



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
4/19/97

~~C. S. Lewis~~
What can he do
about this?
BC

MORE U.S. WEALTHY SIDESTEPPING I.R.S.

Almost 2,400 High Earners
Paid No Income Tax in '93

By DAVID CAY JOHNSTON

Nearly 2,400 of the Americans with the highest incomes paid no Federal income taxes in 1993, up from just 85 individuals and couples in 1977, the latest available information from the Internal Revenue Service shows.

While the number of Americans who make \$200,000 or more grew more than 15-fold from 1977 to 1993, the number of people in that category who paid no income taxes grew 28-fold or nearly twice as fast, according to a quarterly statistical bulletin issued by the I.R.S.

The report also shows that 18,000 Americans with high incomes paid less than 5 percent of their income in taxes. And it casts doubt on the effectiveness of the alternative minimum tax, which was designed to insure that the wealthy paid at least some income taxes.

Tax lawyers and other tax experts said yesterday that the number of Americans with incomes over \$200,000 who pay little or no income taxes had certainly grown since 1993.

The agency did not specify how the 2,392 individuals and couples were able to avoid paying income taxes, but figures in 24 pages of statistical tables it released indicate that three-fourths of them received tax-exempt interest from municipal bonds. Because municipal bond interest is generally not taxable, the interest rates paid to owners are typically less than for corporate bonds.

On one-fourth of the returns, a combination of interest deductions and taxes paid to states and local

Continued on Page A21, Column 1

Continued From Page A1

governments was the most frequent reason for eliminating Federal income taxes, the information shows. Income taxes paid to foreign governments, which generally are offset dollar for dollar against United States income taxes, were the primary reason no taxes were due in about one-fifth of the cases.

Losses from limited partnerships and S Corporations were also major reasons that no taxes were due. These types of business entities pay no income taxes, but money taken from them is included in the taxable income of partners and owners.

Economists and other experts interviewed yesterday said they also believed that falling audit rates were a significant factor in explaining how people making \$200,000 or more could pay little or no income taxes.

Experts also said the I.R.S.'s figures raised questions about the effectiveness of the alternative minimum tax, which Congress adopted in 1969, after an outcry over the disclosure by Treasury Secretary Joseph Barr that 155 individuals and families made more than \$200,000 that year but paid no income taxes.

The alternative minimum tax is a separate income tax system that allows fewer deductions and exemptions than the regular income tax. In 1986 Congress strengthened the alternative minimum tax and shut down most tax shelters.

Henry Aaron, a Brookings Institution economist, said the 1986 changes did not go far enough to eliminate differences in how various investments were treated for tax purposes. Mr. Aaron said that having so many incomes paying no taxes was "highly demoralizing" and will weaken support for the income tax system.

Barry Bosworth, another Brook-

**For some wealthy
Americans, death is
still a certainty, but
income taxes? Not
necessarily.**

ings Institution economist, said the number of high income Americans who paid no taxes was the predictable result of "a decade of highly complex changes in the tax code and their unintended consequences."

Mary B. Hevener, a former Reagan Administration tax policy adviser and now a partner at Weil Gotshal & Manges, said she was not surprised that more of the Americans with the highest incomes were paying little or no taxes.

"With diminishing audits," Ms. Hevener said, "people are realizing it is possible to save money on their taxes and they are becoming more aggressive about reducing their taxes. That is why you see this growth"

in the number of high income people who pay no Federal income taxes.

Release of the latest Statistics of Income Bulletin follows by days the posting on the Internet of I.R.S. information showing that in the past decade the agency had significantly reduced its audits of people with the highest incomes while increasing audits of those with the lowest.

Audits of those making more than \$100,000, roughly those with incomes in the top 5 percent, have fallen to less than 3 percent in 1995 from nearly 12 percent in 1988, figures obtained by the Transactional Records Access Clearinghouse at Syracuse University show. At the same time, audits of those making less than \$25,000 increased, rising to 1.04 percent in 1995 from seven-tenths of 1 percent in 1994.

The number of Americans with high incomes who pay little or no taxes will continue to rise, the experts said, in part because in 1993 Congress gave a tax break to landlords, allowing unlimited deductions for depreciation and other accounting losses. This means that a landlord who makes a \$1 million salary, but who has paper losses from a real

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

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estate investment of \$1 million, can report zero taxable income and pay no income taxes.

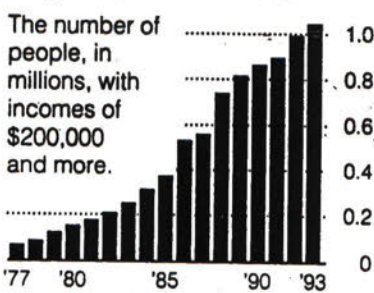
The analysis was based on the concept of "expanded income," which the I.R.S. regards as the best indicator of how much money very high income individuals and couples make. It includes the wages, dividends and interest that are included in the adjusted gross income. But it also includes interest on tax-exempt municipal bonds, nontaxable Social Security benefits, certain foreign income and other details covered by the alternative minimum tax.

A parallel set of statistics based solely on adjusted gross income showed that 1,950 of the 993,326 individuals and couples with incomes of \$200,000 or more paid no income taxes in 1993.

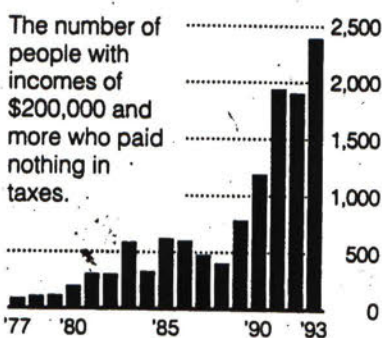
The I.R.S. audit data is posted on the Internet at <http://www.trac.syr.edu/tracirs>.

DOLLARS AND CENTS

People With High Incomes . . .



. . . Who Paid No Taxes



Source: Internal Revenue Service

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

4-18-97

Unsuccessful
to Regny - good friend
ce Salim -

Rabbi Menachem Genack
129 Meadowbrook Road
Englewood, New Jersey 07631

April 15, 1997

The story in Exodus of the redemption from Egypt begins with the inconspicuous verse "And there went a man of the house of Levi, and took to wife a daughter of Levi." (Exodus 2:1). Generally the Bible, when introducing major figures, delineates their genealogy, yet here the parents of Moses are introduced anonymously.

According to the Talmud, Amram had separated himself from his wife, Yocheved. "Why bring children into the oppressive bondage in Egypt, an existence so grim, with hope so bleak?", he asked. Yet his young daughter, Miriam prophesized that the redemption would come, and she cajoled her father to remarry her mother, and from that union was born the redeemer, Moses. Miriam, even in the darkest moments of Jewish history, never gave up hope, and communicated that hope to her parents.

The Bible wants to emphasize that what at the time seemed so insignificant, with such little prospects of success, as one couple rebuilding their family, became of such moment; sowing the seeds for the ultimate redemption.

Courage and faith, can infuse unnoticed events with historical significance. There are never impossible hurdles, only man's limited dreams, for behind the veil of history is God's hidden, loving Hand shaping and driving the human chronicle.

Menachem Genack

Todd,

I will send to ~~you~~ once
you have seen.

C.

CC: Emanuel

CC: COS

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
4-18-97

Don't reply

The Honorable William Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Y W. TUCKER

Todd,

I will send to Jim once
you have seen.

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cc: COS

OK

C.

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I my
great privilege of meeting you. It is not like me to
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pressed something more profound than, "Hey, Mr.
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in affording us the opportunity to make a hopeful
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Hill staffers (I previously served in the House as
hat, Marcy Kaptur's) to negotiating the complex
future for our quickly-expanding family.

y are deeply in-tune with the fundamental issues
emise of American family life. Through the initia-
on is enabling hard-working Americans to realize
uld expect nothing less from their elected leaders,

mother. I assure you that all of Toledo will have
dent by the time you read this letter.

family as you continue to prepare our great nation
fore us, I am gratefully and

JIM DORSKIND:

Please coordinate
the reply.

5840 Hunting Creek Road
Alexandria, Virginia 22303

hit and called out: "Hello, Mr.
President, I'd like you to meet
my mother!"

11/11/94

GREGORY W. TUCKER

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I wish to express my deep gratitude to you for taking a couple of minutes out of your golf game recently at Belle Haven Country Club in Alexandria to greet my mother, Gretchen Tucker, who was visiting with my dad from Toledo for the weekend. We were the ones who shouted at you over the fence. You were very kind to come over to us and, through barbed wire, shake mine and my mother's hand and speak with us for a moment.

We had just returned from the home of your predecessor, Mount Vernon, and had dropped my dad off at our home. He regretted missing the great privilege of meeting you. It is not like me to be so bold — especially when it is rare that the President gets a few leisurely moments to "get away" from the demands of his high office.

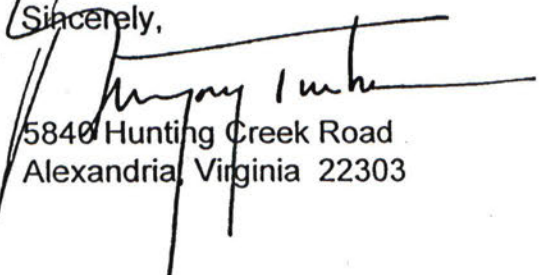
As is usually the case, one wishes he had expressed something more profound than, *"Hey, Mr. President, my Mom wants to meet you!"* Well, what I wish I had expressed is my gratitude for what you are doing for young families, like mine, in affording us the opportunity to make a hopeful future for our children through the finest education possible. My wife Catherine and I have a two year old daughter, Olivia, and are expecting our second child on or around April 9th. In a very short time we went from being care-free Capitol Hill staffers (I previously served in the House as Glenn English's press secretary, and before that, Marcy Kaptur's) to negotiating the complex issues of family life and how to provide a sound future for our quickly-expanding family.

It is abundantly clear that you and the First Lady are deeply in-tune with the fundamental issues which, left unaddressed, undermine the very premise of American family life. Through the initiatives you continue to advance, your Administration is enabling hard-working Americans to realize their fullest potential. The American people should expect nothing less from their elected leaders, nor should they hope for anything more.

Again, thank you for your kind gesture to my mother. I assure you that all of Toledo will have heard her account of her meeting with the President by the time you read this letter.

With assurance of our support for you and your family as you continue to prepare our great nation to seize the opportunities of the new century before us, I am gratefully and

Sincerely,



5840 Hunting Creek Road
Alexandria, Virginia 22303

THE BLADE

One Of America's Great Newspapers

PAGES TOLEDO, OHIO, MONDAY, MARCH 3, 1997

TODAY'S QUOTE

"Exercise is bunk. If you are healthy, you don't need it; if you are sick, you shouldn't take it."

—Henry Ford,
American auto manufacturer

■ TOLEDO, OHIO

**MIKE
TRESSLER**



SMALL WONDERS

A surprise encounter with the prez

Gretchen Tucker of Toledo isn't saying she golfed with the President of the United States, but...

Here's what happened while she and husband Dennis Tucker were visiting their son Greg Tucker, who lives in Washington:

Greg, who graduated from Toledo's St. Francis deSales High School and is a former press secretary for U.S. Rep. Marcy Kaptur, took his parents to Mount Vernon, home of George Washington. From there, Dennis returned to the Tucker house to watch a basketball game while Greg and wife Catherine took his mother shopping.

Passing a golf course, they noticed police cars. Knowing the ways of Washington, Greg guessed that President Clinton might be there. Sure enough, further along they saw him on a tee.

Greg stopped and approached the fence after Bill Clinton had hit and called out: "Hello, Mr. President, I'd like you to meet my mother!"

The President came to the fence, shook Mrs. Tucker's hand, and asked where she was from. "Toledo? I've been there, it's a fine city," he told her.

"I asked him about his golf game and he said it was good, then we left," says Greg. Gretchen, he says, told the President it was a thrill but was otherwise more or less speechless.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 4, 1997

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
4/19/97
15:22:14-2103

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ERSKINE BOWLES AND SYLVIA MATHEWS *SWAT*
SUBJECT: AMERICA 2000: A PRESIDENTIAL INITIATIVE TO
PREPARE OUR NATION FOR THE 21st CENTURY

This memorandum outlines the components of a comprehensive proposal for a Presidential initiative on race.

ISSUES FOR DECISION

1) Whether you should app
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meetings with the commissi
commissioners at the White

Back to S. Matthews

BC

(If you choose to deliver a
Bob Nash informs us that v
Even if we start the vetting
fifteen commissioners vette
which you announce the co
Service Summit and your M

BACKGROUND

This memorandum describes a proposal that will help implement your call to the American people that we must become "One America" and must confront unresolved issues of race and bigotry. As we discussed with you on March 25, we have concluded that any efforts in this area must include: 1) action on this issue; 2) an examination of the difficult issues involved in the nation's racial tensions; and 3) recommendations for addressing these problems.

This memo will discuss the various components of this proposal: 1) Mission; 2) Goals and Actions; 3) Commission; 4) Town Hall Meetings; 5) Commission Meetings at the White House; and 6) Report. A separate memo will discuss our plan for working with other groups which are not included in the scope of this initiative, but are concerned about discrimination and equality

Mission

The mission of this initiative is to enable America to prepare for the 21st Century through a nationwide program of dialogue, study and action addressing the issues of race and pluralism.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 4, 1997

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
4/19/97

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

ERSKINE BOWLES AND SYLVIA MATHEWS *EW* *SM*

SUBJECT:

AMERICA 2000: A PRESIDENTIAL INITIATIVE TO
PREPARE OUR NATION FOR THE 21st CENTURY

This memorandum outlines the components of a comprehensive proposal for a Presidential initiative on race.

ISSUES FOR DECISION

1) Whether you should appoint a commission that will help prepare Americans for the 21st Century by working to improve race relations. 2) Whether you should do a series of town hall meetings with the commission. 3) Whether you should hold meetings every other month with the commissioners at the White House.

(If you choose to deliver a speech on April 24 in which you announce the commission members, Bob Nash informs us that we need to have them selected and notified by this Monday, April 7. Even if we start the vetting process April 7, Bob feels that it would be a challenge to have all fifteen commissioners vetted in that time frame. The next opportunity to deliver a speech in which you announce the commissioners would be sometime during the week of May 12, after the Service Summit and your Mexico trip.)

BACKGROUND

This memorandum describes a proposal that will help implement your call to the American people that we must become "One America" and must confront unresolved issues of race and bigotry. As we discussed with you on March 25, we have concluded that any efforts in this area must include: 1) action on this issue; 2) an examination of the difficult issues involved in the nation's racial tensions; and 3) recommendations for addressing these problems.

This memo will discuss the various components of this proposal: 1) Mission; 2) Goals and Actions; 3) Commission; 4) Town Hall Meetings; 5) Commission Meetings at the White House; and 6) Report. A separate memo will discuss our plan for working with other groups which are not included in the scope of this initiative, but are concerned about discrimination and equality issues.

Mission

The mission of this initiative is to enable America to prepare for the 21st Century through a nationwide program of dialogue, study and action addressing the issues of race and pluralism.

This initiative is occasioned not by an immediate crisis but rather by your long term commitment that we enter the next century a strong and united country: strong because we will benefit from the talents of all our people; united because we will overcome the divisions of race that have deprived too many Americans of the full benefit of their citizenship and deprived the rest of us of the benefit of their contributions.

The initiative would be forward looking, preparing us for a new century (and a new millennium). It would address the issue of race in the contemporary American context: Hispanic, Asian American, African American, Native American, other people of color, and White.

The initiative would have several components, beginning with Presidential leadership. You would participate personally in several town hall meetings on this issue. In addition, you would ask fifteen distinguished Americans to serve on a Presidential commission that would work with you. The commission would primarily focus on basic areas which are important in providing every American the unhindered ability to pursue the American dream -- education, employment and housing -- and also address those unique issues which affect the goal of racial reconciliation and understanding -- youth, violence, the dynamic change in our nation's racial composition, global economic leadership and our criminal justice system.

The commission will engage in extensive discussions around the country, find effective interracial efforts already underway in local communities and meet with scholars who can examine certain issues in depth. The commission will report back to you regularly on their progress.

On January 19, 1998, the federal holiday marking the birth of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., you would receive the final report of the commission, including a comprehensive look at race relations in America today and recommendations for action as we go forward.

Goals and Actions

To carry out this mission, the following goals and actions have been developed.

GOAL ONE: Frame a debate with a positive, forward-looking focus on how we think and talk about race; strengthen Americans' appreciation of the value of diversity as one of our greatest resources; and instill the sense of promise that One America holds.

ACTIONS:

- Use the bully pulpit of the President to articulate these themes.
- Highlight these themes in all of the commission's activities and through targeted amplifiers (e.g. PSAs and Cabinet involvement).
- Engage Americans on these themes through the interactive components of the initiative (e.g. town hall meetings, web site, etc).
- Distribute literature reflecting these core themes through the commission to schools, businesses and community organizations.

GOAL TWO: Raise the profile of racial reconciliation and understanding, to a degree previously reached only in times of trouble.

ACTIONS:

- Introduce the initiative in a major Presidential address.
- Elevate the initiative nationally through your participation in town hall meetings, regular meetings with the commissioners and possibly a presentation of a Presidential award.
- Elevate the initiative nationally and locally through the town hall meetings, public hearings and policy roundtables sponsored by the commission.
- Activate Cabinet involvement with the commission and incorporate outside disciples and validators.
- Highlight the initiative through active involvement with the national media, through public service announcements and other ways.

GOAL THREE: Confront and work to eliminate discrimination and promote racial reconciliation and understanding.

ACTIONS:

- Survey local and community groups for ideas on best practices involving these issues.
- Serve as a clearing house to distribute best practices to a wider range of community and governmental bodies (e.g. ministerial groups, U.S. Conference on Mayors, National League of Cities and National Governors' Association)
- Highlight, analyze and develop strategies for overcoming common stereotypes and discriminatory acts through town hall meetings, public hearings and report.
- Provide recommendations for actions to eliminate certain discriminatory acts.
- Spotlight those persons, groups and businesses who exemplify One America through the town hall meetings, public hearings, your speeches, PSAs and other means.
- Consider bestowing a Presidential award or awards upon those who best exemplify One America.
- Work in partnership with non-profit organizations and businesses involved in these efforts and encourage others to join.
- Address these issues in visits to schools and campuses and through youth-oriented media.

GOAL FOUR: Initiate ongoing constructive dialogue on racial issues between and among races, which includes particular attention on how to maintain civil discourse on some of these divisive issues. Foster and encourage sustaining this dialogue through the spread of organizations which will further provide expansion of meaningful interracial dialogue.

ACTIONS:

- Establish and explain the importance of dialogue in your major speech.
- Set an example through Presidential participation in town hall meetings.
- Issue Presidential challenge for Americans across the country to join in such a dialogue in their homes, schools, businesses and places of worship.

- Encourage dialogue through a wider range of community and governmental bodies (e.g. ministerial groups, service organizations, U.S. Conference on Mayors, National League of Cities and National Governors Association).
- Engage students at schools and campuses in dialogue and create youth-oriented media which addresses the importance of dialogue.

GOAL FIVE: Foster a greater understanding among the American people of the many ways in which our racial backgrounds affect perceptions of life and events, and with that understanding, arrive at a better appreciation for the views of people of different races.

- Highlight common perceptions held by groups about themselves and others at town hall meetings and public hearings.
- Deliver insightful, accurate information that addresses those perceptions.
- Analyze how these perceptions are created and recommend effective ways for dealing with them.
- Encourage public outreach campaign that challenges stereotypes and encourages people to work beyond them.

GOAL SIX: Deliver an accurate analysis of the progress we have achieved, our present condition and the challenges ahead for the American public.

ACTIONS:

- Review existing literature and analyses, including the Truman Commission, Kerner Commission, Johnson Council and the U.S. Civil Rights Commission.
- Undertake original research which analyzes the present complexity of race and race relations in the U.S. through in-put from town hall meetings, hearings and other fact-finding.
- Study and analyze the changing demographics of the U.S. through the first fifty years of the 21st Century.

GOAL SEVEN: Provide concrete, specific recommendations on how to derive strength from this country's dynamic racial composition.

ACTIONS:

- Build a consensus locally and nationally that is committed to implementing the commission's recommendations.
- Distribute and encourage specific action items for the American people that private citizens, acting as individuals, can pursue.
- Produce report in both print form and as a living document in video format. For example, a video could include you speaking to the issue, the results of the report, footage of town hall meetings and other meetings, brief shots of commissioners and "real people" which could be shown in schools and community meetings

Commission

Charter: The commission would be charged with implementing the mission of the President's initiative by carrying out the action items. Through these efforts, the commission would help lead all Americans towards One America by bringing the races together through dialogue and education, and it would raise and answer the tough questions facing an America with a dynamic and diverse population. In the commission's report, it would make concrete recommendations for action by individuals, businesses, churches, schools and government at all levels.

Membership: The commission would be composed of approximately fifteen members. The commission would consist of distinguished Americans who transcend race and politics and who embody the vision of One America. They will be diverse professionally and racially. *(The attached memo and lists of prospective commissioners are for your consideration and selection.)*

Executive Director / Staff: An executive director and deputy director would head the commission, and be responsible for managing the commission's work. *(The attached list provides suggestions on potential executive directors for your consideration.)* They would be assisted by a full-time staff of about 30 professional and support employees. Also, various consultants and contractors will be hired to supplement the full-time staff. The commission would be housed in space outside the White House. Among other duties, the commission staff will carry out the following functions:

- support the commission members in their deliberations
- help to develop and oversee the commission's research agenda
- schedule and arrange commission meetings and hearings
- oversee the preparation of working papers and a final report
- serve as a point of contact for the press and others who are interested in the commission's work
- serve as a liaison between the commission and the White House and Executive Branch
- reach out to the public along with the commissioners

(For the Kerner Commission, President Johnson appointed David Ginsburg to be executive director and Victor H. Palmer as deputy executive director. They divided the commission's work into two phases. In the first phase, it held 20 days of public hearings between August and November 1967. More than 130 individuals from federal, state and local government, including leaders from the civil rights, labor, religious, and business community testified. Ninety professional and clerical workers supported this phase. The second phase, which extended from December 1967 to February 1968, involved reviewing the information collected from its extensive research program (e.g., they developed riot profiles on 23 cities) and drafting its final report. A professional staff of 45 professionals and clerical staff supported this phase of the work.)

Town Hall Meetings

In early June, you would kick off the commission's town hall meetings by hosting the first one. This meeting would focus on promoting the commission's goal of encouraging dialogue and preparing a road map for the 21st Century. It would provide a forum for you to emphasize the positive, forward-looking aspects of the commission and challenge the country to actively engage the commission and each other.

After this initial town hall meeting, the commission would hold a series of others in cities and rural areas around the country. You would attend two or three more meetings throughout the year. The Vice President and First Lady could also participate in town hall meetings. At these town hall meetings, commission members could encourage local officials to have preparatory, parallel and/or follow-up sessions on their own to try to agree on, or at least identify, key problems and solutions. These town hall meetings would focus on engaging and challenging the American people to discuss how we can move forward in specific areas (e.g. employment in Detroit, Michigan; education in rural south; criminal justice system in Los Angeles, California; housing in Chicago, Illinois or Santa Fe, New Mexico. *These locations and topics are illustrative only.*) The participants would consist of mostly people from the community. The town hall meetings could be policy road tests where communities can provide feedback on potential policy outcomes.

Commission Meetings at White House

Over the course of the commission, the commissioners would come to the White House every other month to meet with you. At these meetings, they would brief you on their experiences and progress.

Report

On January 19, 1998, the federal holiday marking Martin Luther King, Jr.'s birthday, the commission would deliver their report to you. The report would lay out a vision of the 21st Century. It would teach and challenge the American people. The report would reflect their outreach to thousands of Americans through town hall meetings, interviews and the nation's best minds on this subject. It would include a review of existing research and include that of the independent, bi-partisan U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. It would recommend specific concrete actions that we must take on the national and local levels to achieve this vision. This report could be a living document that educates the nation, frames the debate and provides concrete solutions for a long time to come.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

4/19/97

RECOMMENDATION

After considering different formats for pursuing your call to the American people, we recommend that you appoint a commission that will work on improving race relations, do a series of town hall meetings with the commission, and meet with the commissioners at the White House once every two months.

This option is not without drawbacks. There is the chance that the commission would recommend that we spend more money on problems despite our serious budget constraints. Also, there is a possibility that the commission will offer recommendations contrary to your policy (e.g. They recommend *against* educational standards.) Additionally, meeting with the commissioners at the White House is a great device for forcing the commission's work along and giving you some ownership, but it also makes it difficult to distance you from the deliberations and conclusions of the commission.

DECISIONS

That you appoint a commission that will work on improving race relations.

approve ☒ disapprove _____ let's discuss _____

That you do a series of town hall meetings with the commission.

approve ☒ disapprove _____ let's discuss _____

That you meet with commissioners at the White House every other month.

approve ☒ disapprove _____ let's discuss ☒

Attachment: Memorandum on Recommended Commission
Potential Executive Directors

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 4, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ERSKINE BOWLES AND SYLVIA MATHEWS *smat*

SUBJECT: COMMISSION RECOMMENDATION

Attached to this memorandum are four items: 1) the reconciliation working group's recommended commission; 2) the narrowed list of names from which we selected our recommended commission; 3) biographical information on people on the narrowed list; and 4) the master list of names under consideration.

In assembling our recommended commission, we attempted to select commissioners that would work together to accomplish the initiative's goals and actions, not necessarily "big names." Also, we tried to select those people who would be squarely focused and strongly dedicated to the initiative throughout its duration. In recommending the list of fifteen commissioners, we attempted to achieve a commission well-balanced in race, gender, geography and viewpoint. In a few slots, we listed more than one person where we thought these people brought similar attributes to that position and could be seen as interchangeable. We have included the narrowed list to show you the basic cluster of names with which we worked (and reworked) to limit our list to fifteen.

Our recommended commission does not include elected officials or people from advocacy groups. However, there are certain people, such as Rev. Jesse Jackson, Kweisi Mfume and Mary Frances Berry, who we identified that may be included in your initiative through a special role (e.g. special advisers to you or the commission). If you agree, we will work out a formal proposal for consideration.

Attachments: Recommended Commission
Narrowed List
Biographical Information on Narrowed List
Master List of Names Under Consideration

RECOMMENDED COMMISSION

1. Linda Chavez Thompson
2. Angela Oh
3. John Hope Franklin
4. Eli Weisel or Rabbi David Sapperstein*
5. Deval Patrick or Chris Edley*
6. Wilma Mankiller
7. Senator Danforth or Lynn Martin
8. Peter Gomes or Franklin Graham
9. Bill Winter or Dick Molpus
10. Elaine Jones
11. Roger Wilkins or William Julius Wilson*
12. Chancellor Tien or Norm Mineta*
13. Sal Trujillo
14. Taylor Branch or Father O'Donovan*
15. Camille Cosby or Spike Lee

* Either choice in these cases will maintain a balance of the elements we were trying to balance

NARROWED LIST

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

4/19/97

Males

1. Bill Winter
2. Bill Coleman
3. Norm Mineta
4. Senator Danforth
5. Deval Patrick
6. Chancellor Tien
7. John Hope Franklin
8. Roger Wilkins
9. William Julius Wilson
10. Glenn Loury
11. Peter Gomes or Rev. Stith
12. Bob Allen
13. Father O'Donovan
14. Eli Weisel or David Sapperstein
15. Robert Putman
16. John Wideman or Walter Mosley
17. John Singleton or Spike Lee
18. Taylor Branch

Females

1. Amy Gutmann
2. Amitai Etzioni
3. Cha Guzman
4. Condaleeza Rice
5. Elaine Jones
6. Antonia Hernandez
7. Angela Oh
8. Wilma Mankiller
9. Camille Cosby
10. Linda Chavez
11. Linda Lader

BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION
ON NARROWED LIST

Putnam, Robert (White, 56, MA): currently a professor of government at Harvard. Former Dean of the J.F.K. School of Government (resigned in 1991); writings: *Political Development and Social Change*, *Politics in Industrialized Societies*, *The Beliefs of Politicians: Ideology, Conflict, and Democracy in Britain and Italy*; Research includes a study of the annual Western economic summits.

Rice, Condaleeza (African-American, 42, Rep., CA): provost of Stanford University--the school's second highest executive and its chief academic officer; former National Security Council's senior director for Soviet affairs under President Bush; Soviet scholar and professor of political science.

Schuller, Robert Harold (White, 70, conservative, CA): one of the most popular television evangelists in the U.S.; minister in the Reformed Church in America; started his congregation in Orange County in 1955; popular television show, "Hour of Power," began in 1970; dedicated the Crystal Cathedral in 1980; author of many books including *Self-Esteem: The New Reformation* (1982) and *The Peak to Peek Principle* (1980).

Singleton, John (African-American, 30's, , CA): screenwriter, filmmaker, first African-American nominated for Best Director Academy Award (1992), director and screenwriter of *Boyz n the Hood* and *Poetic Justice*; testified before Senate Subcommittee examining violence and children.

Tarrants, Tommy (White, late 40s, DC): former KKK member convicted of numerous terrorist acts against Blacks and Jews; became a born-again Christian in prison (spent eight yrs in jail)--currently serving as a minister who preaches racial tolerance.

Tien, Chang Lin (Chinese-American, 61): educational administrator; former chancellor of University of California, Berkeley, plans to go back to teaching and research; he has served for more than 30 years as an advisor as consultant to industry and government on many energy, environment and high-tech issues. Member of U.S Committee for Economic Development and the Council on Foreign Relations, and is on the board of the Asia Foundation.

Thompson, Linda Chavez (Hispanic-American, 52, Dem.,DC): executive vice president of AFL-CIO, elected in 1995--first woman and first Hispanic to be elected to such a position; daughter of Mexican migrant farm workers and longtime union activist.

Weisel, Eli (Jewish, 70ish, NY): Nobel Peace Prize winner and noted author, survivor of Nazi concentration camp (Auschwitz), human-rights activist and chairman of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council; scholar of the Holocaust.

Wideman, John Edgar (African-American, 55, MA): professor of Literature and Creative Writing at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst; books include *Brothers and Keepers* (1991) which brought Wideman national notoriety, and it addressed success and failure on white society's terms. His writings in the 1990s give a pessimistic view of race relations and a warning the widening social/racial gap may result in major social disruption.

Wright, Roger (African-American, 65, Dem., DC): writer, co-recipient of Pulitzer Prize and professor of History and American Culture at George Mason University; chronicled his individual struggle and personal liberation as a black American in his autobiography *A Man's Love* (1982); wrote a landmark article for the New York Times (1989) called "The Black Poor are Different" where he provided steps for changing the status quo within urban black communities.

Wilson, William Julius (African-American, 61, Dem., MA): professor of Sociology at the JFK School of Government at Harvard; forceful articulator and researcher on problems of inner-city industrial America; President Clinton is on record commenting that Mr. Wilson's work has helped him "see race and poverty and the problems of the inner city in a different light"; Time magazine named him one of 25 Most Influential Americans in 1996; recent book, *Then Work Begins: The World of the New Urban Poor*; his other books include *Declining Significance* (1979) and *The Truly Disadvantaged* (1987).

Werner, William F. (White, 74, Dem., MS): former governor of Mississippi with a reputation as a strong supporter of education and civil rights--brought black voters into the Democratic Party in large numbers; unsuccessfully ran for the Senate in 1984.

MASTER LIST OF NAMES UNDER CONSIDERATION

Former Public Officials

Bradley, Bill
Bradley, Tom
Baker, Nancy Kassebaum
Boggs, Corrine "Lindy"
Bush, George
Caperton, Gaston
Carter, Jimmy
Carter, Hodding
Carter, Rosalynn
Celeste, Dick
Christopher, Warren
Coleman, William
Cisneros, Henry
Cuomo, Mario
Danforth, John
Dole, Bob
Dole, Elizabeth
Ford, Gerald
Gantt, Harvey
Goldwater, Barry
Gray, William
Hatfield, Mark
Higgenbotham, Leon
Martin, Lynn
Molpus, Dick
Mondale, Walter
Mikva, Abner
Mineta, Norm
Molpus, Dick
Nunn, Sam
Patrick, Deval
Powell, Colin
Reynoso, Cruz
Richards, Ann
Rudman, Warren
Simon, Paul
Simpson, Alan
Sullivan, Louis
Winter, William
Young, Andrew

Educators/Scholars

Appiah, Anthony
Adams, John Hurst
Bell, Derrick
Branch, Taylor
Compolo, Tony
Cole, Johnetta
Cortez, Ernie
Dees, Morris
De La Garza, Rodolfo
Edley, Chris
Etzioni, Amitai
Franklin, John Hope
Galston, Bill
Gates, Henry
Glazer, Nathan
Gutmann, Amy
Guzman, Cha
Hochschild, Amy
Hugh, Price
Jencks, Christopher
Kennedy, Randall
Lawrence, Chuck
Lipset, Seymour Martin
Matsuda, Mari
Mosley, Walter
Patterson, Orlando
Poussaint, Alvin
Putnam, Robert
Reagon, Bernice Johnson
Rice, Condaleeza
Rodin, Judy
Simmons, Ruth
Sniderman, Paul
Takaki, Ronald
Thomas, Franklin
Tien, Chang Lin
West, Cornell
West, Richard
Wideman, John
Wilson, William Julius
Wilkins, Roger

Non-Profit Leaders

Blackwell, Angela
Dart, Justin
Franklin, William
Jones, Anna Faith
Woodson, Robert

Business Leaders

Allaire, Paul
Allen, Bob
Alvorado, Linda
Chao, Elaine
Chenault, Ken
Eisner, Michael
Enrico, Roger
Gerstner, Lou
Johnson, Robert
Jordan, Vernon
Lafontante, Jewel
Lewis, Loida
McColl, Hugh
Schacht, Hank
Smale, John
Trujillo, Sal
Walters, Susan

Sports and Entertainment Celebrities

Cosby, Bill
Cosby, Camille
Irving, Julius
Lear, Norman
Lee, Spike
Marsalis, Wynton
Robinson, David
Robinson, Sharon
Spielberg, Steven
Singleton, John
White, Reggie
Winfrey, Oprah
Woods, Tiger

Religious Leaders

Argue, Don
Bookbinder, Hyman
Campbell, John Brown
Gomes, Peter
Graham, Billy
Graham, Franklin
Harris, Barbara
Hesburg, Theodore
Miranda, Jesse
O'Donovan, Leo
Tarrants, Tommy
Sapperstein, David
Shuller, Robert
Stith, Charles
Weisel, Eli

Civil Rights Advocates

Berry, Mary Frances
Chase, JoAnn
Furutani, Warren
Hernandez, Antonia
Huerta, Delores
Hernandez, Andrew
Jones, Elaine
Jackson, Jesse
King, Dexter
King III, Martin Luther
Loury, Glenn
Martinez, Wilma
Mfume, Kweisi
Oh, Angela
Rivera, David
Salsibury, Louis

Media

Fallows, Jim
Moyers, Bill
Rasberry, William

Others

Angelou, Maya

Browning, Gene

Lader, Linda

Thompson, Linda Chavez

Mankiller, Wilma

Morrison, Toni

Sweeney, John

POTENTIAL EXECUTIVE DIRECTORS

Below are listed potential executive directors. The working group has spent a substantial time working on the initiative proposal and commission members and have not created a definitive list or made a recommendation on executive director. However, we thought we would include the list for your consideration.

Dellinger, Walter
Edley, Chris
Glynn, Tom
Hayes, Richard
Noble, Ron
Patrick, Deval
Pulley, Cassandra
Sawhill, Isabel

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 25, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

**FROM: ERSKINE BOWLES, SYLVIA MATHEWS
 AND THE RECONCILIATION GROUP**

SUBJECT: ACTION ON RECONCILIATION

PURPOSE

This memorandum is to prepare you for Tuesday's meeting on proposals for combating discrimination and intolerance and promoting racial understanding and reconciliation. The memorandum is an informational memorandum for our discussion. Therefore, we have not included any recommendations.

What follows is a discussion on background, scope and two proposals for your consideration. Attached to the memorandum are the following background items: 1) a memorandum on the previous presidential commissions dealing with race relations; 2) excerpts from editorials on a race commission; and 3) a list of the reconciliation working group members.

BACKGROUND

In examining whether to form a race commission, we considered how to address your concerns, as articulated in the State of the Union Address, that America must become "One America" and must confront unresolved issues of race and bigotry. Over the last few weeks, we have convened a number of meetings (list of participants attached) to devise a proposal that would enable you to take steps to improve race relations, lessen intolerance and capitalize on the nation's diversity as a strength.

In order to achieve the difficult balance between study and action, we have concluded that any proposal must include two elements: 1) an ability to provide immediate action on this issue, which includes creating a greater dialogue between the races in this country; and 2) the means to examine the difficult policy issues involved and to provide recommendations for addressing them. This memo lays out two options for pursuing these goals: 1) a commission with an action entity and a study entity; and 2) a series of town meetings, a national conference and a report from the President to the American people.

Either undertaking is not without risks. A candid discussion of race and discrimination is bound to stir passions, cause controversy and give offense across the political spectrum. Specific remedial prescriptions are sure to spark controversy. For example, if you appoint a commission, we might receive recommendations on affirmative action that do not align with our position.

Also, choosing participants for such a commission would present a challenge in balancing the twin goals of reaching a consensus and including diverse opinions.

Yet, along with the risks is the opportunity to provide leadership that may change the national environment concerning race and discrimination. While any President is in a special position to use the moral authority of the office to promote healing of the racial divides and an appreciation of our diversity as a nation, you are unique because of your deep commitment to racial justice and reconciliation and your ability to talk about race and unity in a way that moves the American people. Moreover, we believe that leading the country towards racial reconciliation and tolerance could be a central element of the legacy you leave as President.

SCOPE

A threshold question that you need to confront is how broad or narrow this initiative should be. Three options to consider are the following: 1) an initiative that addresses racial issues exclusively; 2) a "unity" initiative which broadly encompasses minorities affected by bigotry and intolerance, including racial groups, women, the disabled, gays and lesbians; or 3) an initiative that would be dominated by race issues, but also generally address other, often inter-related types of discrimination. This concept might be titled "race and intolerance" or "race and unity."

The argument for focusing specifically on racial intolerance is that the long history of racial struggle for civil rights has led to a consensus on the principle of racial equality. Precisely because that consensus has become fragile--witness the attacks on affirmative action and the anti-immigrant rhetoric--your initiative must focus solely on racial discrimination in order to reinforce and strengthen our country's commitment to equality. Another reason for focusing on racial intolerance is that a commission or conference about everything will, in the end, be about nothing. Also, the issue of race is in itself a very difficult, complex, broad-ranging problem that touches everyone.

The argument for a broad "unity" focus is the fulfillment of your call for "One America." Many of the problems of discrimination and hatred are experienced just as strongly by groups other than racial minorities. Narrowing the initiative's charter may yield discord among key constituencies, and we may find ourselves responding to highly visible and vocal criticism from certain constituencies from the onset of our effort. Gays and lesbians may argue that their struggle for civil rights is now coming of age and that to not include them in a reconciliation initiative may be characterized as a lack of commitment to broad inclusion in the Administration's initiatives.

The argument for a "race and intolerance" or "race and unity" initiative is that it recognizes that it is race which continues to be "The American Dilemma," without dismissing others who face intolerance and bigotry.

OPTION I: RACE COMMISSION

One option is for you to create and appoint a race commission by Executive Order. The commission would have two components: 1) an action task force which would conduct a sustained and intensive campaign to build a national environment receptive to addressing the divisions within our country; and 2) an academic task force which would conduct an effort to develop a deeper understanding and provide recommendations to overcome the differential treatment accorded various groups. The commission would thus be both action-oriented and academic.

Membership / Executive Director: The commission would be composed of approximately twenty to twenty-five members and would be national, diverse (geographically, racially and professionally) and bi-partisan. We believe that limiting the commission's size is important to create a group that can actually achieve something. The members would be former elected public officials, former judges, educators, business and religious leaders, sports and entertainment notables, scholars, foundation and other non-profit officials, and civil rights and community advocates. Due to the commission's size limitations, currently serving elected officials may not be included because inclusion would lead to a demand that could not be met. The commission would be administered by an executive director. This position will be a key to the success or failure of the commission. The selection of the members and the executive director will communicate how serious, bold and creative you consider this project.

Action Task Force: To pursue an action agenda, the commission would have a task force that heightens awareness, promotes reconciliation, confronts negative stereotypes and encourages rational discourse on divisive issues. The action task force would pursue these objectives through various initiatives, including: 1) holding town meetings and debates which include state and local leadership; 2) surveying local and community groups for ideas that already work and disseminate best practices to a wider range of community and governmental bodies (e.g. ministerial groups, U.S. Conference on Mayors and National League of Cities); 3) reaching out to youth in schools and on campuses through meetings and youth-oriented media; 4) nominating people and groups for a Presidential Award; 5) initiating a nation-wide theme campaign; and 6) creating public service announcements. Also, the action task force could sponsor a White House Conference on Hate Crimes, which would unequivocally signal the Administration's opposition to and abhorrence of violence against those who may be different from others, and bring affected groups together to identify commonalities and possible solutions.

Academic Task Force: A scholarly task force created by the commission would undertake an inquiry that would draw upon the nation's best minds on this subject. This task force would organize working groups to review existing research, pursue original research and recommend action. Among others, the group could focus on the following specific areas: judicial system, education, housing, employment and health care.

Timing: The action task force would be at work over the next year. The academic task force would deliver a report to you one year from its inception. Under current assumptions, which include time for selecting and appointing the members, a realistic timeframe would probably indicate an initiation date between July - September 1997 and a report date between November - December 1998.

Variant: A variant of the commission option splits the action and study entities (described above) into two separate organizations: a Commission on Race and a Council on Unity. Ideally, the commission and council would be well coordinated, but one would not have formal authority over the other. The commission would be a scholarly endeavor and focus on the policy issues of racial discrimination. The council would be action-oriented and broadly focused to include issues of discrimination against women, the disabled, gays and lesbians. The council would do all those things that the action task force would do (e.g., youth outreach, town meetings, etc.). This commission/council option may simplify participant selection with academics and experts on the commission and public figures on the council. However, this option has its drawbacks in that the broader public may be confused about the role and purpose of the two entities, especially if the council is more broadly defined. Furthermore, a dual-entity option could set up a jurisdictional dispute between the council and the commission.

Pros and Cons on Commission

Pros

- If successful, the commission's report will be a living document that guides the nation's thought on race relations and frames the debate and solutions for a long time to come (e.g. Kerner report and Nation at Risk).
- A commission could provide a flexible tool for utilizing your participation. This option would allow your time to be strategically scheduled. Thus, your schedule could include various events such as town halls, meetings with the commissioners and public service announcements.
- A commission provides your Presidential imprimatur which lends the authority and high-profile of your office to this important initiative, while it also provides some distance from a hot-button, high-risk issue.
- Establishing an independent bi-partisan commission widens the range of advice received and issues considered, enhances the credibility of the commission's findings and recommendations, and shows that to promote the long-term public good, you are willing to run the risk of receiving recommendations that may not be fully consistent with your own views.

- There are a number of areas (e.g. reinforcing the legitimacy of the criminal justice system for all Americans) in which the problems are clearer than the solutions. The commission would address the need for more policy research in areas that need it. By harnessing the research of the nation's top thinkers, it could enhance policy-making at all levels and provide guidance on non-governmental actions. (This can be accomplished less directly in the second option.)
- Through its action component, the commission could overcome the "study means delay rather than action" criticism and provide a base for reaching out to the American people.
- It addresses the need for more research in areas that need it and leverages the Administration's resources by placing the policy work outside your Administration.

Cons

- Depending on the strength of the commission, you could cede control over large aspects of your domestic agenda -- for example, welfare, education, and criminal justice -- to an outside body that may or may not agree with your priorities or accept the constraints of your budget. Of course, you could reject all or part of the commission's eventual recommendations, but that could present a difficult situation.
- Appointing a commission will pose a number of difficult questions. Membership? How wide or narrow should be the spectrum of ideological views represented on the Commission? The size of a commission is necessarily limited, hence the membership is often drawn largely from academics and economic elites. Also, selecting appropriate members to fulfill the action *and* scholarly functions further complicates the selection process. (However, participation in any proposal on this issue will be difficult.)
- If there is an emphasis on balancing the commission across the ideological spectrum, it may make civil rights advocates in the community nervous about potential outcomes.
- The use of a "commission" to address this issue subjects you to criticism that you are foregoing action on the issue of race and discrimination only to study a problem which has been studied long enough.
- A commission may not take full advantage of your unique talents on this issue. Any President could appoint a commission and respond to its proposals. You have the unprecedented ability to talk about race in a way that the American people respond to and to construct your *own* agenda for racial reconciliation.
- Commissions are often "top-down" exercises rather than "bottom-up." Many of the important ways to improve race relations may not lie within the ambit of the federal government. The problem is national, but many of the solutions may be local. State and

local governments, religious institutions, charities, private enterprise and individual citizens must participate.

An independent commission opens the possibility of stalemate from a divided commission (e.g. Advisory Council on Social Security, which split into three factions on privatization recommendations, and the U.S. Civil Rights Commission).

A commission with scholarly and action task forces may confuse the public, and lead to ongoing jurisdictional fights and substantive disagreements between the two groups.

OPTION II: TOWN MEETINGS, NATIONAL CONFERENCE AND REPORT

This proposal, you would convene a series of town hall meetings, host a national conference at the White House, and deliver a report from the President to the American people. The original proposal was devised with specific details so that you may envision the positive and negative aspects that might result from this concept. The details would be refined and modified, if necessary, to reflect this proposal. The concept includes the following components:

Meetings: A series of four "town halls" on specific race-related issues would be held: two led by you, one by the Vice President and one by the First Lady.

Subject/Location: These events would occur in different areas of the country among different kinds of communities (rural/urban): judicial system in Los Angeles, California; employment in Detroit, Michigan; education in rural south; housing in Chicago, Illinois or Santa Fe, New Mexico. (These locations are illustrative only.)

Participants: The participants would consist of mostly people from the community, a few experts in the field and you. The experts could contribute empirical evidence and objective analysis to the discussion and listen to citizens for input into the Presidential report to the American people.

Timing: At the earliest, the town meetings would start in the early part of summer. One town meeting per month could follow with the conference in the fifth month and the report following the conference.

Action: The town halls would be part of our policy development where certain policy ideas could be tested. For example, affirmative action could be a topic of the discussion on the judicial system where we elicit the community's views and reflect on our policy decisions. To develop these policies, we could put into place a broad process that is led by the White House and involves all the agencies. This group could also reach out to public policy experts outside the government. This process, with the events described above serving as action-forcing mechanisms, would produce a wide range of actions and proposals -- both large and small, executive and legislative. Also, this process would feed

into a report to the Nation with specific proposals based on the town meetings and outreach to scholars and other experts in the field. Furthermore, papers and essays, which may provide a valuable resource for communities, might be commissioned and released in conjunction with the town hall meetings and the conference.

You could encourage local officials to have preparatory, parallel and/or follow-up sessions on their own to try to agree on, or at least identify, key problems and solutions. If these meetings are successful, they may become regularized forums in the communities and proliferate to other communities. Ideally, these meetings would be the seeds of organizations that live on and promote interracial dialogue in the local communities. We may even explore ways in which the Administration could provide encouragement or support to sustain this dialogue.

Conference: Following these town meetings, a multi-day conference would be held.

Subject/Location: The conference would be at the White House and would consist of a number of segments (e.g. panels and roundtables). For example, the conference could include the following segments: 1) judicial system; 2) employment; 3) education; 4) housing; 5) hate crimes; 6) best practices for local communities; 7) families; 8) government's role; and 9) racial groups differing perceptions.

Participants: Participants would vary segment to segment. They would include all the people who would be candidates for the commission (former elected officials, former judges, educators, business and religious leaders, civil rights advocates, and scholars). The conference would include elected officials (e.g., Members of Congress, mayors and governors). It also would include the participation of the town hall communities so that they could share their experience with the other conference participants.

Timing: At the earliest, this conference could be held in early fall.

Action: The conference would provide a forum for a national articulation of the existing problems and solutions as presented by everyday people, experts and leaders. Cabinet Secretaries could prepare materials to help focus and guide discussions on topics relevant to their missions. As with the town meetings, policy announcements could accompany and/or follow the conference. The conference results would be included in the report by the President to the American people.

President's Report to the American People: Following the town hall meetings and conference, a report "from the President to the American People" would be developed for you.

Participants: The report would include input by the communities, the agencies and experts in the field. The White House would work with an informal outside group to draft the report.

Timing: The anniversaries of the birth or death of Martin Luther King, Jr. have been suggested as dates for delivery of the report.

Action: The report would be a thoughtful, comprehensive description of the existing problems and a presentation of action items to address those problems. It would include the following items: 1) an update on the state of race relations and discrimination in the U.S. today, including a report on our progress since the Kerner Commission; 2) a description of those events that have occurred through your initiative - your town halls, others' town halls and the conference; 3) recommendations for moving the country forward; and 4) a selection of realistic action items which you could pledge to pursue.

Pros and Cons of Town Meetings, National Conference and Report

Pros

- This option fully draws upon your unique talents on this issue. It places you in the forefront of the issue that you have exhibited an ability to talk about race in a way that moves the American people. It allows you to more fully demonstrate the power of moral leadership.
- It addresses several needs: 1) bringing people in communities together to talk to each other about these issues; 2) forcing policy development on this issue in the government; 3) creating a comprehensive and inclusive report through the town halls and conference; 4) initiating broad-based action on this issue.
- It would allow you to maintain control over the long term and allow you, with input from the people most affected, to create your *own* agenda for unity and reconciliation that is consistent with your priorities and within the constraints of your budget.
- This initiative increases our ability to actively include more national and community leaders.
- It directly confronts the broad-scale policy issues of criminal justice and education that are central to achieving progress in this area.
- The process of this initiative has the potential to improve race relations and promote tolerance through broad-scale, community-based dialogue, as well as generate innovative solutions to old and new problems alike.

Cons

- Town halls may be perceived as a shallow exercise of talk without serious action. Many people think we have studied and discussed the questions involving race long enough and that it is past time to put that study to practical use.
- We may receive a "not another White House conference" response.
- The town halls and a conference bring this hot, divisive issue literally to your front door. If the town halls and the White House conference are to be a real discussion of the issues, principals may be in a position to receive strong criticism directly.

Attachments

Memorandum on the Previous Presidential Commissions Dealing with
Race Relations
Excerpts from Editorials on Race Commissions
List of Reconciliation Working Group

EXCERPTS FROM EDITORIALS ON RACE COMMISSION

ANTI-COMMISSION:

"Nation Doesn't Need a Kerner II," Editorial, *The Tampa Tribune*, 10/30/95

The dilemma of rough-edged race relations has been commissioned, studied and talk-showed with small result. But better race relations will come from sincere efforts at the local level, not from another Washington-based government commission. [The Kerner report] ignores the fact that there are other groups in this nation besides Americans of European and African descent. We are a multiracial society, more so than when that report was written. The report devoted 70 pages to the education, housing, job training and welfare programs that the authors thought would bring blacks into the national mainstream. The only real obstacle the commissioners foresaw was some resistance in raising the necessary taxes. We now know that too much faith was put in Washington. There is no reason to believe that lawmakers and bureaucrats are any better equipped this time around. Improved race relations will come from the dedicated efforts of churches, community organizations, employers and individuals at the local level. That is where people interact with each other every day. It is through personal contact and open, honest dialogue that real improvement will take place.

ANTI-COMMISSION:

"One Study of Race Echoes Another," by Alan Lupo, *Boston Globe*, 11/5/95

In Washington, they are talking about another study of race relations, another commission - a "blue-ribbon" commission of course, not some run-of-the-mill gathering of alleged experts, but one with ribbons. So the big boys down in D.C. are talking studies again. One of the first witnesses was Dr. Kenneth Clark, a noted scholar and African-American, testified that he had read the report "of the 1919 riot in Chicago, and it is as if I were reading the report of the investigating committee on the Harlem riot of '35, the report of the investigating committee on the Harlem riot of '43, the report of the McCone Commission on the Watts riot. I must again in candor say to you members of this commission - it is a kind of Alice in Wonderland - with the same moving picture re-shown, over and over again, the same analysis, the same recommendations, and the same inaction." The report noted, "We have learned much, but we have uncovered no startling truths, no unique insights, no simple solutions. The destruction and the bitterness of racial disorder, the harsh polemics of black revolt and white repression have been seen and heard before in this country. It is time now to end the destruction and the violence, not only in the streets of the ghetto but in the lives of people." And now they're talking about another commission? Another study? Forget the commission. Forget the study. Save a pile of buckaroones by simply reprinting the 1968 report, which, in paperback form, contained more than 600 pages of explanation, testimony, history, perspective and proposals. In the wake of the right-wing political blitzkrieg of the past two decades on both common sense and compassion,

perhaps a few more quotes are in order. The commission argued that the alternative to a divided America would require "a commitment to national action - compassionate, massive and sustained, backed by the resources of the most powerful and the richest nation on the earth. . . . The vital needs of the nation must be met; hard choices must be made, and, if necessary, new taxes enacted."

So the commission proposed programs for everything from job training, to criminal justice reform, to better education. It suggested, for example, more public housing "with emphasis on small units." Sound familiar today? It suggested consolidating existing job-training programs to avoid duplication? Hey, have we heard that recently? Aha, conservatives now mutter. You see? We spent all that money, and the poor are still poor and having poor babies. And liberals answer: What money? We started, but we never finished. The money went south, really south, to wage not a war on poverty but a war on Southeast Asians. So, by all means, then, let us have another study. It's a traditional cop out. Poles in both parties can claim they are doing something about the divisive issues of race and class. And Bill Clinton and Newt Gingrich might especially like it, because it's such a neat baby boomer exercise - to talk, and talk, and talk, without ever having to take the shot to the face by making an unpopular commitment, such as raising taxes. They can have neat hearings in those alabaster conference rooms for which D.C. is so famous. And the media will converge breathlessly to report on the best sound bites. And some of us will wonder how many in the media and how many testifying will even know what Kenneth Clark said in 1967. "I read that report . . . the 1919 riot in Chicago, and it is as if I were reading the report of the investigating committee on the Harlem riot of '35 . . ."

PRO-COMMISSION:

"Do We Need Another Blue-Ribbon Investigation?" Editorial, *The Dallas Morning News*, 10/23/95

Not since the 1960s has our country been so wracked by the divisiveness of race. Without a true assessment of how we as a nation are doing to provide each citizen an equal opportunity to reach his or her full potential, misperceptions on the effort will continue to fuel racial tensions. A report can help bridge racial divide. Given how high racial tensions have been running, something has to be done, even if only symbolically. Another commission to give America an up-to-date report card on civil rights could be useful in sorting out statistics and perceptions. Some studies indicate that middle-class blacks have made enormous progress in recent years. At the same time, rates of illegitimacy have gone up, and record numbers of black men have been incarcerated. A carefully selected commission could dispel some perceptions and affirm others. It would give the nation a new empirical base from which to move forward. But no report is worth the paper it is written on if there is no serious political will to act on its conclusions. Thus, a commission must have strong support from the president and Congress. There must be a commitment at the local level to improving race relations that goes far beyond enforcement of equal-opportunity laws. Laws can change people's actions but not their attitudes. "Do we need another blue-ribbon investigation?"

PRO-COMMISSION, ACTION ENCOURAGED:

"It Can't Hurt: Any New Commission on Race Relations Should Propose Solutions, Not Pin Blame," Viewpoint, *Nassau and Suffolk Edition*, 10/19/95

Despite the desperate need to defuse tensions between blacks and whites, it's hard to get excited about a national commission on race relations. The creation of blue-ribbon panels, however, is often a convenient, even cynical, way to duck tough issues. Washington is famous for that. There's a slim possibility on a problem so volatile as race that the commission could actually increase divisiveness, by squabbling over its membership, leadership and scope. [W]hile there have been changes for the good - the emergence of a black middle class and some gains in education and in the professional ranks for people of color - the continuing divisions were easy to see in the racially polarized reactions to the O.J. Simpson verdict and other recent flash points. Jesse Jackson said, in calling for a White House conference on urban policy, economic development and equal opportunity, "We don't need to be studied; we need to be employed." If the panel is to be of real value, however, it must be more than merely a starting point for frank discussion and fresh ideas - although those are needed. It must not get bogged down on the issue of who's to blame - there's plenty on all sides of the racial divide - but instead come up with specific ideas for action. And not just for government.

PRO-COMMISSION, ACTION ENCOURAGED:

"A Commission, and More," Editorial, *The Christian Science Monitor*, 10/19/95

[I]t has been nearly 30 years since the last hard, public look at race in America, the 1968 Kerner Commission. Things may no longer be as simple as "two societies ... separate and unequal." Another examination - of a country whose racial and ethnic mix is rapidly changing - would be useful. But only if it's joined to the kind of individual and community changes urged by Monday's marchers. The building of a more perfect union remains America's central task, and it has to be tackled through the prayers, actions, and thoughtful attention of everyone. No one need wait for a definitive study.

COMMISSION FOR COMMON GROUND:

"The Search for Common Ground," Editorial, *The Fresno Bee*, 10/22/95

The divisions are deeply drawn between the races in America. Efforts at the highest level could help bridge that dangerous gap. Presidential commissions are often disparaged as a way to avoid difficult issues, and their reports dismissed as collections of pieties that make a day's headlines and are then quickly forgotten. But given everything that's occurred in this country in the past few years, President Clinton can hardly refuse the proposal, endorsed by members of Congress of both parties, to name a commission on the state of race relations in America. The

need for such a statement on race relations from a respected panel is even more necessary now. For rarely, if ever, have even the perceptions of the nation's racial divide been as divided. Most troubling...is how differently whites and African-Americans view the criminal justice system, a fundamental institution of a civilized society. Unfortunately much of the nation still fails to recognize the nature of such social dynamite. That failure by itself is reason enough for a commission. Our divided perceptions cry out for a new, serious attempt to find the common ground from which all people of good will, white and black, can proceed.

PUBLIC DIALOGUE:

**"America Has a Race Crisis That Americans Have to Discuss," by David Broder,
International Herald Tribune, 10/12/95**

In the last few days, The Washington Post has been publishing polls dramatizing the gulf in perceptions on a wide range of subjects. Whites predominantly and mistakenly believe that blacks have achieved parity with whites in income, jobs, education, housing and other measures of well-being. As a consequence, few whites but most blacks believe racial discrimination is a continuing problem. The gap is so wide, said Robert J. Blendon, the Harvard professor who analyzed the poll, that "blacks and whites may as well be on two different planets." The danger in that situation cannot be reduced without honestly confronting it, nor will it be helped by an inherently exclusionary march of a million black men in Washington on Monday. Now is the time, while the Simpson case is still echoing, for President Clinton to take the lead in organizing a public dialogue among Americans of different races about where we are and where we are going, as he suggested Tuesday he might do. The television and press, which gave so much attention to the trial, ought to make comparable time available for this conversation. Of course it is risky for leaders to step forward. But the president could do no greater service to the nation than convening the first such group and inviting the nation to join in - while there is still time.

ADDENDUM

INSTRUCTIVE EXERCISE:

**"'Nightline' Series Confronts Hard Realities of Racial Gulf," by Tom Walter,
The Commercial Appeal (Memphis), 5/24/96**

One of Nightline's most instructive exercises this week was asking those white Philadelphians whether they favored affirmative action. None did. But then anchor Ted Koppel put it another way. Say there's an organization that determines race. Say it made a mistake when it had you born white and was changing your color to black tomorrow. Would you accept payment in return? Many of the whites did - up to \$ 50 million to help ease the pain of being black in this society. These white people clearly believed being black made it harder to make your way in America. Twenty-eight years after the Kerner Commission Report, many white people want to throw their hands in the air and say: Two separate, unequal societies? Sure. Things will never change. But at least Nightline assumes things must change if America is to fulfill its promise to everyone.

KERNER REPORT AT 20 YEARS:

By Barbara Vobedja, *The Washington Post*, 3/1/88

Today, a group of experts on race and urban affairs, some of whom had worked on the Kerner Commission report, said that the problems the commission set out to erase two decades ago persist. While great strides have been made in some areas of race relations, the plight of poor, inner-city blacks, they concluded, is more dismal now than it was 20 years ago. The panelists, organized by former Oklahoma senator Fred R. Harris (D), one of the Kerner Commission's 11 members, spent the weekend assessing the state of black America on the 20th anniversary of the landmark report. They pointed to gains, primarily the emergence of a black middle class, the election of black political leaders and the integration of police forces, newsrooms, corporate offices and other previously segregated workplaces. "The Kerner report warning is coming true," the group said in its update of the original report. "America is again becoming two separate societies" Tearing the nation apart today, the new document said, are "quiet riots," in the form of unemployment, poverty, housing and school segregation and crime. "These quiet riots are not as noticeable to outsiders . . . but they are more destructive of human life than the violent riots of 20 years ago." Much like their counterparts two decades ago, members of the group called for public job and housing programs and urged that affirmative action be enforced and the minimum wage be raised. But for some who were here, the exercise was more sobering than their work on the presidential panel -- the sense of promise dulled by two decades of experience. But the epic, charted in stacks of academic papers compiled for this conference, has unfolded with a menacing twist. While civil rights legislation and Great Society programs enabled middle- and working-class families to leave the inner cities, their departure,

in combination with economic and other factors, has created urban ghettos far worse than those of the late 1960s, Wilson said.

KERNER REPORT AT 25 YEARS:

By Chris Reidy, *The Boston Globe*, 4/4/93

A Democrat from Oklahoma who ran for president in 1976, Harris says there was much progress between 1968 and 1978. But then the economy slumped and President Reagan cut federal aid. Between 1981 and 1991, urban aid declined by 50 percent, says the National League of Cities. With subsidies slashed, Harris notes, cities experienced "quiet riots" of despair and poverty, riots far more destructive in human terms than the fires of the 1960s. "It's a myth of the Reagan administration that nothing the government tries works," Harris says. "What we tried largely worked. Either we quit trying or we're not trying hard enough. As a result, all major cities are re-segregating. They're just as bad as 25 years ago. Gaps that had narrowed are widening again - infant mortality, life expectancy, the number of people going to college. We have to focus again on people: job training, child development, education." Last month, the Milton S. Eisenhower Foundation reached a similar conclusion, issuing a silver anniversary update on the Kerner Commission report. The foundation urges Congress to enact a 10-year plan that would allocate \$ 30 billion annually to job training and education, says the foundation's Vesta Kimble. The 29-page summary may have "captured headlines," Lemann says, but it was "unrepresentative" of the commission's 609-page report. In any case, the general perception was that Lindsay's words represented a solid consensus. That such a harsh indictment could seemingly come from a group of 11 mainstream moderates gave the report added impact. The perception of police brutality in the Rodney King case provoked riots in Los Angeles last spring. In response, the California Legislature formed a committee on the "Los Angeles crisis." Its conclusions were similar to those of the Kerner Commission. In Washington, President Bush fashioned his own response to the LA crisis. Congress approved his emergency aid package, but Bush vetoed it the day after he lost the election, the Eisenhower Report notes. Earlier, Bush and his advisers had decided against appointing a Kerner-like commission. Says Lemann, "They figured, 'Why give critics a platform to beat up on Bush in an election year?'"

FORMER KERNER COMMISSIONER'S VIEWS:

"Race Relation Commission Vital to Review Today's Issues,"

***All Things Considered*, NPR, 10/18/95**

Judge Nathaniel Jones, U.S. Court of Appeals, 6th Circuit: "My first reaction is similar to the reaction that Dr. Kenneth Clarke, the very imminent social scientist, expressed in testimony before the Kerner Commission in 1968...[t]hat this is sort of like Alice in Wonderland with the same moving picture reshown over and over again, the same analysis, the same recommendations, and the same inaction. That was my initial reaction. Now, on reflection, though, I feel that a

commission of national stature would be very timely because it appears to me that one of the great problems we have is a severe case of national amnesia. We do not, as a society, seem to be able to recall with precision and with accuracy the racial history that we as a country have had and why it's necessary for various steps to be taken to redress vestiges of that past. I would suggest that people even go back beyond the Kerner Commission. There was a report issued in 1946 by a committee appointed by President Truman which was a very significant document. It was called To Secure These Rights, and very few people are familiar with that report, but the recommendations that were contained in that report were revolutionary, and they certainly laid the groundwork for much progress of really a dramatic nature that took place with regard to military, particularly at a time when we now are talking about a presidential candidate who was a four-star general, a person of color. He is a direct result of the very bold programs and the very bold step that President Truman took back in 1947 or '48 when he ordered the military integrated. I think what we have to be mindful of is the nature of the crisis today, whereas in '68 and the mid '60s, it was- the Commission was the result of the civil disturbances in major cities. But today the crisis is of a divisiveness and a return to a separate society. The Kerner Commission attempted to warn us that we were going down that path - two societies, separate, black, white, separate and unequal. And the only way I see us stemming it is for our national leadership to re-examine this racial history and to inform the American people of the role that government played, that law played in creating these inequities and because the progress toward correcting them has not been as rapid as it should be, the frustration is causing people to withdraw in anger into racial and ethnic and color enclaves. And this kind of re-segregation, a return to the separateness, is a frightening prospect for many. Time for serious discussion about race."

PREVIOUS PRESIDENTIAL COMMISSIONS DEALING WITH RACE RELATIONS

OVERVIEW

Previously, two Presidential Commissions dealt with the subject of race relations. President Truman established the *President's Committee on Civil Rights* in December 1946, to investigate racial violence and recommend remedial measures. The second commission was the *National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders*, widely known as the Kerner Commission. President Johnson appointed it on July 27, 1967, following riots in the mid 1960s.

In addition, two other historical gatherings dealing with race have occurred that have a bearing on the current proposal. President Lyndon B. Johnson convened the *White House Conference To Fulfill These Rights*, on June 1-2, 1966. Its purpose was to "seek a solution of the Negro Problem since the Civil War." and to figure out how to best translate the promise of racial equality into reality. Finally, the Lyndon Baines Johnson Library at the University of Texas in Austin, sponsored a symposium on civil rights, *Equal Opportunity in the United States*, December 11-12, 1972. Its primary purpose was to honor Johnson's contributions to civil rights, but it also dealt with the unfinished agenda with respect to racial justice for blacks.

PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

President Truman established the *President's Committee on Civil Rights* in December 1946, in response to an impending racial crisis between blacks and whites. With the return of hundreds of thousands of black soldiers who had fought overseas in World War II, and the migration north of thousands more searching for economic betterment, a new age of black aspiration had been ushered in. Simultaneously, a violent white backlash persisted in the south, which relied on Jim Crow segregation, poll taxes and literacy tests, and lynching to dissuade black advancement. Eventually, tensions between blacks and whites erupted into race riots in several major cities.

Guided by Charles Wilson, President of the General Electric Corporation, the Committee thoroughly examined the issue of civil rights, in both public and private forums. On October 29, 1947, the Committee issued its report, *To Secure These Rights*. The report concluded that there was a large gap between what the country stood for and the reality for millions of blacks. It recommended the enactment of many civil rights laws, including:

- Providing federal protection against lynching;
- Banning poll taxes and protecting the right to vote;
- Establishment of a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission;
- Expanding the Justice Department's civil rights section;
- Desegregating the military;
- Home rule for the District of Columbia;
- Resolving the evacuation claims of Japanese-Americans interned during World War II; and
- Proposals attacking segregation in education, housing, and interstate transportation.

Truman enthusiastically endorsed *To Secure These Rights*, calling it "an American charter of human freedom." On February 2, 1948, he sent Congress a message on civil rights followed by specific legislation to dismantle segregation and ensure black voting rights. Noting that not "all groups are free to live and work where they please or to improve their conditions of life by their own efforts," he urged Congress to enact into law the Committee's recommendations.

Most African-American leaders, the NAACP, and the black press embraced the president's efforts, as did white liberal organizations such as Americans for Democratic Action. Ultimately, Truman failed to get any of his legislative program enacted because of strong congressional opposition. However, when his initiatives stalled on capitol hill, he issued executive orders to: 1) desegregate the Armed Forces and 2) to fight discriminatory hiring practices by Federal agencies. In the end, opposition to Truman's proposals was so great that he made only modest progress in fighting segregation over the next two years of his term.

KERNER COMMISSION

This presidential commission was headed by Illinois Governor Otto Kerner. The Commission's official title is the *National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders*, however, it is widely known as the *Kerner Commission*. It was appointed by President Johnson on July 27, 1967, following a series of riots in dozens of American cities in the mid 1960s. The worst riots occurred in Newark, New Jersey, and in Detroit, Michigan during the summer of 1967. In the wake of the Detroit Riots, hundreds of black and white businesses were destroyed, forty-three people lost their lives, and over 7,200 people were arrested.

President Johnson appointed the Commission to find out whether any subversive or conspiratorial elements were involved and to determine how future riots could be avoided. The Commission was also charged with examining the reasons why ghettos persisted. It also explored the problems of unemployment, family structure, and social disorganization in the ghettos, and the experiences of other immigrants with those of blacks. In addressing the nation on the racial disturbances sweeping the country, Johnson said, "[t]he only genuine, long-range solution for what has happened lies in an attack -- mounted at every level -- upon the conditions that breed despair and violence. All of us know what those conditions are: ignorance, slums, poverty, disease, not enough jobs. We should attack these conditions -- not because we are frightened by conflict, but because we are fired by conscience. We should attack them because there is simply no other way to achieve a decent and orderly society in America."

On March 1, 1968, the *Kerner Commission* issued its report, stating that the United States was "moving toward two societies, one black, one white -- separate and unequal." The report warned that racism and hatred were growing deeper and that communication between the two communities was breaking down. Unlike the earlier Truman commission that largely focused on civil and legal rights, the *Kerner Commission* pointed out the growing economic inequality among the races.

Many civil disturbances in 1960s occurred in northern cities where the most oppressive vestiges of segregation had not existed. There, African Americans were confronted with substandard housing, meager job possibilities, and the absence of economic and political power.

The Commission recommended a massive government assault on the economic inequality between the races, which would have cost billions of public dollars to implement in its entirety. The Commission's key recommendations called for:

- Creating public and private sector jobs in the inner cities aimed at the hard-core unemployed;
- Eliminating desegregation in both secondary and higher education;
- Improving the quality education in inner city schools;
- Overhauling public welfare programs, including providing "a national system of income supplementation." for the working poor; and
- Eradicating inner city slums, including building low and moderate income housing units.

Although the Commission uncovered no seditious or conspiratorial ingredients, many did not like the report, possibly owing to the culpability it attributed to the white community. Generally, white liberals applauded it; conservatives felt that its assessment was prejudiced and unfair; and blacks regarded it simply as another report. Beyond this, critics say all levels of government largely ignored the report. Reportedly, Johnson was deeply suspicious of the Commission's recommendations, and refused to comment on the report, or allow the Commission to present it to him, or even sign form letters thanking the members for their work. Johnson was convinced that there was a conspiracy behind the riots.

Although critics charge that the Commission's recommendations were not immediately adopted, others argue that the report significantly altered public opinion on racial matters and helped pave the way for later successes. For example, *de jure* segregation was eliminated by 1960's civil rights legislation and affirmative action and other programs were started to help close the economic gap between blacks and whites. Also, in 1969, the Supreme Court ordered cities to desegregate their schools immediately and in 1971, they approved the use of busing to accomplish this aim. Moreover, Charles Evers was elected Mayor of a Mississippi city. Additional electoral victories soon followed in Detroit, Cleveland, Los Angeles, Chicago, Gary, Indiana, and other cities. Thus, most experts say that we have made progress, but that much remains to be done.

WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE FULFILL THESE RIGHTS

On June 1-2, 1966, President Lyndon B. Johnson convened the *White House Conference To Fulfill these Rights*. Its purpose was to "seek a solution of the Negro Problem since the Civil War," and to "move beyond opportunity to achievement." President Johnson announced his intentions to hold this conference at a speech he gave at Howard University, on June 4, 1965.

Leading up the conference, the White House held a national planning session November 17-18, 1965. Attending was more than 200 scholars and practitioners from the civil rights, labor, business, education, religious, and social welfare community who met for intensive working sessions on eight subjects of concern. The result was a comprehensive set of recommendations dealing with four areas: economic security and welfare, education, housing, and administration of justice.

In February 1966, the President appointed a 30-member Council to oversee the Conference. In addition, White House and agency staff, and various consultants collected extensive background materials and prepared background papers for the conference itself. The published proceedings distilled the background materials and previously prepared recommendations for each area. According to reports, more than 2,500 people participated in the conference. In retrospect, many Conference's recommendations were later reflected in the programs of the Great Society.

CIVIL RIGHTS SYMPOSIUM PROGRAM: EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN THE UNITED STATES

The LBJ School of Public Affairs in Austin, Texas, held a civil rights symposium on December 11-12, 1972, *Equal Opportunity in the United States*, in which all the major civil rights and other leaders at the time attended. Many of these leaders have since died, but other surviving participants include Vernon Jordan, Roger Wilkins, Julian Bond, Gary Hatcher, Yvonne Brathwaite Burke among others. Besides honoring LBJ, the main purpose of the symposium was to discuss what should be done in the future with respect to civil rights. It was felt that we had already taken all of the required legislative actions, and that the next steps were purely economic opportunity.

Chief Justice Earl Warren was the keynote speaker at the conference. Hubert Humphrey, Barbara Johnson, Louis Stokes, and Henry Gonzalez, were among the other speakers. In addition, in what was his last address before dying shortly after the conference, Johnson summed up the progress that we had made with respect to civil rights over the years saying, "that it's time to leave aside legalisms and euphemisms and eloquent evasions. It's time we get down to the business of trying to stand black and white on level ground." He went on to ask the participants a series of questions:

- Are the federal government and the state government, the foundations, the churches, the universities, all doing what they can do to assure enough scholarships for young blacks?
- Are our professions such as law, medicine, accounting, etc., sounding the call to make sure that Blacks are taking the leadership courses to avail themselves of leadership opportunities in professional careers?
- Are our trade unions and those concern with vocational occupations do the same with regard to apprenticeship and training programs?
- Are employers who have already opened their doors to Blacks making sure that they are

providing advancement opportunities up the career ladder?

Johnson concluded his remarks, saying "[w]e know there's injustice. We know there's intolerance. We know there's discrimination and hate and suspicion. And we know there's division between us. But there is a larger truth. We have proved that great progress is possible. We know how much still remains to be done. And if our efforts continue and our will strong and if our hearts are right and if courage remains our constant companion, then, my fellow Americans, I am confident we shall overcome."

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