

1

Chiron $\rightarrow$

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 12, 1998

MR. PRESIDENT:

Chris Edley has sent you the attached memo, with Maria's approval, seeking your guidance on the type of race report to be issued under your name: a shorter 75-page "presidential essay model" or a longer "book model." Edley's memo succinctly lays out the pros and cons of each.

Michael Waldman/Ann Lewis are the primary advocates of the shorter model; Michael wrote the justification for such in Edley's memo arguing *inter alia* that, given other priorities, a shorter version is the only format that can realistically be accomplished in the short amount of time available. *Minyon* agrees with Michael/Ann as do *Bruce* and *Elena*. *Bruce* and *Elena* emphasize that originality and focus are more important concerns than format, but tend to think that the shorter model is more likely to achieve those objectives. *Sylvia* and *Maria* favor the book model.

It's my understanding though from Maria that you have already expressed a preference for the book model. Therefore, I have also forwarded to you Chris' draft of an outline for the book.

Maria asked that I send this material to you over the weekend as you are scheduled to meet about it on Tuesday afternoon.

Phil Caplan

copied
Echaveste
Bowles

Back to Maria
can discuss
on this - [initials]

September 10, 1998

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

From: Christopher Edley, Jr.
Professor of Law

Through: Maria Echaveste
Deputy Chief of Staff

Re: What Kind of Race Report Do You Want to Deliver?

Despite our earlier discussions, your staff remains divided about whether your report should be:

- the 75-page "Presidential Essay Model" favored by Michael Waldman and Ann Lewis (and at least somewhat appealing to several others); or
- the "Book Model" reflected in outlines presented to you at intervals over the past year.

Several points are not in dispute: The report must be personal in tone, emphasizing themes, values and challenges, drawing heavily on your experiences (and those of the First Lady, the Vice President, Mrs. Gore and the Advisory Board), and incorporating diverse voices we have heard through correspondence and events. It must avoid language that might seem platitudinous, and avoid a laundry list of small-to-modest programs. Beyond that, the models differ in scope and goals.

In deciding between these two, you might consider which model is more likely to:

- say something interesting and command near-term attention and readership?
- be an enduring document, and make a difference?
- be "presidential" by showing leadership and mastery of powerful moral and historical currents?
- be more feasible to produce in the time frame you think appropriate (the current plan is December-January)?
- be more enjoyable for you to work on?

THE PRESIDENTIAL ESSAY MODEL*

The best chance for writing a book that has a chance to make a significant impact is to write a short and powerful narrative -- an extended essay of, say, 75 printed pages. This is the format used by President Reagan when he wrote his brief book on abortion, *Abortion and the*

* Michael Waldman wrote this section.

Conscience of a Nation, which included a 33 page essay by him on abortion, and afterwards by two other authors. Another version of this shorter book would weave policy examples through the narrative in a format similar to that used by the First Lady when she wrote *It Takes a Village*.

For example, a ten page discussion of education could talk about its role as the key to opportunity, use your personal history, review the achievements of the administration and highlight a few illustrative policies -- such as charter schools and educational opportunity zones -- that can address educational disparities.

As in the books by the First Lady and President Reagan, this format would enable you most effectively to speak of your own experience and vision, as well as governmental and nongovernmental actions. It will be an ideal format to discuss what has been learned during the Race Initiative, deploy anecdotes about promising practices, and grapple with tough questions.

Michael Waldman and Ann Lewis, among others, believe that this shorter format, and only this shorter format, can actually be achieved in the limited time available to us, produce the quality book this subject deserves, and make your own thoughts and words central to the document. They strongly believe it is highly unlikely that -- given the pressure of the elections, Social Security conference and Congressional negotiations, State of the Union, and other matters -- you will be able to put a sizeable personal stamp on a document much longer than this, especially one with a State-of-the-Union-style policy agenda.

THE BOOK MODEL

In this model, the personal, narrative style would extend to teaching the nation some background information, and include substantial attention to promising practices and a workplan for the nation, so that the audience will hear, in your voice, ideas about what the nation should do and what each of *them* should do. Details would be relegated to an appendix or to stand-apart textual boxes. The principal elements would be:

- An introductory essay and summary (which might be quite similar to what Michael Waldman proposes).
- Authoritative social scientific background information on demographics, disparities, discrimination, and intergroup relations;
- Your vision of One America in the 21st century; why your conceptions of racial justice and equal opportunity are preferable to some alternatives that are implicit in public discourse, and how the motivation for that vision is rooted in our history and cherished ideals, and in your personal experiences;
- Modeling how we can constructively engage one another on *hard questions*, by applying your vision and values to concrete situations that will grab the reader -- such as human stories about school integration, profiling, or bilingual education;
- Promising practices that may build bridges connecting people across lines of color and class;

- A workplan for the nation – not just what the Federal government should undertake this year and next, but what *all* of us can do together and individually; Federal, state and local governments; private sector and voluntary sector; in our public lives and our personal lives, to help build One America.

A summary chapter outline of this is attached.

HARD AND VEXING QUESTIONS

Gene Sperling has suggested organizing your report -- whether in essay or book form -- around a series of hard questions. This would be a creative way to engage readers. It is certainly feasible in the essay model. While I have strong doubts about its feasibility in the book model, I think it is worth trying. At a minimum, the hard questions and vexing examples would be an important part of the book, especially in conveying your vision. (You will receive my proposed set of these questions separately, for future discussions with you.) Whatever the organization, however, discussion of each topic should start with a pointedly human situation – the family struggling in a drug-ridden housing project, not a statistic about affordable housing; the parent agonizing about a daughter's inter-ethnic marriage, not an abstraction about community.

But to begin, the issue is not the organization of the book, but rather its scope and ambition.

DECISION

___ Presidential Essay Model ___ Book Model ___ Let's discuss

SUMMARY CHAPTER OUTLINE

Introduction: One America

Context for the book; why I launched this; 21st century challenges; no subject more vexing; my personal experiences and motivation, in private and public life; summary of core themes and vision, and how those are helpful to me in wrestling with some of the most vexing policy disputes and personal situations we face. Highlights of the workplan for the nation, emphasizing education. Appreciation to the Advisory Board. Closing message to Congress and to the American people.

Chapter 1. Where Is America On Race, And Where Are We Going?

Salience of race/ethnicity in our daily lives; demographic trends; disparities; authoritative evidence on the extent of discrimination and prejudice; information on integration, social relations; thematic social policy history since Myrdal/Kerner; most salient progress to date; the effects of race in polluting our political and policy discourse.

Chapter 2. More Than a Dream: Racial Justice and Equal Opportunity in the 21st Century

My vision of One America with racial and ethnic justice in the 21st century, and why this vision is preferable to competing visions. Seeking clarity about our value commitments and ambitions for One America.

Chapter 3. Wrestling Lessons: Constructive Engagement Of Our Vexing Differences

Modeling how to think about complex, hard questions involving race, using concrete, human examples throughout. Tackling tough questions that divide us requires attention to the facts, and a search for the kernel of truth in what the other side of the debate is saying. Beyond the black-white paradigm: distinctiveness created by colonization, conquest and culture; the importance, and limits, of the old model. Examples from the unfinished agenda of combating discrimination, bigotry and exclusion – including: how much does race still matter; affirmative action and race-conscious policies; merit; the definition of discrimination; profiling. Examples from the new agenda of inclusion and opportunity – including: how much do we care about integration; identity politics and ethnic conclaves; bilingualism; reconciling tribal sovereignty and interdependence; immigration and nativism. [This might be merged with the Vision chapter.]

Chapter 4. Promising Practices: How To Build Bridges That Connect People Across Lines Of Class And Color, Creating Community And Opportunity

Chapter 5. The Record Of The Clinton-Gore Administration and the Nation
What I've accomplished and proposed; complementary developments at other levels of government and in the private sector.

Chapter 6. A Workplan For Our Nation

Workplan organized by sectors/subject matter. *This is not just about the federal government, and not just about government.* Very few elements will have FY 2000 budget implications, although many long-term directions can find beginning steps in Administration accomplishments and proposals. Key areas for focus include: (a) education; (b) civil rights enforcement; (c) economic opportunity and community development; (d) criminal justice; (e) civic participation, voting and citizenship; research needs. The narrative will be largely thematic, issuing a series of challenges and principles, with a few broad-brush policy directions. Some added detail will be in stand-apart textual boxes or in an appendix.

Chapter 7. Leadership For One America

A call to action, appealing for the recruitment of a cadre of leaders from all sectors who will dedicate themselves to learning, teaching and practicing the difficult tasks of building One America for the 21st century. Explicitly challenging: elected officials; faith community; corporate community; youth educators; organized labor; the media. Description of some steps we've already taken in some of these sectors. Outside the government, a plan to sustain and expand the community-based efforts now underway around the country. (This could eventually be part of the mission of the Clinton Library.) A follow-on entity to the Advisory Board to provide focus for the Federal government's workplan.

Chapter 8. Conclusion

Previous presidents – some personalized examples of how some of them chose to move forward, and others didn't. Tragedies seeded or averted. Opportunities seized and squandered. Optimism about the our ideals and our spirit. Our standing in the eyes of the world, and in the judgment of historians. We must not be mere participants in the history of this struggle. We must be the authors of that history. Our standing in the hearts of our children and grandchildren; what we owe them. We must lighten their burdens and brighten their futures, each and all. Closing message: response to a letter from a grade school child; and a prayer.

Draft v6

September 9, 1998

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

From: Christopher Edley, Jr.
Professor of Law

Through: Maria Echaveste
Deputy Chief of Staff

Re: Progress Report on the Race Book, and Request for Interim Guidance

This memorandum is organized in the following sections:

- I. Introduction, process and organization of the effort
- II. The Vision (book chapter 2), and basic themes
- III. The Workplan (book chapter 6)
- IV. Leadership (book chapter 7)
- V. Next steps, and summary of decisions requested

I. INTRODUCTION, PROCESS AND ORGANIZATION OF THE EFFORT

The purpose of this memorandum is to review our progress, confirm our general direction, and solicit interim guidance on a few substantive matters. Most important, Part II is a first attempt to sketch your "vision" of One America with racial justice and equal opportunity in the 21st century. Then, Part III adds some flesh to key portions of the "workplan" chapter outline you have already seen, offering a partial menu of ideas.¹ We want to know if this conceptual framework makes

¹The current detailed (and daunting) outline of the book is at Tab A. The chapter outline is:

Introduction:	One America in the 21 st Century
Chapter 1:	Where Is America On Race, And Where Are We Going?
Chapter 2:	More Than A Dream: Racial And Ethnic Justice In The 21 st Century
Chapter 3:	Wrestling Lessons: Honest, Constructive Engagement Of Our Vexing Differences
Chapter 4:	Promising Practices: How To Build Bridges That Connect People Across Lines Of Class And

sense, and if we are heading for the right mix of bold and pedestrian, thematic and programmatic. White House policy staff are fully engaged and have both contributed to this workplan material and reviewed this memorandum. Important disagreements and special concurrences are noted in this document or accompanying memoranda.

We hope to complete the workplan menu within two weeks and, based on your tentative approval of several ideas, proceed with more detailed policy development between now and early November. This is key: I want these first stages of developing the workplan to emphasize thoughtfulness and boldness in the selection of the challenges, goals, themes and general strategies, connecting those to the vision. The next step, for greater detail over the next two months, is to figure out more concretely what ought to be done by whom (federal government? parents?). Throughout, Maria Echaveste will ensure that the interests of the policy councils are well regarded, that the formal clearance process is used when appropriate, and that I can appeal to you with any conflicts we cannot resolve in a timely way.

We have four working groups to help prepare the policy, or "workplan" chapter. These are co-lead by the appropriate NEC or DPC staff and me. As yet, they do not span the entire range of subjects you may want to cover, but they are a good start:

- Education
- Economic Development and Employment Opportunity
- Criminal Justice and Community Security
- Civil Rights Enforcement

We also have less elaborate collaborative discussions moving forward on: Health, Strengthening Families, Native Americans, and Democracy/Civic Engagement. The "book team" includes a handful of PIR staff, and the addition soon of Terry Edmonds. I'm confident that several White House and OMB staff will also play critical roles, as they have in preparation of this document.

Outreach: Finally, Maria has assigned Minyon Moore and OPL the overall responsibility for coordinating external consultations by the outreach offices and, through Cabinet Affairs, conversations with key appointees in the agencies. Throughout September, many members of your staff will be making calls or conducting meetings with some 400 individuals, asking about the proposed framework for your report, the most important actions you should take after the Advisory Board's work, and any elements they think it is especially important for you to communicate in your report. We will share some of the substantive responses with you, but all of them will be weighed by the book team.

	Color, Creating Community And Opportunity
Chapter 5:	The Record Of The Clinton-Gore Administration
Chapter 6:	A Workplan For Our Nation
Chapter 7:	Leadership For One America
Chapter 8:	Conclusion

II. THE VISION CHAPTER, AND BASIC THEMES

This section summarizes my best sense of your central vision for the book -- chapter 2 in the current outline. It builds on earlier material sent to you by Sidney Blumenthal and by me, as well as previous statements by you. In the book, the vision discussion will be preceded by an introduction and by the chapter describing where America has been and is on race, including demographics, discrimination, disparities, and intergroup relations. While not yet in your language, what follows is an effort to capture the key ideas and their interrelationships. At the end of the section, we also want to engage you on some cross-cutting questions, such as the role of government.

(a) Why is this subject so important for us to tackle?

- *Renewing America for the new century:* For six years, I have worked to prepare America for the challenges of the 21st century. We have put our fiscal house in order, taken important steps to strengthen the international economic system, worked at home and abroad to create a post-cold war national security framework, launched an investment program in vital areas of education, training, new technologies and environmental protection. One additional area, without which we cannot succeed in the decades ahead, is overcoming the divisions of race and ethnicity so that we can be One America, united in a web of mutuality that gives us the strength to be our best as individuals, as communities and as a nation.
- *Global and historical context:* The difficulty of the problem is evident not only from our own national history, but from events around the world – even today. The conflict is commonplace, as differences give rise to hatreds and then bloodshed. As President, I've seen it over and over again, and struggled to find ways that, through our actions and example, this nation could help troubled societies see their shared humanity and find peace. But make no mistake: This struggle to build peace and strength out of differences is a struggle against deep failings and sinfulness that seem inherent in the human spirit. In my own religious tradition, sin can be overcome through struggle and faith, and it is a never-ending struggle. We should expect no easier a task when it comes to dealing with our differences here in America.
- *The stakes:* On a more practical plane, making diversity a source of strength rather than division promises great rewards in social peace and home and economic success globally.
- *New complexity:* The civil rights movement of three and four decades ago was largely framed in black and white, but led to bursts of energy and progress for other minorities

and for women. Today's diversity gives us great opportunities, but also more complex challenges.

- *Cause for confidence:* There is cause for confidence, because our ideals and values are far more than words locked behind glass in the National Archives. They are an incandescent beacon for peoples worldwide, and the lodestar by which we chart our own course and criticize our missteps. Our noblest moments and wisest leaders are marked not by the exploitation of difference, but by recalling us to the commitments of equality, tolerance, opportunity and justice. In my life, I have seen this most profoundly in the struggle against racial segregation and bigotry. No nation matches our capacity for moral greatness.
- (b) **What would it mean to have a full measure of racial justice and opportunity in America? What would our relationships be like, and what would society look like?**
- *Vision of community:* [Celebration of our diversity, not mere tolerance of our differences; building inclusive communities and organizations to take advantage of the benefits and strengths that flow from diversity. (Examples from forums, correspondence, etc.)]

"One America" does not mean that we lose our ethnic identities, becoming some homogenized undifferentiated mass. We can be proud of our cultural identities and distinctiveness, and at the same time be proud of and loyal to America – indeed, that is one of the most important elements of our nation's greatness.

In religion, for example, scholars tell us that we are the most observant of developed nations, and that freedom of religion and separation of church and state are important parts of the explanation. We are a nation full of religious individuals, yet we do not all worship in the same way. Indeed, our civic values are that we tolerate and respect different religious traditions, and celebrate the legal and civic values that make diversity possible. We are proud of that diversity, and together with tolerance, recognize it as a defining greatness of America. And much of the rest of the world recognizes this too.

So, too, with our racial and ethnic diversity. Our greatness in the decades ahead depends not merely on overcoming prejudice and bigotry rooted in our differences, and not only in tolerating differences. We must instead celebrate those differences as a source of richness and strength. Our personal lives are enriched by this diversity, and our society and economy are strengthened by it.

In the community of America, the things that connect us must be stronger than those that divide us. A "community" means shared interests. But we must also have a shared concern for our collective advancement, and mutual concern for each other. Transcending differences, while respecting them, is part of creating such a community.

So there is a delicate balance, because we have far too much to lose if we retreat into ethnic enclaves – walled off from one another by prejudice, stereotypes or even simple ignorance and misunderstanding. We sacrifice greatness and goodness, richness and riches, if by circumstance or choice we separate ourselves into subcommunities along the very fracture lines that have traced our national racial tragedies since Europeans arrived on these shores.

- *Vision of opportunity:* [Opportunity enjoyed so equally that there is no discernable legacy of slavery, colonization or conquest; of Jim Crow or internment. (Examples from forums, correspondence etc.)]

We have legacies of slavery, conquest and colonialism; of Jim Crow and racist immigration quotas. The inheritance is evident in the patterns of our lives: the racially isolated communities, the gaping disparities in educational achievement, employment, criminal victimization and wealth; the still too-rare close friendships across lines of race. This inheritance is a burden to our spirits and a tax on our prosperity. Perhaps most tragically, for too many of our fellow citizens, the legacy has shackled dreams that are every American's inalienable right. This is wrong, and we can do better.

One way our children and grandchildren will know when we have achieved racial justice and opportunity is that the evidence of America's legacy of inequality will be found only in history books, and not in brutal social and economic disparities surrounding them.

- *Vision of responsibility:* Responsibilities of citizenship; responsibility to reach out to others; responsibility of each of to combat whatever stereotypes and fears we may have; and responsibility to take advantage of opportunities. (Examples from forums, letters, etc.) We must do this for our children and their children. We must do this to honor those who have sacrificed over the generations in earlier battles, including civil rights battles, to put our sacred civic values into practice. And I believe we must do this to honor the God who has created us all equal, and blessed our nation in so many countless ways.

(c) Why is this vision preferable to alternative, competing visions?

- Why embracing "equal opportunity" is necessary, but insufficient alone to produce a full measure of justice and fairness in One America.
- Why color blindness makes sense, and why it doesn't.
- Why assimilation as Americans is important, but not an assimilation that seeks to erase our diverse identities. Is tolerance of differences sufficient, or must there be more?

**

III. THE WORKPLAN CHAPTER

The purpose of this chapter is to explain the most important steps the nation must take over the next decade in pursuit of your vision of racial justice and opportunity, as described earlier in the book. As with the promising practices chapter, you want to provide inspiring “news you can use” to people in communities and organizations across the nation who are looking for ideas. The workplan is organized by policy sectors, and within each sector it will contain federal, state, local, private and personal elements. This is *not* just about the federal government, or government generally. Few items will have FY 2000 budget impacts, although several will have “down payments” in Administration accomplishments and earlier proposals. (The ideas which follow reflect substantial contributions from DPC, NEC and OMB; this memorandum has been through an accelerated clearance process. Comments from your advisors are noted in this document or in appended memoranda.)

The book should be highly thematic, avoiding an exhaustive and mind-numbing recitation of comprehensive programmatic details. But it must contain just enough pointed recommendations to leave the reader with a sense that you have provided concrete direction, not just rhetoric. This also entails being very selective – not *every* good idea for addressing *every* important problem. In areas where thoughtfulness or clarity requires more program detail, the final document can use textual boxes set apart from the flow of the narrative.

Two final points. The boldness you have requested in policy ideas seems in some cases to come in the statement of a national goal (“close disparities in education achievement by X percent”), and in other cases may not be evident until we offer specific public or private interventions to advance the goal. Relatedly, in the stating the goals we have repeatedly between brave aspirations and statements that are more cautious and achievable. We need your general guidance on this.

*

§ 6.2 THE EDUCATION SECTION OF THE WORKPLAN

Apart from the economy, I assume that education will be the clear first-among-equals in your workplan for the nation, receiving disproportionate emphasis throughout the book. Despite improvements over the last several decades, racial disparities in opportunity and achievement persist throughout the education pipeline, and these disparities are powerful obstacles to achieving your vision. We’ve tolerated it for too long. It is wrong. Therefore, the workplan focuses on areas of significant disparity that have the greatest impact on educational outcomes. It also emphasizes the instrumental and ethical necessity of heightened responsibility and accountability.

In addition, racial isolation, often in combination with poverty concentration, remains a problem both among and within our schools, presenting barriers to achievement, excellence, and to your vision of mutual understanding and community. This is the third pillar of the education workplan.

– *Outline of the section*

Introduction/Context

- Education is primary [only central?] to achieving my vision. This requires:
 - (1) eliminating racial disparities in educational opportunity and achievement;
 - (2) reinforcing responsibility and strengthening accountability for administrators, teachers and students, as well as for the political institutions governing education; and
 - (3) promoting racial and economic integration in education.
 - These problems have long gone unsolved because they are difficult and because race has divided us, but also because we need to reassess the roles of the different levels of government and of the family in education. The old formulas need revision, the old problems need new thinking, and the old values need new life.
 - We need to provide every family, regardless of race or zip code, with an Education Bill of Rights.²
- (a) **Close the racial gap in opportunity and achievement.** Notwithstanding important progress, significant racial disparities in achievement persist. We must close these gaps and raise the bar for everyone. This means overcoming racial disparities in the

² Such a Bill of Rights might include the following:

- (1) Every child shall have a parent or other adult actively engaged in his/her learning and have access to support services to help that child achieve to his/her full potential.
- (2) Every child shall have access to early learning opportunities.
- (3) All parents have the right to send their children to equitably funded schools that are accountable for their child's learning.
- (4) Every child shall have access to high-quality teachers.
- (5) Every child shall be held to high expectations and standards and have access to challenging curricula.
- (6) Every child shall have access to adequate facilities and modern technology.
- (7) Every LEP child shall have access to the tools necessary to help him/her learn English within three years.
- (8) Every child shall learn in a safe environment.
- (9) All parents and children shall have the right to choose to attend racially and ethnically integrated schools.
- (10) Every high school graduate shall have the financial support and opportunity to go to college.

educational opportunity available to every child – including both resources and expectations – and simultaneously insisting on high standards for achievement. Beyond this, we must improve our ability to make targeted, individualized efforts to ensure that every child succeeds to his or her full potential. Among the key elements of an education bill of rights for equal opportunity and achievement:

- *Parenting and early childhood:* Ensure that every child has a parent or other adult actively engaged in that child's learning, and that every young child has access to early learning opportunities.
 - *Teaching:* Improve the quality of teacher training, ensure that high-quality teachers are equitably distributed, and ensure that teachers promote high expectations for students of all races.
 - *Curriculum and standards:* Ensure that every child has access to challenging curricula tied to high standards, and that tracking does not prevent any child from achieving his or her full potential. Students of color are often tracked into special education and out of honors courses.
 - *English acquisition:* Guarantee each LEP child an effective opportunity to master English, and hold students and educators accountable for success.
 - *Infrastructure:* Close the racial disparity in full access to adequate facilities and modern technology.
 - *Post-secondary attainment:* Overcome racial disparities in high school graduation rates, and in college participation, retention and graduation rates.
- (b) **Institute greater accountability and heightened responsibility for administrators, teachers, students and public officials.** Without much stronger mechanisms for accountability, the goals of closing disparities in opportunity and achievement are mere aspirations, not commitments. Moreover, to break the back of inertia and complacency we will have to design interventions that target the political, bureaucratic and jurisdictional impediments to sustained reform. The Voluntary National Test is such an intervention, as is public school choice, and we must build on such approaches while providing needed safeguards against abuses.
- *Tests and accountability:* Use the best assessment methods, including national tests, to build broader and deeper systems that will hold administrators, teachers, and students accountable for educational achievement. The accountability should flow “up” from parents and “down” from Federal taxpayers and presidential leadership. The range of tools, both carrots and sticks, should stretch from more effective parental action, to

political mobilization, to school reconstitution or receivership, to fiscal incentives – and everything in between.

- *Governance and leadership:* If eliminating the disparities in opportunity and achievement require modifications of our traditional structure of roles and authority, so be it. We need new ways to think about old problems.
- (c) **Promote integration and diversity in education to enrich the learning experience for all students.** We also care about integration, so that students have the opportunity to learn together in ways that dissolve stereotypes and improve race relations. Parents and students should have a right to choose an integrated education. But, after a burst of progress in the late 1960s and early 1970s, segregation in K-12 education is worsening. For example, a recent study reports that one-third of black and Hispanic students attend schools with more than 90 percent minority enrollment, and almost nine in 10 of those schools are predominantly poor. High-quality integrated schools provide a more complete educational experience for all students than high-quality segregated schools. Conversely, ineffective, racially isolated schools in high-poverty areas present our greatest obstacle to closing the disparities in opportunity and achievement.
- *Educate the public on the value of inclusion, diversity and integration -- reviving that ideal:* An inclusive community of students and educators can: improve teaching and learning by enriching the learning environment with diverse perspectives; strengthen students' critical-thinking skills by challenging their existing perspectives; teach students how to interact comfortably with people different from themselves and thereby how to function as good neighbors, colleagues and citizens in our diverse democratic society; improve students' preparation for employment by teaching them the value of diverse perspectives, how to function in diverse business settings, and how to communicate effectively in our increasingly diverse domestic marketplace and the expanding global marketplace; and foster the advancement of knowledge by spurring study in new areas of concern.
- *Reduce racial segregation and isolation among schools:* This is not a call for massive, federally mandated strategies where there is no constitutional violation demanding court-supervised remedies. Instead, parents and educators should make use of a range of measures such as magnet schools, multidistrict transfer programs, and so forth. Most important, we must better appreciate the important stake we have in making diversity work in the world of our children. Schools of unquestioned excellence are the easiest to make and keep diverse.
- *Reduce segregation within schools:* Even in diverse schools, evidence shows that students are often resegregated into racially homogenous classes through tracking and other mechanisms, thereby reducing their opportunities to learn together and have

positive cross-racial interactions.

- *Inclusion in higher education:* Promote access and diversity in higher education, and foster the educational benefits of diversity. Mend, don't end, affirmative action. And wherever possible, use creative race-neutral mechanisms in admissions and in the K-12 pipeline. Ensure that in sustaining the crucial role of HBCUs, HSIs, and Tribal colleges (which are integrated) we don't "excuse" historically white institutions from the principle of excellence-through-inclusion.

– Discussion issues on the education workplan

- Are you comfortable with the three major pillars: closing the race gap in opportunity and achievement; accountability and governance; attacking racial isolation?
- Do the bulleted items capture your personal priorities? Are any high priorities missing? Can any of them be demoted for attention in textual boxes rather than in your narrative?
- Can we explore some rethinking of the federal role in order to tackle these disparities?

*

§ 6.4 CRIMINAL JUSTICE AND COMMUNITY SECURITY

From hate crimes to crack houses, from police misconduct to police hiring, from disparate incarceration rates to racial profiling -- barely a week goes by without some aspect of crime and criminal justice standing as a lightning rod for racial and ethnic tensions. No area is more freighted with divisive stereotypes and misunderstanding. Yet it must be tackled with vigor because victimization and criminality destroy communities and families, just as they fuel alienation and division.

– Outline of the section

Introduction/Context

- Racial disparities exist in both the realities and perceptions of crime and the administration of justice: communities of color disproportionately bear the social, economic, and personal costs of crime, and, according to polls, have less confidence in the fairness of the criminal justice system than do whites.

- Building One America requires building a criminal justice system that serves and treats Americans of all races fully and fairly, and thereby closes the trust gap while making community security a right enjoyed equally.
- (a) **Community Security: Eliminate racial disparities in victimization.** The right to be secure cannot be discounted by race. Every American is entitled to live in a safe community, and the race of residents shouldn't tell us the crime rate. From 1992 to 1997, rates of violent crime in America have decreased, but disparate victimization rates persist. Tackling this problem directly is part of the opportunity agenda, as well as a matter of decent fairness. The Administration's record has numerous elements, which we can build upon and target to close the disparities.
 - (b) **Keep young people out of the criminal justice system, and for those who have contact with it, make it their last.** Racial minorities, especially young, black males, are more likely than whites to be both the offenders and victims of certain crimes, including violent crimes. Furthermore, one third of young, black men are presently under the supervision of the criminal justice system (on probation, in prison, or on parole), and the chance that a young, black male will go to prison during his lifetime is nearly 30%. The realities are flatly inconsistent an American vision of racial justice and equal opportunity.
 - (c) **Build greater fairness and trust in the criminal system.** Several past and present factors contribute to mistrust in our criminal justice system among persons of color, including negative interactions, disparities in the administration of justice (incarceration, sentencing, death penalty), and lagging diversity in law enforcement (police, prosecutors, judges, juries). Without more trust, creating safe communities is impossible, because legitimacy, support and cooperation don't come free.
- *Prohibit the use of racial profiling:*³ No American should be subject to disparate application of the state's policing power because of his/her race. Statistically efficient allocation of resources, some claim, justifies impositions on innocent persons, while perpetuating stereotypes and contributing to tensions. Targeting based on color, without individualized evidence, is rarely if ever fair and just.
 - *Pursue zero tolerance for racially suspect police misconduct and brutality:* While the vast majority of police are dedicated public servants who deserve our respect and support, several high-profile cases illustrate that incidents of police misconduct and brutality motivated by racial animus still occur. We are deeply divided in perceptions of the magnitude of the problem.

³Profiling will also be considered in the "Wrestling Lessons" chapter, as one of the hard questions that forces us to think about differences in values and perceptions.

- *Eliminate racial discrimination and unjustified disparities in incarceration, sentencing, and imposition of the death penalty.*
- *Increase diversity and representation in the criminal justice system.*

– Discussion issues on the criminal justice workplan

- Can we speak of community safety as a “right”, and the racial disparities in victimization as flatly inconsistent with your vision? If so, are disparities a fair index of this aspect of racial justice and opportunity?
- Should we “prohibit” racial profiling, or “restrict” it?
- Similarly, should we tackle disparities in rates of incarceration, presumably with targeted attention to prevention, diversion and post-incarceration?
- Can we assume that the primary public sector role is state and local, or do you envision continued growth in the federal role?

*

§ 6.7 THE CIVIL RIGHTS ENFORCEMENT SECTION OF THE WORKPLAN

We have considered distributing the civil rights law enforcement issues in several sectoral subsections – as components of the education or jobs strategies, for example. But for now, I want to press ahead as sketched below because the audience will appropriately expect some attention to the traditional antidiscrimination enforcement agenda. This also permits you to teach about this unfinished work. Moreover, the best opportunities for boldness are in cross cutting issues, among them: policy judgments about the lawfulness under Title VI of persistent resource disparities; retooling agency enforcement strategies to emphasize proactive technical assistance and voluntary action; and rethinking the legal framework and enforcement priorities to reflect our 21st century diversity.

We are joined at the hip with Chuck Ruff, and will cooperate in his effort to put before you suggested civil rights enforcement priorities for the next two years.

– Outline of the section

Introduction/Context

- Persistence of discrimination, and of enforcement backlogs.

- We have opportunities to strengthen and more aggressively enforce civil rights principles, and also support appropriate voluntary actions that promote equal opportunity and access. This includes defending disparate impact doctrine, and defending affirmative action.
 - The traditional agenda needs renovation to (i) increase its efficiency at handling the retail problem of discrimination; (ii) contribute more directly to the opportunity agenda in education, jobs and community economics; (iii) reflect our 21st century diversity.
- (a) **Overcome racial disparities in opportunity by expanding the use of civil rights enforcement.** Civil rights enforcement can play an especially important role in overcoming barriers to educational and economic opportunity, and we should strengthen and focus civil rights enforcement to complement the opportunity agenda.
- *Strengthen antidiscrimination laws and enforcement procedures:* For example, we could amend Title II, which prohibits discrimination in public accommodations, to include businesses that provide goods and services. At present, racial discrimination in retail sales (e.g., the Eddie Bauer case in which a black teenager was ordered by a security guard to strip off his shirt because he did not have a sales receipt) does not raise a strong federal cause of action. We nearly abandoned pattern and practice investigations during the 1980s. That was wrong.
 - *Use Title VI to address racial disparities:* No federal money should be spent in a manner that supports unjustified racial disparities in opportunity. For example, in education, Title VI prohibits policies and practices that have an unjustified disparate impact on select racial groups in terms of access to educational resources, tracking into challenging courses, the use of unvalidated high stakes tests, and more. We should strengthen Title VI enforcement.
 - *How much discrimination is there?* We should expand research on the extent of racial discrimination, using the best available methodologies (testers where appropriate), in such areas as employment, housing, and access to capital. The results of such testing should be published in an annual report card.
- (b) **Fully address all forms of discrimination affecting our increasingly diverse population by strengthening civil rights laws and enforcement.** We must retool our civil rights laws and refocus enforcement efforts to fully address civil rights issues affecting our diverse citizenry.
- *New immigrants:* Strengthen laws and enforcement to promote the rights of new immigrants. For example, in immigration and employment, we could expand enforcement against labor abuses in “sweatshops,” the victims of which are often new immigrants of Hispanic or Asian origin, and amend present laws to stabilize the

immigration status of persons who report labor abuses so those persons do not fear reprisal, official or private.

- *Language acquisition:* Promote the rights of LEP populations. For example, in education, we could develop regulations to clarify the *Lau* standard concerning what legal requirements schools must meet in educating LEP students.
 - *Learning your rights:* Educate immigrant and LEP populations about civil rights laws and mechanisms. We should promote outreach to immigrant and LEP populations whose rights are protected but who are underutilizing civil rights laws.
- (c) **Address discrimination and disparities by promoting voluntary efforts in conjunction with enforcement of civil rights laws.** In addition to reacting to civil rights complaints, civil rights enforcement agencies should act proactively to encourage and support voluntary compliance with civil rights laws and values.
- *Expand civil rights consultations and clarify legal standards:* There are civil rights areas where both the law and policy are unclear and where people of good will may be managing inappropriate programs. We should act to clarify legal standards and to encourage actors to seek guidance concerning their civil rights obligations. We could promote laws or regulations encouraging voluntary consultations with civil rights agencies. If an actor voluntarily submits his/her practice for civil rights review, he/she is safe harbored and/or any agreement approved by the civil rights agency following that review would be defended by the federal government if later challenged by a third party.
 - *Expand proactive enforcement:* Absent a formal complaint, where potential civil rights violations are discovered, civil rights agencies should follow up with the party to correct the injustice. If discussions are not fruitful, the enforcement agency reserves the right to launch a more formal civil rights enforcement examination. For example, in education, the Department of Education's Office of Civil Rights (OCR) recently learned of a Georgia education policy that placed students into gifted and talent programs based solely on IQ test scores, despite the fact that the IQ test was not validated for that purpose nor validated to be the *sole* factor for any purpose. This policy led to a disproportionately low number of minority students being admitted to gifted and talented programs. OCR consulted with Georgia officials, and the policy was properly amended.
- (d) **Mend, don't end, affirmative action as enforcement remedy and voluntary measure to promote access and inclusion**
- (e) **[Hate crimes.]**

– Discussion issues on the civil rights workplan

- After further interagency discussion, we will need policy guidance about a number of Title VI issues.
- Should we develop a package addressing “the new diversity”?
- How much technical assistance should be done proactively to implement “mend don’t end” in various sectors?

**

IV. THE LEADERSHIP CHAPTER

Following the workplan chapter, you can challenge leaders in a range of sectors to do their part, and combine this with a vision of locally-based efforts to use the promising practices and devise locally-oriented workplans. Finally, in this chapter you should describe the ongoing mechanism within the White House to help support the sectoral leadership, community-based leadership, and the Federal government elements of your workplan.

(a) Challenges for sectoral leadership

We expect, by the publication date, to have worked successfully with leadership groups in a few sectors, prompting them to develop a list of action steps tailored to their sector, and a practical strategy for implementation. A brief status report on what we have initiated follows.

- *Higher Education:* With staff support from the American Council on Education, a core group of college and university presidents is working to establish a broader coalition that will lead a coordinated campaign to educate the public about the value of diversity in higher education and to share campus practices that promote diversity. We expect them to launch the effort, designed with Frank Greer as lead consultant, sometime this fall. (There is a possibility of using a White House event to bless the undertaking.)
- *Faith Community:* Sandy Cloud of the National Conference for Community and Justice has agreed to lead a steering committee in convening, on October 22 and October 23, an implementation summit at which a group of faith leaders will write and commit to a practical work plan for both national and community-based action, and devise a coalition mechanism for follow through. This will include special efforts to reach those faith communities that have not traditionally been leaders in racial justice. In addition, at your September 11 breakfast for religious leaders, you will have an opportunity to mention

Sandy Cloud's leadership, and encourage those in the room to respond positively to the effort.

- *Corporate:* Secretary Daley will informally convene a group of CEOs in October to identify the most appropriate elements of a corporate sector initiative, and strategies for enlisting support from key executives. In preparation for that session, White House and agency staff will brainstorm with some current and former Administration officials in corporate leadership.
- *Youth:* We are organizing a team of White House staff and representatives from national youth-oriented organizations to prepare a workplan intended for widespread endorsement and dissemination. (The outside collaborators will include USSA, Young Democrats, Young Republicans, the youth divisions of the NAACP, Urban League, La Raza and the Congress of Asian Pacific American Youth.) Tentatively, we think the plan's three major components will be: (i) a national campaign to educate the youth sector about the intricacies and history of race and racism; (ii) an initiative to improve race-related curriculum and teaching in grades K-16; and (iii) a mechanism to ensure youth sector involvement.

(b) Options for an ongoing structure to carry out your work plan

While the work plan is not yet completed, we know that there will be some general components which will require continuity and should compose the major responsibilities of the new entity:

- ▶ Policy making (including research and data collection)
- ▶ Outreach and leadership development (including technical assistance to communities)
- ▶ Communication campaign (including an awards program)
- ▶ Support for promising practices (such as a clearinghouse, conferences, grant funding)

The work plan lays out an ambitious agenda that will require the involvement of several players. With such an extensive scope of work, a coordinating body for the federal sector, and for liaison with non-federal actors is needed to ensure continued momentum and follow up from outside efforts. Non-federal leaders engaged on the workplan will expect a central point of contact and technical assistance.

Option A: President's Council for One America

A1: *President's Council for One America Plus an External Advisory Committee*

The continuing effort could take a form similar to the Council for Environmental Quality or the Office of Science and Technology Policy. This arrangement would be short of the ONDCP model which has a large staff, a significant budget, and substantial operating

authority. The council, created by Executive Order, would be run by an Assistant to the President (as Executive Director) with a small staff and a blue ribbon advisory committee. A council staff should include a policy component, which would work with existing White House policy offices and federal agencies to promote data collection and research and to develop and monitor policies to overcome disparities and eliminate discrimination. It would also have a communications component, which would help lead a public education campaign, support a promising practices clearinghouse, and conduct outreach to help improve race relations.

- Pros:
- Location places the Presidency squarely behind racial reconciliation effort
 - Relatively stable structure
 - Staff appointed by you ensures White House control
 - Advisory committee offers opportunity for showcasing diverse leadership, provides credibility in building partnerships
- Cons:
- Location and staffing make the stakes high
 - Advisory committee requires support and nurturing; the familiar headaches

A2: *President's Council for One America, No Advisory Committee*

This option would be the same as option A1 but it would not include an Advisory Committee.

- Pros:
- Staff would not be distracted by the day-to-day demands of managing an Advisory Committee
- Cons:
- Lacks the outside validation that an Advisory Committee can provide

Option B: Dedicated Staff reporting to the Office of the Chief of Staff

An Assistant to the President with a small staff, reporting to the Chief of Staff's office, could take responsibility for managing Administration efforts.

- Pros:
- Closely linked to you and the White House
 - At the center of activity
- Cons:
- Not a formal structure, may not be stable
 - May not be viewed publicly as a significant enough commitment

Option C: Private Foundation Model

C1: *One America Foundation*

The structure could take the form of a private foundation, established at your urging and supported to varying degrees by the federal government, similar to the Points of Light Foundation. The goals of the foundation could include promoting research on issues of race, promoting a public education campaign to support racial reconciliation, and supporting community efforts to improve race relations. Such a foundation could perhaps best complement a separate policy-making effort within the federal government.

Pros: • Serves as umbrella to coordinate several areas of activity
• Independence
• Ability to raise money

Cons: • May not be viewed as closely connected to the White House
• Requires someone's time and attention to pull together

C2: *Clinton Library Model*

This option is similar to the Foundation model above except that it would be an endeavor for you after your final term ends, possibly as part of the Clinton library. Staff could begin immediately to design the structure.

Pros: • More time to put together the funding and structure
• You will have more time to devote to it

Cons: • Delays significant Presidential involvement for a few more years
• May be partisan resistance to participating in activities because of close alignment with this Administration

V. NEXT STEPS

...

Attachments:

- Current book outline.
- NEC memorandum on employment issues
- ???