless people in permanent residences, worked with people with AIDS and other serious diseases, and did a whole raft of environmental projects. Because of AmeriCorps, the SeniorCorps, Learn and Serve America, America is a better place today. (Applause.)

I am especially proud of our America Reads program, which relies on all our national service programs because one of the most important things we can do is to make sure every 8-year-old in America -- and many of them don't have English as their first language now -- can read independently by the time they leave the 3rd grade. It's just terribly important to all other learning. (Applause.)

We now have -- I learned this morning just before I came here that we now have over 1,000 colleges and universities that are allocating work-study positions or other volunteers to help make sure that by the year 2000, every 8-year-old can, in fact, read. And a lot of AmeriCorps volunteers have helped to mobilize, organize, and train those tutors, and I am very grateful for that. (Applause.)

I was also proud of the word used in my introduction -- enabling, that I had enabled service -- I think that's important. Because we don't dictate anything about AmeriCorps from Washington. You know that City Year is a grass-roots, community-tied organization, even though it's a national network. We have enabled organizations like the Boys and Girls Clubs, the Habitat for Humanity, hundreds of other nonprofit organizations, faith-based organizations -- 6,000 young AmeriCorps volunteers in faith-based organizations this year -- to select and use AmeriCorps members to continue and enlarge the work that they are doing.

Here in Cleveland, more than 200 citizens of all ages and backgrounds are serving in 14 different AmeriCorps programs, including

those serving with City Year Cleveland. (Applause.) In Cleveland, AmeriCorps does everything from tutoring children, to building homes, to organizing neighborhood watches, to cleaning streams. I guess the next message I'd want you to help me send back to Washington today is that AmeriCorps works and it should be extended by Congress into the 21st century so more young people have the opportunity to do -- (applause.)

Now, I want to make one other point about AmeriCorps and citizen service. As you bring volunteers to communities in need you also bring people together. I mean, just look around. The first thing I remember blazed in my mind when I first went to AmeriCorps and to the City Year project in Boston was that there was a young person who had been in an Ivy League school who dropped out of school for a year to work full-time, working side by side with a young person who had gotten in trouble in New Hampshire, and the juvenile authorities said, if you'll go work for City Year, that's the best rehabilitation you could do. They learned a lot from each other, those two young people. And they both did very well in the future as a result of it.

If you look around at this crowd today, it's a pretty good picture of America. And I have always believed that in the 21st century, America would have its greatest days in no small measure because we are growing more diverse as the world grows smaller. So it simply stands to reason that we're better off if we have people who look like people from everywhere in the world, who share their cultures, their language, and their religions, but who are bound together by common devotion to American ideals, to personal responsibility, expressed through constructive citizenship.

I believe that the key to solving a lot of our racial tensions in America is to make sure we keep living together, working together, learning together, and -- in some ways, most important of all -- serving together, giving together. (Applause.)

It can unite us across all the lines that divide us. It can even unite us across political lines. And after spending a few days in Washington, I sometimes think those are the deepest divides of all.

Last year, I was so honored to be with Presidents Bush and Carter and Ford, Mrs. Reagan, and General Colin Powell at the President's Summit on Service in Philadelphia. (Applause.) I believe everybody who was there felt this enormous sense of excitement and also a great sense of possibility as we defined an agenda that we wanted every child to be a part of. We wanted every child to have a caring adult in his or her life, a safe place to grow up, a good school to attend, a healthy start in life and a chance to serve the community.

Now, since that summit we've worked to do our part in Washington. Again, there's some things the government should do. We've worked to expand health insurance to 5 million children. We've worked to expand access to child care so parents can be more effective at home and at work. We've worked to implement something called the High Hopes mentoring program, that will involve young people like you with other kids who are younger, starting in junior high school, for six years, and also we'll give you an extra tool -- you'll be able to tell those 7th graders, look, if you learn, if you stay in school, if you live a good life, I can tell you right now here's how much college aid you will get to guarantee you can go to college when you get out of high school. (Applause.)

We've been helped by corporations, by nonprofits, by other organizations who've committed fabulous sums of money to try to implement this agenda under the leadership of General Powell around the country. We want to do more, because in the end you know and I know from what you're doing that the most important thing we can still do in

America with a lot of human problems is to make one-on-one contact, and that you can put up all the money in the world, but hands build houses, hands clean streams, hands immunize children. People have to do these things.

So what I want to say today is I'd like to do some more to fulfill the goals of the President's Summit on Service. And the Corporation for National Service is now prepared to commit another additional, 1,000 AmeriCorps leadership positions targeted only to the goals of the President's Summit. These AmeriCorps volunteers will support these state and local efforts. But you think about it -- 1,000 volunteers trained to be leaders of community efforts. Wouldn't you like to know that when you finish and when you start your careers that every American child has a safe place to grow up, a good school, a healthy start, a caring adult and a chance to serve just like you're doing? I think it's worth our making that effort. (Applause.)

I hope that one of the legacies of this period at the end of the 20th century will be a renewed spirit of community, a renewed sense of idealism, a renewed commitment to service. I hope, in other words, that when I finish my work and you finish yours we will have helped to make real the pledge that you take when you join AmeriCorps in the lives of all Americans. Indeed, I wish every American would take that pledge, I think it might be well again to send that message to the country.

So if you'll help, I'd like us to conclude with that AmeriCorps pledge. I'll say it, then you say it.

I will get things done for America to make our people safer, smarter and healthier.

THE AUDIENCE: I will get things done for America to make our people safer, smarter and healthier.

THE PRESIDENT: I will bring Americans together to strengthen our communities.

THE AUDIENCE: I will bring Americans together to strengthen our communities.

THE PRESIDENT: Faced with apathy, I will take action.

THE AUDIENCE: Faced with apathy, I will take action.

THE PRESIDENT: Faced with conflicts, I will see common ground.

THE AUDIENCE: Faced with conflict, I will see common ground.

THE PRESIDENT: Faced with adversity, I will persevere.

THE AUDIENCE: Faced with adversity, I will persevere.

THE PRESIDENT: I will carry this commitment with me this year and beyond.

THE AUDIENCE: I will carry this commitment with me this year and beyond.

THE PRESIDENT: I am an AmeriCorps member.

THE AUDIENCE: I am an AmeriCorps member.

THE PRESIDENT: And I am going to get thing done.

THE AUDIENCE: And I am going to get things done. (Applause.)

THE PRESIDENT: Let me say to all of you, in every generation, young Americans are called upon to renew our country, to deepen what it means to be free, to widen the circle of opportunity, to strengthen the bounds of our national community. Because of the progress that has been made in this time, your generation has an incredible opportunity. You can finish the work that was done when I was your age by the people you saw in that video.

Thirty years ago this week, Robert Kennedy was killed. Thirty springtimes ago, we lost both Robert Kennedy and Martin Luther King. Their effort to bring America together and lift America to higher ground was delayed by a lot of the things that happened along the way. But now that we have regained our sense of confidence that we know we can make our economy work, we know we can make our school work, we know that we can make our streets safe, we know we can take poor people and give them a second chance and give them a chance to work and succeed in raising their children as well as working, we know that America can be more and better, and that we can live up to our highest ideals, your generation will have a chance to make that the history of the 21st century. (Applause.)

I am so proud of you. I can't even convey what it feels like for me to stand here and look into your eyes. I know now that one of the best decisions I ever made was to fight to create AmeriCorps and to fight to keep others from taking it away, and the fight to give you the chance to serve. (Applause.)

But, remember, what you promised in the pledge -- that you will serve now and beyond. For when you no longer wear these jackets or t-shirts every day, if you continue to believe and you continue to service, and you continue to have the feelings inside toward your fellow human beings that you have today, then you will write a remarkable history for America in the 21st century. We need you to do that, and I believe you will.

God bless you and Godspeed. (Applause.)

(The City Year Lifetime of Idealism Award is presented to the President.) (Applause.)

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you. Let's give him a hand, he was great. I want you to know that I still have Steven's sweatshirt and I'll have it with me forever to remember when I first met him and I first met City Year. You keep it with you forever, too.

God bless you. Thank you. (Applause.)

END

2:50 P.M. EDT

MEMORANDUM FOR TODD STERN

FROM: Shirley Sagawa

RE: Opportunity and Economic Development sections

DATE: April 8, 1999

cc: Clara Shin

Although I'm not a substantive expert on the material in this chapter, I have a few comments. Specific comments are included on the attached draft. My overarching observations are as follows:

1. This chapter is almost exclusively focused on federally policy. Granted, much of the that policy is aimed at providing incentives to the private sector. But it seems to me that the President ought to be saying something to ordinary business people about what they can do -- hiring people from disadvantaged backgrounds, doing business with businesses in low-income communities, and even considering locating there. We might include some examples of businesses that have done well locating in inner cities. DC revitalization is another good example. I've attached an article that may be marginally helpful if you decide to cover this -- there is a lot of other material that could be pulled together if need be.
2. I think a discussion of microcredit belongs here. Some of the initiatives mentioned in broad-brush do support microcredit, but given the President's and First Lady's involvement in microcredit merit specific discussion.
3. This is the only section I have seen that does a good job with Asian-American subgroups. The only problem is that it is unclear whether the statistics refer to immigrants or simply to ethnicity.
4. This is the only section I recall that notes the interrelatedness of many factors -- education, crime, joblessness, etc. I would strongly urge that the introduction and conclusion make this point strongly.

PART III: THE OPPORTUNITY WE DESERVE

[Introduction to Part III]

[Section 1, Education]

...

2. COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND JOBS:

HARNESSING MARKETS FOR DISTRESSED COMMUNITIES

A. INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

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

however, all their efforts would have been in vain.

One of the big lessons of the Great Depression was that the markets were not working well in the housing field. Although we realized that home ownership was a cornerstone of the American Dream, that dream was out of reach for too many of our people. For those old enough to remember, only about 40 percent of all Americans owned their own homes in 1940. Anyone who has read or seen *The Grapes of Wrath* remembers the tragedy of the Dust Bowl and homeowners unable to refinance when their five-year mortgages came due. This was also true for those living in cities, on Indian reservations, and in other invisibly poor communities. America created a number of major Federally financed innovations during the Depression to help overcome this tragedy. The Federal Housing Administration was created to help provide low-cost, easily financed long-term home mortgages. The FHA sparked private sector innovations, including the 30-year mortgage, making it possible for millions more Americans to own their home. The Home Loan Bank System was also created to provide financial support for thrift institutions that were making mortgage loans. And other new institutions have grown up, both public and private, to create vast new financial markets with mechanisms that pull the creativity and resources of Wall Street into housing for our people. Today, roughly two-thirds of all households, compared with 40 percent in 1940, own their own homes, and millions more see the goal of home ownership within their reach. This is a great American success story, and it has been great news for communities because home

ownership provides social and economic anchors not just for families, but for whole neighborhoods.

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

for Native American?

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

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

explain

is percent?

April 2, 1999

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

what about
poor white
Americans?
Maybe need to
talk about a disproportionate
of AA, Hispanic, or
compare poor people of
color to poor whites

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

B. A NATIONAL COMMUNITY INVESTMENT SYSTEM

Today, the United States has a financial system that is the broadest, deepest, and most innovative in the world. Yet there is still a shortage of capital for jobs and homes in inner cities and distressed rural communities. And minority borrowers—whether they be American Indian, Vietnamese, Puerto Rican, or African American—are still less likely

than similarly situated white applicants to obtain a home mortgage loan, or to get financing to start a small business. That is not right, either for the individuals involved, or for our country. Just think of the reduced social costs, the increased productivity, the lives saved, if we can bring these communities and their residents fully into our economic mainstream. I firmly believe that we will never reach our full economic and moral potential as a nation unless and until we deal with these problems.

Beginning in the Great Depression, we set out to make the dream of home ownership a reality for millions of Americans by creating a set of interrelated institutions and policies, from the FHA to Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac, and from special tax breaks we now take for granted to Antidiscrimination ^{laws} regulations. (See the

text box describing some of these.) These

policies played a major role in creating and sustaining the middle class. Despite all the problems that remain in bringing housing to all who need it, the private-public framework

Some Components of the Housing System

- The Federal Housing Administration (FHA) provides government-subsidized mortgage insurance for the low- and moderate-priced market; the insurance provides some protection for lenders against default by the home owner.
- The Federal National Mortgage Agency (Fannie Mae) and the Federal Home Loan Mortgage Corporation (Freddie Mac) were chartered by Congress to create a so-called "secondary market" to bring private capital into the mortgage market.
- The mortgage interest rate deduction helps make home ownership more affordable by reducing the after-tax cost of borrowing.
- The Federal Home Loan Bank System was chartered by Congress to provide financial support for community banks, making it easier for them to fund mortgage lending.
- The Low Income Housing Tax Credit provides a tax credit for investors to encourage construction of affordable housing.
- The Community Reinvestment Act (CRA) requires most banks and other depository institutions to help meet the credit needs of their entire communities, including low- and moderate-income persons.
- Antidiscrimination laws and regulations, both federal and state, combine with CRA to improve fairness in access to credit.

May want
to cross-
ref. civil
rights & or
say more
here

of housing policy, started over fifty years ago, represents a magnificent chapter in the evolution of social and economic policy.

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

The private sector has a role to play, for as Robert Kennedy once said, “To ignore the potential contribution of private enterprise is to fight the war on poverty with a single platoon while great armies are left to stand aside.”² We need to unleash the power of mainstream financial markets, **linked to effective non-profit partners**, so that people in distressed communities have a chance to get loans that will allow them to start good businesses, build and buy decent homes, and raise their families in dignity. As I have said many times, there needs to be a new partnership between Washington and communities and individuals of this country—there needs to be a way of doing business

at *all* levels of government that creates the conditions for people to seize opportunities for themselves. We have embarked on an empowerment strategy to help restore the American Dream in distressed areas by focusing on helping people help themselves. That is what our new **National Community Investment System** would do by combining existing ideas and resources with new initiatives to spur growth and investment. In the years ahead, the key pieces of the system would, first, build upon our what we've been doing:

- Preserve the relevance of the Community Reinvestment Act and improve antidiscrimination compliance;
- Further expand support for Community Development Financial Institutions (CDFIs) and related non-profit technical assistance providers that work alongside mainstream institutions to bring loans and investment to distressed communities; this should come particularly through incentives to draw private capital into CDFIs;
- Sustain and strengthen the Small Business Administration's targeted efforts in distressed communities, and with entrepreneurs most likely to be underserved by traditional financial institutions; and

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

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

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

Let me explain some of these a bit more.

*

(1) Building Upon a Solid Foundation

In a sense, the foundation for the system is the *Community Reinvestment Act* (CRA), which encourages mainstream financial institutions to help meet the needs of their communities,

consistent with safe and sound banking practices. CRA is helping to restore healthy markets in distressed communities, helping to build homes, create jobs, and restore hope all across the country. In 1999, large commercial banks alone made \$18.6 billion in community development investments. Lending to minority and low income borrowers is on the rise. Since 1993, home mortgage lending to African Americans has increased by 58 percent, to Hispanics by 62 percent, and to low- and moderate- income borrowers by 38 percent, well above increases in the overall market. Lastly, since 1992, nonprofit community groups estimate that the private sector has pledged over \$1 trillion in loans ~~going forward~~ for affordable home ownership and community development. While it is very difficult to say how much of this activity would never have occurred without the CRA, the structure of accountability is a modest regulatory imposition in comparison with the dividends. The CRA is an invaluable tool.

Looking to the future, however, and a more ambitious community investment system, how can we preserve the relevance of the CRA for the 21st century and keep it working for America's underserved communities? How should it fit with similar state-level efforts, and with new tools that might be developed within a National Community Investment System? I have asked the Secretaries of Treasury and HUD to undertake a comprehensive review of what the CRA of the future would look like. This review will be done in consultation with federal and state regulators of financial institutions, with industry representatives and with both elected and public interest representatives of communities.

huh?

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

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

Tax Incentives. We have also harnessed the power of the private sector through targeted

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

*

(2) New Directions for the New Challenges

But our **National Community Investment System** must take more direct action to harness the power of the private market to provide equity capital to businesses often left out of the mainstream. In my budget for next year, I have proposed a \$15 million “New Markets Initiative.” The key pieces of this initiative are:

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

This is a useful start, but we must do more. For example, banks that make business and other job-creating loans in distressed areas may need help akin to that we have long given to mortgage lenders—the kind of assistance that helped build the middle class, the suburbs, and our modern American dream of home ownership.

That means various tools to provide credit enhancements or subsidies for such lending.

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

exclusively on the unique challenges presented in building a finance system for community development?

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

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

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

example, in the Welfare-to-Work Partnership.

*explain - r
cross reference
to when it
is discussed*
April 2, 1999

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

C. BREAKING THE BACK OF HYPER-UNEMPLOYMENT

(1) The Problem and the Diagnosis

Our economy is the strongest it has been in a generation. Since Vice President Gore and I took office, the American economy has created 18 million new jobs, driving the unemployment rate to the lowest it has been in 30 years—and the lowest peacetime level in 41 years.⁴ Inflation is also at a generational low and real hourly wages have continued to rise. In fact, as I write this, the American economy is approaching its 100th consecutive month of peacetime expansion, far surpassing an all-time record.⁵ I am proud of our accomplishments, but not yet satisfied.

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

The cold facts of the problem are clear. It is true that the number of jobs is growing and unemployment is falling in our inner cities. Even poverty rates in cities have fallen.⁶ But disturbing patterns remain. Younger workers as a whole have benefitted from the economic expansion of the 1990s; however, unemployment among young men and women (16-24 years old) remains 2 to 4 times higher than among workers 25 and older. And unemployment is shockingly high among young minorities—with a 30 percent rate for black men aged 16-19 and 21 percent for Hispanic men compared with 14 percent for white men in that same aged bracket.⁷ Unemployment rates for young minority women are as bad 25 percent for black women and 22 percent for Hispanic women compared to just 11 percent for white women. While the unemployment rate among African American teenagers has reached its lowest peacetime level in four decades, it is still 6.5 *times higher* than the national average (See data in the text box ⁸).

Connections to the labor market are also weak. A substantial fraction of young minority men are "idle." In 1997, 20 percent of blacks, 13 percent of Hispanics, and 8 percent of whites

<i>Unemployment Rates (1998):</i>				
	Black	Hispanic Origin	Asian Americans	White
Men (16-19 yrs old)	30.1%	20.6%	BLS does not count	14.1%
Women (16-19 yrs old)	25.3%	22.1%	BLS does not count	10.9%
Men (20-24 yrs old)	18% 10	8.9%	BLS does not count	6.7%
Women (20-24 yrs old)	15.7%	10.1%	BLS does not count	6.3%

I would make this a footnote

were neither in school nor employed.⁹ As I discussed earlier in this chapter, disparities in educational opportunities are both a key factor creating the problem and a key obstacle in overcoming it.

Asian Americans, too, are lagging behind. Although Asian Americans are reported to have higher median family incomes, this masks great hardship felt by those immigrants? from countries such as Vietnam and Cambodia. Census data tell us that while whites in this country had a 9

This is ~~goal~~ and ~~data~~ sort of ~~appear~~ in other sections, esp. education.

Part III, Opportunity: Section 2, Economic Development

April 2, 1999

percent poverty rate in 1990, the rate was 14 percent for all Asian Americans, but 64 percent for

Hmong, 43 percent for those from Cambodian and 26 percent for Vietnamese.¹⁰ My point here is

that in making policy, we should not assume incorrectly that the Asian American community as

a whole is self-sufficient and has made it economically in the United States. Group data can

mask important within-group differences.

Indeed, what the overall numbers mask is that in some neighborhoods the problems are concentrated at epidemic levels—a disease that erodes hope and makes political rhetoric about opportunity so incongruous it does not even work as well as a placebo.

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

discussed in detail in other chapters

- *Skills mismatch and schooling:* The racial gap in the rate of high school completion has narrowed substantially, but remains. The black-white gap is 5 percent, but Hispanics are only about two-thirds as likely as whites to complete high school. And today, more than

ever, dropping out of school is a prescription for dropping out of the future: dropouts face

much higher unemployment rates and much lower wage rates, and a future in the 21st

century economy that will be limited and, likely, grim.

also low-income communities more likely to have poor schools! Not just dropouts also low-income kids s-f-r from low-expectations + lack of access to advanced curriculum that qualifies them for college or better paying jobs -
Regional labor market disconnect: Young workers, especially minorities, lack the

what does this mean?

information, job networks, and intermediaries needed to identify and obtain good jobs.

When the dynamic job growth is in some distant part of the metropolitan area, the “spatial mismatch” makes things even worse because limited transportation systems and limited housing options put those job opportunities—even if known—out of reach.

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

- *Crime:* There is also the triple-barreled impact of crime. First, crime may look ^{to} a youngster ^{like} a better-paying proposition than unemployment or minimum wage in the legitimate economy. Second, high crime rates, or the perception of crime rates, may lead employers to use stereotypes or “statistical discrimination,” labeling minority job applicants as more likely than their white counterparts to commit a crime. Third, the fact of high crime in a neighborhood obviously compounds the problem of endemic joblessness, as tragic numbers of poor young men spend time in the criminal justice system.

Also discourages economic development that would bring jobs to a community

- *Child Care:* Finally, despite our investments, there remain gaps in access to affordable,

quality child care. People cannot work if they do not have a safe place to leave their children during the day. The impact of offering childcare is real. Companies that provide childcare report high job retention, reduced absenteeism, improved work performance and long-term cost savings.

Good to
note
interrelationship
of factors here -
skills & do
elsewhere

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

*

(3) The Workplan

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

- **Policy priorities**

Our number one priority must be to make sure there is a ready pool of workers for an expanding job market. Sustained growth in our economy may provide the incentive to open the

doors of opportunity to workers who have traditionally been locked out.

meaning?

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

In addition to these priorities, a number of other measures are also critical to the workplan. We know, for example, that there can be significant gains from mentoring and school-to-work efforts of various sorts, especially when coupled with targeted training that is linked to the needs of particular sectors and local employers. Schools ^A ~~cannot~~ ^{should not} exist as ^{is} an island, but must be anchored to their communities. We must explore creative ways to link schools to regional labor markets, as well as to education and training opportunities in community colleges and technical institutes. Our diagnosis also makes clear that any regional strategy will likely falter unless there is attention to affordable child care. And we must be vigilant with targeted enforcement of the antidiscrimination laws in employment or housing, especially where there is evidence of problems (More on this later, in the civil rights section).

With our current prosperity, however, I am particularly struck ^{by} by the pattern in many metropolitan areas of jobs booming in the so-called "edge city" suburbs, while joblessness haunts the core city and inner-ring suburbs. ~~That means~~ ^{This phenomenon requires} a dramatically greater focus for all of us on

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

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

- ***Building on the record***

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

economically disadvantaged young people.

By partnering with employers, educators, labor unions, and community and faith-based organizations, we can work to improve the futures of our young people. One such partnership, for which I allocated additional funds this year, is Job Corps. Job Corps is the nation's largest residential education and training program for disadvantaged young people. It is a time-tested program, touching the lives of 100,000 young people every year.

There are several other promising approaches I believe the federal, state and local governments should pursue, ^{in partnership} ~~partnered~~ with private and voluntary sector entities. Some of these strategies address the "spatial mismatch"

I talked about earlier. We know what works, but we need the resolve of all Americans to get the job done. The years ahead, in the midst of our prosperity, offer an exciting opportunity to make important progress.

In particular, I encourage us all to apply the lessons learned from one of the programs of which I am most proud ^{of} ~~of which~~

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

- **YouthBuild.** A 75 percent increase in YouthBuild programs, which provide disadvantaged young adults with education and employment skills building housing for low-income and homeless people.
- **Right Track Partnership.** \$100 million to promote partnerships between schools, employers, and community-based organizations that devise innovative, community-wide approaches to move economically disadvantaged, limited-English proficient youth into post-secondary education, training, and higher paying careers.
- **Regional Youth Employment Initiative.** \$50 million to help urban Empowerment Zones and Enterprise Communities (EZ/ECs) link their economic strategies to their broader metropolitan region, spurring employment of disadvantaged youth.

—the Welfare to Work Initiative, which brings together the mutual interests of businesses and people searching for jobs.

In May 1997, I launched the Welfare to Work Partnership, an independent organization made up of business partners that have made a commitment to hire and retain former welfare recipients. Today, under the leadership of Eli Segal, the Partnership has engaged more than 10,000 business members who have hired more than 410,000 welfare recipients. But the success of this effort can be measured in more than raw numbers. Many businesses report that, when done properly, a welfare-to-work program leads to job retention that is higher than that of non-welfare hires.¹¹

How we
make the
case elsewhere
that people
color are
disproportionately
affected
by welfare
policy?

we aren't mentioning very many other people
by name

Recent information released by the Department of Health and Human Services shows that the percentage of welfare recipients working has tripled since 1992 and all states met the first overall work participation rates required under the welfare reform law.¹² I know we can do more. We must renew the welfare-to-work program which is set to expire in the year 2000 and expand our investment to help states and communities build upon their record of success. We must also address one of the greatest challenges to moving people from welfare into the workforce —transportation. I spoke of the spatial mismatch earlier, but it is an especially difficult challenge to people on welfare. Two-thirds of the new jobs in America are in the suburbs, while three-fourths of welfare recipients are in the cities, or in isolated rural areas. I have proposed additional federal investments in “reverse commuting” transportation grants and in welfare-to-work housing vouchers to address this location mismatch between jobs and the jobless.¹³ In the

longer run, however, state and local governments must shift their transportation systems to ensure fairness—so that, for example, high road and commuter rail subsidies that disproportionately serve middle class commuters and neighborhoods are balanced with effective transportation that connects distressed communities with the job-rich, thriving parts of regional economies. And, with federal assistance, housing programs must be tools to break up concentrated poverty by giving workers flexibility to seek housing wherever they can find work.

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

Welfare-to-Work Partnerships

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

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

low-income fathers so they can contribute to the support of their children.

I would like to apply the lessons learned from our Welfare to Work success to address the problem of hyper-unemployment among many of our young people. As a nation we have historically focused on the needs of families through such programs as Aid to Families with Dependent Children, which provided income support to families with children deprived of parental support, and Emergency Assistance which provided short-term emergency services and benefits to needy families. We must now address the intolerably high unemployment rates for young people—particularly minority youth.

I have asked my Cabinet to work with the private sector, state and local governments, and non-profit organizations to target the needs of young people in the same way that we have done with regard to welfare recipients. Just as we have engaged 10,000 business members to hire more than 410,000 welfare recipients, the time is ripe to be creative in developing an infrastructure that will address the unemployment rates of young people in

Welfare to Work FY 2000 Budget Package

- **Low-income fathers.** \$1 billion to help 200,000 long-term welfare recipients in high-poverty areas move into lasting unsubsidized employment. The initiative, as reauthorized, will provide at least \$150 million to ensure that every state helps fathers fulfill their responsibilities by working and paying child support, providing job placement and job retention assistance.
- **Housing vouchers.** \$430 million for 75,000 welfare-to-work housing vouchers, a 50% increase. Vouchers help families move where the jobs are, or secure more stable housing, which helps job performance.
- **Transportation assistance.** \$150 million to double Access to Jobs, a "reverse commuting" competitive grant program supporting innovative state and local transportation solutions such as shuttles, van pools, new bus routes, and connector services to mass transit to help low income workers get to work.
- **Tax credits.** \$530 million to extend Welfare to Work Opportunity Tax Credits for employers that hire welfare recipients and other disadvantaged individuals. Already, 10,000 companies have joined the Welfare to Work Partnership and hired, retained, and promoted hundreds of thousands of former welfare recipients.

areas of concentrated poverty. I am committed to building on the success of the past six years to expand opportunities for the next generation.

C. CONCLUSION

In 1964, at the height of the civil rights movement, President Lyndon Johnson declared “unconditional war on poverty.” For much of the ensuing 35 years, we have waged a valiant struggle to redeem that ideal. And we have begun to turn the tide. But something critical has been missing from our arsenal. Until now, we have not made full use of the power of financial markets to create jobs and rebuild distressed communities. Now, as we renew our commitment to giving all Americans the chance to live out their dreams, we must do all we can to unleash the untapped potential of people living in our most distressed communities. We will not do it with words, slogans, or good intentions. It is going to take the kind of vision, partnership, investment, and capital that helped turn around the South Bronx and dozens of other revitalized communities. And to the extent that stereotypes about race and poverty have been a barrier, we must believe, as I do, that every American has something to contribute. All they need are the tools of opportunity. With those tools in hand, they can become powerful partners in our efforts to build a strong and vibrant One America for the 21st Century.

Endnotes:

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

2. [Cite RFK quote.]

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

⁰ Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Current Population Survey*.

⁰ Council of Economic Advisers. [RECHECK THIS AS EDITED.]

⁰ State of the Cities, 1998, p. iv.

7. [get cite] Unemployment is lower for "older youth," but even among 20 to 24-year-olds the rate remains at 18% for black men and 9% for Hispanic men.

⁰ Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Current Population Survey*.

⁰ Council of Economic Advisers, *Changing America: Indicators of Social and Economic Well-Being by Race and Hispanic Origin* 27 (September 1998). About 20% of young black men and 14% of young Hispanic men are neither in school nor working, compared with 9% of young white men.⁰

⁰ U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *1990 Census of Population, Social and Economic Characteristics* (CP-2-1) (1993).

~~⁰ The Welfare to Work Partnership, The Retention Dimension, in Solutions, Vol. IV (1998).~~

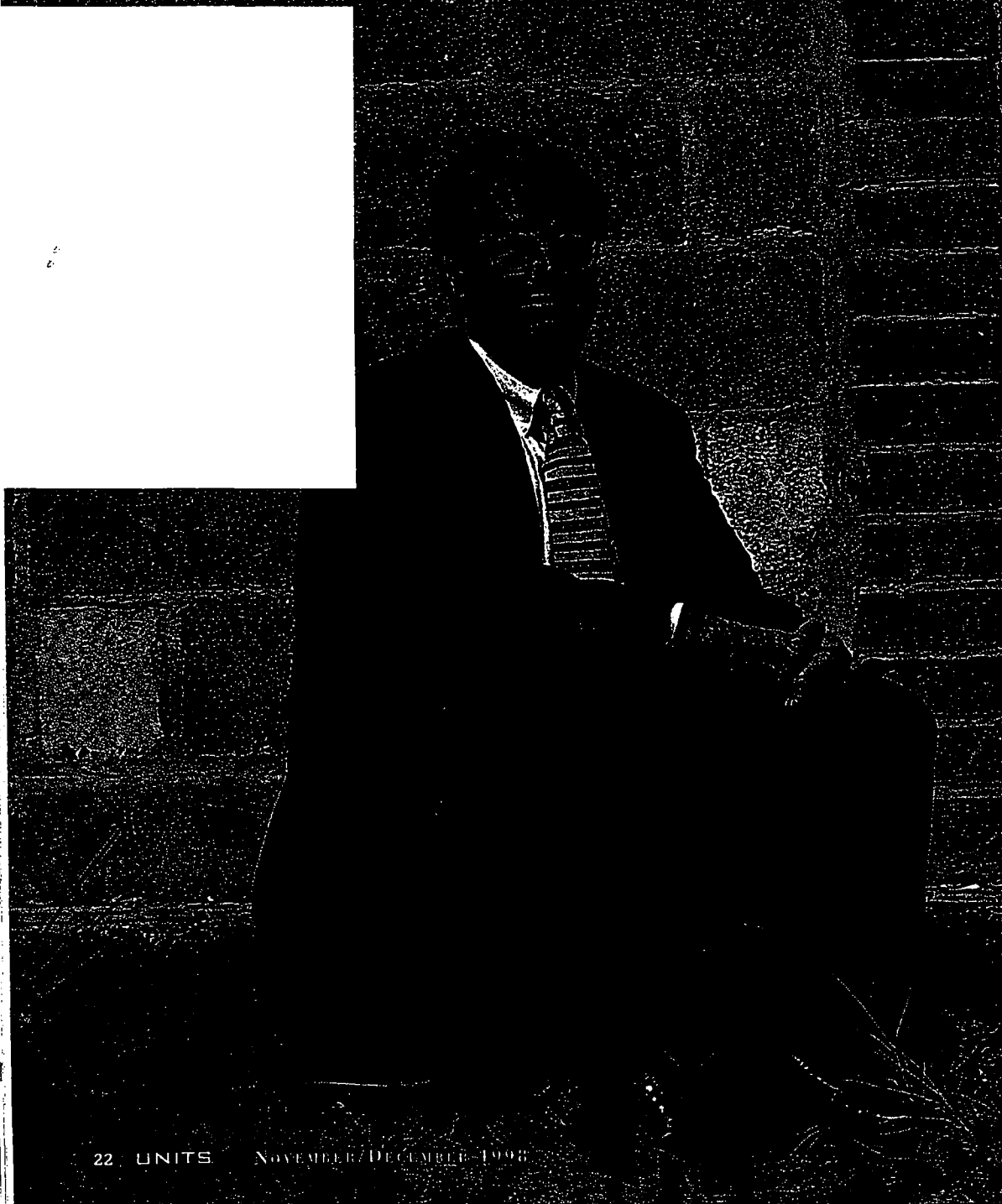
⁰

⁰ Access to Jobs at the Department of Labor and HUD's Bridges to Work Program are examples of how we were working to develop programs aimed at linking the unemployed with distant job centers. State of the Cities, 1998, p. 27.

Maintaining Momentum

Revitalizing the Surrounding Community Proves to Be a Long-Term Investment

William C. Smith Company and The Villages of Parklands



Left: Chris Smith, CEO of the William C. Smith Company, Inc., Oppenheimer national representative from the Parklands Foundation. He describes the transformation process that went into the rebuilding of the Villages of Parklands. The Parklands Foundation has formed a strong partnership with the William C. Smith Company, and since 1995, has provided more than \$14 million in permanent financing towards The Parklands project.

the Outside

s to be the Right Management Strategy for the Parklands

Anyone who ever saw the 1988 movie "Field of Dreams" undoubtedly can recall the famous whisper, "If You Build It, He Will Come."

Kevin Costner was haunted by these mysterious words until finally he realized that the "It" he was being called on to build was a baseball diamond put in the middle of his Iowa cornfield. By the end of the movie, the audience came to understand the full meaning of the words, "If You Build It, He Will Come," when Costner was reunited with his dead father who returned to play ball on the irresistible field his son had built. Millions of teary-eyed men in the collective audience were left searching for meaning.

In the apartment industry, a similar sort of revelation happened to William C. Smith and his son Chris Smith back in 1991, when their real estate company, the William C. Smith Company, Inc., acquired a dilapidated and neglected property in Southeast Washington, D.C., called the Villages of Parklands.

Now the Smiths' experience did not involve building magical baseball diamonds or bringing famous ball players back from the dead. What it did involve was the real-life re-building of an entire apartment community and neighborhood, and literally bringing hundreds of worn-out and vacant apartment homes back to life.

The words that inspired the Smiths were more along the lines of, "If You Re-Build It, People Will Come, and Come Back."

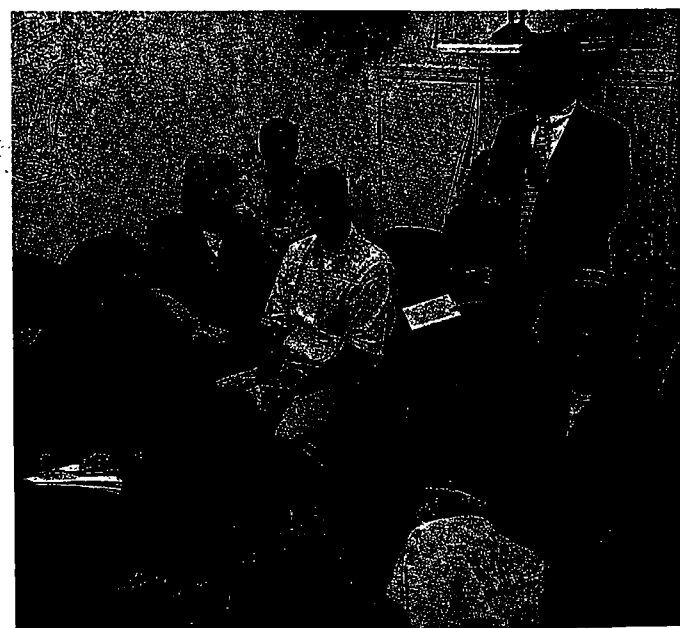
Community revitalization and urban renewal became the Smith Company's mission. Today, the same apartment community that used to be 60 percent vacant is now less than 3 percent vacant. The same neighborhood that for years was known primarily for its crime and drug problems is now known for its beautiful landscaping, quality elementary schools, free shuttle bus service, arts and recreation facilities, new public library, and an overall feeling of safety.

You could use the word "Renaissance" to describe the overall

changes in Parklands because that's exactly what it has been," says Commander Winston Robinson of the 7th District Police Precinct in Southeast, who can remember quite well when Parklands was a highly desirable place to live when it was first built back in the 1950s and '60s.

"Parklands was a mecca for middle-income blacks," says Robinson. "Most middle-class blacks who worked in the District wanted to live in The Parklands garden apartments and raise their families there because Parklands was the best neighborhood in Southeast to live," says Robinson.

But when serious crime and drug problems started to creep their way into Washington in the late 1970s, peaking with the crack cocaine





One of the first steps that the William C. Smith Company took in revitalizing the neighborhood was planting tulip bulbs everywhere—more than 12,000 tulips in all.

epidemic of the mid-1980s, residents of Parklands started packing up and moving away into Maryland and other parts of the District. Soon, The Parklands apartments became home to drug dealers, criminals, and vagrants. Living in the neighborhood felt similar to living in a war zone.

When people returned home from work and children returned home from school, everyone just stayed inside their apartments. Residents felt like virtual prisoners because they were too afraid to venture outside.

But now, says Robinson, the neighborhood is so peaceful and civilized that The Villages of Parklands is a place he would live in if he were looking for a new home. "Nowadays, you see people walking around outside and kids playing again...the Smith Company brought this place back from the grave."

SEEING A GOOD INVESTMENT

William Smith, founder of the 30-year-old company that bears his name, says that Parklands is a sound investment as well as an opportu-

nity to do some good work for people. In 1991, his company bought the 1,280-unit Parklands development from members of the Cafritz family for \$9 million, a distressed price that reflected the devastation of the neighborhood. "To make this work, you have to buy at the right price," says Chris Smith, CEO of the Smith Company.

Smith's company spent an average of \$18,000 per unit to restore 864 multifamily apartment dwellings. In addition, 40 percent of the buildings, with 417 units, were demolished. Suddenly apartments all over Parklands were being fixed up with completely new kitchens and bathrooms; new plaster, paint, and doors were brought in; and new rental offices and laundromats were built.

As a result of the makeover, the rent for a typical two-bedroom apartment increased from \$485 a month to \$535, including the cost of utilities.

The William C. Smith Company, Inc. had a vision back in 1991. The company, which currently has a portfolio of more than 7,000 rental units and 3,000 condominium and cooperative units primarily located in the Washington, D.C. area, believed that the key to success

In order to promote a feeling of pride and respect for the neighborhood, the Smith Company decided to hang big, colorful signs throughout the community.

The building Parklands was not only renovating the apartment units themselves, but also in improving and changing the entire neighborhood surrounding the apartments.

"It is not enough to be proud of just the individual apartment you live in, but to be proud of the entire neighborhood and community in which you live," says Chris Smith. "Our goal in The Parklands project was to make residents feel proud of both the inside and the outside of their apartments."

In order to build this feeling of pride in the community, one of the first steps that the William C. Smith Company took in its \$58 million renovation of Parklands, was planting thousands of tulips everywhere—around the apartment buildings, around the local library, in front of the local elementary schools, around the sidewalks, and in front of the police headquarters. Now, everywhere you look in Parklands, you see tulips.

"The power that flowers have on a community is tremendous," says Chris Smith. "The message that flowers send out to people is that this is a community that's healthy and protected and where owners and residents care...and not only do flowers have an uplifting effect on residents of a community, they actually have a deterring effect on crime."

In addition to planting flowers everywhere, the company also went to work creating new signage for the community, hanging new American flags up around some of the buildings, and also installing wrought iron fencing around each of the lawns surrounding the apartments.

When looking at the before-and-after pictures of Parklands, it is amazing to see the difference that flowers, signage, and fencing have made in the overall curb appeal of the community. A neighborhood that once appeared colorless and grim now has the look and feel of sunshine and hope.

"There is a real feeling of respect and pride for this community which had not been here for a very long time," says Commander Robinson. "Not only is vandalism down, but crime in general has been drastically reduced."

BUILDING THE ARC

One of the biggest problems that the residents of Parklands faced over the years was the "too many kids hanging out on the street" dilemma. While the children living in the Washington area suburbs had local gymnastics and dancing schools, soccer fields, ice-skating rinks, and recreation centers to go to, the children growing up in The Parklands area had nothing recreational or artistic nearby. In all the years since Parklands had been developed, no movie theater, bowling alley, sports complex, music center, art studio, or community center had ever

Now that crime and vandalism have been drastically reduced, the residents of Parklands feel safe and comfortable strolling through the neighborhood streets. For many years, however, the majority of residents spent most of their time indoors, too fearful of venturing outside.



been built...that is, until the Smith Company came along.

At the present time, the Smith Company is spearheading the effort to build a \$7 million, 51,000-square-foot town hall and recreation center to be called the Town Hall Education Arts and Recreation Center (THE ARC). THE ARC will provide area residents with school enrichment programs, parenting skills training, arts and crafts, social activities for seniors, a meeting place for community groups, a computer lab and library, gymnasium, live performance/movie theater, and day care center. You name it, and THE ARC will try to offer it to the community.

One of the earliest and most enthusiastic supporters of THE ARC was The Fannie Mae Foundation, which contributed \$350,000 towards THE ARC and \$14.9 million in permanent financing towards The Parklands project since November 1995. Currently one of the nation's largest sources of multifamily financing, Fannie Mae saw The Parklands project as an excellent way to "become more involved at a local level,"





Villages of Parklands

Manor Village

Garden Village

Library ↑
you worked on →

says Alvin Nichols, director of Fannie Mae's D.C. Partnership Office. "In The Villages of Parklands redevelopment effort, you have a neighborhood transformation in progress that will eventually transform the entire area of Southeast Washington...One community at a time will eventually trans-

[illegible]

form the city," says Nichols.

But perhaps the most innovative and lavish improvements that the Smith Company has already made for Parklands is the building of its \$1 million, summer Splash Park, complete with waterfalls, palm trees, floating animals, wading pool, and lap lanes.

"In 1996, we invested \$1 million to create a state-of-the art, water recreation facility to compensate for the lack of recreational facilities in the area," says Chris Smith, "and we wanted something unique that would give our residents a real sense of pride in their community." Now, while other D.C. residents merely swim and float in their apartment swimming pools, the residents of Parklands interact and play in their very own water wonderland.

The Smith Company also designed a successful snack bar area at the Splash Park which offers the requisite ice cream, hot dogs, hamburgers, and pizza. However, for security reasons, the Smith Company installed a special cash-free, debit card system so that the neighborhood kids could go to the Splash Park and not have to worry about carrying cash with them.

"It's absolutely incredible what the William C. Smith Company has done for the children of Parklands," says Evelyn Gainous, principal of the local Garfield Elementary School. Thanks to a \$100,000 donation from the Smith Company back in 1996, the school received new computers, new electrical work, new landscaping, and a new glass door for the front entrance.

"Our school is now the only school in the Washington, D.C. area to have a glass door instead of a steel door," explains Gainous. "Steel was used in the school for security reasons, but at the same time, the steel door never allowed any light to come into the building. Now, with all the tulips everywhere and the light shining through, the children enter the building in the morning and they feel like they're walking into a whole new school."

It's no coincidence, says Gainous, that since the Smith Company began making serious changes in Parklands, the attendance rate at Garfield Elementary has

Garfield
Elementary
School
Middle State
Accredited



achieved the highest attendance rate out of all the D.C. elementary schools. "I grew up in Southeast, and I can remember when Parklands was a wonderful place to live and grow up," says Gainous. "But now, I can honestly say that The Parklands area is even better than it ever was before."

When it comes to community revitalization and urban renewal, it just comes down to pure, common sense. If you want people to live in your apartment buildings, and continue living there for many years to come, you need to invest in the whole community surrounding the apartments.

Remember—if you build it, they will come...

Baltman is assistant editor of Units.



QUOTES FOR SECTOR COVER PAGE

ART, MULTIMEDIA AND SPORTS

Lift up your faces, you have a piercing need
For this bright morning dawning for you.
History, despite its wrenching pain,
Cannot be unlived, and if faced with courage,
Need not be lived again.
Lift up your eyes upon
The day breaking for you.
Give birth again
To the dream.

-Maya Angelou
Laureate Poet of the United States
Excerpt from *The Pulse of the Morning*, 1992

BUSINESS

"Business has an enormous capacity to reach into the margins of our society and to help create opportunities for everyone."

- James Autry, Fortune 500 Businessman

COMMUNITY BUILDING

"People, like candles, dispel darkness-one can illuminate a corner; many can enlighten the world."

-Haim Baruch

COMMUNITY AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

"I am an organizer, not a union leader. A good organizer has to work hard and long. There are no shortcuts. You just keep talking to people, working with them, sharing, exchanging and they come along."

- Caesar Chavez, Founder of United Farm Workers

EDUCATION

If you plant for a year, plant a seed. If for ten years, plant a tree. If for a hundred years, teach the people. When you sow a seed once, you will reap a single harvest. When you teach the people, you will reap a hundred harvest.

- Kuan Chung, The Great Master Book of Kuan

GOVERNMENT

Every American takes pride in our tradition of hospitality to men of all races and creeds. We must be constantly vigilant against the attacks of intolerance and injustice. We must be constantly scrupulously guard the civil rights and civil liberties of all citizens, whatever their background. We must remember that any oppression, any injustice, any hatred is a wedge designed to attack civilization.

- President Franklin Delano Roosevelt

HEALTH

The subject of healing and the mind stretches beyond medicine into issues about what we value in society and who we are as human beings. Healing begins with caring. So does civilization.

- Bill Moyers, Journalist and Author

RELIGION

From Christianity

Love thy neighbor as thyself.

From Islam

Do unto all men as you wish to have done to you and reject for others what you would reject for yourself.

-Translated from the Koran

From Judaism

Should anyone turn aside the right of the stranger, it is as though he were to turn aside the right of the most high God.

-Translated from the Talmud

From the Ojibway

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

-Excerpt from an Ojibway prayer

YOUTH

Our children must never lose their zeal for building a better world. They must not be discouraged from aspiring toward greatness, for they are to be leaders of tomorrow. We have a powerful potential in our youth, and we must have the courage to change old ideals and practices so that we may direct their power toward good ends.

- Mary McLeod Bethune, Educator

Community Building

Dialogue

Community Enhancement Program
Community St. Louis
Dialogue: Racism
Interior Alaska Center for the Healing of Racism
Latino-Jewish Leadership Series
Leadership Development in Inter ethnic Relations
Pico/ Lowell Neighborhood Education Project
Seeking Common Ground

Systemic

El Puente

Reducing Disparity/Improving Opportunity

Bicultural Training Partnership
Building Just Communities
Community Building Task Force

Added as of Nov. 11, 1998

Healing Racism Institute, Little Rock, Arkansas
Hope in the Cities, Richmond, VA
Center for Prejudice Reduction, American Jewish Conference- Long Island, NY
Common Ground
Community Minority and Cultural Center

A World of Difference Institute
Community Outreach
Green Circle Program
Leadership Conference Education Fund (LCEF)
National Coalition Building Institute (NCBI)
National Conference
National Multicultural Institute
Study Circles Resource Center
Cultural Diversity Project, North Dakota

Total in Section: 26

As of 12/15/98

aj

Religious

Dialogue

Can't We All Just Get Along
Interfaith Bridge Builders
Task Force on Racism: Chicago

Systemic

Faiths Initiative, San Francisco
Racism Awareness Program

Reducing Disparity/Improving Opportunity

Glide Memorial United Methodist Church
Greater Boston Catholic Charities
Interfaith Action for Racial Justice

Added as of Nov. 11, 1998

STOP - Students Together Omitting Prejudice
Congress of National Black Churches
Journey Toward Wholeness
Pacific Institute for Community Organization (PICO)
National Center on Black-Jewish Relations comm building

Total in Section: 13

As of 12/15/98

aj

Government

Dialogue

Cultural Sensitivity

Lt. Governor's Committee on Diversity

Task Force on Police and Urban Youth

Systemic

Center for Educational Equity

Democracy Resource Center

Indian Education Office: Minnesota Department of Children, Families, and Learning

Mega Project Initiative, U.S. Department of Labor

Reducing Disparity/Improving Opportunity

Center for Research on Education, Diversity and Excellence

Added as of Nov. 11, 1998

Proyecto Access, NASA-HACU (govt)

Community-based fire protection, LA Fire Department (Kwame Cooper)

Total in Section: 10

As of 12/15/98

aj

Community and Economic Development

Dialogue

NONE

Systemic

Asian Neighborhood Design

Greater Cleveland Residential Housing and Mortgage Credit

Education and Housing Equity Project/Community Circle Collaborative

Dudley Street Initiative

Two Towns: One Community

Reducing Disparity/Improving Opportunity

Chicanos Por La Causa

Fifth Avenue Committee

Start Up

Youth Build

Added as of Nov. 11, 1998

Strive - East Harlem, NY

Multicultural Service Program

Phoenix Indian Center

Total in Section: 12

As of 12/15/98

aj

Health and Human Services

Dialogue

NONE

Systemic

Bridging the Gap

Maricopa Integrated Health System

Reducing Disparity/Improving Opportunity

ALANA

Asian Counseling and Referral Service

Delhi Community Center

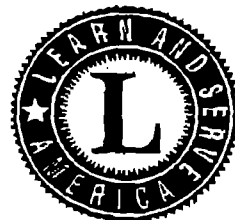
Added as of Nov. 11, 1998

La Casa De Don Pedro

Total in Section: 6

As of 12/15/98

aj



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Getting Things Done.
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IV. Examples of Learn and serve Programs that Exemplify Service Learning as a Strategy for Achieving Racial Healing

- ***The Academy for Science and Foreign Language***, a Learn and Serve grantee, is located in Huntsville, Alabama. The K-8 school was developed to reflect the racial and ethnic background of the city which is 65 percent white and 35 percent African American. The Academy's enrollment also includes a small number of students of Hispanic, Asian or American Indian descent. Faculty members are committed to service-learning and focus on increasing academic achievement and developing a respect for diversity. Multicultural education is infused into the curriculum through teacher training and inclusion of multiculturalism in each thematic unit.

Documenting 19th century African American history and culture in Huntsville, the grantee created the Alabama African American Historic Project out of a recognition that the lives of Huntsville's African American population were poorly recorded. This project engages students in original research which requires their reviewing documents (old newspapers, journals, city council minutes, local historical data, census reports) at the Huntsville Public Library, Madison County Courthouse, and Glenwood Cemetery. The students' goal is to create a lasting and educational commemoration of African Americans' contribution to the history of Huntsville by restoring a local African American cemetery and creating a database of those buried in the cemetery and their descendants.

Students and the community are rediscovering history. So far, they have plotted an historic cemetery, replaced a fence, dedicated an historic marker, and researched the contributions of African Americans to the building of the city of Huntsville. Academic and social growth are strengthened by interviewing senior citizens and transcribing, editing, and writing biographical sketches. Mathematics and science skills are developed through the students orienteering, identifying vegetation, and determining and analyzing environmental changes.

The Academy for Science and Foreign Language is raising the conscienceness locally and nationally by presenting this "cemetery project" at local, regional and national conferences and workshops. Academy students are raising their peers' civic awareness by talking one on one to each other, using print media, and showing communities how to integrate service learning into the curriculum.

**The Academy for Science and Foreign Language
3221 Mastin Lake Road
Huntsville, AL
Ph: 205 / 851-4100
Contact: Ollye B. Conley**

*Alabama State Education Agency Contact:
Cyndi Tawney (334) 242-8199*

- ***The Malcolm Shabazz City High School***, a Learn and Serve grantee, offers an alternative to the traditional high school setting, with approximately 20 percent of the student body representing various ethnic groups. This school of 140 alternative education students has a staff and student mix of approximately 30%, including not only ethnic minorities African-American, Latino, Asian, etc. but also Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, and differently abled students. The school employs 16 staff total including a Social Worker, Nurse, Counselor, and teachers. Thirty-three percent of the 438 students at Sherman Middle School are of African American, Hispanic, Asian or Native American descent.

Highlighted below are three Shabazz programs/courses that address race relations utilizing service-learning:

1.) All students are required to take a course that includes as components of its curriculum - school policies, alternative education learning styles and two units - 1) conflict resolution (which the students then teach to Sherman Middle School students) and, 2) they do their own research on Malcolm Shabazz (Malcolm X), create a teaching unit, and then teach that unit to 6th grade students.

2.) Education for Justice Course - Every other year they offer this course and rotate teaching about and visiting three areas. Mississippi Delta, an Indian Reservation, or Appalachia. Last spring they went to Mississippi, and staff included Jane Kavaloski (program contact) and two African-American teachers. During local class time at they studied slavery and race issues.

When they visited the Delta area they lived with African-American families, learned more about the community and collected oral histories. Then they asked community people to suggest a service project. This year (and in past) they've worked with kids (tutoring, structuring games, etc.), helped husk okra, cut shrubs for community elders, and worked with Headstart in Money, MS (where the Emmett Till murder occurred). After 10 days in the Mississippi Delta they returned home and taught about the area through slide shows and presentations to at least 500 youth in the Madison School District. In some past years they've done cable TV shows, as well.

3.) In a Social Studies class last year - they had students interview leading African-American elders in Madison. Students devised questions and did the interviews at the school. One young woman sketched the elders. The portraits and interviews were then displayed for the entire school to view.

Malcolm Shabazz City High School/ Sherman Middle Schools
1601 N. Sherman Ave.
Madison, WI 53704
Ph: 608 / 246-5040
Contact: Jane Hammatt Kavaloski

Wisconsin SEA: Jeffrey Miller

(608) 261-7494



The Knoxville News-Sentinel

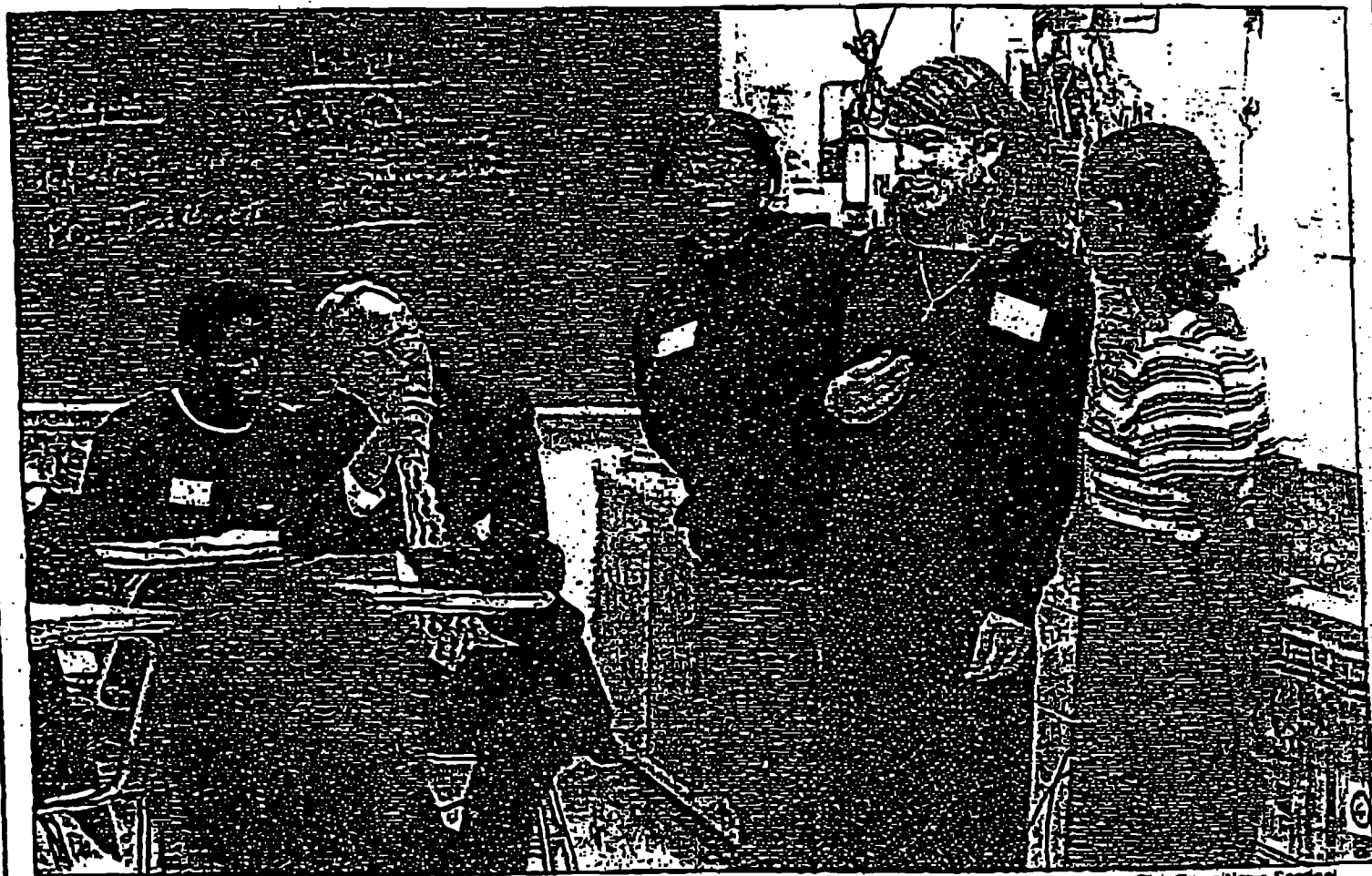
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Class moves teens to get involved



Clay Over/News-Sentinel

West High School students, standing left to right, Keyh Rogers, Rachael Winston and LaShonda Roper, give a report on their service project as Peace Corps veteran Harris Wofford looks on Thursday at the school. Student Michael White sits behind Wofford.

By David Kelm

News-Sentinel staff writer

Until she took the ACTS class at West High School, Kristen Swann didn't have big plans for her future.

"Now I want to go to college and major in English or social work," the 17-year-old senior told members of the Corporation for National Service who visited her classroom Thursday.

The transformation came because Swann and a dozen classmates are working together as volunteers at community

Peace Corps veteran meets with students

agencies that help the poor and sick, learning first-hand what it takes to meet the needs around them.

"You go out and see what the real world's like," Swann said simply, as students explained working at a nursing home, AIDS Response Knoxville, Ronald McDonald House and other agencies.

ACTS stands for Action Counts in

Teen Service. The class started when teacher Julie Hembree got training in service-learning with a grant from Learn & Serve America, a program overseen by the Corporation for National Service.

She and another West High teacher are the only Knox participants, Hembree said.

The corporation also oversees AmeriCorps — sometimes called the domestic Peace Corps — and the National Senior Service Corps. Knoxville Mayor

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Class

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Victor Ashe serves on the corporation's board, and invited the board to Knoxville for meetings Thursday and today.

"The greatness in people that comes from serving others and learning to serve — learning the art of it and learning that you can do it and make a difference — is what we heard in this class," said Harris Wofford, chief executive officer of the corporation.

Wofford is a former Democratic senator from Pennsylvania who helped to start the Peace Corps with the Kennedy Administration and played a key role in the civil rights movement.

He tells a story about a former gang member from Philadelphia

to explain how service changes lives. The young man had become a leader with Habitat for Humanity.

Wofford asked why he changed his path. "All my life people have been coming to help me in the project where I grew up," he told Wofford. "I got tired of people doing good against me. This is the first time in my life anybody ever asked me to do something."

The boost in self-confidence was evident at West.

"The news is constantly focusing on the bad things teens do," 16-year-old Matthew Killingsworth told the board. "This gives us a chance to be recognized in a positive way."

Wofford was impressed that the students became like a family, bridging racial lines.

In all my other classes, I don't think about meeting every-

body else," Killingsworth said. Added Nykky Hill, 17: "You have the person you're next to till you talk to them, and then you get moved away."

The students also explained how they learned skills in high demand by employers: working as a team, putting aside differences, solving problems, thinking critically, setting goals.

"You'll find more of them will make a job instead of take a job with someone else," board Chairman Bob Rogers observed. "They'll go create their own job because it's an entrepreneurial experience for them to be in service."

President Clinton has pushed national service, spurred largely by the ideas of Northwestern University professor Charles Maekel, and the idea has gained broad support. It was highlighted six months ago by The Presi-

dents' Summit for America's Future, sparked by the corporation and the head of the Points of Light Foundation.

Wofford wants to see ACTS classes at every American high school, preferably more than one class per school. He leans toward requiring them. His board spent two hours with the class, although he left halfway through for a media meeting.

"It seemed to me in just that hour we were seeing a school for citizenship," Wofford said. "And if you think of what this country maybe most needs (it's to address) how you educate the next generation to be good citizens. . . . I don't think you get that by a lecture on citizenship. These students were in action learning what it is to be a citizen, the kind we all want, taking responsibility, learning what the problems are."

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Purpose

To unite young people from diverse racial, socio-economic, geographic and educational backgrounds for a year of full time service to their communities, and to serve as an "action tank" to develop the concept of voluntary national service.

Background

Founded in 1988 to demonstrate the power of national service, City Year was launched to engage young adults from all backgrounds for a demanding year of community service, leadership development and civic engagement. City Year's mission is to put idealism to work by tapping the civic power of young people from an annual campaign of idealism. City Year's goals are to generate transformative community service, break down social barriers, inspire citizens to civic action, develop new leaders for the common good, and improve and promote the concept of voluntary national service.

Program Operation

For ten months in cities across the nation, racially, socioeconomically and educationally diverse corps members work in teams to invest their talents and energies as teacher's assistants in elementary and middle-schools, directors of after-school programs, peer educators for HIV/AIDS and violence prevention, constructors of affordable housing and builders of playgrounds and urban gardens. From coast-to-coast, committed young people are devoting a "City Year" to strengthen their community, as they develop themselves as leaders for the next generation.

Members of the City Years National Corps develop essential professional skills as they serve in schools, community centers, non-profit agencies and neighborhoods. They learn to value people of different backgrounds by working alongside them and test their problem-solving abilities by working cooperatively with community leaders, national and local policy makers and corporate executives. They gain leadership skills in the areas of problem solving, negotiating, planning and organizing events, crisis management, service impact and public speaking. For their service in this challenging and diverse environment, corps members receive a weekly stipend and, at the completion of the ten month program, earn a \$4,725 post service award from AmeriCorps. Graduates of City year demonstrate a lifelong commitment to social change and community involvement as student leaders, teachers, entrepreneurs, community activists and members of the private sector.

Outcomes

Since its founding in 1988, City Year has engaged over 4000 young people in ten cities across the nation in giving a year of service to their communities. Together City Year corps members have provided over 4.2 million hours of service, 3,000 visitors from all over the world have come

to see City Year first hand, and upwards of 650 corporations and foundations, 156,000 individuals and local and federal government, have invested a total of more than \$81million in City Year. In 1993, the Clinton administration used City Year as a model for its AmeriCorps program.

Today, City Year is a proud member of the AmeriCorps National Service Network, "Getting Things Done" for America. Providing its service with the help of the Corporation for National Service, private sector sponsors, foundation and individuals, City Year has expanded from its original site in Boston, MA to ten sites across the country: Chicago, IL; Cleveland, OH; Columbia, SC; Columbus, OH; Rhode Island; San Antonio, TX; San Jose/Silicon Valley, CA; Philadelphia, PA; and Seattle/King County, WA. The eleventh and newest City Year site will be opened in the Fall of 1999 in Detroit, MI.