

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

Date: 5 - 18 - 99 ACTION / CONCURRENCE / COMMENT DUE BY: _____Subject: Substantive Outline for Race Book

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☒	MOORE	☐	☒
PODESTA	☐	☒	NASH	☐	☐
ECHAVESTE	☐	☒	REED	☐	☒
RICCHETTI	☐	☐	RUFF	☐	☒
LEW	☐	☐	SOSNIK	☐	☐
BERGER	☐	☐	SPERLING	☐	☒
BLUMENTHAL	☐	☒	STEIN	☐	☐
CAHILL	☐	☐	STERN	☐	☒
FRAMPTON	☐	☐	STREETT	☐	☐
IBARRA	☐	☐	TRAMONTANO	☐	☐
JOHNSON	☐	☒	UCELLI	☐	☐
KLAIN	☐	☒	VERVEER	☐	☒
LANE	☐	☐	WALDMAN	☐	☒
LEWIS	☐	☐	YELLEN	☐	☐
LINDSEY	☐	☐	<u>HRC</u>	☐	☒
LOCKHART	☐	☐	<u>KAGAN</u>	☐	☒
MARSHALL	☐	☐	<u>SYLVIA MATHEWS</u>	☐	☒
		☒	SHIRLEY SAGAWA		☒
JOSH GOTBAUM			EDDIE CORREIA		☒

REMARKS:

This has been forwarded to the President.

RESPONSE:

May 18, 1999

MEMORANDUM

To: The President
From: Christopher Edley, Jr. and Terry Edmonds
Subject: Substantive Outline
Date: May 18, 1999

You requested, through Maria, a detailed outline that would convey the flow of the arguments and policies. This is our attempt.

We continue to work at incorporating your preliminary comments and those of White House staff reviewers, while also trying to negotiate away some of the policy disagreements we have with White House staff. Some of the policies noted in the outline, therefore, are disputed. Perhaps even contentious.

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OUT OF MANY, ONE: RACIAL AND ETHNIC JUSTICE IN 21ST CENTURY AMERICA

INTRODUCTION

[Ojibway prayer]

Lofty opening; analytical and personal motivation for the book -- .

- We must embark on the new century recommitted to right the wrongs of our past and to make real the promise of equality and justice that has eluded us throughout our history . . . Today new urgency . . . demographic transformations . . . All of this is happening against a backdrop of unparalleled peace and prosperity. . .
- Racism has been America's constant curse . . and . . . our constant struggle. We must face these contradictions squarely as a critical step, not only to healing the wounds of our past, but also of unleashing the power and promise of our future. We must become One America in the 21st century.
- I hope this report will help lay the foundation for a renewed national commitment to racial healing in America. As a boy growing up in the 1950s and early 60s . . .
- Why launch the national Initiative on Race? (1) Our work is not yet done . . . (2) Our diversity will either be the great problem or the great promise of 21st century America.

Short roadmap for the book, including summary of the vision; guiding principles, including new covenants to define a new agenda beyond last generation's goals

- Summary plan of the book – Part I, *The America We See*, presents the facts about race in America today . . . etc.
- What will the America we want look like? Summary of the vision *Opportunity* will be shared so deeply and broadly that an observer, a stranger in our land, will see no evidence of a past with slavery or conquest or nativist discrimination; Each person takes *responsibility*, not only for making the most of their own life, but also for ensuring that every other American has an equal chance to do the same; *Community* so powerful that our social and economic interactions will pull us out of ethnic enclaves; *Hearts* healed of the crippling influences of prejudice and fear
- Ethical precepts to guide us on this journey. (1) Out of many, one; stop living under the delusion of separation, dividing ourselves into categories, mistakenly believing these can

capture the whole truth about anyone. (2) We should approach this issue with proper humility. . . (3) Recognize the ways we have allowed our racial differences to get inside our heads . . . (4) We cannot expect government, or “leaders” to make this journey for us; Reaching the promised land requires a journey of the heart, for each of us.

- Must go beyond the agenda defined a generation ago . . . We must embrace new civic covenants for the new century . . . (a) a covenant with our children, that each of them will have access to a world-class education, and an equal opportunity for educational achievement; (b) a covenant with our families, that each can live secure in their home without fear of violent lawlessness; and (c) a covenant with our communities, that each will be part of the nation’s economic mainstream, neither ignored nor left behind.
- Thanks to Advisory Board, Judy Winston; closing.

[*Langston Hughes poem*]

PART I: THE AMERICA WE SEE

A. INTRODUCTION

- Note confusion on glass half full/empty . . . 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 ... demographics, race-based disparities, current discrimination, and intergroup relations.

B. DEMOGRAPHICS

- Myths/Facts . . . Population changes over time; projections. No majority race . . . tremendous Hispanic and Asian growth rates.
- Increase in intermarriage brings with it complex and sometimes controversial issues Will the black-white schism that has so defined racial struggle in America morph into new minority - versus - minority divisions or can we build new coalitions for social change and equal justice across all racial lines?

C. DISPARITIES

- Myths/Facts . . . CEA report, *Changing America: Indicators of Social and Economic Well-being by Race and Hispanic Origin*, documents the fact that while we have reduced or eliminated some very harmful differences between whites and minorities, serious disparities remain. . . .
- Poverty, wages, income, wealth, health indicators . . . Stagnation in growth of black middle class until last few years Model minority stereotype of Asian Pacific Americans, but Hmong poverty rate is 64 percent, and extreme high school drop out rates for Southeast Asian youth.
- Sharply differing majority-minority perceptions about progress; need to study the facts and see them as a call to action.

D. DISCRIMINATION

- Myths/Facts. Despite much progress and the strongest economy in 30 years, sound evidence shows that discrimination against minorities continues today, significantly limiting and reducing opportunities and choices for many of them. . . Again, sharp perception gap on the issue fuels debate while preventing action. . . . “the empathy gap” -- indifference caused by a failure to understand the obstacles faced by other groups.

- Hate crimes example. But much other discrimination is subtle. Compelling findings of audit or “tester” studies with matched pairs
- Need for more information to better focus our efforts.
- Reminders, though, of how far we have come. In the early 1950s A number of conservative authors and commentators look at this progress, however, and stop. . . The research evidence, my own observations, and conversations with many Americans have convinced me that discrimination remains real for too many of our citizens. . . The work is not yet done . . .

E. INTERGROUP RELATIONS

- Myths/Facts. . . . changes in personal attitudes and behavior, and in our living patterns. Again, the picture is a mixed bag Exhaustive research shows a substantial narrowing of the attitude gap . . . America is simply a more tolerant and integrated nation today than ever before. But there is still a group of hard-core bigots -- about 10-15 percent . . .
- Research shows the existence of attitudes we are not even aware we possess. I have seen the results of experiments showing that juries judge defendants differently based on race; that whites are less likely to respond to an African American in some emergency situations Importance of honest exploration of our deep-seated views.

CONCLUSION

- Summarize three themes: (1) Despite progress, considerable confusion about facts and trends confounds our sense of direction. . . Gaps in perceptions reflecting the distance between our communities and experiences. (2) Because the issue of race underlies so many pressing challenges, racial reconciliation must rise to the top of our agenda for the 21st century . . the unfinished business of our democracy. (3) Every American shares responsibility . . . We all must do our part to eliminate harmful disparities . . . We must find a better Workplan for the future.

PART II:

THE AMERICA WE WANT: WHAT SHOULD ONE AMERICA BE LIKE?

A. INTRODUCTION

- We must begin with a vision. When I was growing up . . . most of us concerned about racial harmony thought that defining what was wrong and what the future should be wasn't all that complicated . . . Our vision has become clouded and the picture increasingly complex. Some fear that it is too controversial, and the best way to make racial progress is to focus on creating opportunity, promoting responsibility, and be as silent about race as you can. . .
- What will *One America* look like if we can achieve it? Four elements: I believe we must be guided by a shared vision of (1) the quality of the *opportunity* shared by all, (2) the depth of *responsibility* we demand from all, (3) the nature of the *community* which includes us all, and – above all – (4) the commitment we make in our *hearts* to overcoming the age-old barriers of prejudice, fear and division.
- [Explanation of these four elements.]

B. VEXING QUESTIONS: CAN OUR VISION OF ONE AMERICA HELP US RECONCILE OUR DIVISIONS?

(1) The Identity Puzzle : *When is racial or ethnic group identity inconsistent with an American identity, with building One America?*

- *Language example*; Anglo customer's anxiety. What does it mean to be "American." We welcome legal immigrants and in return expect them to adopt key elements of American culture while simultaneously enriching it and our economic life. Sharing opportunity, as a practical matter, means speaking English. And tolerance/understanding means we need to be able to communicate.
 - Generalize: Similar issues of language or distinctive culture apply to varied groups . . . reconciling group identity with American identity . . .
 - We can tolerate a measure of separateness, provided it doesn't seriously interfere with the rest of us in building the prosperous community we envision for ourselves. To become One America, we need not demand a surrender of

our distinctive group identities, because there is room for distinctiveness within the community as a whole. But not large scale cultural secession . . .

- *Interracial marriage example:* Personal dimension of the same issue: mother and father troubled by daughter's interracial relationship ... Is it wrong for the parents to want their daughter to marry within their group? Is this distinguishable from prejudice or bigotry? Somehow, we must balance our need to cling to people who are like us, with the need to build a community in which we can all understand, benefit from and celebrate our differences.
- *College campus self-segregation example.* . . . African American/Hispanic/Asian American campus clubs. . . It is hard to see the problem with this, if it doesn't slip into a separatism that substantially undermines the possibilities for enjoying the benefits of diversity, and if it is a separateness that has neither the intent nor the effect of hurting anyone else. . . We must see ourselves as a nation of *individuals* who are defined *only in part* by our group affiliations. . . Conflicts around the world teach us that ethnic identity must be sustained within a framework of community in which the values that unite us are made stronger than those which tend to separate us.

(2) Representation and Difference: Will 21st century diversity alter the composition of leadership? Should it?

- ... Assembling a Cabinet that "looks like America" . . . An inclusive government helps give people confidence that a range of voices and concerns are represented, giving government more of the legitimacy upon which our democracy depends.
- "Our turn" ethnic rivalries in for city council, school superintendent, police chief, or other key official. I understand that race still means something, at least to many voters. But it shouldn't mean everything. JFK example . . . growing numbers of minority officials with strong blocks of white voter support . . .
- Other situations: assigning metro reporters; leadership of a PTA.
- Reasons to care about diverse representation: (1) confirms openness of process, not cronyism or the like; (2) legitimacy; (3) we need to have workplaces and civic organizations in which people experience and bridge their differences; (4) many organizations will simply work better if they are *representative*.
- One of our most difficult challenges is to think through when race should matter, and when it shouldn't. Simple answers are likely to get us off track ... need to stay focused on our vision of what kind of community and institutions we want.

(3) Personal Preferences, Stereotypes and Discrimination

- While I know that in some cases this is because hearts remain locked and poisoned, there is a far more common problem of not quite knowing in our daily lives where a simple human tendency to prefer the familiar, including people like ourselves, shades into the troubling use of stereotypes and eventually the clearly wrong kinds of behavior our legal system chooses to label “discrimination.”
- *Korean grocer example.* More than a question of lawfulness. What is *right*? If each of us throughout society and the economy just follows our inclination to socialize, hire and do business based on who seems familiar, we end up with a massive denial of opportunity to those still outside the economic mainstream.
- The background of rivalry and tension The ethnicity of the grocery store owner and its workers would probably not matter so much if the black and Latino residents of the community felt satisfied by their economic opportunities and believed they had the same potential to open a store themselves.

(4) The Special Matter of Native Americans: Sacred Sites

- Reconciling One America with tribal sovereignty . . . *Example:* conflict over Indian sacred sites . . . Historical perspective . . . Devil's Tower National Monument in Wyoming. . . To spot/resolve conflicts, my Executive Order requires dialogue . . .
- Tribes and various communities must deal with competing perceptions, values and traditions in many contexts . . . cultural resources teams . . . As the millennium approaches, our respect for preservation grows . . . “In our every deliberation, we must consider the impact of our decision on the next seven generations.” This lesson of stewardship can serve all Americans well.

(5) Apologies for Slavery and Other Wrongs

- Tuskegee . . . So what about slavery? Native Americans; Japanese Americans.
- But, “Exactly what are we apologizing for -- I’ve certainly never owned slaves. . . . Apologize to whom?” As long as there are those among us who refuse to understand the present consequences of 200 years of discrimination and hatred , we dare not declare victory with a mere apology. After all, what good is an apology if you don’t even understand what you are apologizing for?

PART III: THE OPPORTUNITY WE DESERVE

SECTION 1. HIGH - QUALITY EDUCATION FOR ALL: A NEW COVENANT FOR THE NEW CENTURY

A. INTRODUCTION

- **Set up:** Little Rock Nine . . . We haven't lived up to our nation's ideals . . . Tackling inequality is vitally important for several reasons . . . Education has been among my highest priorities, and we have made important progress . . . 100,000 new teachers, reduce class size, etc. . . But more to do.

Diversity: Opportunities and Challenges

- Increasing diversity in our schools. . . Fairfax County . . . By 2035, there will likely be no majority race in our public school population. This is an enormous national asset, if we fully harness the gifts and talents . . . But too often, the children who need an excellent education the most are least likely to get it. And too often, those are children of color.

Extent and Causes of Achievement Disparities

- *Facts:* Racial disparities throughout the K-12 (and beyond) "pipeline" . . . NAEP scores; high school graduation; college matriculation . . . These disparities mark the distance from the America we see to the America we deserve.
- Residential race/class segregation; property tax reliance . . . Schools in a sea of poverty are too often overwhelmed, or nearly so, by the challenges they face -- hunger, homelessness, security, etc.
- Plus, the disparities in resources -- buildings, teacher skill, computers, etc.
- These conditions are socially and economically destructive. They are also morally unacceptable. What would our lives be like today if we had provided every American regardless of race or class with the educational opportunity to succeed to his or her full potential?

B. MAKING A FOCUSED ATTACK ON CLOSING THE RACIAL GAP IN K-12 ACHIEVEMENT

(1) ESEA and the Administration's Record

- *ESEA*: Description of ESEA proposals turn around failing schools . . . reward progress in raising achievement levels . . . put high-quality teachers in high-poverty schools, end so-called "social promotion" . . . expand after-school . . . building in accountability at all levels to focus not only on improving education for every child in America, but also, especially, on narrowing the gaps between affluent suburbs and comparatively poor inner-cities and isolated rural areas.

(2) Building on ESEA: A Compact to Reduce Racial Disparities

- *Compact*: Looking ahead, building on ESEA, local, state and federal officials and others should join in a *new Compact for Equal Opportunity in Education* . . a new covenant to eliminate K-12 racial disparities.
- Reform based on high standards and accountability for outcomes works. Goals 2000 and Title I reform . . . Progress . . . but the pace is too slow, and our ambitions must be still higher.
- Education is primarily a state and local responsibility but a child's opportunity can be limited by the resources a local community can raise, or the accident of a state's wealth or poverty, generous or stingy in aid to local schools . . . red tape . . . poor coordination. . . Politics must stop at the schoolhouse door.
- *Transition*: ESEA and this Compact can be important steps, but there are many other actions we can take at all levels of government . . .

C. OTHER MEASURES TO BUILD EDUCATION EQUITY

(1) Support families and promote early learning opportunities

- Parents and caregivers must be every child's first teachers. Racial disparities in parents reading to children . . . Headstart . . . Adult literacy connection .
- *Policies*: All schools should have parent compacts that clearly define parents' role in the school. As a *national goal*, I believe that every parent should be involved

in their child's school, and that employers should provide the flexibility to help parents do so.

(2) Provide Educational Resources and Opportunities Equitably

- I'll be blunt: it's easy to talk tough about standards, duck the politically difficult task of investing the needed resources, and then blame powerless poor kids when they can't make the grade. And it is easy to turn the standards-based reform movement into a testing movement. It's not. It must be about excellence and equity, and that must include fair investments.
- Money isn't everything in education, but we can't expect schools to succeed without adequate resources. . . . Let me mention several issues . . . *(for a more detailed discussion, see appendix A)*.
- Teaching; Curriculum; Buildings; Technology; Safety

(3) High Expectations and Accountability

- Students. Promoting high expectations and high standards for all students.
- Ending Social Promotion. . . . *But we must do it the right way. . . .*

(4) English Language Acquisition

- Another critical challenge facing American education today is the teaching of students who are not yet fluent in English. . . Exploding need; teacher shortage . . . FY2000 budget
- Our Bilingual reform proposals – three year goal

D. RACIAL ISOLATION AND SCHOOL RESEGREGATION

- The third major challenge is the problem of resegregation. After a burst of progress in the late 1960s and early 1970s, racial isolation in our elementary and secondary schools, particularly in urban districts, is worsening. . . .
- Why it matters The goals of quality and integration in education are complementary. Diversity is not about political correctness. Integration has real, tangible benefits for *all* students, and for our society. . . .

- Charter schools and public school choice . . .

CONCLUSION

- . . . Tearing down the walls of disparity and division in American education is as vital to our future as our vigilant defense of democracy or securing our leadership in the new global economy . . . How we meet the challenge remains a window on our hearts.

PART III: THE OPPORTUNITY WE DESERVE

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

A. INTRODUCTION

- In my vision of One America, no community and no family will be isolated from the economic mainstream. Everyone who works hard and plays by the rules should be able to raise their families in dignity. . . . South Bronx success story . . .
- Two basic goals: (1) connecting capital and credit markets to distressed communities; (2) breaking the back of the epidemic levels of unemployment common in so many high poverty, often minority, neighborhoods.

B. A NATIONAL COMMUNITY INVESTMENT SYSTEM

Setup

- Great Depression example: tackling problems in the housing market . . . major Federally financed innovations . . . FHA, etc.. . Home ownership today . . .
- Different housing story in many minority communities . . . And far broader problem: 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.
- *We should do for financial markets in our distressed communities what we did for housing markets decades ago.*

Detailed exposition of National Community Investment System (NCIS) proposal

- Housing analogy – FHA, Fannie Mae, FHLBB . . . antidiscrimination, CRA . . .
- By creating NCIS we can not only 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 hopelessness. . . .
bringing a flood of empowerment, entrepreneurialism and jobs.

- *First, build upon what we've been doing:* (1) preserve relevance of CRA; (2) improve antidiscrimination compliance; (3) expand CDFIs; (4) SBA's targeted efforts; (5) still more effective federal/state tax credits for housing, redevelopment, reclaiming of "brownfields," and expansion of Empowerment Zones.
- *Second, fill out the National Community Investment Structure with new measures:* (1) follow through on the *New Markets Initiative*, including APICs; (2) Create better tools to support mainstream financial institutions, and others, that invest in distressed communities: might include combinations of credit subsidy, insurance, and tax incentives both to attract new sources of capital and to create secondary markets, all analogous to the creativity we have applied in housing markets.
- [More detailed exposition of the above ideas.] Reflect the lessons of our work to promote community empowerment . . . links to regional growth opportunities . . . private sector and non-profit agencies to provide technical assistance and mentoring to small businesses . . . Welfare-to-Work Partnership analogy/connection . . . NCIS can help provide the incentives, strategic insight and "glue" to help knit all these pieces together. . . Now, while the economy is so strong, is the right time to act.

C. BREAKING THE BACK OF HYPER-UNEMPLOYMENT AMONG YOUNG ADULTS

(1) The Problem and the Diagnosis

- Stunning record . . . Our economic expansion must be inclusive . . . *Data:* . . . unemployment is shockingly high among young minorities . . . 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 . . . Overall numbers mask that in some neighborhoods the problems are concentrated at epidemic levels—a disease that erodes hope.
- *Diagnosis:* (1) skills mismatch and schooling; (2) regional labor market disconnect in information, job networks, intermediaries, transportation, limited housing options; (3) discrimination; (4) child care; (5) crime, with its multiple impacts.
- Now that we have diagnosed the problem, what can we do about it?

(2) Strategy to Drive Down Unemployment Rates

- No silver bullet. As with community investment, we must build a “system” of interlocking 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:
 - ready pool of workers, with the education and basic skills . . .
 - mentoring and school-to-work efforts . . . coupled with targeted training that is linked to particular sectors and local employers
 - link schools to regional labor markets; training at community colleges
 - affordable child care
 - targeted enforcement of the antidiscrimination laws in employment and housing, especially where there is evidence of problems.
 - greater focus on metropolitan-wide strategies for job placements, transportation, education, housing. Labor markets are regional

(3) Building on the Record

- 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. Youthbuild . . . Work Force Investment Act . . . Job Corps. . .
- In particular, I encourage us all to apply the lessons learned from one of the programs of which I am most proud — the Welfare to Work Initiative, which brings together the mutual interests of businesses and people searching for jobs.. .
- Historically, emphasis on families through AFDC and EA; now we must 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 develop a [?? *Working for Youth* ??] initiative that will target the needs of younger adults the same way that we have welfare recipients. . . 10,000 business members to hire more than 410,000 welfare recipients, the time is ripe . . . We can build on the success of the past six years to expand opportunities for the next generation.

CONCLUSION

PART III: THE OPPORTUNITY WE DESERVE

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SECTION 3. COMMUNITY SECURITY, AND A CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM THAT SERVES ALL AMERICANS FULLY AND FAIRLY

A. INTRODUCTION

- I ask every American who lives in a safe community to imagine what it would be like to live in a neighborhood where you and your family feared violence every day. . . . Our highest-crime communities want, need, and deserve strong law enforcement But we must not substitute prisons for playgrounds, or parole officers for church deacons and college teachers As we redouble efforts to ensure every family's right to a safe community, we must take action in every community across our nation to keep young people out of crime and build trust and confidence in the criminal justice system across racial lines.
- Some of our deepest and most complex challenges of race involve criminal justice. Today, crime rates are at their lowest levels in nearly 25 years . . . Yet ... as the Advisory Board on Race said in its final report, "Racial disparities persist in both the realities and perceptions of crime and the administration of justice."¹
- *Disparity data* On victimization and offending.
- Explanations . . . While poverty, family disruption absence of opportunity and residential instability are terrible pressures for anyone to bear, they are not and should not be excuses for crime.. . . responsibility . . . But, we cannot deny that they contribute to crime . . . Absent these factors, rates of criminal offending and victimization do not differ significantly by race, but the communities in which these troubling conditions exist together are often communities of color. . . .
- Persons of color often have less trust and confidence in law enforcement than whites, and these perceptions of unfairness limit the effectiveness of law enforcement . . . I believe the justice system is for the most part fair . . . but we can do better.
- Many minority communities want strong law enforcement, but bear an enormous price for high rates of incarceration . . . These rates of imprisonment have substantial social and economic effects
- These conditions are intolerable. . . . We must do three things: (1) reduce crime and restore order in selected communities of color where crime and fear of crime are

greatest; (2) youth prevention/diversion; (3) build trust and confidence in the criminal justice system among persons of color. We have laid the foundation . . . community policing . . .

- [Detail on community policing and COPS, including the new proposed expansion.]

B. TIGHTER TARGETING OF FEDERAL RESOURCES TO CRIME HOT SPOTS

- In order to reduce and prevent crime in our highest-crime communities, I believe that the federal government should work in partnership with state and local government to promote a comprehensive community policing and crime prevention initiative targeting neighborhoods of concentrated disadvantage, social disorder, and high crime rates. Like multiple fire hoses aimed at the center of a blaze, this initiative would target proven community safety efforts into a single stream aimed at crime “hot spots.”
- [Description of “Hot Spots” challenge to state and local partners.]

C. OTHER MEASURES TO ENSURE PUBLIC SAFETY IN HIGHEST-CRIME COMMUNITIES

- Today, although crime rates are dropping across the nation and for all racial groups, they remain unacceptably high in a small number of deeply poor, mostly minority communities. These high-crime areas are concentrated in urban centers, but exist in other areas as well, including parts of Indian country . . .

(1) Enhance targeted law enforcement and address the problems of gangs, guns, and drugs

- *Targeting.* The best law enforcement strategies identify high-crime places through computer mapping, and then increase police patrols at those high-crime places at high-crime times. Importantly, research shows that enhancing such targeted law enforcement does not simply displace crime, but actually reduces it.
- *Guns and drugs.* Crack . . . Littleton Brady Bill. . . .
- *Gangs.* . . Boston . . .
- Finally, while drug use is down in many places, the percentage of persons who commit crimes under the influence of drugs is increasing, and drug markets

continue to threaten order in our highest-crime communities. . . . cannot ease up our attacks . . . but the war has a terrible, disproportionate toll on persons in communities of color—compounding the destruction from the drug scourge itself. So, with more effective enforcement, we need a reinvigorated focus on prevention, treatment. We cannot “incarcerate” ourselves to victory in these most needy communities.

(2) Engage the community and establish community policing

- We need the right kind of law enforcement done in the right way. . . Research shows that by improving the legitimacy of police in the eyes of the community, we can not only reduce tensions, but also help prevent crime. . . . Chicago’s Alternative Policing Strategy (CAPS) . . . The expansion of community policing has contributed greatly to the decrease in crime across our nation and to better police-community relations.

(3) Build stronger communities

- While law enforcement is important, crime prevention in most communities is a consequence not only of government or law enforcement, but is primarily based on the strength of the community itself, and the families within it. . . . “collective efficacy” We can and must take action to rebuild community infrastructure and strengthen the forces of cohesion [link to education and other opportunity elements of the workplan].

**D. KEEP YOUNG PEOPLE OUT OF CRIME
AND THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM**

- After increasing dramatically for nearly a decade, juvenile crime has been decreasing rapidly for the last few years at rates even greater than adult crime. Too many children are still falling prey to crime, however, as either offenders or victims. . . . children of color are over represented
- To some, these figures raise serious concerns about the fairness of the juvenile justice system. I, too, am very troubled. But we must face facts. The numbers also reflect disparities in the commission of crimes and the need for greater efforts to keep our young people, especially young males of color, out of crime and the criminal justice system. . . . our commitment to prevention and treatment programs . . . But none of this will matter unless young people themselves seize these opportunities and take responsibility

(1) Prevent Crime by Supporting Young People

- Several strategies show evidence of success . . . requires the support and participation of families, schools, and communities. . . We launched a Values-Based Violence Prevention Initiative . . . we must do more at all levels . . . Houston and Boston examples . . .
- (1) Early childhood and support . . . Perry Preschool project in Michigan . . . (2) after-school programs (3) adult and/or community supervision; mentoring programs. Community-based organizations and institutions are often the best sources for this kind of civic investment.

(2) Promote Appropriate Punishments When Children First Get in Trouble

- Rates of criminal recidivism are astounding . . . we can do more to intervene and help youth and their families turn their lives around . . . Several strategies have shown signs of success.. .
 - youth, gun, and drug courts, as well as drug treatment more generally.
 - “restorative justice” programs
- Not enough to just hope that families, and perhaps churches and schools, will keep youngsters on the right path, or “straighten them out” . . . It takes hard work by parents and others close to them and by community programs and leaders.
- Our country has a higher proportion of our people in prisons and jails than any other democracy . . . Yes, we must redouble our efforts to create jobs so that no community is left behind. But meanwhile, we cannot write off children and leave them vulnerable to crime or the seduction of criminal behavior. We cannot build the One America we want if one in six black children born today, and one in eleven Hispanic children, can be expected during their lives to spend time in a prison, while white children face only a one-in-40 lifetime chance of incarceration.

E. BUILD FAIRNESS AND TRUST IN OUR CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM ACROSS RACIAL LINES

- There is no more fundamental tenet of our governmental system than the entitlement of every person, inscribed in our Constitution, to equal protection under the law . . . Persons of color have less confidence and trust in system than whites. In a recent poll

. . . perceptions based on experiences and incidents leading some law-abiding persons fear enforcement targeting by color. . . “Driving while black” . . .

- Community policing can play an important role here . . .
- The answer to the question of whether there is discrimination in the administration of justice should not be, “We don’t *know* there is discrimination.” The answer must be, “We know there is *not* discrimination, and we have processes in place to ensure that.” Clearly, we’re not there yet.

(1) Combat Racial Profiling

- Profiling is a difficult subject in part because many people focus on supposed efficiencies and may not see immediately the great unfairness, the insult to our ideals. In a sense, however, this is the perfect example of why perceptions about the criminal justice system can differ so dramatically . . . Not only is racial profiling fueled by negative stereotypes and inconsistent with our fundamental belief in equal protection under the law, it is also simply bad policy that hinders effective law enforcement. As Attorney General Janet Reno said . . .
- I agree with the Attorney General.. . I believe that to achieve our vision of One America with community security and community faith in law enforcement, all levels of government must take this issue head on. (1) training; (2) improve data collection; (3) civil rights law enforcement to correct situations . . . ; (4) Finally, we should encourage all levels of law enforcement to develop and explain clear policies concerning racial profiling.
- I have instructed the Attorney General to prepare an Executive Order for my signature. . .

(2) Eliminate Police Brutality

- No issue looms larger than the issue of police brutality. . . . Most police officers are, quite simply, heroes . . . (1) we know too little about police use of excessive force. . . (2) but we must acknowledge that excessive use of force against persons of color still occurs . . .
- I pledge whatever advice and assistance the experience and resources of the federal government can offer, because police brutality is destructive of the trust so essential to community law enforcement. We know some of what works

(3) Ensure Fairness in Incarceration and Sentencing

- While persons of color make up less than one-third of our nation's population, they make up more than two-thirds of the state and federal prison populations. . . . However, in terms of fairness in the administration of justice, the key question is to what extent are present disparities caused by discrimination in the administration of justice. Most of us believe that discrimination is a very small factor, but some of our citizens feel otherwise. Still more of us suspect that, even if there is not discrimination, there is some subtle role of racial difference and color that has stacked the deck.
- Having said that, the best available evidence indicates that most of the existing disparities in the administration of justice—from arrest through sentencing—are not due to discrimination, but are primarily due to underlying disparities in the commission of crimes: once the crime is committed, the rates of arrest, conviction and imprisonment do not seem to differ significantly by race. . . .
- But racial disparities in drug arrests and sentencing are dramatic. In part, this is an unintended consequence of the war on drugs. . . Tough enforcement, but we cannot ignore the disproportionate impact. . . The war on drugs is a war *for* our communities and children, not a war against them. That is why I have urged increases in support for prevention and treatment. . . . Crack sentencing reform . . .

(4) Increase Diversity in Law Enforcement

- Police and prosecutors, judges and jurors, are officers of our society empowered on behalf of all of us to enforce the laws and serve us all. Quite simply, they are likely to receive greater trust and confidence when all persons in society see themselves reflected in those officers. . . . We have made some important gains . . . One goal of COPS has been to increase diversity in law enforcement . . . We must continue this progress at all levels of government and throughout the system.

CONCLUSION

PART III: THE OPPORTUNITY WE DESERVE

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SECTION 4. A RENEWED COMMITMENT TO CIVIL RIGHTS ENFORCEMENT

A. INTRODUCTION

- On a hot August day in 1963 . . . In a twenty-year period, we built the indispensable legal foundation for our progress on issues of equality and opportunity . . . We must go beyond the civil rights agenda of the past to fashion new civic covenants for the new century. . . while also addressing continuing civil wrongs rooted in continuing discrimination.
- Great strides . . . yet more covert and subtle impediments persist . . . And issues beyond black-white . . . This is about more than enforcing laws. It is about living up to our values and keeping our promises.

B. COMPLETING THE TRADITIONAL AGENDA:

STRATEGIC INVESTMENTS AND A STRENGTHENED ENFORCEMENT INFRASTRUCTURE

- We *should* have bipartisan agreement on at least this much: *enforce the law, and promote voluntary compliance with it*. . . My proposals for new enforcement investments at the federal, state, and local levels . . . Beyond resources, the federal workplan should include: (1) act more strategically to put the federal investments where they will do the most good; (2) fresh approaches to winning greater compliance; (3) better coordination among agencies; (4) hold ourselves accountable, and do a better job of teaching the wider public about these issues by establishing a permanent program of ongoing data collection measuring discrimination in various sectors.
- [Examples of investing strategically] EEOC backlogs; hate crimes; DoEd OCR; using testers to target; ensuring that caseloads reflect the new demography . . .
- [Examples of new approaches] ADR methods . . . Self-assessment tools . . . Intergovernmental coordination.
- [Examples of Improved coordination] Strengthened interagency process
- Measuring discrimination: efforts must be tied to results . . . we know about soybean production, but not the extent of discrimination . . . Authoritative information ought to be one of the guiding forces in policy debates on race.

C. STRENGTHENING CIVIL RIGHTS LAWS AND ENFORCEMENT STRATEGIES

- *Eliminate hate crimes:* Data . . . record. . . pass the Hate Crimes Prevention Act.
- *Expand the antidiscrimination laws to cover stores and retail transactions, under Title II of the 1964 Civil Rights Act:* Denny's incident . . . Eddie Bauer . . . Despite numerous reports to DOJ of discrimination in the retail provision of everyday goods and services, and despite social science research, the Federal government often lacks authority . . . We need a stronger federal law.
- *Defend affirmative action programs and promote voluntary compliance:* Adarand . . . July of 1995 speech at the National Archives . . . affirmative action as one of the tools we still need . . . I fully recognize how controversial this issue has been and is likely to remain. But . . . William Bowen and Derek Bok, *The Shape of the River*, is a comprehensive review . . . Moskos & Bulter work documenting benefits in our military, particularly the Army.
 - But our review also showed that there was room for improvement. . . . My Administration has taken seriously its charge to mend our use of race in federal programs . . .
 - One other area of affirmative action policy that demands national attention—the growing dangers of resegregation in education . . . deepening racial isolation in elementary and secondary schools . . . the threat from attacks on affirmative action in selective universities.
 - What race-blind admissions policies reap [Latest reports on California, Texas experiences – which are mixed.]
 - Extended discussion of affirmative action in higher education

D. DEFINE A NEW CIVIL RIGHTS AGENDA TO ACHIEVE RACIAL JUSTICE

- *Combat discrimination in K-12 educational opportunity:* Civil rights component to opportunity agenda discussed in Part III, Section 1 of this book. Education Secretary Richard Riley has called education the “new civil right.” I agree.
 - [Strong endorsement of DoEd's policies:] Title VI prohibits not only *intentional discrimination*, but also policies and practices that have an *unjustified disparate impact* by race. Often misunderstood, but it makes great sense. Mere disparities, however troubling, are not the same as unlawful discrimination. We attack such

- disparities because to do so reflects our values strengthens America. In contrast, *unjustified* racial disparities *are* unlawful under our civil rights statutes.
- Directive to DoEd and DOJ . . . to develop guidance on federal law . . . and identify situations in which the federal government can participate in negotiations or, if necessary litigation, to help ensure that the promise of equal opportunity embedded in federal civil rights laws is fulfilled in every facet of our school systems.
 - Illegal tracking and assignment to special education classes. . . Tracking can be useful, but there are abuses and dangers . . . I encourage educators and policy makers to embark on a national dialogue to ensure that our educational policies comport with our goal for equal educational opportunity, *in word and in deed*.
 - We must not return to a system of “separate and equal” under a different guise. It did not work in the past, and it will not work now.
- *Combat worker exploitation:* Slavery and slavery-like practices continue to exist in America and we need strong civil rights protections to end them . . . U.S. citizens, legal immigrants, and undocumented workers are being recruited or smuggled into this country expecting good jobs, only to be forced to work against their will under abominable conditions. . . . sweatshops . . . humanitarian concerns . . . And bad for our economy.
 - [Administration record and proposals to date.]
 - *Combat discrimination in health care:* Beyond poverty and more usual explanations, health disparities are to at least some extent related to discrimination . . . [Summarize discrimination data]
 - Recent OCR settlements have uncovered a number of issues, including: Medical redlining; Segregation; Language minority patients; Access.
 - Administration’s 2010 Health Disparities initiative.
 - Steps to strengthen enforcement: (1) civil rights protections in any Patient’s Bill of Rights; (2) aggressive enforcement of existing anti-discrimination laws, including my proposed HHS/OCR investments; (3) educate citizens about their rights; (4) foster change at the so-called point of service, improving the relationships between patients of color and their health care providers.
 - *Ensure that every American lives in environmentally safe and healthy communities:* Environmental justice. Convent, Louisiana, story . . . Typifies the challenges facing too many communities of color across the country as they confront decades of neglect and systematic exclusion from the government decisions . . . false and dangerous choice of joblessness versus an unfair environmental burden. Challenge ahead is to give communities new tools to erase the legacy of toxic burdens they face. . .
 - My Executive Order . . .

- We can ignore issues of environmental justice only at the risk of racial conflict and racial tension . . . Local people must have a place at the table when decisions are made . . . Environmental justice is inseparable from the cause of economic justice. No community should be forced into having to choose between their health and their jobs.
- *Ensure an accurate Census: Count every American because every American counts:* An accurate census is critical . . . In 1990, the differential undercount, including the undercount of racial and ethnic minority groups, was the highest ever . . . Why? . . . Because we know the obstacles, we can address them.
 - Take advantage of our scientific knowledge . . . Sampling. Accuracy, not politics.

E. PREVENT VIOLATIONS OF LAW BY REDUCING RACIAL TENSIONS AND PROMOTING RECONCILIATION

- What all levels of government can do to help communities and neighborhoods ease racial tensions. History of creation of the Community Relations Service . . . CRS was created to help our nation move from separation to inclusion . . . Importance of CRS mission . . . lends its assistance when asked or when it learns that a community may need its assistance . . . impartial mediation and conflict resolution . . . works on partnerships to build peaceful communities.
- Church arson example . . . [Preview the promising practices chapter, *infra*.]

CONCLUSION

- America's long struggle for racial reconciliation was ennobled by what we now call the civil rights era. . . On that summer afternoon almost 40 years ago, on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial, John Lewis joined with Martin Luther King in calling for our long march to justice to continue "until true freedom comes, until the revolution of 1776 is complete." The American revolution is not yet complete. The civil rights movement goes on.

PART III: THE OPPORTUNITY WE DESERVE

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SECTION 5. CREATING OPPORTUNITIES FOR NATIVE AMERICANS

A. INTRODUCTION

- In 1994, I held an historic meeting at the White House with American Indian and Alaska Native tribal leaders from over 500 federally recognized tribes. And last year I hosted a White House Conference on economic development in Indian Country. There I met a young man named Dominic Ortiz of the Prairie Band Potawatomi Nation. Dominic, who runs his own business, exemplifies the new hope that is dawning for Native Americans.
- In a time of great prosperity and hope, Native Americans are still lagging behind – big gaps in income with 31 percent living below the poverty line. Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota is one of the poorest places in America. Indian Country must not be left behind as our economy surges ahead.
- Historical perspective – Before Europeans landed on these shores, Indian nations were self-governing societies with remarkable scientific, artistic and cultural achievements.
- Since our founding, U.S. has recognized many Indian Tribes as “domestic dependent nations” with sovereign powers over their members and territory. We have entered into numerous treaties pledging protection and guaranteeing tribal self-government. In 1831, Chief Justice John Marshall recognized that the U.S. has a special trust responsibility to protect Indian tribes. Regrettably, our nation has not lived up to its legal and moral commitments to Native Americans.
- The time has come to break with the past. As reflected in my Executive Order, we must work with tribes on a government-to-government basis. And we must address three critical concerns in Indian Country: economic development, education, and community safety.
- The Nature of the Problem. **Economic and business development.** While gaming has helped reduce poverty and unemployment in a small number of tribes, the vast majority of Native peoples still live in dire conditions. Securing business loans and mortgages is virtually impossible. We announced a One-Stop Mortgage Center Initiative to help, but more must be done. **Education.** Many, if not most, of the 185 BIA-funded elementary and secondary schools are in need of replacement or repair. Again, I have proposed legislation to permit the leveraging of local resources to repair

and replace these schools, but more must be done. We must close the achievement gap among Indian students and improve preparation and participation in college. I have signed an executive order to improve K-12 academic performance of Native American and Alaska Native students, including a plan to train and recruit 1000 new teachers for these students. **Community Safety.** Finally, while crime is down dramatically all over America, violent crime is on the rise in Indian Country. Youth gangs. Alcohol related violence. High suicide rates. Paucity of police officers in Indian Country. We have taken steps to rectify this (COPS have funded almost 900 police officers in Indian Country since 1995).

B. Workplan for Indian Country: Education

- **Mentoring, Monitoring and Research for Native American Students.** I have directed the top officials in the federal government to develop a comprehensive federal research agenda on Indian education to improve accountability, identify best practices and better understand the barriers to Indian student achievement, such as the frequent transfers between BIA and public schools.
- Challenge to communities to increase mentoring efforts targeted to Native American students as a way to improve academic performance, increase college participation and, with the involvement of tribal elders, preserve culture and language.
- As we work to improve all American education, make sure Indian students have equal access to high quality curricula, teachers, classrooms and materials.
- Enhance early childhood programs for Indian Children (Indian Head Start and the BIA's Family and Child Education projects)

C. Workplan for Indian Country: Economic Development

- Improve access to capital through CDFI, New Markets Initiative, Ezs and Ecs.
- Ensure the dream of homeownership becomes a reality in Indian Country. My executive order directs HUD, Treasury, Interior and tribal partners to streamline the mortgage lending process in Indian Country. HUD's "Shared Visions" program is working to increase affordable housing in Indian Country.
- Encourage greater cooperation between state, local and tribal governments as well as private partners to invest in economic development in Indian Country.
- Invest in computer technology and infrastructure, including transportation in Indian Country.

D. Workplan for Indian Country: Community Safety

- **Tribal Government Based Law Enforcement Initiative.** Comprehensive strategies and coordinated funding are the most effective way federal government can empower tribal governments to address problem of crime. Three objectives: gather insights and information from local leaders; address community problems in a comprehensive way; promote inter-tribal exchanges of ideas and experiences.
- Here's how it would work: With help of federal technical assistance, tribes will develop a comprehensive plan to address law enforcement and public safety concerns. Use plans to apply for law enforcement funds with one application. Communities will set performance goals and evaluate progress. Project can be expanded to address other crime-related problems like alcohol abuse. This will require involvement of other federal agencies besides Justice.
- Efforts like Volunteers for Tribal Youth to help keep Indian youth out of gangs and away from violence.

Conclusion

PART IV:

THE COMMUNITY WE MUST BUILD

A. INTRODUCTION

- Building One America is a journey of the heart. One of the most powerful ways to get there is the way Americans have always met challenges – by stepping out beyond the boundaries of their own lives to join with others for a larger purpose. This calls for a renewed commitment to community building and civic engagement.

B. THE EMPATHY GAP

- Before discussing what we must do, I want to talk about why building One America seems so elusive. Empathy gap – the difficulty we have in seeing others as part of our community and our lives; relegating plight of struggling minorities as the problems of “those people.”
- We can close this gap by working together across racial lines for common goals and by greater introspection and honest dialogue around issues of race.

C. CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

- You don’t have to be involved in something called “politics” to make democracy stronger. But you do have to be involved with your neighbors to make your community stronger. Civic engagement is the cornerstone of democratic self-government. Efforts to build One America nurtured by basic organizations of society: schools, jobs, congregations, social and political clubs.
- Ways to become involved include voting, citizen service (Peace Corps, military service, AmeriCorps) and community groups (examples: EMPIRE in Washington State; Bridges in Santa Ana, California; FAITHS Initiative in San Francisco; Boston church coalition)

D. PROMISING PRACTICES

- Review and examples from Advisory Board publication: *Pathways to One America: Promising Practices for Racial Reconciliation*. Best programs feature at least one of these goals: raise consciousness and encourage dialogue, educate on racial issues,

promote racially inclusive collaborations, expand access and opportunity, and promote leadership and systemic change. Examples to illustrate each.

CONCLUSION

PART V:

THE LEADERSHIP WE NEED

A. INTRODUCTION

- Example of Dr. King: “Everybody can be great because everybody can serve.” How do we make the work of building One America the shared undertaking of the many rather than the personal mission of the few?
- New leadership has not emerged following death of Dr. King. And our national attention to the issue of racial reconciliation has waned – perhaps because we thought progress was inevitable; perhaps we thought it prudent to pause and digest our gains; perhaps we thought this was work for someone else. All of this was wrong. We must recommit ourselves to this work
- Three areas for concrete action: (1) Community leadership and action; (2) sectoral leadership and action; (3) federal leadership and action. Describe each.

B. COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP

- In wake of crises like Rodney King and Jasper, Texas, communities have rallied to work together for healing and change. We need same action in absence of crisis. Urge Community Partnerships for Racial Reconciliation. Suggest structure and goals.

C. SECTORAL LEADERSHIP.

- Call on leaders in Faith, Higher Ed, Legal, Corporate, News and Entertainment Media, and Social Science Research communities to develop and implement own workplans. Discuss progress to date for each, and suggested areas of focus.

D. FEDERAL LEADERSHIP

- Commit federal action in three areas: (1) reviving Civil Rights Commission; (2) making the federal government a model enterprise; (3) White House structure to help drive the work of agencies and communities -- [the new race office] –, including possible White House Conference on One America.

CONCLUSION

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

Date: 5 - 18 - 99 ACTION / CONCURRENCE / COMMENT DUE BY: _____Subject: Substantive Outline for Race Book

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☒	MOORE	☐	☒
PODESTA	☐	☒	NASH	☐	☐
ECHAVESTE	☐	☒	REED	☐	☒
RICCHETTI	☐	☐	RUFF	☐	☒
LEW	☐	☐	SOSNIK	☐	☐
BERGER	☐	☐	SPERLING	☐	☒
BLUMENTHAL	☐	☒	STEIN	☐	☐
CAHILL	☐	☐	STERN	☐	☒
FRAMPTON	☐	☐	STREETT	☐	☐
IBARRA	☐	☐	TRAMONTANO	☐	☐
JOHNSON	☐	☒	UCELLI	☐	☐
KLAIN	☐	☒	VERVEER	☐	☒
LANE	☐	☐	WALDMAN	☐	☒
LEWIS	☐	☐	YELLEN	☐	☐
LINDSEY	☐	☐	<u>HRC</u>	☐	☒
LOCKHART	☐	☐	<u>KAGAN</u>	☐	☒
MARSHALL	☐	☐	<u>SYLVIA MATHEWS</u>	☐	☒
			SHIRLEY SAGAWA	☒	☒
JOSH GOTBAUM		☒	EDDIE CORREIA	☒	☒

REMARKS:

This has been forwarded to the President.

RESPONSE:

May 18, 1999

MEMORANDUM

To: The President
From: Christopher Edley, Jr. and Terry Edmonds
Subject: Substantive Outline
Date: May 18, 1999

You requested, through Maria, a detailed outline that would convey the flow of the arguments and policies. This is our attempt.

We continue to work at incorporating your preliminary comments and those of White House staff reviewers, while also trying to negotiate away some of the policy disagreements we have with White House staff. Some of the policies noted in the outline, therefore, are disputed. Perhaps even contentious.

OUT OF MANY, ONE: RACIAL AND ETHNIC JUSTICE IN 21ST CENTURY AMERICA

INTRODUCTION

[Ojibway prayer]

Lofty opening; analytical and personal motivation for the book -- .

- We must embark on the new century recommitted to right the wrongs of our past and to make real the promise of equality and justice that has eluded us throughout our history . . . Today new urgency . . . demographic transformations . . . All of this is happening against a backdrop of unparalleled peace and prosperity. . .
- Racism has been America's constant curse . . and . . . our constant struggle. We must face these contradictions squarely as a critical step, not only to healing the wounds of our past, but also of unleashing the power and promise of our future. We must become One America in the 21st century.
- I hope this report will help lay the foundation for a renewed national commitment to racial healing in America. As a boy growing up in the 1950s and early 60s . . .
- Why launch the national Initiative on Race? (1) Our work is not yet done . . . (2) Our diversity will either be the great problem or the great promise of 21st century America.

Short roadmap for the book, including summary of the vision; guiding principles, including new covenants to define a new agenda beyond last generation's goals

- Summary plan of the book – Part I, *The America We See*, presents the facts about race in America today . . . etc.
- What will the America we want look like? Summary of the vision *Opportunity* will be shared so deeply and broadly that an observer, a stranger in our land, will see no evidence of a past with slavery or conquest or nativist discrimination; Each person takes *responsibility*, not only for making the most of their own life, but also for ensuring that every other American has an equal chance to do the same; *Community* so powerful that our social and economic interactions will pull us out of ethnic enclaves; *Hearts* healed of the crippling influences of prejudice and fear
- Ethical precepts to guide us on this journey. (1) Out of many, one; stop living under the delusion of separation, dividing ourselves into categories, mistakenly believing these can

capture the whole truth about anyone. (2) We should approach this issue with proper humility. . . (3) Recognize the ways we have allowed our racial differences to get inside our heads . . . (4) We cannot expect government, or “leaders” to make this journey for us; Reaching the promised land requires a journey of the heart, for each of us.

- Must go beyond the agenda defined a generation ago . . . We must embrace new civic covenants for the new century . . . (a) a covenant with our children, that each of them will have access to a world-class education, and an equal opportunity for educational achievement; (b) a covenant with our families, that each can live secure in their home without fear of violent lawlessness; and (c) a covenant with our communities, that each will be part of the nation’s economic mainstream, neither ignored nor left behind.
- Thanks to Advisory Board, Judy Winston; closing.

[Langston Hughes poem]

PART I: THE AMERICA WE SEE

A. INTRODUCTION

- Note confusion on glass half full/empty . . . 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 ... demographics, race-based disparities, current discrimination, and intergroup relations.

B. DEMOGRAPHICS

- Myths/Facts . . . Population changes over time; projections. No majority race . . . tremendous Hispanic and Asian growth rates.
- Increase in intermarriage brings with it complex and sometimes controversial issues Will the black-white schism that has so defined racial struggle in America morph into new minority - versus - minority divisions or can we build new coalitions for social change and equal justice across all racial lines?

C. DISPARITIES

- Myths/Facts . . . CEA report, *Changing America: Indicators of Social and Economic Well-being by Race and Hispanic Origin*, documents the fact that while we have reduced or eliminated some very harmful differences between whites and minorities, serious disparities remain. . . .
- Poverty, wages, income, wealth, health indicators . . . Stagnation in growth of black middle class until last few years Model minority stereotype of Asian Pacific Americans, but Hmong poverty rate is 64 percent, and extreme high school drop out rates for Southeast Asian youth.
- Sharply differing majority-minority perceptions about progress; need to study the facts and see them as a call to action.

D. DISCRIMINATION

- Myths/Facts. Despite much progress and the strongest economy in 30 years, sound evidence shows that discrimination against minorities continues today, significantly limiting and reducing opportunities and choices for many of them. . . Again, sharp perception gap on the issue fuels debate while preventing action. . . . “the empathy gap” -- indifference caused by a failure to understand the obstacles faced by other groups.

- Hate crimes example. But much other discrimination is subtle. Compelling findings of audit or “tester” studies with matched pairs
- Need for more information to better focus our efforts.
- Reminders, though, of how far we have come. In the early 1950s A number of conservative authors and commentators look at this progress, however, and stop. . . The research evidence, my own observations, and conversations with many Americans have convinced me that discrimination remains real for too many of our citizens. . . The work is not yet done . . .

E. INTERGROUP RELATIONS

- Myths/Facts. . . . changes in personal attitudes and behavior, and in our living patterns. Again, the picture is a mixed bag Exhaustive research shows a substantial narrowing of the attitude gap . . . America is simply a more tolerant and integrated nation today than ever before. But there is still a group of hard-core bigots -- about 10-15 percent . . .
- Research shows the existence of attitudes we are not even aware we possess. I have seen the results of experiments showing that juries judge defendants differently based on race; that whites are less likely to respond to an African American in some emergency situations Importance of honest exploration of our deep-seated views.

CONCLUSION

- Summarize three themes: (1) Despite progress, considerable confusion about facts and trends confounds our sense of direction. . . Gaps in perceptions reflecting the distance between our communities and experiences. (2) Because the issue of race underlies so many pressing challenges, racial reconciliation must rise to the top of our agenda for the 21st century . . the unfinished business of our democracy. (3) Every American shares responsibility . . . We all must do our part to eliminate harmful disparities . . . We must find a better Workplan for the future.

PART II:

THE AMERICA WE WANT: WHAT SHOULD ONE AMERICA BE LIKE?

A. INTRODUCTION

- We must begin with a vision. When I was growing up . . . most of us concerned about racial harmony thought that defining what was wrong and what the future should be wasn't all that complicated . . . Our vision has become clouded and the picture increasingly complex. Some fear that it is too controversial, and the best way to make racial progress is to focus on creating opportunity, promoting responsibility, and be as silent about race as you can. . .
- What will *One America* look like if we can achieve it? Four elements: I believe we must be guided by a shared vision of (1) the quality of the *opportunity* shared by all, (2) the depth of *responsibility* we demand from all, (3) the nature of the *community* which includes us all, and – above all – (4) the commitment we make in our *hearts* to overcoming the age-old barriers of prejudice, fear and division.
- [Explanation of these four elements.]

B. VEXING QUESTIONS: CAN OUR VISION OF ONE AMERICA HELP US RECONCILE OUR DIVISIONS?

(1) The Identity Puzzle : *When is racial or ethnic group identity inconsistent with an American identity, with building One America?*

- *Language example*; Anglo customer's anxiety. What does it mean to be "American." We welcome legal immigrants and in return expect them to adopt key elements of American culture while simultaneously enriching it and our economic life. Sharing opportunity, as a practical matter, means speaking English. And tolerance/understanding means we need to be able to communicate.
 - Generalize: Similar issues of language or distinctive culture apply to varied groups . . . reconciling group identity with American identity . . .
 - We can tolerate a measure of separateness, provided it doesn't seriously interfere with the rest of us in building the prosperous community we envision for ourselves. To become One America, we need not demand a surrender of

our distinctive group identities, because there is room for distinctiveness within the community as a whole. But not large scale cultural secession . . .

- *Interracial marriage example:* Personal dimension of the same issue: mother and father troubled by daughter's interracial relationship ... Is it wrong for the parents to want their daughter to marry within their group? Is this distinguishable from prejudice or bigotry? Somehow, we must balance our need to cling to people who are like us, with the need to build a community in which we can all understand, benefit from and celebrate our differences.
- *College campus self-segregation example.* . . African American/Hispanic/Asian American campus clubs. . . It is hard to see the problem with this, if it doesn't slip into a separatism that substantially undermines the possibilities for enjoying the benefits of diversity, and if it is a separateness that has neither the intent nor the effect of hurting anyone else. . . We must see ourselves as a nation of *individuals* who are defined *only in part* by our group affiliations. . . Conflicts around the world teach us that ethnic identity must be sustained within a framework of community in which the values that unite us are made stronger than those which tend to separate us.

(2) Representation and Difference: Will 21st century diversity alter the composition of leadership? Should it?

- ... Assembling a Cabinet that "looks like America" . . . An inclusive government helps give people confidence that a range of voices and concerns are represented, giving government more of the legitimacy upon which our democracy depends.
- "Our turn" ethnic rivalries in for city council, school superintendent, police chief, or other key official. I understand that race still means something, at least to many voters. But it shouldn't mean everything. JFK example . . . growing numbers of minority officials with strong blocks of white voter support . . .
- Other situations: assigning metro reporters; leadership of a PTA.
- Reasons to care about diverse representation: (1) confirms openness of process, not cronyism or the like; (2) legitimacy; (3) we need to have workplaces and civic organizations in which people experience and bridge their differences; (4) many organizations will simply work better if they are *representative*.
- One of our most difficult challenges is to think through when race should matter, and when it shouldn't. Simple answers are likely to get us off track ... need to stay focused on our vision of what kind of community and institutions we want.

(3) Personal Preferences, Stereotypes and Discrimination

- While I know that in some cases this is because hearts remain locked and poisoned, there is a far more common problem of not quite knowing in our daily lives where a simple human tendency to prefer the familiar, including people like ourselves, shades into the troubling use of stereotypes and eventually the clearly wrong kinds of behavior our legal system chooses to label “discrimination.”
- *Korean grocer example.* More than a question of lawfulness. What is *right*? If each of us throughout society and the economy just follows our inclination to socialize, hire and do business based on who seems familiar, we end up with a massive denial of opportunity to those still outside the economic mainstream.
- The background of rivalry and tension The ethnicity of the grocery store owner and its workers would probably not matter so much if the black and Latino residents of the community felt satisfied by their economic opportunities and believed they had the same potential to open a store themselves.

(4) The Special Matter of Native Americans: Sacred Sites

- Reconciling One America with tribal sovereignty . . . *Example:* conflict over Indian sacred sites . . . Historical perspective . . . Devil's Tower National Monument in Wyoming. . . To spot/resolve conflicts, my Executive Order requires dialogue . . .
- Tribes and various communities must deal with competing perceptions, values and traditions in many contexts . . . cultural resources teams . . . As the millennium approaches, our respect for preservation grows . . . “In our every deliberation, we must consider the impact of our decision on the next seven generations.” This lesson of stewardship can serve all Americans well.

(5) Apologies for Slavery and Other Wrongs

- Tuskegee . . . So what about slavery? Native Americans; Japanese Americans.
- But, “Exactly what are we apologizing for -- I’ve certainly never owned slaves.. . . Apologize to whom?” As long as there are those among us who refuse to understand the present consequences of 200 years of discrimination and hatred , we dare not declare victory with a mere apology. After all, what good is an apology if you don’t even understand what you are apologizing for?

PART III: THE OPPORTUNITY WE DESERVE

SECTION 1. HIGH - QUALITY EDUCATION FOR ALL: A NEW COVENANT FOR THE NEW CENTURY

A. INTRODUCTION

- **Set up:** Little Rock Nine . . . We haven't lived up to our nation's ideals . . . Tackling inequality is vitally important for several reasons . . . Education has been among my highest priorities, and we have made important progress . . . 100,000 new teachers, reduce class size, etc. . . But more to do.

Diversity: Opportunities and Challenges

- Increasing diversity in our schools. . . Fairfax County . . . By 2035, there will likely be no majority race in our public school population. This is an enormous national asset, if we fully harness the gifts and talents . . . But too often, the children who need an excellent education the most are least likely to get it. And too often, those are children of color.

Extent and Causes of Achievement Disparities

- *Facts:* Racial disparities throughout the K-12 (and beyond) "pipeline" . . . NAEP scores; high school graduation; college matriculation . . . These disparities mark the distance from the America we see to the America we deserve.
- Residential race/class segregation; property tax reliance . . . Schools in a sea of poverty are too often overwhelmed, or nearly so, by the challenges they face -- hunger, homelessness, security, etc.
- Plus, the disparities in resources -- buildings, teacher skill, computers, etc.
- These conditions are socially and economically destructive. They are also morally unacceptable. What would our lives be like today if we had provided every American regardless of race or class with the educational opportunity to succeed to his or her full potential?

B. MAKING A FOCUSED ATTACK ON CLOSING THE RACIAL GAP IN K-12 ACHIEVEMENT

(1) ESEA and the Administration's Record

- *ESEA*: Description of ESEA proposals turn around failing schools . . . reward progress in raising achievement levels . . . put high-quality teachers in high-poverty schools, end so-called "social promotion" . . . expand after-school . . . building in accountability at all levels to focus not only on improving education for every child in America, but also, especially, on narrowing the gaps between affluent suburbs and comparatively poor inner-cities and isolated rural areas.

(2) Building on ESEA: A Compact to Reduce Racial Disparities

- *Compact*: Looking ahead, building on ESEA, local, state and federal officials and others should join in a *new Compact for Equal Opportunity in Education* . . a new covenant to eliminate K-12 racial disparities.
- Reform based on high standards and accountability for outcomes works. Goals 2000 and Title I reform . . . Progress . . . but the pace is too slow, and our ambitions must be still higher.
- Education is primarily a state and local responsibility but a child's opportunity can be limited by the resources a local community can raise, or the accident of a state's wealth or poverty, generous or stingy in aid to local schools . . . red tape . . . poor coordination. . . Politics must stop at the schoolhouse door.
- *Transition*: ESEA and this Compact can be important steps, but there are many other actions we can take at all levels of government . . .

C. OTHER MEASURES TO BUILD EDUCATION EQUITY

(1) Support families and promote early learning opportunities

- Parents and caregivers must be every child's first teachers. Racial disparities in parents reading to children . . . Headstart . . . Adult literacy connection .
- *Policies*: All schools should have parent compacts that clearly define parents' role in the school. As a *national goal*, I believe that every parent should be involved

in their child's school, and that employers should provide the flexibility to help parents do so.

(2) Provide Educational Resources and Opportunities Equitably

- I'll be blunt: it's easy to talk tough about standards, duck the politically difficult task of investing the needed resources, and then blame powerless poor kids when they can't make the grade. And it is easy to turn the standards-based reform movement into a testing movement. It's not. It must be about excellence and equity, and that must include fair investments.
 - Money isn't everything in education, but we can't expect schools to succeed without adequate resources. . . Let me mention several issues . . . *(for a more detailed discussion, see appendix A).*
- Teaching; Curriculum; Buildings; Technology; Safety

(3) High Expectations and Accountability

- Students. Promoting high expectations and high standards for all students.
- Ending Social Promotion. . . . *But we must do it the right way. . . .*

(4) English Language Acquisition

- Another critical challenge facing American education today is the teaching of students who are not yet fluent in English. . . Exploding need; teacher shortage . . . FY2000 budget
- Our Bilingual reform proposals – three year goal

D. RACIAL ISOLATION AND SCHOOL RESEGREGATION

- The third major challenge is the problem of resegregation. After a burst of progress in the late 1960s and early 1970s, racial isolation in our elementary and secondary schools, particularly in urban districts, is worsening. . . .
- Why it matters The goals of quality and integration in education are complementary. Diversity is not about political correctness. Integration has real, tangible benefits for *all* students, and for our society. . . .

- Charter schools and public school choice . . .

CONCLUSION

- . . . Tearing down the walls of disparity and division in American education is as vital to our future as our vigilant defense of democracy or securing our leadership in the new global economy . . . How we meet the challenge remains a window on our hearts.

PART III: THE OPPORTUNITY WE DESERVE

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

A. INTRODUCTION

- In my vision of One America, no community and no family will be isolated from the economic mainstream. Everyone who works hard and plays by the rules should be able to raise their families in dignity. . . . South Bronx success story . . .
- Two basic goals: (1) connecting capital and credit markets to distressed communities; (2) breaking the back of the epidemic levels of unemployment common in so many high poverty, often minority, neighborhoods.

B. A NATIONAL COMMUNITY INVESTMENT SYSTEM

Setup

- Great Depression example: tackling problems in the housing market . . . major Federally financed innovations . . . FHA, etc.. . Home ownership today . . .
- Different housing story in many minority communities . . . And far broader problem: 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.
- *We should do for financial markets in our distressed communities what we did for housing markets decades ago.*

Detailed exposition of National Community Investment System (NCIS) proposal

- Housing analogy – FHA, Fannie Mae, FHLBB . . . antidiscrimination, CRA . . .
- By creating **NCIS** we can not only 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 hopelessness. . . .
bring a flood of empowerment, entrepreneurialism and jobs.

- *First, build upon what we've been doing:* (1) preserve relevance of CRA; (2) improve antidiscrimination compliance; (3) expand CDFIs; (4) SBA's targeted efforts; (5) still more effective federal/state tax credits for housing, redevelopment, reclaiming of "brownfields," and expansion of Empowerment Zones.
- *Second, fill out the National Community Investment Structure with new measures:* (1) follow through on the *New Markets Initiative*, including APICs; (2) Create better tools to support mainstream financial institutions, and others, that invest in distressed communities: might include combinations of credit subsidy, insurance, and tax incentives both to attract new sources of capital and to create secondary markets, all analogous to the creativity we have applied in housing markets.
- [More detailed exposition of the above ideas.] Reflect the lessons of our work to promote community empowerment . . . links to regional growth opportunities . . . private sector and non-profit agencies to provide technical assistance and mentoring to small businesses . . . Welfare-to-Work Partnership analogy/connection . . . NCIS can help provide the incentives, strategic insight and "glue" to help knit all these pieces together. . . Now, while the economy is so strong, is the right time to act.

C. BREAKING THE BACK OF HYPER-UNEMPLOYMENT AMONG YOUNG ADULTS

(1) The Problem and the Diagnosis

- Stunning record . . . Our economic expansion must be inclusive . . . *Data:* . . . unemployment is shockingly high among young minorities . . . 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 . . . Overall numbers mask that in some neighborhoods the problems are concentrated at epidemic levels—a disease that erodes hope.
- *Diagnosis:* (1) skills mismatch and schooling; (2) regional labor market disconnect in information, job networks, intermediaries, transportation, limited housing options; (3) discrimination; (4) child care; (5) crime, with its multiple impacts.
- Now that we have diagnosed the problem, what can we do about it?

(2) Strategy to Drive Down Unemployment Rates

- No silver bullet. As with community investment, we must build a “system” of interlocking 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:
 - ready pool of workers, with the education and basic skills . . .
 - mentoring and school-to-work efforts . . . coupled with targeted training that is linked to particular sectors and local employers
 - link schools to regional labor markets; training at community colleges
 - affordable child care
 - targeted enforcement of the antidiscrimination laws in employment and housing, especially where there is evidence of problems.
 - greater focus on metropolitan-wide strategies for job placements, transportation, education, housing. Labor markets are regional

(3) Building on the Record

- 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. Youthbuild . . . Work Force Investment Act . . . Job Corps. . .
- In particular, I encourage us all to apply the lessons learned from one of the programs of which I am most proud — the Welfare to Work Initiative, which brings together the mutual interests of businesses and people searching for jobs. . .
- Historically, emphasis on families through AFDC and EA; now we must 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 develop a [?? *Working for Youth* ??] initiative that will target the needs of younger adults the same way that we have welfare recipients. . . 10,000 business members to hire more than 410,000 welfare recipients, the time is ripe . . . We can build on the success of the past six years to expand opportunities for the next generation.

CONCLUSION

PART III: THE OPPORTUNITY WE DESERVE

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SECTION 3. COMMUNITY SECURITY, AND A CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM THAT SERVES ALL AMERICANS FULLY AND FAIRLY

A. INTRODUCTION

- I ask every American who lives in a safe community to imagine what it would be like to live in a neighborhood where you and your family feared violence every day. . . . Our highest-crime communities want, need, and deserve strong law enforcement But we must not substitute prisons for playgrounds, or parole officers for church deacons and college teachers As we redouble efforts to ensure every family's right to a safe community, we must take action in every community across our nation to keep young people out of crime and build trust and confidence in the criminal justice system across racial lines.
- Some of our deepest and most complex challenges of race involve criminal justice. Today, crime rates are at their lowest levels in nearly 25 years . . . Yet . . . as the Advisory Board on Race said in its final report, "Racial disparities persist in both the realities and perceptions of crime and the administration of justice."¹
- *Disparity data* On victimization and offending.
- Explanations . . . While poverty, family disruption absence of opportunity and residential instability are terrible pressures for anyone to bear, they are not and should not be excuses for crime. . . responsibility . . . But, we cannot deny that they contribute to crime . . . Absent these factors, rates of criminal offending and victimization do not differ significantly by race, but the communities in which these troubling conditions exist together are often communities of color. . . .
- Persons of color often have less trust and confidence in law enforcement than whites, and these perceptions of unfairness limit the effectiveness of law enforcement . . . I believe the justice system is for the most part fair . . . but we can do better.
- Many minority communities want strong law enforcement, but bear an enormous price for high rates of incarceration . . . These rates of imprisonment have substantial social and economic effects
- These conditions are intolerable. . . . We must do three things: (1) reduce crime and restore order in selected communities of color where crime and fear of crime are

greatest; (2) youth prevention/diversion; (3) build trust and confidence in the criminal justice system among persons of color. We have laid the foundation . . . community policing . . .

- [Detail on community policing and COPS, including the new proposed expansion.]

B. TIGHTER TARGETING OF FEDERAL RESOURCES TO CRIME HOT SPOTS

- In order to reduce and prevent crime in our highest-crime communities, I believe that the federal government should work in partnership with state and local government to promote a comprehensive community policing and crime prevention initiative targeting neighborhoods of concentrated disadvantage, social disorder, and high crime rates. Like multiple fire hoses aimed at the center of a blaze, this initiative would target proven community safety efforts into a single stream aimed at crime “hot spots.”
- [Description of “Hot Spots” challenge to state and local partners.]

C. OTHER MEASURES TO ENSURE PUBLIC SAFETY IN HIGHEST-CRIME COMMUNITIES

- Today, although crime rates are dropping across the nation and for all racial groups, they remain unacceptably high in a small number of deeply poor, mostly minority communities. These high-crime areas are concentrated in urban centers, but exist in other areas as well, including parts of Indian country . . .

(1) Enhance targeted law enforcement and address the problems of gangs, guns, and drugs

- *Targeting.* The best law enforcement strategies identify high-crime places through computer mapping, and then increase police patrols at those high-crime places at high-crime times. Importantly, research shows that enhancing such targeted law enforcement does not simply displace crime, but actually reduces it.
- *Guns and drugs.* Crack . . . Littleton Brady Bill. . . .
- *Gangs.* . . . Boston
- Finally, while drug use is down in many places, the percentage of persons who commit crimes under the influence of drugs is increasing, and drug markets

continue to threaten order in our highest-crime communities. . . . cannot ease up our attacks . . . but the war has a terrible, disproportionate toll on persons in communities of color—compounding the destruction from the drug scourge itself. So, with more effective enforcement, we need a reinvigorated focus on prevention, treatment. We cannot “incarcerate” ourselves to victory in these most needy communities.

(2) Engage the community and establish community policing

- We need the right kind of law enforcement done in the right way. . . Research shows that by improving the legitimacy of police in the eyes of the community, we can not only reduce tensions, but also help prevent crime. . . . Chicago’s Alternative Policing Strategy (CAPS) . . . The expansion of community policing has contributed greatly to the decrease in crime across our nation and to better police-community relations.

(3) Build stronger communities

- While law enforcement is important, crime prevention in most communities is a consequence not only of government or law enforcement, but is primarily based on the strength of the community itself, and the families within it. . . . “collective efficacy” We can and must take action to rebuild community infrastructure and strengthen the forces of cohesion [link to education and other opportunity elements of the workplan].

**D. KEEP YOUNG PEOPLE OUT OF CRIME
AND THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM**

- After increasing dramatically for nearly a decade, juvenile crime has been decreasing rapidly for the last few years at rates even greater than adult crime. Too many children are still falling prey to crime, however, as either offenders or victims. . . . children of color are over represented
- To some, these figures raise serious concerns about the fairness of the juvenile justice system. I, too, am very troubled. But we must face facts. The numbers also reflect disparities in the commission of crimes and the need for greater efforts to keep our young people, especially young males of color, out of crime and the criminal justice system. . . . our commitment to prevention and treatment programs . . . But none of this will matter unless young people themselves seize these opportunities and take responsibility

(1) Prevent Crime by Supporting Young People

- Several strategies show evidence of success . . . requires the support and participation of families, schools, and communities. . . We launched a Values-Based Violence Prevention Initiative . . . we must do more at all levels . . . Houston and Boston examples . . .
- (1) Early childhood and support . . . Perry Preschool project in Michigan . . (2) after-school programs (3) adult and/or community supervision; mentoring programs. Community-based organizations and institutions are often the best sources for this kind of civic investment.

(2) Promote Appropriate Punishments When Children First Get in Trouble

- Rates of criminal recidivism are astounding . . . we can do more to intervene and help youth and their families turn their lives around . . . Several strategies have shown signs of success..
 - youth, gun, and drug courts, as well as drug treatment more generally.
 - “restorative justice” programs
- Not enough to just hope that families, and perhaps churches and schools, will keep youngsters on the right path, or “straighten them out” . . . It takes hard work by parents and others close to them and by community programs and leaders.
- Our country has a higher proportion of our people in prisons and jails than any other democracy . . . Yes, we must redouble our efforts to create jobs so that no community is left behind. But meanwhile, we cannot write off children and leave them vulnerable to crime or the seduction of criminal behavior. We cannot build the One America we want if one in six black children born today, and one in eleven Hispanic children, can be expected during their lives to spend time in a prison, while white children face only a one-in-40 lifetime chance of incarceration.

E. BUILD FAIRNESS AND TRUST IN OUR CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM ACROSS RACIAL LINES

- There is no more fundamental tenet of our governmental system than the entitlement of every person, inscribed in our Constitution, to equal protection under the law . . . Persons of color have less confidence and trust in system than whites. In a recent poll

. . . perceptions based on experiences and incidents leading some law-abiding persons fear enforcement targeting by color. . . “Driving while black” . . .

- Community policing can play an important role here . . .
- The answer to the question of whether there is discrimination in the administration of justice should not be, “We don’t *know* there is discrimination.” The answer must be, “We know there is *not* discrimination, and we have processes in place to ensure that.” Clearly, we’re not there yet.

(1) Combat Racial Profiling

- Profiling is a difficult subject in part because many people focus on supposed efficiencies and may not see immediately the great unfairness, the insult to our ideals. In a sense, however, this is the perfect example of why perceptions about the criminal justice system can differ so dramatically . . . Not only is racial profiling fueled by negative stereotypes and inconsistent with our fundamental belief in equal protection under the law, it is also simply bad policy that hinders effective law enforcement. As Attorney General Janet Reno said . . .
- I agree with the Attorney General.. . I believe that to achieve our vision of One America with community security and community faith in law enforcement, all levels of government must take this issue head on. (1) training; (2) improve data collection; (3) civil rights law enforcement to correct situations . . . ; (4) Finally, we should encourage all levels of law enforcement to develop and explain clear policies concerning racial profiling.
- I have instructed the Attorney General to prepare an Executive Order for my signature. . .

(2) Eliminate Police Brutality

- No issue looms larger than the issue of police brutality. . . . Most police officers are, quite simply, heroes . . . (1) we know too little about police use of excessive force. . . (2) but we must acknowledge that excessive use of force against persons of color still occurs . . .
- I pledge whatever advice and assistance the experience and resources of the federal government can offer, because police brutality is destructive of the trust so essential to community law enforcement. We know some of what works

(3) Ensure Fairness in Incarceration and Sentencing

- While persons of color make up less than one-third of our nation's population, they make up more than two-thirds of the state and federal prison populations. . . . However, in terms of fairness in the administration of justice, the key question is to what extent are present disparities caused by discrimination in the administration of justice. Most of us believe that discrimination is a very small factor, but some of our citizens feel otherwise. Still more of us suspect that, even if there is not discrimination, there is some subtle role of racial difference and color that has stacked the deck.
- Having said that, the best available evidence indicates that most of the existing disparities in the administration of justice—from arrest through sentencing—are not due to discrimination, but are primarily due to underlying disparities in the commission of crimes: once the crime is committed, the rates of arrest, conviction and imprisonment do not seem to differ significantly by race. . . .
- But racial disparities in drug arrests and sentencing are dramatic. In part, this is an unintended consequence of the war on drugs. . . Tough enforcement, but we cannot ignore the disproportionate impact. . . The war on drugs is a war *for* our communities and children, not a war against them. That is why I have urged increases in support for prevention and treatment. . . . Crack sentencing reform . . .

(4) Increase Diversity in Law Enforcement

- Police and prosecutors, judges and jurors, are officers of our society empowered on behalf of all of us to enforce the laws and serve us all. Quite simply, they are likely to receive greater trust and confidence when all persons in society see themselves reflected in those officers. . . . We have made some important gains . . . One goal of COPS has been to increase diversity in law enforcement . . . We must continue this progress at all levels of government and throughout the system.

CONCLUSION

PART III: THE OPPORTUNITY WE DESERVE

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SECTION 4. A RENEWED COMMITMENT TO CIVIL RIGHTS ENFORCEMENT

A. INTRODUCTION

- On a hot August day in 1963 . . . In a twenty-year period, we built the indispensable legal foundation for our progress on issues of equality and opportunity . . . We must go beyond the civil rights agenda of the past to fashion new civic covenants for the new century. . . while also addressing continuing civil wrongs rooted in continuing discrimination.
- Great strides . . . yet more covert and subtle impediments persist . . . And issues beyond black-white . . . This is about more than enforcing laws. It is about living up to our values and keeping our promises.

B. COMPLETING THE TRADITIONAL AGENDA:

STRATEGIC INVESTMENTS AND A STRENGTHENED ENFORCEMENT INFRASTRUCTURE

- We *should* have bipartisan agreement on at least this much: *enforce the law, and promote voluntary compliance with it*. . . My proposals for new enforcement investments at the federal, state, and local levels . . . Beyond resources, the federal workplan should include: (1) act more strategically to put the federal investments where they will do the most good; (2) fresh approaches to winning greater compliance; (3) better coordination among agencies; (4) hold ourselves accountable, and do a better job of teaching the wider public about these issues by establishing a permanent program of ongoing data collection measuring discrimination in various sectors.
- [Examples of investing strategically] EEOC backlogs; hate crimes; DoEd OCR; using testers to target; ensuring that caseloads reflect the new demography . . .
- [Examples of new approaches] ADR methods . . . Self-assessment tools . . . Intergovernmental coordination.
- [Examples of Improved coordination] Strengthened interagency process
- Measuring discrimination: efforts must be tied to results . . . we know about soybean production, but not the extent of discrimination . . . Authoritative information ought to be one of the guiding forces in policy debates on race.

C. STRENGTHENING CIVIL RIGHTS LAWS AND ENFORCEMENT STRATEGIES

- *Eliminate hate crimes:* Data . . . record. . . pass the Hate Crimes Prevention Act.
- *Expand the antidiscrimination laws to cover stores and retail transactions, under Title II of the 1964 Civil Rights Act:* Denny's incident . . . Eddie Bauer . . . Despite numerous reports to DOJ of discrimination in the retail provision of everyday goods and services, and despite social science research, the Federal government often lacks authority . . . We need a stronger federal law.
- *Defend affirmative action programs and promote voluntary compliance:* Adarand . . . July of 1995 speech at the National Archives . . . affirmative action as one of the tools we still need . . . I fully recognize how controversial this issue has been and is likely to remain. But . . . William Bowen and Derek Bok, *The Shape of the River*, is a comprehensive review . . . Moskos & Bulter work documenting benefits in our military, particularly the Army.
 - But our review also showed that there was room for improvement. . . . My Administration has taken seriously its charge to mend our use of race in federal programs . . .
 - One other area of affirmative action policy that demands national attention—the growing dangers of resegregation in education . . . deepening racial isolation in elementary and secondary schools . . . the threat from attacks on affirmative action in selective universities.
 - What race-blind admissions policies reap [Latest reports on California, Texas experiences – which are mixed.]
 - Extended discussion of affirmative action in higher education

D. DEFINE A NEW CIVIL RIGHTS AGENDA TO ACHIEVE RACIAL JUSTICE

- *Combat discrimination in K-12 educational opportunity:* Civil rights component to opportunity agenda discussed in Part III, Section 1 of this book. Education Secretary Richard Riley has called education the “new civil right.” I agree.
 - [Strong endorsement of DoEd's policies:] Title VI prohibits not only *intentional discrimination*, but also policies and practices that have an *unjustified disparate impact* by race. Often misunderstood, but it makes great sense. Mere disparities, however troubling, are not the same as unlawful discrimination. We attack such

- disparities because to do so reflects our values strengthens America. In contrast, *unjustified* racial disparities *are* unlawful under our civil rights statutes.
- Directive to DoEd and DOJ . . . to develop guidance on federal law . . . and identify situations in which the federal government can participate in negotiations or, if necessary litigation, to help ensure that the promise of equal opportunity embedded in federal civil rights laws is fulfilled in every facet of our school systems.
 - Illegal tracking and assignment to special education classes. . . Tracking can be useful, but there are abuses and dangers . . . I encourage educators and policy makers to embark on a national dialogue to ensure that our educational policies comport with our goal for equal educational opportunity, *in word and in deed*.
 - We must not return to a system of “separate and equal” under a different guise. It did not work in the past, and it will not work now.
- *Combat worker exploitation:* Slavery and slavery-like practices continue to exist in America and we need strong civil rights protections to end them . . . U.S. citizens, legal immigrants, and undocumented workers are being recruited or smuggled into this country expecting good jobs, only to be forced to work against their will under abominable conditions. . . . sweatshops . . . humanitarian concerns . . . And bad for our economy.
 - [Administration record and proposals to date.]
 - *Combat discrimination in health care:* Beyond poverty and more usual explanations, health disparities are to at least some extent related to discrimination . . . [Summarize discrimination data]
 - Recent OCR settlements have uncovered a number of issues, including: Medical redlining; Segregation; Language minority patients; Access.
 - Administration’s 2010 Health Disparities initiative.
 - Steps to strengthen enforcement: (1) civil rights protections in any Patient’s Bill of Rights; (2) aggressive enforcement of existing anti-discrimination laws, including my proposed HHS/OCR investments; (3) educate citizens about their rights; (4) foster change at the so-called point of service, improving the relationships between patients of color and their health care providers.
 - *Ensure that every American lives in environmentally safe and healthy communities:* Environmental justice. Convent, Louisiana, story . . . Typifies the challenges facing too many communities of color across the country as they confront decades of neglect and systematic exclusion from the government decisions . . . false and dangerous choice of joblessness versus an unfair environmental burden. Challenge ahead is to give communities new tools to erase the legacy of toxic burdens they face. . .
 - My Executive Order . . .

- We can ignore issues of environmental justice only at the risk of racial conflict and racial tension . . . Local people must have a place at the table when decisions are made . . . Environmental justice is inseparable from the cause of economic justice. No community should be forced into having to choose between their health and their jobs.
- *Ensure an accurate Census: Count every American because every American counts:* An accurate census is critical . . . In 1990, the differential undercount, including the undercount of racial and ethnic minority groups, was the highest ever . . . Why? . . . Because we know the obstacles, we can address them.
 - Take advantage of our scientific knowledge . . . Sampling. Accuracy, not politics.

E. PREVENT VIOLATIONS OF LAW BY REDUCING RACIAL TENSIONS AND PROMOTING RECONCILIATION

- What all levels of government can do to help communities and neighborhoods ease racial tensions. History of creation of the Community Relations Service . . . CRS was created to help our nation move from separation to inclusion . . . Importance of CRS mission . . . lends its assistance when asked or when it learns that a community may need its assistance . . . impartial mediation and conflict resolution . . . works on partnerships to build peaceful communities.
- Church arson example . . . [Preview the promising practices chapter, *infra*.]

CONCLUSION

- America's long struggle for racial reconciliation was ennobled by what we now call the civil rights era. . . On that summer afternoon almost 40 years ago, on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial, John Lewis joined with Martin Luther King in calling for our long march to justice to continue "until true freedom comes, until the revolution of 1776 is complete." The American revolution is not yet complete. The civil rights movement goes on.

PART III: THE OPPORTUNITY WE DESERVE

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SECTION 5. CREATING OPPORTUNITIES FOR NATIVE AMERICANS

A. INTRODUCTION

- In 1994, I held an historic meeting at the White House with American Indian and Alaska Native tribal leaders from over 500 federally recognized tribes. And last year I hosted a White House Conference on economic development in Indian Country. There I met a young man named Dominic Ortiz of the Prairie Band Potawatomi Nation. Dominic, who runs his own business, exemplifies the new hope that is dawning for Native Americans.
- In a time of great prosperity and hope, Native Americans are still lagging behind – big gaps in income with 31 percent living below the poverty line. Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota is one of the poorest places in America. Indian Country must not be left behind as our economy surges ahead.
- Historical perspective – Before Europeans landed on these shores, Indian nations were self-governing societies with remarkable scientific, artistic and cultural achievements.
- Since our founding, U.S. has recognized many Indian Tribes as “domestic dependent nations” with sovereign powers over their members and territory. We have entered into numerous treaties pledging protection and guaranteeing tribal self-government. In 1831, Chief Justice John Marshall recognized that the U.S. has a special trust responsibility to protect Indian tribes. Regrettably, our nation has not lived up to its legal and moral commitments to Native Americans.
- The time has come to break with the past. As reflected in my Executive Order, we must work with tribes on a government-to-government basis. And we must address three critical concerns in Indian Country: economic development, education, and community safety.
- The Nature of the Problem. **Economic and business development.** While gaming has helped reduce poverty and unemployment in a small number of tribes, the vast majority of Native peoples still live in dire conditions. Securing business loans and mortgages is virtually impossible. We announced a One-Stop Mortgage Center Initiative to help, but more must be done. **Education.** Many, if not most, of the 185 BIA-funded elementary and secondary schools are in need of replacement or repair. Again, I have proposed legislation to permit the leveraging of local resources to repair

and replace these schools, but more must be done. We must close the achievement gap among Indian students and improve preparation and participation in college. I have signed an executive order to improve K-12 academic performance of Native American and Alaska Native students, including a plan to train and recruit 1000 new teachers for these students. **Community Safety.** Finally, while crime is down dramatically all over America, violent crime is on the rise in Indian Country. Youth gangs. Alcohol related violence. High suicide rates. Paucity of police officers in Indian Country. We have taken steps to rectify this (COPS have funded almost 900 police officers in Indian Country since 1995).

B. Workplan for Indian Country: Education

- **Mentoring, Monitoring and Research for Native American Students.** I have directed the top officials in the federal government to develop a comprehensive federal research agenda on Indian education to improve accountability, identify best practices and better understand the barriers to Indian student achievement, such as the frequent transfers between BIA and public schools.
- Challenge to communities to increase mentoring efforts targeted to Native American students as a way to improve academic performance, increase college participation and, with the involvement of tribal elders, preserve culture and language.
- As we work to improve all American education, make sure Indian students have equal access to high quality curricula, teachers, classrooms and materials.
- Enhance early childhood programs for Indian Children (Indian Head Start and the BIA's Family and Child Education projects)

C. Workplan for Indian Country: Economic Development

- Improve access to capital through CDFI, New Markets Initiative, Ezs and Ecs.
- Ensure the dream of homeownership becomes a reality in Indian Country. My executive order directs HUD, Treasury, Interior and tribal partners to streamline the mortgage lending process in Indian Country. HUD's "Shared Visions" program is working to increase affordable housing in Indian Country.
- Encourage greater cooperation between state, local and tribal governments as well as private partners to invest in economic development in Indian Country.
- Invest in computer technology and infrastructure, including transportation in Indian Country.

D. Workplan for Indian Country: Community Safety

- **Tribal Government Based Law Enforcement Initiative.** Comprehensive strategies and coordinated funding are the most effective way federal government can empower tribal governments to address problem of crime. Three objectives: gather insights and information from local leaders; address community problems in a comprehensive way; promote inter-tribal exchanges of ideas and experiences.
- Here's how it would work: With help of federal technical assistance, tribes will develop a comprehensive plan to address law enforcement and public safety concerns. Use plans to apply for law enforcement funds with one application. Communities will set performance goals and evaluate progress. Project can be expanded to address other crime-related problems like alcohol abuse. This will require involvement of other federal agencies besides Justice.
- Efforts like Volunteers for Tribal Youth to help keep Indian youth out of gangs and away from violence.

Conclusion

PART IV:

THE COMMUNITY WE MUST BUILD

A. INTRODUCTION

- Building One America is a journey of the heart. One of the most powerful ways to get there is the way Americans have always met challenges – by stepping out beyond the boundaries of their own lives to join with others for a larger purpose. This calls for a renewed commitment to community building and civic engagement.

B. THE EMPATHY GAP

- Before discussing what we must do, I want to talk about why building One America seems so elusive. Empathy gap – the difficulty we have in seeing others as part of our community and our lives; relegating plight of struggling minorities as the problems of “those people.”
- We can close this gap by working together across racial lines for common goals and by greater introspection and honest dialogue around issues of race.

C. CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

- You don’t have to be involved in something called “politics” to make democracy stronger. But you do have to be involved with your neighbors to make your community stronger. Civic engagement is the cornerstone of democratic self-government. Efforts to build One America nurtured by basic organizations of society: schools, jobs, congregations, social and political clubs.
- Ways to become involved include voting, citizen service (Peace Corps, military service, AmeriCorps) and community groups (examples: EMPIRE in Washington State; Bridges in Santa Ana, California; FAITHS Initiative in San Francisco; Boston church coalition)

D. PROMISING PRACTICES

- Review and examples from Advisory Board publication: *Pathways to One America: Promising Practices for Racial Reconciliation*. Best programs feature at least one of these goals: raise consciousness and encourage dialogue, educate on racial issues,

promote racially inclusive collaborations, expand access and opportunity, and promote leadership and systemic change. Examples to illustrate each.

CONCLUSION

PART V:

THE LEADERSHIP WE NEED

A. INTRODUCTION

- Example of Dr. King: "Everybody can be great because everybody can serve." How do we make the work of building One America the shared undertaking of the many rather than the personal mission of the few?
- New leadership has not emerged following death of Dr. King. And our national attention to the issue of racial reconciliation has waned – perhaps because we thought progress was inevitable; perhaps we thought it prudent to pause and digest our gains; perhaps we thought this was work for someone else. All of this was wrong. We must recommit ourselves to this work
- Three areas for concrete action: (1) Community leadership and action; (2) sectoral leadership and action; (3) federal leadership and action. Describe each.

B. COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP

- In wake of crises like Rodney King and Jasper, Texas, communities have rallied to work together for healing and change. We need same action in absence of crisis. Urge Community Partnerships for Racial Reconciliation. Suggest structure and goals.

C. SECTORAL LEADERSHIP.

- Call on leaders in Faith, Higher Ed, Legal, Corporate, News and Entertainment Media, and Social Science Research communities to develop and implement own workplans. Discuss progress to date for each, and suggested areas of focus.

D. FEDERAL LEADERSHIP

- Commit federal action in three areas: (1) reviving Civil Rights Commission; (2) making the federal government a model enterprise; (3) White House structure to help drive the work of agencies and communities -- [the new race office] –, including possible White House Conference on One America.

CONCLUSION

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Part IV: The Opportunity We Deserve

[Introduction to Part IV]

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1. A High Quality Education for All

INTRODUCTION

I was eleven years old in September 1957 and living in Hot Springs, Arkansas. I remember listening to the radio one morning as, fifty miles away in Little Rock, nine black students tried to walk through the doors of all-white Central High School. I was riveted as the story unfolded. Those nine boys and girls were not much older than I was, and I tried to imagine what it would be like to be them, as mobs of white protesters glared, shouted, and spat at them on their first day of school.¹

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

On November 6, 1998, some forty years after the Little Rock Nine had first set foot in Central High, they came to the White House to receive the Congressional Gold Medal for their courage and their contributions to our nation. As President, I had the privilege of hosting them. At the ceremony, my friend Ernest Green, one of the original nine, spoke on behalf of the honorees. He said something of great significance. Yes, the Little Rock Nine understood in 1957 the importance of their effort to end racial segregation in their schools. But more than anything else, the Little Rock Nine were simply seeking the highest quality education they could find. "We simply thought we were doing the right thing," Ernie said, "and that it was our duty as students in Little Rock to try to advance and receive the best education available."²

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

If America is the land of opportunity, then, for generations, education has been the cornerstone of that ideal. During the great era of immigration, between the mid-19th and early 20th centuries, American reformers recognized the economic and political importance of building a common school system that would serve all of the nation's children.³ The foundation of our modern democracy and free enterprise economy has been our belief in the great capacity of all citizens to lift up America while improving their own lives. Education, John Dewey knew, could be America's great equalizer.⁴

Challenges Ahead

Of course, we have not always lived up to that egalitarian ideal. We have sometimes denied full and fair educational opportunity, at times through malice, and other times through indifference or inadvertence. Today, we continue to deny opportunity in a way that hurts disproportionately children of color. *Racial disparities in both student achievement and educational resources mean that we do not have the kind of excellent school system that we deserve.* Eliminating these disparities are among this nation's greatest challenges.

Tackling these problems is of vital importance for several reasons. First, education has always been important to our economic growth. It will become even more important in the knowledge economy of the 21st century. In our transforming world, the principal source of competitive advantage in many industries will increasingly rely on the ability of institutions and people to innovate, continuously learn, and productively change. And as our nation grows more diverse, our strength will depend more and more on whether we provide high-quality educational opportunities to those children of color who today receive the least.

Second, education is also a powerful arena for strengthening our American community. When young people learn together and serve together across racial and ethnic lines they begin to break down stereotypes and the walls that have kept us apart. I have seen this work across our nation. Our diversity is a great asset in education, but one that we exploit too little. Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall, who led the fight for school integration a generation ago, put it best when he said, "Unless our children begin to learn together, there is little hope our people will ever learn to live together."

Finally, providing sound educational opportunities to our nation's youth is our moral obligation. Remember that these are children. Each of them is eight years old but once. The decisions we make today could leave them without the skills and the intellectual ability that will allow them to prosper as they grow older. Or, we can make sound choices that would allow them to discover and achieve their full, God-given potential. If we make those wise choices today, not only will we make

our nation stronger and our communities more dynamic – we will also do the right thing.

Precisely *how* we go about providing all of our children the opportunities they deserve has been the difficult issue at the heart of educational politics for some time. Many urban parents, understandably tired of waiting for their local public schools to improve, have begun to entertain the idea of private school vouchers as a solution. And many parents, both urban and suburban, remind educational reform advocates that “local control” of schools is an important consideration. I understand the impetus behind these policy ideas. But I respectfully disagree with the policies themselves. Vouchers could damage, perhaps irreparably, the public school system that has been one of the cornerstones of this society. And it is important that, given the current status of residential race- and class- segregation, local control does not reinforce racial isolation in schools.

Americans do not want either of these outcomes. 90% of all children in this country attend public schools, and the vast majority of Americans believe in the value of public schooling.⁵ And, data also shows that the vast majority of *all* adults and students, no matter what race or socioeconomic status, believe that children of different races should attend school together.⁶

It is important that we meet all of people’s current educational desires – high-quality schools, local authority, and racial integration – within a school system that is public and that reflects the best of America’s democratic, common school ideal. I believe that I have crafted a workplan that does this. But before I turn to policy ideas, let me first outline the educational opportunities and challenges presented by the growing diversity in our society.

Diversity: Opportunities and Challenges

America, and America’s schools, are becoming more racially and culturally diverse than ever in our history. Consider the fact that since 1976, the percentage of minority students in public schools has increased from 24 percent to 35 percent.⁷ The number of Hispanic students has doubled and the number of Asian Pacific American students has tripled.⁸ Some schools are becoming diverse in ways we never before dreamed of. The schools of Fairfax County, Virginia, for example, have students from more than 180 countries who speak more than 100 different languages.⁹ By 2035, there will likely be no majority race in our public school population.¹⁰

The growing diversity of our school population is an enormous national asset. Imagine what our country would be like if we were able to fully harness the gifts and talents of all of our young people. And imagine what our children can achieve

in classrooms where students of different backgrounds, cultures, and faiths come together to forge friendships, learn lessons, and build communities. Academic studies have shown that when students of different races work together toward common goals, they can break down racial stereotypes, improve race relations, and improve student achievement.¹¹ 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 problem of racial disparity, especially the gap in educational achievement 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.¹²

Nonetheless, as the wide disparities in SAT and other measures illustrate, substantial challenges in education 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:

- According to the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), average reading proficiency scores for 17-year-old black and Hispanic students are lower than the average score for 13-year-old white students¹³.
- Although 93 percent of whites and 87 percent of blacks ages 25 to 29 have a high school degree, only 62 percent of Hispanics and approximately 66 percent of Native Americans are high school graduates.¹⁴
- While the importance of a college degree is growing, so is the gap between whites and persons of color who have a degree: 33 percent of whites ages 25-29 have a four-year college degree or higher, compared with just 14 percent of blacks and 11 percent of Hispanics.¹⁵

Clearly, it is in the national interest to have more of our students performing at the highest levels.

I believe these disparities stem in large part from continuing gaps in

educational opportunity. Minority children are still less likely than white children to have access to vital educational resources, including high-quality teachers, modern school buildings, current technology, challenging coursework, and more. Minority children are also more likely than white children to attend schools in high-poverty areas, and to face threats of violence during the course of their school day.¹⁶ Many minority students confront not just one, but all of these deficiencies in their schools.

A second major challenge we, as Americans, face is the problem of resegregation. After a burst of progress in the late 1960s and early 1970s, segregation in our elementary and secondary schools, particularly in urban districts, is worsening. Today, 9 of the 10 largest districts in America have greater than 75% minority enrollment. Moreover, within those districts, minority students are likely assigned to racially isolated schools, in which the student population is primarily black and Hispanic. Today, more than one-third of all black and Hispanic students attend schools with greater than 90 percent minority enrollment. Rates of segregation are worse for blacks than they were 15 years ago and, for Hispanics, 25 years ago.¹⁷

Nearly 90 percent of these racially isolated schools also have a majority of children in poverty, and therefore face the extra burdens typical of deeply poor communities.¹⁸ A minority student is 16 times more likely than a white student to be in a high-poverty school.¹⁹

In many metropolitan areas, poor, majority-black or Hispanic schools are located very close -- sometimes minutes away by highway -- to wealthier, mostly white institutions. And so, in the midst of burgeoning diversity, we have increasing racial isolation.

Number of public elementary and secondary schools in the 100 largest school districts in the United States, by specified minority membership categories, and minority students as percentage of school district membership: School Year 1996-1997

Name of Minority Reporting students	State	Schools having	0-20 percent	21-40 percent	41-60 percent	61-80 percent	81-100 percent
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District	membership							
New York City Public Schools	NY	1113	20	56	117	121	799	83.9
Los Angeles Unified	CA	642	3	27	46	101	485	89.0
Puerto Rico Dept. Of Education	PR	1533	-----	-----	-----	-----	1533	100.0

City of Chicago School Dist 29	IL	567	-----	19	29	74	445	89.5
Dade County School District	FL	321	-----	4	24	58	235	86.5
Broward County School District	FL	193	17	55	52	26	43	52.6
Philadelphia City SD	PA	257	6	23	34	33	161	80.2
Houston ISD	TX	286	-----	5	18	27	236	88.9
Hawaii Dept of Education	HI	248	-----	5	31	92	120	76.0
Detroit City School District	MI	258	-----	4	3	14	237	94.8
Clark County School District	NV	210	34	84	49	26	17	41.6
Dallas ISD	TX	211	1	6	10	27	167	89.0
Hillsborough County Sch. Dist	FL	164	10	62	51	31	10	44.0
Fairfax Cnty Public Schls	VA	203	39	78	58	21	7	35.5
Palm Beach Cnty Schl Dist	FL	135	23	32	37	17	26	46.2
San Diego City Unified	CA	163	1	18	43	44	57	70.7
Orange County Schl Dist	FL	160	13	48	46	30	23	49.3
Duval Cnty Schl Dist	FL	154	14	55	42	15	28	46.3
Prince Georges Cnty Pub Schls	MD	179	-----	6	15	33	125	83.3
Montgomery Cnty Pub Schls	MD	182	24	56	58	38	6	45.3

Think about what, in-conjunction, these two factors – gaps in educational achievement and opportunity, and increasing racial isolation – mean for children of color. Students attending predominantly minority secondary schools, for example, have only a 60 percent chance of getting a math teacher with a math degree and as little as a 50 percent chance of getting a science teacher with a degree in the subject being taught.²⁰ Seventy percent of predominantly minority schools have at least one serious building deficiency, such as poor heating, lighting, or ventilation.²¹ Black and Hispanic students are 20 percent less likely than whites to use a computer at home or in school²², and recent studies indicate that computers are used less effectively in predominantly minority schools.²³ Furthermore, children for whom English is a second language often do not have enough resources to learn English and to participate fully in other subjects. In

California, more than 20 percent of all students are Limited English Proficient (LEP)²⁴, yet for every bilingual teacher who speaks Spanish or an Asian language, there are 81 LEP Hispanic students and 561 LEP Asian Pacific American students.²⁵

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

There are many reasons for the persistence of these problems. Most Americans continue to live in residential neighborhoods separated by class and race. Just a few decades ago, laws in many U.S. states mandated that white, black and Hispanic students attend separate schools, with black and Hispanic children relegated to inferior schools.²⁶ 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, our system continues to fund schools based largely on local property taxes.²⁷ 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; they must cope with all of the challenges of life in high poverty communities. The result is that, nearly a half-century after *Brown v. Board of Education*, many black and Hispanic children still attend inferior schools.²⁸

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

Each of us has both a reason and a responsibility to help overcome present

disparities. We must build the highest quality educational system for Americans of all ages and all backgrounds. As a former governor, I know that education is and should be primarily a state and local issue. But in our increasingly diverse, interconnected and global society, quality integrated education is also a national priority. And it is a matter of fundamental fairness.

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Throughout my presidency, education has been among my highest priorities, and we have made important progress. [See text box on Administration proposals and accomplishments(to come).] We have embraced the idea of high standards for all students, and we have taken some steps to close the opportunity gap in education. Our effort, for example, to help local schools hire 100,000 new teachers and reduce class size in early grades will help eliminate racial disparities in class size and have positive effects on student achievement.²⁹ But, much work remains to be done. Let me discuss three primary goals for the years ahead -- not just for federal action, but for all of us.

First, as we raise the bar for everyone, we must eliminate racial disparities in primary and secondary educational achievement. Those achievement gaps mark the distance from the America we see to the America we deserve. In the America we deserve, every child will enjoy a high-quality education from preschool through high school. This education will be bolstered by high standards and will allow every student full and fair access to the best our schools can offer. And because the stakes are so enormous, we need a revolution in accountability for public officials, administrators, teachers, parents, and students themselves. In other words, we need policies that focus not just on the administering and maintenance of schools and programs, but also on ensuring that those schools and programs achieve the results that they are supposed to. Without stronger mechanisms for accountability, tied to appropriately measured educational outcomes, the goal of high quality is a mere aspiration, not a commitment.

Second, we must close racial disparities in college participation and graduation. Over the last three decades, the importance of a college degree to economic advancement has grown dramatically. Today, a person with a college degree earns 77 percent more than a person with only a high school diploma, compared to a 57 percent advantage in earnings twenty years ago³⁰. Yet the proportion of blacks, Hispanics, and Native Americans receiving college degrees remains less than half that of whites.³¹ This must change. Improving K-12 achievement is the most important step, but we can't stop there. We can and must make it possible for more students of color to go on and succeed in college.

Third, we must promote integration in education. Students need the opportunity to learn together in ways that enrich the learning environment, improve

race relations, and prepare them to thrive in the diverse world that awaits them. Therefore, integration should be properly understood as one important element of quality in our educational system. As the Advisory Board stated in its final report, "Simply put, high-quality, integrated schools provide a more complete educational experience for all students than high-quality, segregated schools."

In the balance of this chapter, I offer a workplan based on these three goals that will help guide us all in the struggle for educational equity and excellence over the coming decade. Let me first highlight the centerpiece for renewed federal leadership, which focuses on the problem of disparities in primary and secondary educational opportunity and achievement.

*

Centerpiece of the Federal Workplan: The Compact for Equal Opportunity in Education

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

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

We must take this new approach because there is a tragic irony at work in American education: too often, the children who need the most are least likely to get it. In part, this is because of long-standing inequities in educational funding formulas, especially the traditional reliance on local property taxes. Schools in a sea of poverty are too often overwhelmed, or nearly so, by the extraordinary challenges they face. Students who live in low-income neighborhoods often bring the many burdens of their lives and their communities to school with them. Simple

calculations of expenditures-per-pupil don't capture the subtleties, including: homelessness, family crises, or hunger; crime in hallways, streets and homes; and the simple, grinding pressure of poverty that may make family support harder to come by. Add to those problems the aging inner-city school buildings, disparities in teacher training, high proportions of students with special language needs -- and you have a recipe for disaster.

Up until now, we have generally tackled this problem with piecemeal, fragmented approaches, including efforts at the federal level. Over the decades, the intentions have been good, and the progress has sometimes been meaningful. Earlier in my Administration, we worked with the Congress to enact Goals 2000 and a major reform of the bedrock Federal grant program intended to help states and districts educate poor children, the so-called Title I program. Now funded at almost \$8 billion per year, the program is distributed by a formula related to the number of poor children, and the law now tells states that accept the money (all do) that they must raise standards and use tests or some kind of assessment to hold themselves accountable for making progress in improving education outcomes for poor children. I believe that these reforms are moving us in the right direction, and there are important signs of promise and progress. But the pace is too slow, and our ambitions must be still higher.

But I believe the racial disparities and underachievement we have tolerated for so long justify the burning impatience felt by many parents, civic leaders and educators alike. I share their impatience, and therefore believe we need a new approach. We can forge a new federal-state partnership to break the cycle of disadvantage and eliminate gaps in student achievement. Still more piecemeal programs -- federal or state -- will not bring about the sweeping changes needed to close the substantial racial gaps in opportunity and achievement, making public schools work for all of the public.

Let me be clear: this is not Washington encroaching on local authority. In my years as a governor, working both within my state and on national policy, I came to fully appreciate that education is primarily a state and local responsibility. But I have also seen that sometimes a child's opportunity can be limited by the resources a local community can raise with a property tax, or the accident of whether the state is wealthy or poor, generous or stingy in aid to local schools. On the other hand, I have seen that Federal education programs are often too confining, with their red tape and narrow categorical purposes. And across the board, I have seen education treated as an island, cutoff from the mainland of challenges in the surrounding community. Yes, education is primarily a state and local responsibility -- but to be successful, all public officials at all levels must work together, across political boundaries in a metropolitan area, and across whatever agencies or departments can play a role in supporting children, families and their communities.

This Compact will provide new, greater flexibility but in return demand greater results. It springs from my belief that, given an equal chance, all our children can succeed. It is my hope that the flexibility built into this proposal will spur emulation, innovation and tailoring of approaches to fit local needs. For example, I expect *but would not require* that each Compact for Equal Opportunity in Education include such things as: (a) strategies focused on putting high-quality teachers in high-need schools, and plans to reduce disparities in other resources; (b) ways to engage families, businesses and other local institutions; (c) strategies for breaking through the red tape of various federal, state and local programs in education as well as related fields, and ways to build partnerships across jurisdictional lines of school districts and local government agencies; (d) creative responses to the needs of immigrant children with limited English skills; (e) ways to promote higher expectations for achievement and to take aggressive action when there is failure; (f) practical mechanisms to identify educationally bankrupt schools or even districts, triggering receivership; and (g) plans for accountability at all levels, so that performance is measured fairly and has consequences.

These are not mandates. I am proposing neither a formula nor a cookbook. Communities that are not interested in a new Compact to close achievement gaps can simply ignore this challenge, and leave the money on the table for others. We will continue to work with them in the basic Title I program to raise standards and performance. But for those states and communities willing to join in this bold national effort, the independent review panel will judge whether the programs proposed show a strong promise of success. And states or districts must show results over time or lose funding to others who have adopted measures that produce progress.

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

* * *

A WORKPLAN FOR THE NATION

The three goals I outlined above – closing racial gaps; increasing college participation and graduation; and promoting integration – are, of course, not only federal priorities. Federal leadership on these issues is important. But just as important are the contributions that all Americans, as parents and students, teachers and businesspeople, community members and civic leaders, can make to

our progress. Building the educational system we deserve will not be easy. But if we work in partnership, each taking tangible steps, I believe that we will make significant progress on the road to an educational system that is both egalitarian and excellent.

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Closing Racial Gaps from Preschool through High School

The Compact for Equal Opportunity in Education, together with other efforts such as Head Start and Title I, represent an important Federal contribution to our national effort. But there are several important steps that require engaged attention and action from us all. We all have roles and responsibilities. Here are some key things we can do together that I believe will help close racial gaps in educational achievement.

Promote charter schools and public school choice

Public school choice is based on a simple idea: that children often have different needs and different interests. Some children, for example, learn best in small schools, with personalized attention from teachers and classes based on small-group discussion. Other children thrive in larger schools, which can provide a variety of academic courses as well as many sports and extracurricular activities. Therefore all children, and their parents, deserve choice

In my administration, we have encouraged the growth of different kinds of public schools – some small, some larger, many based on specific academic themes – that are “chartered” by states. We have also supported student and parent choice among those schools, as well as among more traditional institutions. Families ought not be restricted by neighborhood, and thus restricted by race- and class- boundaries. Charter schools and public school choice together help families obtain the kind of education they want for their children within an egalitarian, public school framework.

Charter schools, and public school choice, have been very successful, particularly at raising the achievement scores of the students in poor, majority-minority communities. District 4 in New York City’s East Harlem, a predominantly black and Hispanic area, has been transformed by charter schools and by public school choice. The newer charter schools in East Harlem have increased achievement levels for all students. Somewhat surprisingly, even students in larger, more traditional schools are learning more.³² Experts believe that the higher scores are a result of the competition generated by charter schools. In East Harlem, they 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.

- ***Support families and promote early learning opportunities***

A child's development in the earliest years is crucial to the rest of his or her life. Research shows that children who do not reach school ready to learn will spend a significant amount of time catching up to their peers and may never fully overcome initial learning gaps.³³ Families are the key here. Parents and caregivers must be every child's first teachers.

The most important thing parents can do in the early years is read to their children. We have set a national goal of having all our children read independently and well by the end of third grade. To help achieve that goal, researchers tell us that parents should read to their children at least 30 minutes per day.³⁴ In just the last few years, the percentage of parents who are reading to their children on a regular basis has increased dramatically, and that increase has been greatest among parents of color.³⁵ This is important progress. But we can do better.

Today, parents of white children are still more likely to read to their children.³⁶ One reason for this difference is the gap in literacy among adults. Approximately 40 million American adults cannot read English or read only at the lowest level, and persons of color are overrepresented in this group.³⁷ Adults who cannot read cannot teach their children to read, and may not put as much emphasis as they otherwise would on their child's school work more generally. For this and other important reasons, we must take action to increase adult literacy.

Beyond parents' roles, we must mobilize other aspects of the caring "village" my wife Hillary has spoken about so often. Children of all races must, but too often do not, have access to high-quality pre-school. Quality preschool boosts child development, which leads to higher achievement in school, better social adjustment, and even decreased involvement in crime.³⁸ Head Start plays an important role here by providing quality pre-school to nearly one million children of low-income families. But we are currently serving fewer than half of all eligible students, and only 32 percent of eligible Hispanic students.³⁹ There is more to do.

Finally, families must remain involved in their children's education throughout school. A child's chances of success, regardless of race or class, are immeasurably increased when his or her family participates in the child's education. The more directly involved parents are in each child's school, the greater the return.⁴⁰ All schools should have parent compacts that clearly define parents' role in the school. As a national goal, I believe that every parent should do some form of volunteer work in their child's school every month, and that employers should provide the flexibility to help parents do so.

- ***Overcome racial gaps in K-12 educational opportunity***

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

Present racial gaps in educational opportunity are dramatic, especially in our poorest, most racially isolated communities where large percentages of minority children are struggling to learn in our lowest quality schools. Students in these communities face disadvantages in so many areas that it is impossible to adequately discuss them all. But let me mention several issues that I believe are most crucial.

Teaching. The foremost problem is the lack 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

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 important step with Federal legislation in 1998 to help schools decrease class size. Now all of us (the education establishment and colleges/ universities?) 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.

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 few or no Advanced Placement courses, like calculus or second-year chemistry. And, most unfairly, research suggests that too many poor and minority children are put in "tracks" or so-called "ability groups" that might be intended to offer extra help⁴⁷, but in reality limit students' chances to attend college. If the courses most relevant to the jobs in tomorrow's economy are offered in suburban schools but not in the inner-city 15 miles away, should we be surprised if America's economic divide widens in the years ahead? [We share an obligation to face these disparities in opportunity, and to end them].

Buildings. Teachers cannot teach and students cannot learn effectively in overcrowded, deteriorating, or unsafe schools. What are we saying to our young people who go to schools with leaky roofs, crumbling walls, and flooded classrooms? We are saying that school doesn't matter, that education doesn't matter, that *they* don't matter. This is the wrong message, and it is harmful. These conditions are most dramatic in our inner cities, where large percentages of minority students attend outdated, dilapidated schools often just 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. 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.⁴⁶ 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.⁴⁷

To prepare all students for jobs in the new economy, and to improve education more generally, every school must have a sufficient number of computers, access to the Internet, and training on how to use technology effectively. My administration has established a \$2 billion Technology Literacy Challenge Fund, designed to put more computers and more trained computer teachers into classrooms.⁴⁸ The new "E-rate" championed by Vice President Gore is providing

precious technology resources for many of our schools, but state, local and private efforts are needed. If we fail at this, the color divide will be compounded by a digital divide.⁴⁹

English acquisition. There is strong consensus across racial and ethnic lines that all students should learn English, and that schools must provide the necessary resources to help all students learn English within three years. The current needs are great. Today, approximately ___ children in the United States are deemed Limited English Proficient (LEP).⁵⁰ In addition to a shortage of bilingual teachers, only 30 percent of teachers with (LEP) students in their classes have received any training in teaching LEP students.⁵¹ There are many possible models of success in teaching English, and the best approach depends on each student's needs. But whatever approach is chosen, it must be judged by its success at teaching LEP students English and helping them achieve at the same level as students for whom English is their first language.

At the same time, the ability to speak additional languages is a great asset in our increasingly diverse world and global economy. We should encourage foreign language learning, starting in early grades, so that all students are fluent in at least one language other than English. This is one particular arena in which our nation's growing language diversity can be beneficial. If we want our children to know many languages, it helps that they go to school with children who speak many languages.

Safety. Most of our schools are safe, but violent crime and fear of crime are real factors in about 10 percent of schools.⁵² Moreover, while the numbers are low, black and Hispanic children are significantly more likely than whites to fear being attacked in school, to report having street gangs in school, to see a gun in school, and more.⁵³ Let me be clear: Violence destroys opportunity. That is why I have proposed a comprehensive school safety initiative that supports efforts by schools and communities to eliminate guns, drugs, and violence from our schools.⁵⁴

- ***Hold high expectations for everyone***

In addition to providing better resources, we must promote high expectations for all students. In large part this means holding all students to high academic standards and making sure that tracking does not restrict learning opportunities. Too often, students are tracked based not on their educational needs but on their skin color or accent. This is discrimination in the form of low expectations by teachers and other adults.

Building higher expectations often starts with simply expecting more from students. Consider this: Surveys show that African-American and Hispanic students

feel they can bring home lower grades than their white and Asian Pacific American peers before their parents will get upset.⁵⁵ Other surveys show that minority students most hope to impress their teachers, not their parents, with their academic performance.⁵⁶ The data suggests that if students of all races are to be inspired to succeed, parents must demand more, and teachers must expect a lot.

Peer influence is also important. Too many children of all races seem to look down on academic work. Research suggests that this situation is even more dramatic for minority students, who may see academic achievement as a betrayal. As Stephen Carter, a professor at Yale law school, laments, "[A] growing ethic in many inner-city schools insists that achievement itself is somehow a sign of a lack of solidarity -- that people doing well in school is something that only white people, or black people who are trying to be white, would seriously want to do....[W]hat our kids need...is an end to the foolish and destructive notion that achievement is a betrayal. What is needed most is a rededication to excellence."⁵⁷ We must convince students of all races that being smart and doing well in school is not about acting "white" or any other color. Role models are important here, and I urge people who succeed to reach back to their communities to show students that educational achievement is the key to success in all aspects of life.

In the end, however, the expectations of teachers are probably the safety net for kids who can't find encouragement or support from peers or parents. We need to support those teachers who provide, daily, structure and security for their struggling students. But we also need to realize that there are millions of students winning As and Bs from their teachers while scoring miserably on all kinds of standardized tests that compare them with students elsewhere. These kinds of "social promotions" move a student along, but don't serve those students in the long-run. Many of these social promotions occur because teachers and administrators simply don't expect that certain kids can and should achieve at grade level. Others occur because it is extremely difficult to hold back entire classes of students, even if all of those students have not yet learned enough to earn a grade-level promotion.

We need to end a system that tolerates, and even encourages, social promotion. We should support students who need extra help with policies like extended learning time, after-school programs, and tutoring. We must enforce civil rights laws to ensure that no-social promotion policies aren't abused, and invoked to hold behind those students whom teachers and administrators believe "can't learn." But, overall, we must make sure that students aren't simply given credit for "seat time," but really learn the kinds of lessons and skills that they will need for future success.

Let me explain briefly why I believe that private school vouchers, paid for with the public's tax dollars, are a far less promising approach than the workplan I have described. In recent years, some individuals and interest groups have suggested that private school vouchers are a viable way of dealing with the many problems plaguing poor, inner-city schools. Vouchers could allow some students to leave the public school system for private and parochial institutions. Therefore, proponents argue, vouchers will provide financial disincentives to struggling public schools, pushing them to change.

I sympathize with those who are so frustrated with our current public education woes that they see vouchers as a last resort. But my workplan addresses voucher proponents' major concerns, and does so in a way that preserves the democratic ideal of public schooling.

First, the workplan does provides incentives for school change. My plan provides monetary rewards to schools that achieve the results we all want -- a reduction in the racial achievement gap. My plan also provides schools with tools -- high expectations, clear standards, and well-trained teachers -- that we know are the keys to educational success.

Second, while providing mechanisms for all schools to improve, my plan also encourages public school choice. Research shows that public school choice, which allows families to choose from among the public schools in their city or town, and which promotes the growth of small alternative schools alongside larger, more traditional institutions, can significantly improve student achievement. These achievements have been highest for African-American and Latino students.⁵⁸ And so public school choice will provide parents the kind of opportunities they think vouchers can offer, but will do so within the framework of America's egalitarian, common school model.

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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.

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

We must continue to expand college access and ensure that all students who want and deserve to go to college can afford it. I am proud that we have made much progress in this area. But much more can be done. Black, Hispanic, and

Native American students are still less likely to go to college than white or Asian Pacific American students.⁵⁹ In many cases, this is simply because students from disadvantaged backgrounds are less aware of college options and of how to take advantage of those options. Evidence shows that we can increase participation in college by building partnerships between colleges and high-poverty schools.⁶⁰ These partnerships can increase college expectations and provide support services, such as mentoring and tutoring. We have taken important action to develop these partnerships through our GEAR UP program. We must build on that to ensure that every degree-granting college partners with high-poverty schools to make the dream of college a reality for more low-income and minority students.

Over the last several years, we have retooled and dramatically increased financial aid for college, including substantial increases in Pell Grants, which are received by more than half of all minority college students.⁶¹ Nonetheless, the high cost of college remains the major reason why many students decide not to attend college⁶² and why too many minority students drop out.⁶³ Money for college is available to all who need it, and we must get that message out. But we must also take additional action to help families that face undue hardships due to the loss of a college student's contribution to family income.

Xxx those for whites. Of those students beginning college in 1989 and seeking a bachelor's degree, 48 percent of white students and 47 percent of Asian Pacific American students earned a degree by 1994 compared with 34 percent of blacks and 32 percent of Hispanics.⁶⁴ Studies show that support services such as counseling, tutoring, and mentoring in college can significantly increase graduation rates, especially for Hispanic students.⁶⁵ We should expand these efforts.

Community colleges play an important role in expanding educational opportunity, especially for Hispanic students. These colleges also serve as a bridge to further education. Studies show that where there are clear agreements linking 2-year and 4-year colleges, more minority and other students successfully transfer from community college and more transfer students receive bachelor's degrees.⁶⁶ Two-year and 4-year colleges must build strong, clear relationships to enhance coordination, increase student transfer rates, and increase graduation rates.

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. The University of Texas, Houston law school, for example, educates ___% of all Hispanic lawyers in the United States. In 199_, they admitted x number Hispanic students; in 199_, after changes in UT's admission policies, the school admitted x number. This is but one example. We must all be vigilant...[more info here about administration policy]

This situation is especially dramatic in the science and technology arenas.

Almost 94 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.⁶⁷ 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***

Third, 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 students of color. Sixteen percent of black college students attend HBCUs, but HBCUs award 28 percent of all bachelor's degrees received by blacks. And HSIs award more than 50 percent of all bachelor's degrees received by Hispanics.⁶⁸

Minority-serving institutions typically go the extra mile to retain their students, and more colleges should follow their lead. For example, Xavier University of Louisiana, a small, historically black university with only 3000 students, leads the nation in producing black physics, chemistry, and biology graduates and sends more black graduates to medical schools and pharmacy schools than any other college or university in the nation.⁶⁹ Norman Francis, President of Xavier University, attributes Xavier's success to demanding hard work while providing all students with the support services they need to succeed, including advising, tutoring, and assistance in applying to graduate schools.

[Morehouse/Spelman/Howard also have some amazing stats here.]

In addition, we must encourage partnerships between minority-serving institutions and predominantly white research universities. These partnerships can enrich academic offerings available to students. In addition, the partnerships can increase diversity by providing opportunities for students and faculty to interact in different environments.⁷⁰ [what does this mean? Is there a partnership example out there?]

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Promoting integration to enrich the learning experience for all students

Parents, students, institutions, and communities should be able to choose a racially and ethnically diverse education. Segregation in elementary and secondary schools is worsening, both because of housing and demographic trends and because of a shift away from legal actions requiring school desegregation. Furthermore, diversity in higher education, though strongly supported by the higher

education community and the nation, is under attack on several fronts.

We must renew our belief in the value of integration in education. As my Advisory Board said in its final report, the goals of quality and integration in education are complementary. Diversity is not about political correctness. It has real, tangible benefits, not only for all students, but to 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 broad, 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 schools***

Today, 67 percent of black students and 74 percent of Hispanic students attend primary and secondary schools with greater than 50 percent minority enrollment, and more than one-third of black and Hispanic students attend schools with more than 90 percent minority enrollment.⁷¹ We must reduce this racial segregation and isolation among schools. The single most important thing we can do to promote integration is to make all schools excellent, and to make sure that that excellence attracts a diverse student population. There are also innovative ways to give more parents and children the option of an integrated education.

We should expand interdistrict magnet and charter schools. Many of these schools are small, and therefore can provide students important individualized teaching. Many of them also build their curriculum around exciting themes, like science and technology or performing arts, and so attract students of all backgrounds who share the love of a certain subject. We must also support schools that are located in large employers' facilities and on university campuses. These can help break down the class- and race-barriers that still plague our neighborhood schools. And, finally, we must attack the residential problem directly by promoting housing integration efforts that will allow neighborhood schools to be truly multi-racial.

Even in so-called integrated schools, too many students are resegregated into different classes, with students of color overrepresented in remedial and special education classes.⁷² Furthermore, students sometimes self-segregate in inappropriate ways. We must take action to ensure that tracking based on biased expectations and faulty policies does not resegment students. [does this repeat

the high expectations section?]

- ***Promote the benefits of diversity in higher education***

We must also increase integration in higher education. College and university leaders have long known that diversity in the student body is essential to providing everyone on campus with a complete educational experience. According to Neil Rudenstine, President of Harvard University, "The conception of a diverse student body as an educational resource -- comparable in importance to the faculty, library, or science laboratories -- is the most direct expression of an idea that we have seen emerging over the course of more than a century." Studies show that where the resource of racial diversity is used effectively, all students benefit.⁷³ However, diversity in higher education is poorly understood in the public arena and is under attack on several fronts. Most dramatically, in states where affirmative action has been outlawed, we have seen a dramatic decrease in the numbers of students of color accepted at the most prestigious institutions. For example, in 1998, the University of California, Berkeley had to reject more than 800 highly qualified black, Hispanic, and Native American applicants each of whom had a 4.0 or higher GPA and scored 1200 or higher on the SAT.⁷⁴

I address elsewhere the issue of affirmative action. But here I want to make the more general point that as a nation we must recognize the great value of diversity in higher education. In their recent book *The Shape of the River*, William G. Bowen and Derek Bok showed that college students of all races want a diverse educational experience. According to surveys of black and white graduates of selective universities who began college in 1989, a majority of both blacks and whites believe that "the ability to work effectively and get along with people of different races and cultures" is "very important."⁷⁵ A majority of both blacks and whites also believe their undergraduate experience was of "considerable value" in developing those skills based on interactions with students of different races. And the vast majority of both blacks and whites believe that their school should continue to place the same or greater emphasis on diversity.⁷⁶ What was true for elementary and secondary schools is just as true for college: properly understood, diversity and integration are important parts of educational excellence.

We must preserve and develop appropriate mechanisms to ensure diversity in the short- and long-term. Furthermore, colleges and universities must promote the educational benefits of diversity by creating supportive campus environments and by promoting positive cross-racial interactions among students.

* * *

Conclusion

Tearing down the walls of disparity and division in American education is as vital to our future as the defeat of fascism was in World War II, or the global stabilization of struggling economies is today. For too long we have professed support for equal opportunity without grappling with the glaring inequities faced by too many of our children. I know this won't be easy. But we must not fail to act. The costs of delay are mounting. Our children and our nation are in danger of falling behind in a world that is forging ahead.

Remember, these are all our children. As I have said, each of them is eight years old but once. If we do not prepare them well, they may spend a lifetime struggling to find a way in from the cold margins of the new economy. And if our children learn apart, they won't know how to live together. This requires more than passing laws against hateful conduct. It requires a passage of spirit, from the old world of racial separation, to a new world of shared hopes, common values, and unity. Education is the vessel that will get us there. It must be our number one priority. Nothing less is at stake than the strength of our economy, the vitality of our democracy, and the soul of our nation.

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