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The New Social Inequality and Affirmative Opportunity

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for racial equality needs a new political strategy. That
strategy must appeal to America's broad multi-

ethnic population, while addressing the many problems that afflict disadvan-
tagged minorities and redressing the legacy of historical racism in America.

The nation seems to have become more divided on issues pertaining to race, especially since the first O. J. Simpson murder trial. And affirmative action programs are under heavy assault. Americans' understanding of the meaning and significance of race has become more confused. Many Americans are puzzled by complex racial changes—not only the growth of socioeconomic inequality among African-Americans, but also the sharp increase in joblessness, concentrated poverty, and welfare receipt among the black poor living in ghettos. Such changes have unfolded in the aftermath of the passage of comprehensive civil rights legislation in the 1960s and the subsequent enactment of affirmative action programs and the antipoverty efforts of the Great Society. By now, some three decades later, not only have many changes transpired for African-Americans and for American race relations. In addition, broad public sympathy for those minority individuals who have suffered the most from racial exclusion has waned.

Indeed, many white Americans have turned against public programs widely perceived as benefiting only racial minorities. Several decades ago, efforts to raise the public's awareness and conscience about the plight of African-Americans helped the enactment of civil rights legislation and affirmative action programs. By the 1980s, however, black leaders' assertions that black progress was a "myth"—rhetoric used to reinforce arguments for stronger race-based programs—ironically played into the hands of conservative critics. Although this strategy may have increased sympathy among some whites for the plight of black Americans, it also created the erroneous impression that federal antidiscrimination efforts had failed. And it overlooked the significance of the complex racial changes that had been unfolding since the mid-1960s. Perhaps most pernicious of all, arguments for more and more race-based programs to help blacks fed growing white concerns, aroused by demagogic messages, that any special efforts by politicians to deal with black needs and complaints were coming at the expense of the white majority.

While these developments happened in politics, Americans confronted jarring new economic conditions. National and international economic transformations have placed new stresses on families and communities—stresses that are hardly confined to blacks. Along with African-Americans, large segments of the white, Latino, and Asian populations are also plagued by growing economic insecurities, family breakups, and community stresses. Such conditions are breeding grounds for racial and ethnic tensions. In this social climate, conservatives have attempted to unite white Americans around anger at the government and racial minorities. Their political message seems plausible to many white taxpayers, who see themselves as being forced to pay for programs that primarily benefit racial minorities.

In this essay I suggest how progressives can redefine the issues so that the concerns of both the larger American population and the racial minority population are simultaneously addressed. Progressives can pursue policies that unite rather than divide racial groups, thus opening the way for the formation of a multiracial progressive coalition in national politics.

The Changing Climate for Race-Based Programs

When affirmative action programs were first discussed in the 1960s, the economy was expanding, and incomes were rising. It was a time of optimism, a time when most Americans believed that their children would have better

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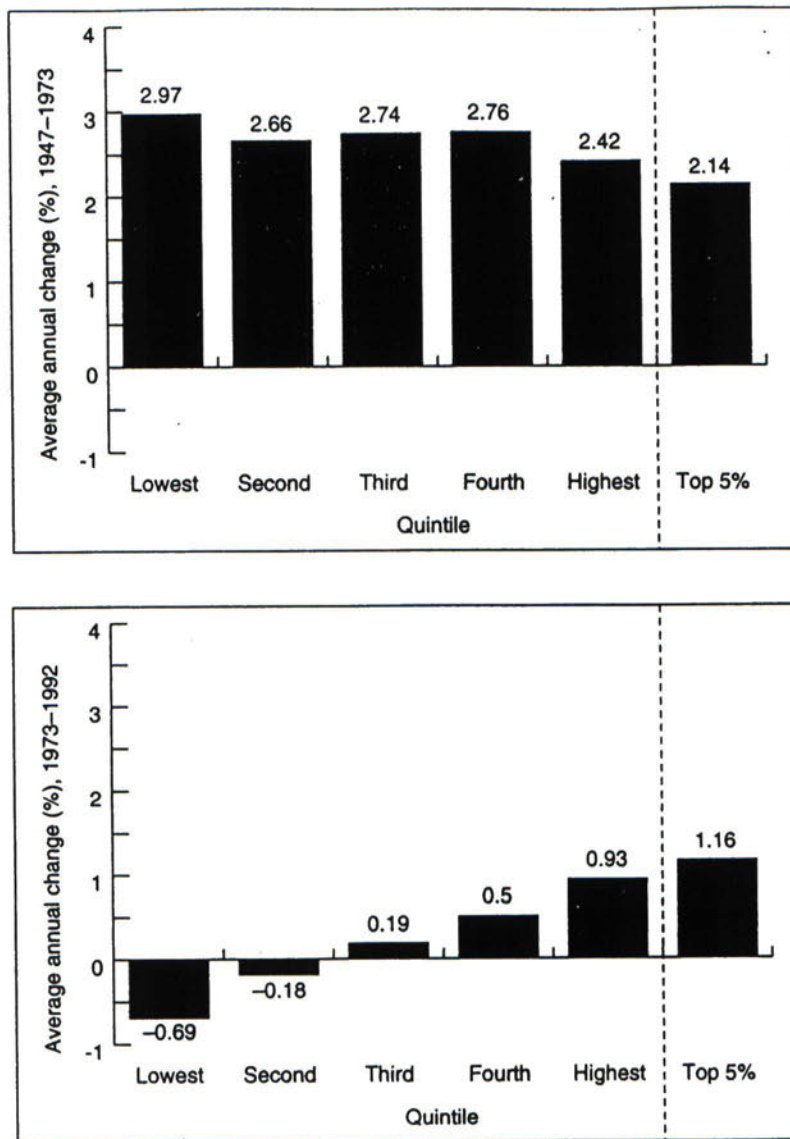
lives than they had. During such times a generosity of spirit permits consideration of sharing an expanding pie.

In the decades immediately after World War II, all income groups experienced economic advancement, including the poor. A rising tide did indeed lift all boats. In fact, as revealed in figure 1, between 1947 and 1973 the lowest quintile in family income experienced the highest growth in annual income, "which meant that the poor were becoming less poor in both relative and absolute terms" (Bronfenbrenner et al. 1996, p. 14). But this pattern began to change in the early 1970s. Growth slowed, and the distribution of inflation-adjusted income started to become more unequal. Whereas average income gains from 1973 to 1992 continued for the higher quintiles (but at a rate considerably slower than that of the previous two decades), the two lowest quintiles actually experienced annual declines in income during this period. Wage data since 1979, based on percentiles instead of quintiles (see figure 2), show a pattern quite similar to the trends in family income. The wages of those at the top have continued to climb in recent years, while those at the bottom have fallen steadily.

Thus the downward trend in wages during the past two decades has lowered the incomes of the least well-off citizens. This trend has been accompanied by a growing sense among an increasing number of Americans that their long-term economic prospects are bleaker. And they would not be reassured to learn that the United States has had the most rapid growth of wage inequality in the Western world. In the 1950s and 1960s the average earnings of college graduates was only about 20 percent higher than that of high school graduates. By 1979, it had increased to 49 percent, and then it rapidly grew to 83 percent by 1992. "When the American economy rebounded from a recession in the early 1990s, roughly 2 million new jobs were created per year, but a large percentage of these offered wages below \$8 an hour (or about \$16,000 a year), with few if any health benefits and not much opportunity for advancement" (Bronfenbrenner et al. 1996, p. 117).

In sum, since the late 1970s, real wages (that is, wages adjusted for inflation) have fallen in the United States. Wage disparities between those with college degrees and those without have widened considerably. Working-class Americans feel economically pinched, barely able to maintain current standards of living even on two incomes. Many are insecure about keeping their jobs and fear that they will never be able to afford to send their children to

Figure 1. Family Income in the United States



Source: Adapted from Bronfenbrenner et al. (1996). The 1947 figures are from *The Statistical History of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970*. The 1969 and 1992 figures are from the Bureau of the Census, *Income of Families and Persons in the United States, 1990*. Figures are adjusted for inflation based on constant 1992 dollars.

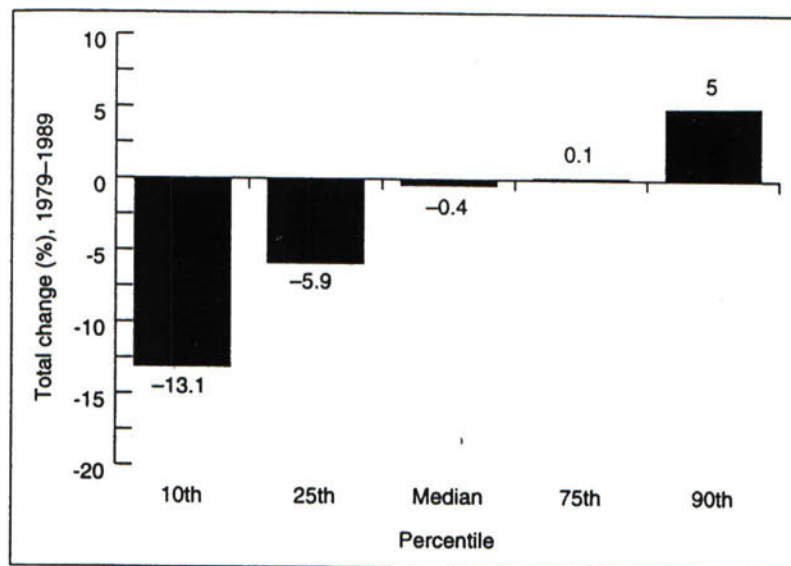
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Figure 2. Wage Growth in the United States



Source: Adapted from Bronfenbrenner et al. (1996). Data reported in the Council of Economic Advisors, *Economic Report of the President, 1995*. Wages are in constant 1982-1984 CPI-U-X1 dollars.

college. Many believe that for all their hard work, their children's lives will be worse than theirs. For example, a 1995 Harris poll, conducted for *Business Week*, revealed that only one-half of all parents expected their children to have a better life than theirs; nearly seven out of ten believed that the American dream has been more difficult to achieve during the past ten years; and three-quarters felt that the dream will be even harder to achieve during the next ten years (cited in Bronfenbrenner et al. 1996).

Unfortunately for those who support race-based programs, this period of economic hard times has not been an ideal climate for a national debate on affirmative action. Despite the recent economic recovery and low rates of unemployment, most families continue to struggle with declining real wages, increasing job displacement, and job insecurity in a highly integrated and highly technological global economy. During periods when people are beset with economic anxiety, they become more receptive to simplistic ideological messages that deflect attention away from the real and complex sources of their problems, and it is vitally important that political leaders channel

citizens' frustrations in more positive or constructive directions. For the past few years and especially in 1995, immediately after the congressional elections of 1994, just the opposite frequently occurred. The poisonous racial rhetoric of certain highly visible spokespersons has increased racial tensions and channeled frustrations in ways that severely divide the racial groups. Instead of associating citizens' problems with economic and political changes, these divisive messages have encouraged them to turn on each other—race against race. As I pointed out in a *New York Times* editorial (Wilson 1992), this was a theme repeatedly emphasized by Bill Clinton during his 1992 campaign for the presidency.

Many white Americans have turned against a strategy emphasizing programs that they perceive as benefiting only racial minorities. There has been a growing concern, aroused by demagogic messages, that the politicians' sensitivity to black complaints had come at the expense of the white majority. And undifferentiated black complaints have aggravated the situation because they have reinforced a perception that, whatever our efforts, nothing really works, and a lot of time, energy, and money have been wasted.

The Rising Significance of Class

By the beginning of the 1980s, the accomplishments of the civil rights struggle were clear; among them were the rising numbers of blacks in professional, technical, managerial, and administrative positions. Progress was also evident in the increasing enrollment of blacks in colleges and universities and the growing number of black homeowners. The expansion of participation in these areas was proportionately greater for blacks than for whites because such a tiny percentage of blacks had held property or pursued higher education before this time. As Jennifer Hochschild has pointed out, "One has not really succeeded in America unless one can pass the chance for success on to one's children" (1995, p. 44). Until the 1960s, doing so was quite difficult even for the few members of the old black middle class. Empirical research in the early 1960s provided no evidence that class could rival the powerful effects of race on black occupational and income achievements. In other words, states Hochschild, blacks "experienced a perverse sort of egalitarianism—neither the disadvantages of poverty nor the advantages of wealth made much difference in what they could achieve or pass on to their children. Discrimination swamped everything else" (p. 44).

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Research by social scientists, however, reveals that between 1962 and 1973, class began to affect career and generational mobility for blacks as it had regularly done for whites (Wilson 1980; Featherman and Hauser 1978; Hout 1984). In particular, blacks from the most advantaged backgrounds experienced the greatest upward mobility. For the first time in American history, more advantaged blacks could expect their success to persist and cumulate. These trends have continued since 1973 but at a slower rate (Hochschild 1995, p. 44). On the other hand, among the disadvantaged segments of the black population, especially the ghetto poor, many dire problems—joblessness, concentrated poverty, family breakup, and the receipt of welfare—were getting even worse between 1973 and 1980.

The differential rates of progress in the black community have continued through the 1980s and early 1990s. Family incomes among the poorest of the poor reveal the pattern. From 1977 to 1993, the percentage of blacks with incomes below 50 percent of the amount designated as the poverty line, what we call the poorest of the poor, increased from 9 percent of the total black population in 1977 to 17 percent in 1993. In 1977, fewer than one of every three poor blacks fell below one-half of the poverty-line amount, but by 1993 the proportion rose to more than one-half (these figures and those that follow have been adjusted for inflation). In 1993 the average poor black family slipped further below the poverty level than in any year since 1967, when the Census Bureau started collecting such data (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1994).

From 1975 to 1992, while the average income of the lowest quintile of black families in the United States declined by one-third and that of the second-lowest quintile declined by 13 percent, the average income of the highest quintile of black families climbed by 23 percent and that of the top 5 percent by 35 percent. Although income inequality between whites and blacks is substantial and the financial gap is even greater between the two races when wealth is considered—total financial assets, not just income (Oliver and Shapiro 1995; Wolff 1995)—in 1992 the highest fifth of black families nonetheless secured a record 49 percent of the total income among black families, compared to the 44 percent share of the total income received by the highest fifth of white families, also a record. So while income inequality has widened generally in America since 1975, the divide is even more dramatic among black Americans. If we are to fashion remedies for black

poverty, we need to understand the origins and dynamics of inequality in the African-American community. Without disavowing the accomplishments of the civil rights movement, black leaders and policymakers now need to give more attention to remedies that will make a concrete difference in the lives of the poor.

The Achievements and Limits of Affirmative Action

The demands of the civil rights movement reflected a general assumption on the part of black leaders in the 1960s that the government could best protect the rights of individual members of minority groups, not by formally bestowing rewards and punishments based on racial group membership, but by using antidiscrimination legislation to enhance individual freedom. The movement was particularly concerned about access to education, employment, voting, and public accommodations. From the 1950s to 1970, the emphasis was on freedom of choice; the role of the state was to prevent the formal categorization of people on the basis of race. Antibias legislation was designed to eliminate racial discrimination without considering the proportion of minorities in certain positions. The underlying principle was that individual merit should be the sole determining factor in choosing candidates for desired positions. Because civil rights protests against racial discrimination clearly upheld a fundamental American principle, they carried a degree of moral authority that leaders like Martin Luther King, Jr., were able to repeatedly and effectively emphasize.

It would have been ideal if programs based on the principle of freedom of individual opportunity were sufficient to remedy racial inequality in our society. But long periods of racial oppression can result in a system of inequality that lingers even after racial barriers come down. The most disadvantaged minority individuals, crippled by the cumulative effects of both race and class subjugation, disproportionately lack the resources to compete effectively in a free and open market.

Eliminating racial barriers creates the greatest opportunities for the better-trained, most talented, and best-educated members of minority groups because these members possess the resources to compete most effectively. These resources reflect a variety of advantages—family stability, financial means, positive peer groups, good schooling—provided or made possible by their parents (Fishkin 1983).

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By the late 1960s, a number of black leaders began to recognize this. In November 1967, Kenneth B. Clark said, "The masses of Negroes are now starkly aware of the fact that recent civil rights victories benefited a very small percentage of middle-class Negroes while [poorer blacks'] predicament remained the same or worsened" (Clark 1967, p. 8). Simply eliminating racial barriers was not going to be enough. As the black economist Vivian Henderson put it, "If all racial prejudice and discrimination and all racism were erased today, all the ills brought by the process of economic class distinction and economic depression of the masses of black people would remain" (Henderson 1975, p. 54).

Accordingly, black leaders and liberal policymakers began to emphasize the need not only to eliminate active discrimination but also to counteract the effects of past racial oppression. Instead of seeking remedies only for individual complaints of discrimination, as specified in Title 7 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (which prohibits employers from discriminating against individuals on the grounds of race, color, religion, gender, or national origin), they sought government-mandated affirmative action programs designed to ensure adequate minority representation in employment, education, and public programs.

But if the more advantaged members of minority groups benefit disproportionately from policies that embody the principle of equality of individual opportunity, they also profit disproportionately from affirmative action policies based solely on their racial group membership (Fishkin 1983). Minority individuals from the most advantaged families tend to be disproportionately represented among those of their racial group most qualified for preferred status, such as college admissions, higher-paying jobs, and promotions. Thus policies of affirmative action are much more likely to enhance the socioeconomic positions of the more advantaged minority individuals than the positions of the truly disadvantaged (Loury 1984 and 1995).

To be sure, affirmative action was not intended mainly to benefit the more advantaged minority individuals. As William L. Taylor, the former director of the United States Civil Rights Commission, has stated, "The focus of much of the [affirmative action] effort has been not just on white-collar jobs, but also on law enforcement, construction work, and craft and production in large companies—all areas in which the extension of new opportunities has provided upward mobility for less advantaged minority workers"

(Taylor 1986, p. 1714). As Taylor also notes, studies show that many minority students entering medical schools during the 1970s were from low-income families.

Affirmative action policies, however, did not really open up broad avenues of upward mobility for the masses of disadvantaged blacks. Like other forms of "creaming," they provided opportunities for those individuals from low socioeconomic background with the greatest educational and social resources. A careful analysis of data on income, employment, and educational attainment would probably reveal that only a few individuals who reside in the inner-city ghettos have benefited from affirmative action.

Since the early 1970s urban minorities have been highly vulnerable to structural changes in the economy, such as the shift from goods-producing to service-producing industries, the increasing polarization of the labor market into low-wage and high-wage sectors, the destabilizing innovations in technology, and the relocation of manufacturing industries outside the central city. These shifts have led to sharp increases in joblessness and the related problems of highly concentrated poverty, welfare receipt, and family breakup, despite the passage of antidiscrimination legislation to correct discriminatory patterns through litigation and the creation of affirmative action programs that mandate goals and timetables for the employment of minorities (Wilson 1987, 1995).

On the other hand, affirmative action programs have helped to bring about sharp increases in the number of blacks entering higher education and gaining professional and managerial positions. Moreover, as long as minorities are underrepresented in high-paying, desirable positions in society, affirmative action programs will be needed. Nonetheless, in response to cries from conservatives to abolish affirmative action altogether, some liberals have argued for a shift from affirmative action based on race to one based on economic class or need (Kahlenberg 1995).

The major distinguishing characteristic of affirmative action based on need is the recognition that the problems of the disadvantaged—low income, crime-ridden neighborhoods, broken homes, inadequate housing, poor education, cultural and linguistic differences—are not always clearly related to previous racial discrimination. Children who grow up in homes plagued by these disadvantages are more likely to be denied an equal chance in life because the development of their aspirations and talents is hindered by their en-

vironment, regardless from affirmative opportunities because they suffer from the same problems, but the problem

An affirmative action policy that results in the systematic exclusion of certain groups because the standard is too high relative to the cumulative disadvantages limited by race, regardless of the quality of the particular skills of the parents whose experience ultimately affects the child (Heckman 1995).

Thus if we were to use SAT scores, which would be denied admission, weighed down by the restrictions and who they are. An affirmative action policy could create a situation where Harvard represents the black community, while those who are not burdened by conventional tests receive

The extent to which affirmative action has the potential to succeed with flexible criteria of numerical guidelines, ground handicaps, and potential to succeed on test scores may be

vironment, regardless of race. Minorities would benefit disproportionately from affirmative opportunity programs designed to address these disadvantages because they suffer disproportionately from the effects of such environments, but the problems of disadvantaged whites would be addressed as well.

An affirmative action based solely on need, however, would result in the systematic exclusion of many middle-income blacks from desirable positions because the standard or conventional measures of performance are not sensitive to the cumulative effects of race. By this I mean having one's life choices limited by race, regardless of class, because of the effects of living in segregated neighborhoods (that is, being exposed to styles of behavior, habits, and the particular skills that emerge from patterns of racial exclusion), because of the quality of de facto segregated schooling, and because of the nurturing by parents whose experiences have also been shaped and limited by race, which ultimately affects the resources they are able to pass on to their children (Heckman 1995).

Thus if we were to rely solely on the standard criteria for college admission, like SAT scores, even many children from black middle-class families would be denied admission in favor of middle-class whites who are not weighed down by the accumulation of disadvantages that stem from racial restrictions and who therefore tend to score higher on these conventional measures. An affirmative action based solely on need or economic class position could create a situation in which African-Americans who are admitted to Harvard represent the bottom half of the socioeconomic continuum in the black community, while those who are in the top half tend to be excluded because they are not eligible for consideration under affirmative action. They would therefore be left to compete with middle- and upper-income whites who are not burdened by the handicaps of race—as their higher scores on the conventional tests reflect.

The extent to which standard aptitude tests like the SAT and tests used for promoting police officers are measuring not privilege but real merit or the real potential to succeed is not readily apparent. Ideally, we should develop flexible criteria of evaluation or performance measures, as opposed to numerical guidelines or quotas, that would not exclude people with background handicaps, including minority racial background, who have as much potential to succeed as those admitted without those handicaps. While some test scores may correlate well with performance, they do not necessarily

measure important attributes that also determine performance, such as perseverance, motivation, interpersonal skills, reliability, and leadership qualities. Accordingly, since race is one of the components of being disadvantaged in this society, the ideal affirmative action program would emphasize flexible criteria of evaluation based on both need and race.

The cumulative effects of historical discrimination and racial segregation are reflected in many subtle ways that result in the underrepresentation of blacks in positions of high status and their overrepresentation in positions of low status. Some of these problems can be easily addressed with affirmative action programs that are at least in part based on race; others have to be combated by means of race-neutral strategies. As indicated earlier, less-advantaged blacks are extremely vulnerable to changes in our modern industrial society, and their problems are difficult to solve by means of race-based strategies alone—either those that support equality of individual opportunity, such as the Civil Rights Act of 1964, or those that represent affirmative action. Now more than ever, we need broader solutions than those we have employed in the past.

From Preference to Affirmative Opportunity

Given the current political climate and the new social inequality, any program designed to significantly improve the life chances of disadvantaged minorities, including increased employment opportunities, would have to be broadly applicable. That is, it would have to address the concerns of wide segments of the U.S. population, not just those of minority citizens.

Almost two decades ago, Vivian Henderson argued that "the economic future of blacks in the United States is bound up with that of the rest of the nation. Politics designed in the future to cope with the problems of the poor and victimized will also yield benefits to blacks. In contrast, any efforts to treat blacks separately from the rest of the nation are likely to lead to frustration, heightened racial animosities, and a waste of the country's resources and the precious resources of black people" (Henderson 1975, p. 54).

Henderson's warning seems to be especially appropriate in periods of economic stagnation, when public support for programs targeted to minorities—or associated with real or imagined material sacrifice on the part of whites—tends to wane. The economy was strong when affirmative action programs were introduced during the Johnson administration. When the

economy turned down, support increasingly soured.

Furthermore, in political affairs, observed whites "only as a technicality and economic majorities" in such preference for an era with." They also argued for changes in society.

The Democrats increasingly were in the majority. Virtually separate public services became available to whites. In an era of segregation, it seemed to constitute a new way of seeing themselves as beneficiaries of services that many of

White reaction Over the past fifty years, desegregation. For Americans supported to 95 percent. In the past five years, public accommodations (1994).

Nonetheless, racial segregation programs to aggressive roll blacks in institutions, blacks in high-level polls, whites over blacks. Whereas the government is not spending more than one-third of its budget on government "has a s

economy turned down in the 1970s, the public's view of affirmative action increasingly soured.

Furthermore, as Joseph A. Califano, Johnson's staff assistant for domestic affairs, observed in 1988, such programs were generally acceptable to whites "only as a temporary expedient to speed blacks' entry into the social and economic mainstream." But as years passed, many whites "saw continuing such preferences as an unjust insistence by Democrats that they do penance for an era of slavery and discrimination they had nothing to do with." They also associated the decline in public schools not with broader changes in society but with "forced integration" (Califano 1988, p. 29).

The Democrats also came under fire for their support for programs that increasingly were misrepresented as being intended for poor blacks alone. Virtually separate medical and legal systems developed in many cities. Public services became identified mainly with blacks, private services mainly with whites. In an era of ostensible racial justice, many public programs ironically seemed to constitute a new and costlier form of segregation. White taxpayers saw themselves as being forced through taxes to pay for medical and legal services that many of them could not afford to purchase for their own families.

White reaction to race-based problems has several dimensions, however. Over the past fifty years, there has been a steep rise in white support for racial desegregation. For example, although in 1942 only 42 percent of white Americans supported integrated schooling, by 1993 that figure had skyrocketed to 95 percent. Public opinion polls reveal similar patterns of change during the past five decades in white support for integration with regard to public accommodations, mass transportation, and housing (Bobo and Smith 1994).

Nonetheless, the virtual disappearance of Jim Crow attitudes toward racial segregation has not resulted in strong backing for government programs to aggressively combat discrimination, increase further integration, enroll blacks in institutions of higher learning, or enlarge the proportion of blacks in high-level occupations. Indeed, as evidenced in the public opinion polls, whites overwhelmingly object to government assistance targeted to blacks. Whereas eight of every ten African-Americans believe that the government is not spending enough to assist blacks today, only slightly more than one-third of white Americans feel this way. The idea that the federal government "has a special obligation to help improve the living standard of

blacks" because they "have been discriminated against so long" was supported by only one in five whites in 1991 and has never exceeded more than one in four since 1975 (Bobo and Kluegel 1994). And the lack of white support for this idea is unrelated to such background factors as age and education level.

Of course, the most widely discussed racial policy issue in recent years has been affirmative action. Despite a slight decrease in opposition to affirmative action programs in education and employment between 1986 and 1990, sentiments against these programs remain strong. In 1990, almost seven in ten white Americans opposed quotas to admit black students in colleges and universities, and more than eight in ten objected to the idea of preferential hiring and promotion of blacks.

Such strong white opposition to quotas and preferential hiring and promotion should not lead us to overlook the fact that there are some affirmative action policies that are supported by wide segments of the white population, regardless of racial attitudes. Recent studies reveal that, while opposing such "preferential" racial policies as college admission quotas or job hiring and promotion strategies designed to achieve equal outcomes, most white Americans approve of such "compensatory" affirmative action policies as race-targeted programs for job training, special education, and recruitment (Bobo and Smith 1994; Bobo and Kluegel 1993; Lipset and Schneider 1978; Kluegel and Smith 1986; Kinder and Sanders 1987). For example, in the 1990 General Social Survey, 68 percent of all whites favored spending more money on schools in black neighborhoods, especially for preschool and early education programs. And 70 percent favored granting special college scholarships to black children who maintain good grades (Bobo and Smith 1994).

Accordingly, programs that enable blacks to take advantage of opportunities, such as race-targeted early education programs and job training, are less likely to be "perceived as challenging the values of individualism and the work ethic." In other words, compensatory or opportunity-enhancing affirmative action programs are supported because they reinforce the belief that the allocation of jobs and economic rewards should be based on individual effort, training, and talent. As sociologists Larry Bobo and James Kluegel (1993) put it: "Opportunity-enhancing programs receive greater support because they are consistent with the norm of helping people help themselves. In addition, opportunity-enhancing programs do not challenge principles of

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equity. Indeed, requirements that beneficiaries of such programs make the effort to acquire the training and skills needed to improve their economic positions are fully consistent with reward on the basis of individual effort."

Unlike preferential racial policies, opportunity-enhancing programs have popular support and a relatively weak connection to antiblack attitudes (Bobo and Smith 1994). For all these reasons, to make the most effective case for affirmative action programs in a period when such programs are under attack from many quarters, emphasis should be shifted from numerical guidelines to opportunity. The concept that I would use to signal this shift is "affirmative opportunity."* By substituting "opportunity" for "action," the concept "affirmative opportunity" draws the focus away from a guarantee of equality of results, which is how "affirmative action" has come to be understood. It echoes the phrase "equal opportunity," which connotes a principle that most Americans still support, while avoiding connotations now associated (fairly or not) with the idea of affirmative action—connotations like quotas, lowering of standards, and reverse discrimination, which most Americans detest.

However, by retaining the term "affirmative," the concept keeps the connotation that something more than offering formal, legal equality is required to overcome the legacy of slavery and Jim Crow segregation. As a society, we also have the continuing moral obligation to compensate for the enduring burdens—the social and psychological damage—of segregation, discrimination, and bigotry. To practice affirmative opportunity means to renew the nation's commitment to enable all Americans, regardless of income, race, or other attributes, to achieve to the highest level that their abilities will permit. In this sense, the phrase echoes President Johnson's 1965 Howard University commencement speech on human rights, which was uniformly praised by black civil rights leaders.

To repeat, polling data suggest that Americans support the idea of affirmative action programs to enable people to overcome disadvantages that are not of their own making. This should be done, however, by using flexible

*My views on affirmative opportunity have greatly benefited from my discussions with Noel Salinger of the Irving B. Harris School of Public Policy at the University of Chicago. Salinger helped me to draft several memoranda on affirmative action for the White House, and my views here were initially developed in those memoranda.

criteria of evaluation, not numerical guidelines or quotas. The obvious rejoinder is that "using flexible criteria" is another way of saying that lower standards will be permitted. On the contrary, using flexible criteria of evaluation will ensure that we are measuring merit or potential to succeed rather than privilege. In other words, we want to use criteria that would not exclude people who have as much potential to succeed as those admitted who have more privileged backgrounds.

The differences in average test scores, touted by some opponents to compensatory social programs and affirmative action, are largely measures of differences in opportunities between the advantaged and the disadvantaged, especially in equal access to high-quality child care and good schooling (Heckman 1995; Neal and Johnson 1995). Flexible criteria accommodate the need to design metrics of ability that predict success and that are not captured by such tests. Indications of these attributes may be obtained from letters of recommendation, past performance, or other measures. Mayor Richard Daley's use of merit promotions in the Chicago Police Department, which are based on such factors as job performance and leadership ability, is an example of how such criteria can be used.

Relying on flexible criteria may be a way of replacing the goals and timetables currently used by government agencies and contractors. Having said that, I should also note that it will be extremely important to calibrate the use of flexible criteria in practice. They must be presented as a way of expanding the pool of qualified applicants by making attributes other than raw test scores count more. Flexible criteria must be applied in thoughtful ways, based on the experience of what works in certain situations and particular institutions. Otherwise, the practice will be infected with arbitrariness, which would quickly undermine public support.

New Social Rights for All Americans

Affirmative opportunity efforts remain vital to a progressive strategy and central to the continuing quest for racial justice in America. But affirmative opportunity programs alone are not enough. They ought to be combined with appropriate race-neutral public policies in order to address economic insecurities that now affect many groups in an era of rising social inequality.

In thinking about social rights today, we must appreciate that the poor and the working classes of all racial groups struggle to make ends meet and

that even the middle Americans across race and job security, despite the availability of a quality of public education in the inner city neighborhoods.

Not surprisingly, surveys. For the last strong public backing training efforts, to indicate that almost increase to pay for cut out of ten Americans system of the United the eve of President nearly two-thirds of "so that all Americans what." Finally, recent Center at the University of Michigan (see the survey of Americans want to see more system and on halting Survey 1988-94).

Despite being one of these concerns—providing skills training, improving health care, and reducing neighborhood violence—nationally benefit the especially poor minorities provided that they are better off.

A comprehensive approach to social inequality should be based on opportunity-enhancing policies to reduce social inequality. To repeat, criteria of evaluation in such programs should be based on

that even the middle class has experienced a decline in its living standard. Americans across racial and class boundaries worry about unemployment and job security, declining real wages, escalating medical and housing costs, the availability of affordable child care programs, the sharp decline in the quality of public education, and crime and drug trafficking in their neighborhoods.

Not surprisingly, these concerns are clearly reflected in public opinion surveys. For the last several years, national opinion polls consistently reveal strong public backing for government labor-market strategies, including training efforts, to increase employment opportunities. A 1988 Harris poll indicated that almost three-quarters of its respondents would support a tax increase to pay for child care. A 1989 Harris poll reported that almost nine out of ten Americans would like to see fundamental changes in the health care system of the United States. A September 1993 *New York Times*-CBS poll, on the eve of President Clinton's health care address to the nation, revealed that nearly two-thirds of the nation's citizens would be willing to pay higher taxes "so that all Americans have health insurance that they can't lose no matter what." Finally, recent surveys conducted by the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago reveal that a substantial majority of Americans want to see more money spent on improving the nation's educational system and on halting the rise in crime and drug addiction (General Social Survey 1988-94).

Despite being officially race-neutral, programs created in response to these concerns—programs that increase employment opportunities and job skills training, improve public education, promote better child and health care, and reduce neighborhood crime and drug abuse—would disproportionately benefit the most disadvantaged segments of the population, especially poor minorities. Social programs, too, can further racial justice, provided that they are designed to include the needy as well as the somewhat better off.

A comprehensive race-neutral initiative to address economic and social inequality should be viewed as an extension of—not a replacement for—opportunity-enhancing programs that include race-based criteria to fight social inequality. To repeat, I feel that such programs should employ flexible criteria of evaluation in college admission, hiring, job promotion, and so on, and should be based on a broad definition of disadvantage that incorporates

notions of both need and race. Although recent public opinion polls indicate that most Americans would support race-based programs intended to enhance opportunities, mobilizing and sustaining the political support for such programs will be much more difficult if they are not designed to reach broader segments of the American population.

Other programs that can be accurately described as purely race-neutral—national health care, school reform, and job training based on need—would greatly benefit not only racial minority populations but large segments of the dominant white population as well. National opinion poll results suggest the possibility of a new alignment in support of a comprehensive social rights initiative that would include such programs. If such an alignment is attempted, perhaps it ought to feature a new public rhetoric that would do two things: focus on problems that afflict not only the poor but the working and middle classes as well; and emphasize integrative programs that would promote the social and economic improvement of all groups in society, not just the truly disadvantaged segments of the population.

In the new, highly integrated global economy, an increasing number of Americans across racial, ethnic, and income groups are experiencing declining real incomes, increasing job displacement, and growing economic insecurity. The unprecedented level of inner-city joblessness represents one important aspect of the broader economic dislocations that cut across racial and ethnic groups in the United States (Wilson 1996). Accordingly, where economic and social reforms are concerned, it hardly seems politically wise to focus mainly on the most disadvantaged groups while ignoring other segments of the population that have also been adversely affected by global economic changes.

Unfortunately, just when bold new comprehensive initiatives are urgently needed to address these problems, the U.S. Congress has retreated from using public policy as an instrument with which to fight social inequality. Failure to deal with this growing social inequality, including the rise of joblessness in U.S. inner cities, could seriously worsen the economic lives of urban families and neighborhoods.

Groups ranging from the inner-city poor to the working- and middle-class Americans who are struggling to make ends meet will have to be effectively mobilized in order for the current course taken by policymakers to be changed. Perhaps the best way to accomplish this is through coalition poli-

tics that promotes revision of the earned income tax credit, child care programs, and so on. A broad coalition is needed to make this process.

Because an effective response to these issues to be addressed requires a new need for economic action, America's minority poor, social inequality and social inequality and social inequality may become allies in the process of solving these problems.

In the absence of a new vision, we could find ourselves in a dead-end. Recent proposals in the area of social spending cuts from programs targeted at the poor represent only one-fifth of the even more clear-cut vision. Unless progressives can win the support of the majority, we will ever vote to finance new social inequality. Social programs.

Instead of recognizing the realities that have led to these problems, we seek to assign blame to individuals alike with social, ethnic, or motivation. Financing any social program with a limited number of welfare checks. Consistent with the sighted retreat from progress, we are stressing that progress in public policy direction is intimidated and paral-

tics that promotes race-neutral efforts—such as jobs creation, further expansion of the earned income tax credit, public school reform, access to excellent child care programs, and universal health insurance. A broad-based political coalition is needed to successfully push such programs through the political process.

Because an effective political coalition in part depends upon how the issues to be addressed are defined, it is imperative for leaders to underscore the need for economic and social reform that benefits all groups, not just America's minority poor. Changes in the global economy are creating growing social inequality and situations which intensify antagonisms between different racial and ethnic groups. Yet groups who often see themselves as antagonists may become allies in a reform coalition to redress common problems—especially problems perceived as caused by forces outside their own control.

In the absence of a broad, effective coalition, disadvantaged groups could find themselves in a very vulnerable political position. According to recent proposals in the House of Representatives, more than two-thirds of proposed spending cuts from the federal budget for the year 2000 would come from programs targeted for low-income citizens, even though these programs represent only one-fifth of the current federal budget. And the situation is even more clear-cut when we consider possibilities for new social programs. Unless progressives can build broad coalitions, it is unlikely that Congress will ever vote to finance the kinds of reforms that are needed to combat the new social inequality. The momentum is away from, not toward, adequate social programs.

Instead of recognizing and dealing with the complex and changing realities that have led to economic distress for so many Americans, policymakers seek to assign blame and associate the economic problems of families and individuals alike with such personal shortcomings as lack of initiative, work ethic, or motivation. Consequently, there is very little support in favor of financing any social programs, even the creation of public service jobs for the limited number of welfare recipients who reach a time limit for the receipt of welfare checks. Considering the deleterious consequences that this shortsighted retreat from public policy will have for so many Americans, it is distressing that progressive groups, far from being energized to reverse the public policy direction in which the country is now moving, at times appear intimidated and paralyzed by today's racially charged political rhetoric.

Comprehensive solutions for the new social inequality stand little chance of being adopted or even seriously considered if no new political coalition begins pressing for economic and social reform. Political leaders concerned about the current shift in public policy will have to develop a unifying rhetoric, a progressive message that both resonates with broad segments of the American population and enables groups to recognize that it is in their interest to join a reform coalition dedicated to moving America forward.

Bridging the Racial Divide

Given America's tense racial situation, especially in urban areas, the formation of a multi-ethnic reform coalition will not be easy. Our nation's response to racial discord in the central city and to the growing racial divide between the city and the suburbs has been disappointing. In discussing these problems we have a tendency to engage in the kind of rhetoric that exacerbates, rather than alleviates, urban and metropolitan racial tensions. Ever since the 1992 Los Angeles riot, the media has focused heavily on the factors that divide rather than unite racial groups. Emphasis on racial division peaked in 1995 following the jury's verdict in the O.J. Simpson murder trial. Before the verdict was announced, opinion polls revealed, whites overwhelmingly thought that Mr. Simpson was guilty, while a substantial majority of blacks felt that he was innocent. The media clips showing public reaction to the verdict dramatized the racial contrasts: blacks appeared elated and jubilant; whites appeared stunned, angry, and somber. America's racial divide, as depicted in the media, seemed wider than ever.

The country's deep racial divisions certainly should not be underestimated, but the unrelenting emphasis on these gaps has obscured the fact that African-Americans, whites, and other ethnic groups share many concerns, are beset by many similar problems, and have important values, aspirations, and hopes in common.

For example, if inner-city blacks are experiencing the greatest problems of joblessness, their situation is nevertheless a more extreme form of economic difficulties that have affected many Americans since 1980. Solutions to the broader problems of economic marginality in this country, including those that stem from changes in the global economy, can go a long way toward addressing the problems of inner-city joblessness, especially if the applica-

tion of resources included (Wilson 1996). Discriminatory problems promote a severity in the problems that divides races together, not a tension.

Because the problem is severe, a vision of interdependence is important but at the same time more important than the one promoted by all lead-

A new democracy is so divisive that we must work together in a coalition to realize that if a political system draws back, just as minority audiences. Concern families of all groups can honestly confront the situation to move America forward.

Despite legacies of past events, a politics of racial groups is very important above all popular interests and work to fashion a progressive new ma-

tion of resources includes wise targeting of the groups most in need of help (Wilson 1996). Discussions that emphasize common solutions to shared problems promote a sense of unity, regardless of the different degrees of severity in the problems afflicting different groups. Such messages bring races together, not apart, and are especially important during periods of racial tension.

Because the problems of the new social inequality are growing more severe, a vision of interracial unity that acknowledges racially distinct problems but at the same time emphasizes transracial solutions to shared problems is more important than ever. Such a vision should be developed, shared, and promoted by all leaders in this country, but especially by political leaders.

A new democratic vision must reject the commonly held view that race is so divisive that whites, blacks, Latinos, and other ethnic groups cannot work together in a common cause. Those articulating the new vision must realize that if a political message is tailored to a white audience, racial minorities draw back, just as whites draw back when a message is tailored to minority audiences. The challenge is to find issues and programs that concern families of all racial and ethnic groups, so that individuals in these groups can honestly perceive mutual interests and join in a multiracial coalition to move America forward.

Despite legacies of racial domination and obstacles thrown up by recent events, a politics about problems and solutions relevant for people across racial groups is very possible in the United States today. Political leaders—above all popular Democrats—should forcefully articulate such a message and work to fashion the multiracial coalitions that must be at the heart of any progressive new majority in American democracy.

COPIED
COS
STERN

12-3-97

December 2, 1997

President Bill Clinton
1600 Pennsylvania Ave.
Washington D.C. 20515

Dear President Bill Clinton,

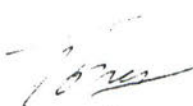
As per our conversation, please find a packet of information regarding Gene Autry, enclosed in this packet.

I didn't want to bring it up during our Thanksgiving break, I think you can understand.

Mr. Autry's supporters are hoping he will receive the Presidential Medal of Freedom. Since he is 90 years old and in poor health. Time is of the essence. If you decide he warrants this honor, please let me know.

Thanks again for the great time at Camp David.

With Regards,



Tony

GENE AUTRY

On Sunday, August 23, 1953 an editorial appeared in the Boston Herald. It was entitled "Ambassador on Horseback" and went as follows:

"One of America's best diplomats is Gene Autry. Through the medium of his radio show, he is doing a great deal to help Great Britain and the United States understand each other. In a very simple way he has helped us to use our own interests to gain understanding. Broadcasting in London, he let our common love of horses bring rodeo lovers and horse show addicts together. For example, the English emphasis is on form, the American on what the horse and rider can do. The English saddle is perfect for a country of hedges and fences which have to be jumped, the American saddle is right for the riding range. Then he let the natural feeling for music bring us together. He presented an English folk song which is an American favorite. Then he sang an American song which was written by two Englishmen who had never left England - "South Of The Border." Perhaps Gene Autry, with a guitar and a horse, can do more than pacts and treaties to bring two people together."

Gene Autry is indeed an Ambassador for America and a role model for over three generations of children here and abroad. For millions of children who watched him on the silver screen he was the hero in the white hat, the courageous and decent person most kids aspired to be. His Cowboy Code served as an example to children and adults alike. It is every bit as pertinent today as it was over fifty years ago.

In three decades of personal appearance tours through cities and towns both large and small, up to eighty-five stops per tour, Gene Autry brought happiness, comfort, and hope to millions. Whether it was entertaining astride Champion, strumming his guitar and singing, or visiting children's hospitals and putting on a show just to see some smiles, Gene was there.

It was never about personal glory. In 1942 at the height of his popularity he left everything behind, including a \$600,000 a year salary, to volunteer for the U.S. Air Force. He took flying lessons at his own expense, and then trained to fly supply planes over The Hump and other theatres of war in World War II. After serving his country he returned in 1946 to tour the South Pacific entertaining the American and Allied troops.

It is no mystery why Gene Autry has received Humanitarian Awards from the most prestigious groups in our country such as The Humanitarian Award from the National Conference of Christians and Jews, The Hubert H. Humphrey Humanitarian of the Year Award, The Scopus Award, The Horatio Alger Award, and American Patriots Medal, just to name a very few. Nor is it a wonder that he has been a friend of the United States Presidents from President Roosevelt to President Bush. Wherever he has traveled; from England, Ireland, South America, to Canada and across the States, he not only entertained, he brought a clear understanding of our Nation at its very best.

In the late 1970's Gene Autry established The Autry Foundation to assist in forwarding the goals and purposes of those worthwhile organizations dedicated to the betterment of mankind in their various areas of responsibility. Since its inception this Foundation has contributed over \$85,000,000 to worthwhile charities across the nation, focusing on children, the needy, hospitals, education, and cultural endeavors.

In 1988 The Autry Museum of Western Heritage Museum opened its doors in Griffith Park, Los Angeles. The Autry is a world-class center devoted to preserving and interpreting the rich history and traditions of the American West. With one of the most comprehensive collections of Western history and art, its seven permanent galleries and special exhibits offer material gathered from the many cultures and events that have shaped the legacy of our great nation.

President Ronald Reagan once said about Mr. Autry: "Over the years Gene has done more for his fellow man than just about anyone I know. While he was in the film business Gene knew that he was serving as a role model for millions of young Americans, and he always strived for the highest standards. Through his career he used his musical and acting talents to promote decency and human kindness. His many efforts and awards in the humanitarian field speak for themselves."

Gene Autry; Entertainer, Entrepreneur, Good Will Ambassador, represents the best of the United States of America; its people, its spirit and its aspirations. Very few individuals have given more to their country. Very few people are more deserving of the Medal of Freedom than Gene Autry, a true American Hero.

GENE AUTRY

FULL NAME: ORVON GENE AUTRY

DATE OF BIRTH: SEPTEMBER 29, 1907

PLACE OF BIRTH: TIOGA, TEXAS

PARENTS FULL NAMES: MOTHER - ELNORA OZMENT AUTRY
FATHER - DELBERT AUTRY

BROTHERS AND SISTERS: DUDLEY AUTRY (DECEASED)
WILMA AUTRY GLEISSNER (DECEASED)
VEDA AUTRY COPPOLA

EDUCATION: GRADUATED TIOGA HIGH SCHOOL CIRCA 1925

SERVICE RECORD: ENLISTED IN THE AIR FORCE IN MARCH OF 1942
ACTUAL INDUCTION TOOK PLACE IN CHICAGO ON JULY 26, 1942
DURING A BROADCAST OF **MELODY RANCH** AT THE PENTAGON'S REQUEST.
HE WENT IN AS A TECH SERGEANT NO. 160993. HE WAS TRANSFERRED TO
SANTA ANA AIR FORCE BASE FOR BASIC TRAINING. HE WAS THEN
TRANSFERRED TO LUKE FIELD, ARIZONA. HE WAS WITH SQUADRON #66.
HE WAS ACCEPTED FOR FLIGHT SCHOOL AT LOVE FIELD IN DALLAS,
RECEIVED HIS PROMOTION TO FLIGHT OFFICER AND WAS TRANSFERRED TO
THE AIR TRANSPORT COMMAND. HIS FLIGHT OFFICER STATUS BECAME
EFFECTIVE JUNE 21, 1944. HIS FLIGHT OFFICER NUMBER IS LISTED
UNDER T187089 (ALTERNATE #T137039). MR. AUTRY SERVED IN THE 91ST
FERRYING SQUAD (555TH ARMY AIR FORCE BASE UNIT) AT LOVE FIELD.
GENE AUTRY FLEW FUEL, AMMUNITION, AND ARMS IN THE CHINA-INDA-
BERMA THEATRE OF WAR AND FLEW OF THE HAZARDOUS AIR ROUTE KNOWN AS
THE HUMP. WHEN THE AIR WAR IN EUROPE ENDED HE WAS REASSIGNED TO
SPECIAL SERVICES. HE TOOK A USO TROUP TO THE SOUTH PACIFIC FOR
ABOUT TWO MONTHS. GENE AUTRY SERVED IN THE ARMED FORCES UNTIL
OCTOBER 1945.

SPOUSE INFORMATION: MARRIED INA MAE SPIVEY AUTRY APRIL 1, 1932
IN ST. LOUIS MISSOURI. INA MAE PASSED AWAY IN MAY 19, 1980.

MARRIED JACQUELINE ELLAM AUTRY JULY 19, 1981 IN LOS ANGELES,
CALIFORNIA.

AWARDS LIST ATTACHED.

CURRENT RESIDENCE: 3171 BROOKDALE ROAD, STUDIO CITY, CA 91064
HAS RESIDED AT THIS ADDRESS SINCE THE LATE 1940'S.

PAGE TWO

GENE'S MOTHER, A BEAUTIFUL AND TALENTED WOMAN IN HER OWN RIGHT, WAS A MAJOR INFLUENCE ON HIM AND INSTILLED HER LOVE FOR MUSIC WITH HER SON. WILL ROGERS, UPON HEARING GENE SING AND PLAY HIS GUITAR ENCOURAGED HIM TO SEEK A CAREER AS A RECORDING ARTIST AND PERFORMER. HIS FIRST WIFE, INA MAE AUTRY, WAS A GREAT INSPIRATION TO HIM AND OF TREMENDOUS SUPPORT. IT WAS SHE WHO SUGGESTED HE RECORD **RUDOLPH THE RED NOSED REINDEER** WHICH BECAME HIS BIGGEST HIT. HIS SECOND WIFE, JACKIE AUTRY, HAS ALSO BEEN OF TREMENDOUS INFLUENCE AND SUPPORT. SHE WAS INSTRUMENTAL IN HELPING HIM ACHIEVE HIS LONG-TIME GOAL OF BUILDING THE AUTRY MUSEUM OF WESTERN HERITAGE IN LOS ANGELES. THERE WERE MANY, MANY TALENTED PERFORMERS AND FRIENDS WHOM MR. AUTRY FEELS WERE OF GREAT SUPPORT IN HELPING HIM ACHIEVE HIS GOALS; HIS SIDEKICKS SMILEY BURNETTE, PAT BUTTRAM, CARL COTNER HIS LONG-TIME ARRANGER, AND MANY OTHERS.

CO-AUTHORED HIS AUTO-BIOGRAPHY **BACK IN THE SADDLE AGAIN** WITH MICKEY HERSKOWITZ IN 1978.

GENE AUTRY

HIGHLIGHTS MUSIC CAREER:

- First Recording October 9, 1929 in New York *My Dreaming Of You* and *My Alabama Home* {Victor V-40200}
- Recorded 635 songs between 1929 and 1964
- Wrote or co-wrote over 200 songs including the holiday classic "Here Comes Santa Claus," the Oscar nominated "Be Honest With Me," and his theme song "Back In The Saddle Again"
- Gene Autry received the first Gold Record ever given in 1933 for his song "That Silver-Haired Daddy Of Mine". He would go on to receive over 25 Gold Records and 20 Platinum Records
- His recording of "Rudolph The Red-Nosed Reindeer" is the second best selling single record of all time, right after "White Christmas"
- "Gene Autry's Melody Ranch" radio show aired on the CBS Radio Network 1940 through 1956

HIGHLIGHTS FILM CAREER

- Already a radio and recording star, Gene Autry made his first movie in 1934 as guest star singing two songs in Key Maynard's movie "In Old Santa Fe." He then starred in a twelve episode serial, "The Phantom Empire," which led to his first feature film at Republic - "Tumbling Tumbleweeds."
- Gene Autry, although not the first singing cowboy, did popularize the genre of the "Western Musical." Gene Autry's movies always featured action, comedy, and music. In addition, Gene always played himself, Gene Autry, on screen.
- From 1934 to 1953 Gene Autry starred in 91 feature films for Republic Studios and Columbia Pictures.
- Was voted Number One Western Star by the exhibitors of America from 1937 until he volunteered for the US Air Force in July 1942. In 1940 was also voted Number Four box office attraction of all stars right behind Mickey Rooney, Clark Gable, and Spencer Tracy.

HIGHLIGHTS TELEVISION CAREER

- From 1950 to 1955 Gene Autry starred in 91 half hour television episodes of "The Gene Autry Show" on the CBS television network. Seventy-six episodes were in black and white, 15 in color.
- Gene Autry's production company, Flying A Pictures, produced "The Gene Autry Show" as well as several other highly rated television series including "Annie Oakley," "The Range Rider," "Buffalo Bill Jr.," "The Adventures of Champion," "Death Valley Days," and "Cavalcade Of America."

PERSONAL APPEARANCE TOURS

- Throughout his career, Gene Autry toured the US, Canada and several foreign countries; including England and Ireland. At first he toured alone to publicize his movies, then later with the Gene Autry Western Variety Show which toured twice a year, up to 85 Towns in the U.S. and Canada. For eleven years beginning in 1940, with the exception of the WWII years, Gene Autry was the star of the annual Madison Square Garden Rodeo where he still holds the all time attendance record.
- After his five year service in WWII and before returning to movies, Gene Autry toured in association with the USO the South Pacific and other Army bases to entertain the American and Allied troupes.

SOME MAJOR AWARDS GENE AUTRY HAS RECEIVED

- 1936 COMMISSIONED AS A TEXAS RANGER
- 1941 BERWYN, OKLAHOMA OFFICIALLY CHANGED ITS NAME TO GENE AUTRY, OKLAHOMA - THE FIRST SUCH HONOR EVER ACCORDED TO A PERFORMER.
- 1960 RECEIVED FOUR (4) STARS IN THE NEWLY CONSTRUCTED "HOLLYWOOD WALK OF FAME". MOTION PICTURE, RADIO, RECORDINGS, AND TELEVISION. IN 1987 HE RECEIVED AN ADDITIONAL STAR FOR LIVE THEATRE, MAKING HIM THE ONLY PERFORMER WITH FIVE STARS ON THE WALK OF FAME.
- 1964 MAN OF THE YEAR - CITY OF HOPE. SPEARHEADED A FUND DRIVE AS WELL AS PERSONALLY PLEDGING SUPPORT OF THE GENE AUTRY HEART RESEARCH WING.
- 1965 HUMANITARINA AWARD - VARIETY CLUB OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA IN RECOGNITION OF HIS DEDICATION TO THE WELFARE OF UNDERPRIVILDGED AND HANDICAPPED CHILDREN.
- 1969 ELECTED TO THE COUNTRY MUSIC HALL OF FAME IN NASHVILLE AND ALSO SERVED ON BOARD OF DIRECTORS FOR MANY YEARS.
- 1972 ELECTED TO NATIONAL COWBOY HALL OF FAME IN OKLAHOMA, CITY.
- 1974 BETTER WORLD AWARD - FOR HUMANITARIAN SERVICE NATIONAL LADIES AUXILIARY OF VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS OF UNITED STATES.
- 1977 MASONIC ADMIRALITY AWARD FOR OUTSTANDING SERVICE TO MASONRY AND HIS FELLOW MAN.
- 1977 AMERICAN PATRIOTS MEDAL FREEDOM FOUNDATION AT VALLYE FORGE.
- 1980 MASONS FIFTY YEAR AWARD FOR FIFTY OR MORE YEARS OF SERVICE. GRAND LODGE OF OKLAHOMA. GUTHRIE, OK.

1981 ORDER OF CALIFORNIA AWARD. CALIFORNIA NATIONAL GUARD. THIS IS THE HIGHEST AWARD THAT CAN BE RECEIVED LAY PERSON.

1981 CALIFORNIA AIR NATIONAL GUARD 146TH TACTICAL AIRLIFT WING. APPOINTED GENE AUTRY AN HONORARY BRIGADIER GENERAL FOR SERVICE TO HIS COUNTRY FOR THREE AND A HALF YEARS IN THE AIR TRANSPORT COMMAND.

1982 HUMANITARIAN AWARD NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS.

1983 DISTINGUISHED HUMANITARIAN AWARD - NATIONAL JEWISH HOSPITAL AND RESEARCH NATIONAL ASTHMA CENTER.

1983 ELECTED TO THIRTY-THIRD DEGREE - HIGHEST HONOR IN MASONRY.

1985 HUBERT H. HUMPHREY HUMANITARIAN OF THE YEAR AWARD - TOUCHDOWN CLUB, WASHINGTON, D.C.

1987 GOOD SCOUT AWARD - BOY SCOUTS OF AMERICA

1988 LIFETIME ACHIEVEMENT AWARD PRESENTED AT USC JEWEL GALA BENEFITING USC SCHOOL OF FINE ARTS.

1989 SCOPUS AWARD - DESERT FRIENDS OF THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY.

1989 SUZIE AWARD - EDDIE CANTOR CHARITABLE FOUNDATION

1989 GRAND CROSS - HIGHEST FRATERNAL HONOR. THIS AWARD HAS ONLY BEEN ISSUED 18 TIMES IN THE HISTORY OF THE SCOTTISH RITE.

1995 BOARD OF DIRECTORS LIFETIME ACHIEVEMENT AWARD FOR INTERNATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT IN ARTS PRESENTED BY THE MICHAEL BOLTON FOUNDATION.

1996 GENE AUTRY HONORED WITH THE 1996 LOS ANGELES AREA GOVERNORS AWARD EMMY AT THE 48TH ANNUAL AREA EMMY AWARDS.

THE AUTRY FOUNDATION

The Autry Foundation, founded in the late 1970's, has contributed over \$85,000,000.00 in funds to worthwhile charities. Among them are the following:

Alzheimers Disease & Related Disorders Association
American Academy of Achievement
American Cancer Society
American Diabetes Association
American Friends of Hebrew University
American Heart Association
American Red Cross
American Jewish Committee
Anaheim Memorial Hospital
Anti-Defamation League
Arthritis Foundation
Autry Museum of Western Heritage
Barbara Sinatra Children's Center
Big Brothers/Big Sisters
The Boys and Girls Clubs
Boy Scouts of America
California Association of Human Rights
California Scottish Rite Foundation
California Special Olympics
Camp Ronald McDonald
Childhelp USA
Children's Diabetic Foundation
City of Hope (Gene Autry Heart Research Wing)
Community Blood Bank
Cystic Fibrosis Foundation
Desert Hospital Foundation
Doheny Eye Institute
Eisenhower Medical Center
Betty Ford Center at Eisenhower
Freedom's Foundation at Valley Forge
Grant Beckstrand Cancer Foundation
Guidedogs for the Blind
Hollywood Police Support Association
Horatio Alger Association of Distinguished Americans
Hugh O'Brian Youth Foundation
Jewish National Fund
Hospice of the Canyon
Junior Achievement of Southern California
Junior Achievement of Orange County
Knights Templar Grand Encampment
The League For Crippled Children

PAGE TWO

March of Dimes
Masonic Charities Foundation
The Midnight Mission
Motion Picture and Television Fund
National Association for the Advancement of
Colored People
National Conference of Christians and Jews
National Society to Prevent Blindness
Permanent Charities
Research to Prevent Blindness
The Retina Foundation
Nixon Library and Birthplace Foundation
Scottish Rite
UCLA Foundation
Union Rescue Mission
United Way
University of Southern California
Variety Children's Charities
YMCA

GENE AUTRY BUSINESS INTERESTS

Former Partner in KOOL Radio/TV

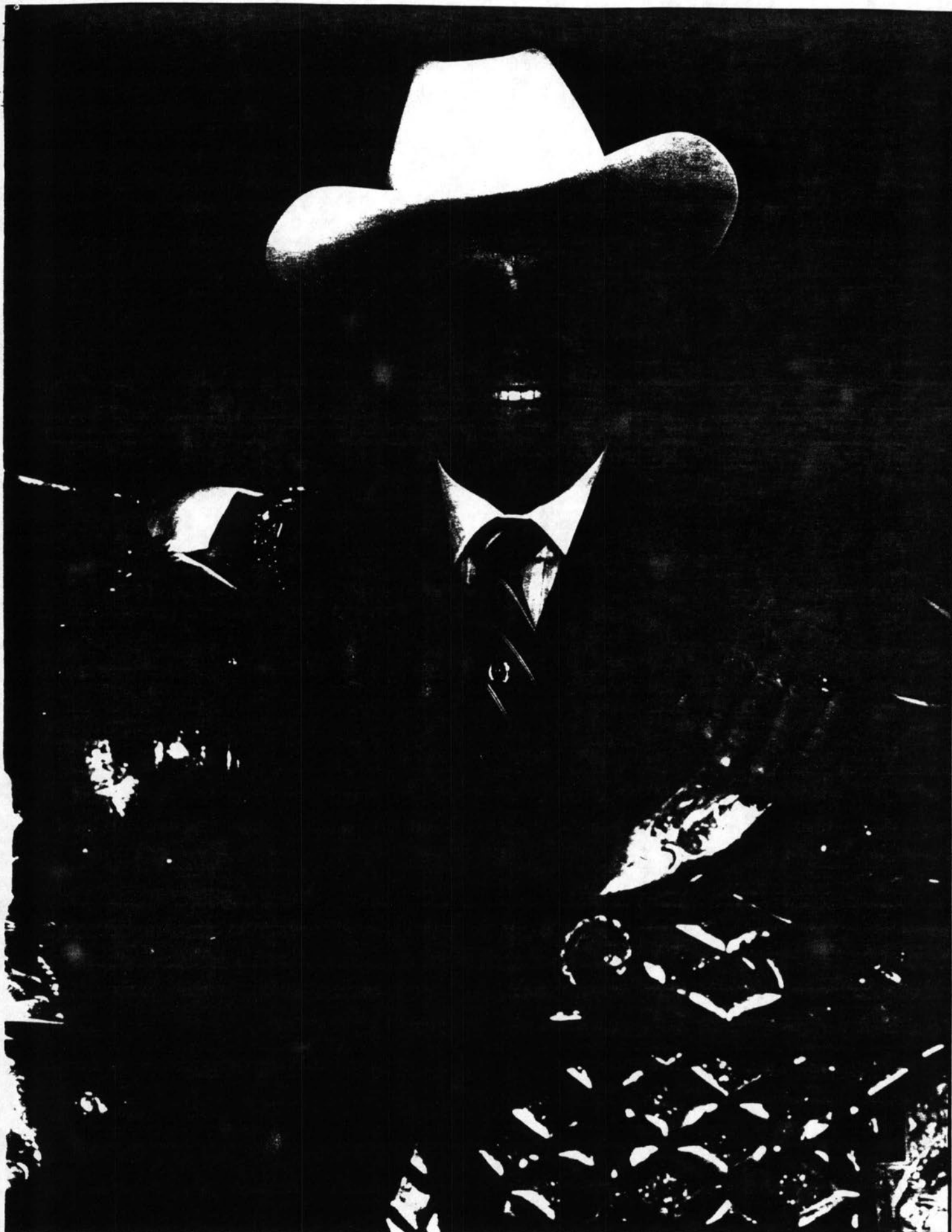
Chairman of the Board of Golden West Broadcasters whose holdings included radio and television stations throughout the United States, including well known independent TV station KTLA Channel 5 in Los Angeles, KAUT TV in Oklahoma, KMPC and KSCA radio in Los Angeles, KVI and KPLZ in Seattle, WCXI, WTWR in Detroit, KEX and KQFM in Portland, and KSFO in San Francisco.

Mr. Autry also owned the California Angels. In 1996 Disney purchased 25% ownership with Gene Autry retaining 75%. The team has since been renamed the Anaheim Angels.

Mr. Autry also owns a number of music publishing companies; Gene Autry's Western Music Publishing Company, Golden West Melodies, Inc., Melody Ranch Music Co., Inc. Ridgeway Music Co., Inc., and Gene Autry Records.

His holdings include Flying A Pictures, Inc.

At one time, Mr. Autry also owned a number of hotels including the Gene Autry Hotel in Palm Springs.















© D. GENE AOTRY 25





Charbroiled Burgers

Bud
KING OF BEERS





GENE AUTRY

CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD





September 15, 1997

Mr. Tony Rodham
President
Tony Rodham & Associates, Inc.
c/o The Biltmore Hotel
1200 Anastasia Avenue
Coral Gables, FL 33134

Re: Gene Autry

Dear Tony:

Here is another complete packet I have put together on Gene (number five to various people) with more information than you can imagine. Please see that this packet arrives on the desks of the President and First Lady, and that it not only appears on their desks, but in direct eyesight. When our good President and First Lady (also First Sister) start to relax for ten minutes tonight, please request that this be their primary reading material.

LET'S GET GENE THIS PRESIDENTIAL MEDAL OF FREEDOM.

With every good wish,

UNITED SHOWS OF AMERICA, INC.


E. A. Gregory
Chairman

Via FedEx Priority

Enc./AS

EAG/led

Lee C. Howley



November 21, 1997

President William J. Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20500-2000

'97 DEC 4 AM 10:31

Dear President Clinton:

12-4-97
12-4-97
Send to Scheduling

Yes _____

no _____

C

on. It is
ation and
could join us for
April 2, 1998.

ke to have you
to the Hall of
fit the Museum's

T. The opening
Honorary co-
orge Voinovich,
ier, Rolling

You are our country's first "Rock & Roll President" and it would be a great honor for me to introduce you to the "House that Rock Built".

Best Wishes,

Lee

Lee C. Howley
Co-Chairman
Rock and Roll Hall of Fame & Museum

12-4-97
P.S. I am enclosing a special book that gives some indication of what you can expect at the Museum. After looking at this book, our Georgetown days do not seem so distant!

Life from the past



November 21, 1997

President William J. Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20500-2000

'97 DEC 4 AM 10:31

Dear President Clinton:

The Rock and Roll Hall of Fame & Museum is a unique institution. It is considered the world's definitive resource for the preservation, interpretation and celebration of the history of Rock & Roll. We would be honored if you could join us for the Grand Opening of the new Hall of Fame addition to the Museum on April 2, 1998.

The opening event has two components. We especially would like to have you "cut the ribbon" on the spectacular new addition along with inductees into the Hall of Fame. The ceremonial opening will be followed by a gala event to benefit the Museum's programming.

The new Hall of Fame is a \$5 million exhibit sponsored by AT&T. The opening celebration is being organized by a committee of Cleveland's leadership. Honorary co-chairs of the event include myself, Mayor Michael White, Governor George Voinovich, Ahmet Ertegan (Chairman, Atlantic Records), and Jann Wenner (Publisher, Rolling Stones Magazine).

You are our country's first "Rock & Roll President" and it would be a great honor for me to introduce you to the "House that Rock Built".

Best Wishes,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Lee".

Lee C. Howley
Co-Chairman
Rock and Roll Hall of Fame & Museum

P.S. I am enclosing a special book that gives some indication of what you can expect at the Museum. After looking at this book, our Georgetown days do not seem so distant!

1 Key Plaza
Cleveland, Ohio
44114-1022
fax 216 781.1832
216 781.7625

ROCK AND ROLL HALL OF FAME + MUSEUM

It's a Whole New Hall of Fame!



The power and passion of every inductee of the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame will be portrayed as never before when the new Hall of Fame opens on April 2, 1998.

"The piano was talkin', the drums were walkin' and everybody was gone!"

So said Little Richard in describing rock's formative days. The new Hall of Fame captures that exuberance and surrounds visitors with the visceral power of rock and roll's greatest artists. Music pounds and soars. Images dance across three giant screens. Memories come back to life.

Hall of Fame inductees will help cut the ribbon on this eye-and-ear-popping addition to the critically acclaimed Rock and Roll Hall of Fame and Museum. The new Hall of Fame replaces the more subdued shrine at the top of the spectacular I.M. Pei-designed museum in downtown Cleveland.

The ribbon-cutting will be followed by a gala event to benefit the Museum's exhibition and education programs.

The new Hall of Fame is made possible through the sponsorship of AT&T, which is partnering with the Museum to promote the exciting new attraction to the public beginning in late 1997.

The proposed schedule for the April 2, 1998 events is:

10:30 a.m. - 5:30 p.m.	Museum is open to the public.
6 p.m. - 6:45 p.m.	Ribbon-cutting to open the new Hall of Fame on the third floor of the Museum.
7 p.m. - 11 p.m.	Gala event to benefit the Museum's programs. Guests will be able to tour the Museum, including the new Hall of Fame. The format of the event will be an elegant cocktail party with food and beverage stations throughout the Museum. There will be cocktail party seating in several locations, but the event is not intended to be a sit-down dinner.

The new Hall of Fame opens to the general public on Friday, April 3.

1 Key Plaza
Cleveland, Ohio
44114-1022
fax 216 781.1832
216 781.7625

H-B WOODLAWN PROGRAM

ARLINGTON PUBLIC SCHOOLS

4100 Vacation Lane
Arlington, Virginia 22207

November 30, 1997

TEL (703) 228-6363
FAX (703) 558-0317

'97 DEC 4 PM 1:03

President Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave.
Washington, D.C.

Dear President Clinton:

I am writing to tell you of the wonderful speech Ambassador Peter Peterson gave to our students on November 20, while visiting Washington. Despite the press of his schedule, he found time to speak to them of the current state in Vietnam, its future and finally his own personal history there. The students listened carefully as he told about his life. He spoke authentically and personally to them. We were delighted that he visited us. He is a wonderful choice for such a complex and delicate diplomatic post. Congratulations on making and persisting in his confirmation.

Sincerely


Mary McBride
Assistant Principal

12-4-97

Send to Burkhardt

Yes ☒

No ☐

cc: NSC

C



GREEK ORTHODOX ARCHDIOCESE OF AMERICA

8-10 East 79TH Street, New York, NY 10021 Tel:(212) 570-3500 Fax:(212) 861-2183

'97 DEC 4 PM 1:03

December 3, 1997

President William Jefferson Clinton
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President;

I pray
holy days of

It is
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Send to Burkhardt?

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No

12-4-97

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Archbishop Spyridon

† SPYRIDON

Primate of the Greek Orthodox Church
in America

AS:dt

*gob*GREEK ORTHODOX ARCHDIOCESE OF AMERICA8-10 East 79TH Street, New York, NY 10021 Tel:(212) 570-3500 Fax:(212) 861-2183

'97 DEC 4 PM 1:05

December 3, 1997

President William Jefferson Clinton
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President;

I pray that this letter finds you well and being blessed by the grace of God during these most holy days of the Advent Season.

It saddens my heart that just days after the visit of His All Holiness Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew to the White House and the meaningful conversation which you shared with the Ecumenical Patriarch that I write to personally bring to your attention that the Patriarchal compound in Istanbul, Turkey has been bombed and that a clergyman of the Ecumenical Patriarchate was seriously injured by this terrible act of violence.

It is inconceivable that at the dawn of the 21st century human rights, freedom of religion and the desire to live a peaceful life are still being trod upon in Turkey. Mr. President, you met the Ecumenical Patriarch and heard, as did all Americans, his message of peace, love and reconciliation. Is it possible that the response to this message could be a bomb, bloodshed, destruction of property and the blatant trampling upon of the spiritual message of the Ecumenical Patriarchate which is being proclaimed for nearly 2,000 years?

As we anticipate the Birth of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the Prince of Peace, and accept His message of love for all people into our hearts, it is my prayer that the Lord inspire you and guide you to use your honorable office to protect those who suffer and who are being persecuted at the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople and throughout the world.

With heartfelt prayers for a
blessed Christmas Season,

† SPYRIDON

Primate of the Greek Orthodox Church
in America

ΔΘΣ, Sun, M, Wed, trade

Ball

For Performance

Bo, Bo, Bo

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 2, 1997

MEMORANDUM TO

THE PRESIDENT

FROM

RAHM EMANUEL

SUBJECT

THURSDAY NEW YORK TIMES INTERVIEW

The New York Times is preparing to do a two part series on your Presidency that would start this Sunday with an article by John Broder and Rick Berke. As you know Broder is a White House reporter and Rick Berke is the senior political reporter for the Times.

The second part of the series will focus on how we develop policy and will be written by James Bennett and Robert Pear. It is my understanding that they start with the premise that we develop a good deal of policy and do it in a very aggressive fashion.

Broder and Berke are asking a different question. They think we have accomplished a great deal, but wonder if we are out of gas. Although not consistent, they think we pushed Republican ideas or neutralized the Republican agenda, but may now have nothing new to offer.

Paul Begala, Doug Sosnik, Amy Weiss Toby, and Joe Lockhart and I have met to discuss the strategy for this interview. It is our view that you want to approach the interview on two levels, from both a policy and political perspective.

POLICY: The simple objective is to remind them of why you ran for President. Prior to your election, America's fiscal house was in a sea of red ink, the middle class dream was becoming more difficult for families to achieve, and our social fabric as a nation was badly frayed. You set out with an agenda to correct these wrongs: the 1993 Budget, the 1994 crime bill, and the 1996 welfare legislation.

In each case you rejected the old dogma of both parties to step out in a new direction. On the budget you rejected the debate of whether to cut the budget or increase spending, and changed it to where to cut and where to invest. On crime you rejected the debate about punishment versus prevention and changed it to one about policing. On the issues of welfare, you changed the debate from illegitimacy versus training to work and responsibility. You moved out in a new direction that rejected the ideological gridlock of the 1980's, which helped create these problems, and offered new policy that shifted the debate and addressed the problem head-on.

Because of your new philosophical approach, Democrats are now the party of the mainstream. The above claim could not have been made about Democrats in the past. We are now a nationally

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→ new ideas, smaller values
→ new
→ so-called, for history / for the future

our Strategy for 2.

Eight, ...

See strategy, See 6, MC. Oliver

Will then → 2 → Growth + the 1998

→ 2001 → 2002

Phil of Govt → 2001 → 2002

→ 2001 → 2002

→ 2001 → 2002

copied
Emanuel
COS

competitive party that represents and respects middle class pocket book issues and middle class family values. The American people now trust Democrats for the first time on taxes, national security, managing the economy, fighting crime, and understanding middle class needs.

The Country and the Democratic Party are better off for the new policies you have advocated. Beyond rejecting the old dogma of both parties, your new approach stems from the statement you made in New York at the 1992 convention: If you work hard and play by the rules you will have a government that is on your side. That statement has guided our policies on economic and social issues.

POLITICS: In 1992 you wanted to accomplish three things for the Democratic Party. First, make the party competitive on a national level after losing five out of six Presidential contests. Second, make the party the voice for the future rather than the past. And finally, have a party that represents the mainstream rather than an uncoordinated chorus of special interests.

You have been successful in changing the party and its image. And while changing the party, there have been electoral setbacks, but the party has shown leadership and steadfastness when the times have called for it. The party in the long run is better off for being the party of fiscal discipline, of tax relief, and one that is tough on crime. There have been electoral defeats and setbacks, but the party had to make these changes for the future. It could no longer be a mere congressional party without the ability to compete on a national level.

CONCLUSION: Up to now we have given advice on how to talk and explain the past. To make this interview work you will need to discuss the future and your policy prescriptions for the next three years. Although we do not want to hint at any of the big ideas Paul has outlined in the memo, you will need to talk about child care, education, health care, etc. In order for the interview and stories to be successful, we need to have reporters leave with the sense that we have a game plan for the future.

December 3, 1997

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MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT
FROM BRUCE REED
SUBJECT NEW YORK TIMES INTERVIEW

Suggested talking points.

THE PAST

When I ran for President, I set forth a new philosophy, beyond something for nothing and every man for himself. I said we needed a new bargain between the people and their government: government should do its part to provide people opportunity -- by opening the doors of college to all, expanding health care, making the streets safe, expanding trade, and finally bringing the deficit down so the economy could grow and we have room to invest -- and individuals should do their part by taking responsibility to serve their community and country, pay child support, and move from welfare to work.

That is the philosophy I have governed by every step of the way. We took responsibility to cut the deficit from \$300 billion to almost zero, and at the same time made historic investments: EITC to lift millions out of poverty, HOPE scholarship to make 2 years of college as universal as high school, \$24 billion to extend health insurance to millions of children. We reduced the federal bureaucracy by 300,000, and we're using the money to put 100,000 police officers on the street and reduce the crime rate 5 years in a row. We replaced a welfare system based on dependency with a system based on work, and we've reduced the welfare rolls by 4 million while providing child care and health care.

THE FUTURE

We've come a long way, but we still face great challenges as we prepare Americans for the 21st century:

- * Balancing work and family -- especially child care
- * Educating America for the 21st century -- national test, Education Opportunity Zones
- * Strengthening the bargain of Social Security and Medicare
- * Pressing forward to expand health coverage and improve quality

• Fin / Econ
• Our America
• AM. Mission

• Am. Way → to: Education
→ Work / Econ
→ Peace
→ New Security

G. 13/1/02

↳ Life/Health
Mission
Growth
Cost
Life/Health