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Race-Race Initiative - Advisory Board Meetings [1]

Race - Advisory Board

ONE AMERICA IN THE 21ST CENTURY

The President's Initiative on Race

The New Executive Office Building
Washington, DC 20503
202/395-1010

MEMORANDUM

TO: Maria Echaveste
Ann Lewis
Minyon Moore
Elena Kagan

FROM: Judith A. Winston

SUBJECT: Advisory Board's Draft Submission

DATE: August 28, 1998

I am forwarding to you a draft of the document the Board will submit to the President in September. The draft has been sent to Board members and incorporates many of their comments from earlier drafts. We have asked for additional comments by September 4. We realize portions of the document are redundant and will be working hard to eliminate the redundancies during the period of review.

Outline of DRAFT Advisory Board Report
August 28, 1998

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DRAFT/Angela Oh/bs/August 28, 1998

America in Racial Transition: Forging Our Future

Today, I ask the American People to join me in a great national effort to perfect the promise of America for this new time as we seek to build our more perfect union. . . . That is the unfinished work of our time, to lift the burden of race and redeem the promise of America.

--President Bill Clinton, June 14, 1997

Introduction

America's greatest challenge in the twenty-first century will be to harness the strength that our [its] racial diversity offers. Our nation's greatest obstacle may be our inability to define ourselves as a multiracial people, already functioning in a multicultural society. Leadership that constantly strives to give meaning to the fundamental principles of our democracy has made it possible for this nation to emerge as the world's last remaining superpower at the end of the twentieth century. If our nation is to continue to provide leadership on a global stage, we must find ways to advance race relations in order to strengthen the fabric of our society. The principles of justice, equality, dignity, respect, and more recently, inclusion, must guide the planning for our future.

Members of the Advisory Board to the President's Initiative on Race have spent the last fifteen months, seeking ways to build a more united and just America. Following your leadership, we have engaged in study and dialogue about race. We have made recommendations on specific issues areas which were addressed at each of our public Board meetings. We have been

encouraged and inspired by your positive responses, and in some instances, immediate action. As we reach the end of our term as members of the Advisory Board on race, we offer a more detailed set of recommendations for action.

This Report is intended to provide intelligence gathered from communities across the nation, including diverse points of view about racial differences and controversial issues that are being currently debated, and ideas for how strong leadership can continue to move our nation closer to its highest aspirations. We urge bold, decisive action for "lifting the burden of race, and redeeming the promise of America," as President Clinton has called for.

The Advisory Board and Its Mandate

In June, 1997, through Executive Order No. 13050, President Clinton appointed John Hope Franklin (chairman), Linda Chavez-Thompson, Reverend Dr. Suzan D. Johnson Cook, Thomas H. Kean, Angela E. Oh, Robert Thomas, and William Winter to serve as members of the Advisory Board to the President's Initiative on Race. Our mandate was to examine race, racism and the potential for racial reconciliation in America. We come from different walks of life but we share the President's vision of a just, unified nation where we honor and respect our differences and celebrate the common values and aspirations which make us one nation. [Each of us brought our experience of having engaged in the hard work of trying to build new relationships and create new opportunities to bridge racial divides in our communities, professions and workplaces.]

We commend and endorse your vision that one America must be built on a foundation of input from a broad range of people in America. More importantly, no other President, in the history of this nation, has had the courage or foresight to undertake a national effort to publicly explore how race and racism may affect our ability to live up to the promise of America.

The Advisory Board has had to struggle with the fact that there currently does not exist a language, or vocabulary, that respects differences of opinion and experience that often materialize during conversations about race and racism in this country. [The current political climate tends to cast all issues in an either/or context, leaving little room for where we believe most Americans are - in a position that recognizes that reasonable minds may differ.] Despite the inadequacy of our existing language, the Advisory Board forged ahead to meet the objectives set out by the President through his Executive Order. Those objectives included the following:

- Promote a constructive national dialogue to confront and work through the challenging issues that surround race;
- Increase the Nation's understanding of our recent history of race relations and the course our Nation is charting on issues of race relations and racial diversity;
- Bridge racial divides by encouraging leaders in communities throughout the Nation to develop and implement innovative approaches to calming racial tensions;
- Identify, develop, and implement solutions to problems in areas in which race has a substantial impact, such as education, economic opportunity, housing, health care, and

the administration of justice.

In addition to these four substantive areas for policy recommendations, the Advisory Board also examined issues related to race and immigration, media and racial stereotyping, and civil rights enforcement.

We wish to make it clear that this Report [document or these observations] is not a definitive analysis of the state of race relations in America today. We leave this task to the legions of scholars and experts on race relations, only a few of whom we had the opportunity to meet and hear from during the course of this past year. This Advisory Board had no independent authority to commission research, conduct public hearings, or commit federal resources to an particular problem, community or organization. Rather, we were engaged in the task of assisting the President in the initial stages of America's journey toward building a more just society. Our experiences, impressions, and thoughts are set forth in the pages that follow. It is our hope that the information contained in this report will be used to create a more detailed blueprint for our future and a more realistic picture of the ways the notion of "race" has affected our sense of national unity.

Accomplishments, Challenges and Opportunities

The year of study, action, and dialogue produced a number of outcomes that can be directly attributed to the President's call to action. Some of these include:

- Meetings with approximately 600 Tribal leaders and members around the country to discuss race and sovereignty. This includes special meetings and conferences with 100 Tribal leaders and visits to the Standing Rock Sioux Reservation in North Dakota and the Lummi Reservation in Washington State.
- "Campus Week of Dialogue" in April, 1998 which involved students, faculty and administrators on 600 campuses
- "Statewide Days of Dialogue" in April, 1998 involving 110 communities, Governors of 39 states and 2 territories, and 22 Mayors.
- Identification of over 300 Promising Practices which are communities efforts designed to bridge racial divides
- Four forums for corporate leaders and two for religious leaders that engaged over 1000 leaders in the corporate and faith communities in discussions of race, barriers, opportunities and leadership.
- Production of a "One America Dialogue Guide" to facilitate discussions about race.
- Production of two nationally televised public service announcements, including one that received the advertising industry's honor for best public service announcement.
- Outreach to over 30,000 young Americans in 48 states and Puerto Rico through such projects like the "Call to Action" letter , the Vice Presidential Briefing for Youth

Oriented Media and numerous other youth activities.

- Participation in "One America Conversation" by approximately 17,000 people in 39 states and 89 cities.
- On average, approximately 1,000 "visits" per week on the "One America" website, and the Initiative has received over 1000 e-mails from the people around the country.
- White House Summit on Hate Crimes.
- More than 2200 news and magazine articles written during the period from June 1997 through April 1998 that made reference to the President Initiative on Race.

These efforts revealed that many challenges lie ahead. As America's racial diversity grows, the complexity of giving meaning to the promise of America grows as well. It is those challenges that signal where opportunities may exist. In this report, the Advisory Board has framed the challenges, identified the opportunities, and recommended action.

Report Overview

In Chapter One, the common values and concerns that people share, regardless of racial background, are discussed. Here, we highlight the leadership that is being demonstrated in communities across the country and in almost every sector of our nation including schools, businesses, labor organizations, community-based organizations, local government and faith-based organizations.

Chapter Two presents a discussion about why it is important for America to grapple with the difficult subject of race and racism as we approach the end of the twentieth century. We present our thoughts on how the goal of achieving racial justice and reconciliation requires us to respond to certain issues that [continue to be raised] by the American people.

In Chapter Three is intended to provide information about racial demographics in America. It will focus on how the predicted shift in the demographic profile of our nation will require us to reexamine our current thinking about race and race relations.

In Chapter Four the focus shifts to select issues addressed by the Advisory Board in its meetings throughout the year and data concerning racial disparities in education, housing, health, the criminal justice system, economic opportunity. These data demonstrate the reality of the racial divides among us and the need to set priorities in taking action for the future. The Chapter also includes all of the recommendations for action we submitted to the President following Board meetings. Many have already been implemented or are awaiting Congressional action.

Finally, in Chapter Five, the final recommendations of the Advisory Board are outlined and presented.

While these recommendations conclude this Advisory Board year-long exploration of race and racism, we view our work as a "foundation" for building one America. Racial reconciliation is

an issue President Clinton has fought for all his life. It should and must be a priority for all Americans in the 21st century.

DRAFT/August 28, 1998/JSM

Chapter One

Searching for Common Ground

While America confronts a variety of racial and cultural barriers, the common themes and concerns that the Advisory Board heard voiced throughout the year reinforced our notion that we are indeed more united as a country than divided. The Advisory Board found that too often race prevents us from moving beyond our differences to see our common interests. In this chapter the Advisory Board highlights some of the commonalities we discovered, the importance of dialogue in breaking down barriers and finding common ground, the role of leaders in bringing people together, and the efforts about which we learned during the year in which people across the nation came together despite racial difference. It is these efforts, some of which we have called promising practices, that give us great hope that with a serious commitment our nation has the ability to overcome our history of racism and the will to eliminate the persisting racial disparities and move beyond myths, stereotypes, and discrimination and its vestiges.

[insert as sidebar quote: "I just hope that the board and its report and whatever it will be issuing does talk not only about the need to respect the differences among our communities, but also to dwell on those principles that unify us. And how did we get to those principles. People . . . talked about the fact that the best way of trying to bridge these issues is to try to focus on solving problems that are, in fact, common to all of us. We are all concerned about personal safety and crime. We are all concerned about education. We are all

concerned about economic development and income differences. To come up with something that just doesn't focus on how we failed on race, but something that talks about where we are succeeding. I think it is important for the American people to have hope that this is a solvable problem. Because otherwise, I fear people might give up." – Karen K. Narasaki, Executive Director of the National Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium, Carnegie Foundation for International Peace Meeting on Immigration, July 13, 1998.]

Americans Share Common Values and Aspirations

As we traveled through the nation, wherever we went, some common values and aspirations that Americans share became evident. We all share common values -- a thirst for freedom, the desire for equal opportunity, a belief in fairness and essential justice. We all possess common aspirations -- a decent and affordable home, a good education, a fulfilling job, financial and personal security, adequate and available health care, healthy and educated children whose dreams for a bright future are not a mirage, but a vision of reality. We all feel the same emotions -- joy at the birth of a child, sadness at the death of a loved one, love for our family, anger at people who disrespect us, hope for the future, frustration at the daily barriers we encounter. We all should aspire to the vision of an America in which we honor and respect the differences which make each of us unique and special; while recognizing and celebrating the common threads which bind us inextricably together.

Based on the common themes we heard throughout the year we have articulated a set of fundamental principles that we believe all Americans can embrace as ideals for American society—justice, equality of opportunity, respect, responsibility, honor, integrity, and inclusion. Through our work this year, we have established partnerships with the White House and Administration officials, tribal governments, individuals, communities, businesses, schools and religious and spiritual institutions from across the country to promote these principles and to ensure they become a reality for all Americans.

Dialogue Is a Tool for Finding Common Ground

We found that one of the best tools for finding common ground and developing new understanding among people of different races is through dialogue. One of our goals for this year was to spark a very extensive dialogue in which people throughout America would freely discuss problems of race as these problems impinged on their lives and affected the nation in ways that could impede our progress in other areas. We also expected that these dialogues would serve to explode stereotypes and provide opportunities for people to share experiences and views that may be different because of a person's race. While the statistics showing the amount of discrimination and racial disparity are telling of continued inequality, the personal experiences we heard had the most affect on us, and we believe are the most useful in bringing people closer

together in committing to working for a nation where people are given equal opportunities and treated fairly regardless of race.

[insert as sidebar: "I do believe we're engaged in a task that's about reaching the hearts, not just the minds of America . . ." – Angela Oh, June 18, 1998, Washington, D.C.]

When the President began this Initiative calling for a "great national conversation" about racial issues, he was *not* calling for more debates about race, which have a long and valued tradition in this country.[1] Today, debates on race take the form of politicians, experts, and pundits arguing their positions on policies such as affirmative action, immigration, and bilingual education. As these debates continue and grow more contentious, dialogue offers an opportunity to talk about race and issues related to race in a way that leads to a better understanding of differing views, experiences and cultures. We hope that the dialogue that we began this year will be dialogue that will continue with civility and respect for each other's views and that it will extend to all parts of the country and to all segments of our society.

In our discussions with experts on and facilitators of racial dialogue, we learned of two important differences between debate and dialogue. First, in debate, positions are fixed and the object is to

[1] The Constitutional Convention in 1787, the Lincoln-Douglas Debates in 1858, and the debates about civil rights in 1964 and voting rights in 1965 are well-known race debates of their day.

persuade others to one's point of view while in dialogue the object is to exchange ideas. Second, in debate the role of the average person is to observe and eventually take sides, while in dialogue each person offers his or her experience and perspective regarding an issue with the goal of understanding how others view the issue. In our experiences, dialogue helped to illuminate the areas of disagreement *and* common ground. The success of a dialogue should be measured by how well all the participants develop an understanding of differing perspectives and gain new insights.

One example of effective dialogue, which we witnessed, occurred under the sponsorship of the University of Mississippi. Ten dialogue groups, composed of people from diverse racial backgrounds, were convened in preparation for a public forum which was held on the campus of the University on March 16, 1998. Each of these dialogue groups focused on a specific issue related to race (labor, business, education, etc.) And held several meetings in the weeks leading up to the public forum. At the public forum, leaders from each group presented specific recommendations for action and committed to on-going efforts to implement these recommendations.

At the Annual Convention of the National Congress of American Indians in Sante Fe, New Mexico Advisory Board members Angela Oh and William Winter, participated in another example of an effective dialogue. We sat in a circle and met with tribal leaders representing a

number of tribes from across the country. We exchanged views on race, and tribal leaders expressed their concerns and hopes for the Initiative. **[Angela and Governor Winter, please check for accuracy.]**

There is a great thirst for honest open racial dialogue. As the Advisory Board began to organize dialogues, it was apparent that relatively few citizens have been involved in or have organized forums where genuine dialogue on racial issues has taken place. Many people are uncomfortable examining the complexities of racial issues with those who may see them differently. Many people fear saying the wrong thing or being misunderstood, and, therefore, being labeled a racist. Many people of color fear that they will be labeled as accommodationists if they bare their racial fears in dialogue in a racially diverse group, or they may be tired of constantly talking about race without seeing concrete action to reduce disparities. Yet, most of those who did participate in these dialogues found them beneficial and insightful and a welcome opportunity to discuss difficult issues in an environment that was safe to express their views.

For example, some Advisory Board members were able to participate in the Central High School 40th Anniversary in Little Rock, Arkansas. We were struck by the ability of the people of Little Rock, particularly the Little Rock Nine who were the first to integrate Central High School, share their experiences and examine a painful chapter in their lives and the nation's history. It was powerful and touching to see grow from the dialogue surrounding the commemoration, an

apology from one who vehemently opposed integration and who protested the integration to one of the Little Rock Nine.

In fact, coinciding with our September 1997 Advisory Board meeting, the Center for Living Democracy released its year-long study which identified more than 80 interracial dialogue groups in over 30 states and the District of Columbia. They estimated that hundreds of thousands of Americans were engaging in sustained dialogues.[2]

Dialogue Helps to Dispel Stereotypes. The dialogues in which the Advisory Board participated involved interaction and communication among people of different racial backgrounds. This type of interaction was particularly important because it served as a means for confronting and dispelling stereotypes. One of the more formidable barriers to bridging our continuing racial divides is negative racial stereotypes. These stereotypes are endemic in our culture. We learn them from our parents, in school and through the media, and they are reinforced by these same sources. One of the most effective ways to confront and dispel racial stereotypes is through continuous, meaningful interaction among people of different racial backgrounds. Unfortunately, opportunities for such interaction are often limited. More opportunities for these types of sustained dialogues are necessary to build a foundation for racial reconciliation. **(See Appendix**

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[2] Paul Martin Du Bois and Jonathan J. Hutson, Bridging the Racial Divide: A Report on Interracial Dialogue in America for the Interracial Democracy Program of the Center for Living Democracy, 1997.

____ for the essential elements of dialogue.)[3]

In addition to enabling people to find common ground, we believe that increased dialogue on race will make today's debates on race less divisive. Debates on affirmative action in college admissions will have more meaning if people also engage in dialogue through which they develop a clearer understanding about the amount of discrimination faced by elementary and high school students and discuss the larger societal goals of affirmative action programs. Debates on bilingual education will be more productive if people have the opportunity to engage in dialogue with limited English proficient people about their desire to become fluent and the best means for accomplishing that goal. Because most people are not engaged in dialogue about the underlying perceptions of race, debates about future strategies often become divisive or remain stagnant.

Sparking the Dialogue. Recognizing the importance of dialogue and the need to bring people together to begin these conversations, the Advisory Board in partnership with Administration

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[3] While dialogue on race is vital, the call for a national conversation on race was not without challenge. The challenges the Advisory Board encountered included: 1) How to define the conversation. 2) How to engage in such a conversation without duplicating ongoing activities. 3) How to reach those who do not traditionally see race as an issue of interest. 4) How, with limited resources, to respond to the many requests for assistance in promoting the conversation in local communities. 5) How to address the skeptics who argue that dialogue is of little value and actions speak louder than words.

officials engaged in several outreach efforts to begin dialogues on racial issues throughout the nation. These outreach efforts took the form of One America Conversations, Campus Week of Dialogue, Statewide Days of Dialogue, and Tribal Leader meetings.

One America Conversations consisted of a grassroots outreach effort to engage Americans across the country in the President's national dialogue on race. Initially, Administration officials, as they traveled on routine business, were encouraged to organize groups of 10–20 people at each location to participate in conversations on race. Some Advisory Board members in their travels also hosted One America Conversations. Since late November 1997, officials from federal agencies, the Executive Office and other Administration offices have hosted 175 conversations across the country. Subsequently, the Initiative has branched out beyond Administration officials to expand the One America Conversations effort into other parts of the public and private sectors. In total, more than 17,000 people have taken part in over 1300 dialogues on race.

During an initial meeting between several college and university presidents attending an American Council of Education and American Association of Colleges and University Conference in October, 1997, Advisory Board members John Hope Franklin and William Winter, laid the groundwork for a larger PIR effort at sparking dialogue among college and university presidents, students, faculty, and administrators through the Campus Week of Dialogue during the first week of April, 1998. We believed that it was important to reach

campuses because every year, America becomes more racially and ethnically diverse, and it is clear that young people, America's future leaders, are the most important constituency to reach in our effort to create one America. John Hope Franklin and U.S. Secretary of Education Richard Riley asked college and university presidents across the nation to organize race dialogue events such as town hall meetings, meetings between campus leaders and community leaders, meetings of students from diverse races and ethnicities, and other activities such as service events, film showings and faculty lectures. Nearly 600 colleges and universities, including community colleges, tribal colleges, and minority-serving institutions, responded to their call to action by organizing activities in every state, the District of Columbia and Puerto Rico. Advisory Board member Governor Kean led this effort by hosting a town hall meeting at Drew University where he is president. Other Advisory Board members supported the effort by participating in similar events at a number of colleges and universities.

In an effort to engage more state and local government officials and community organizations in dialogue, we sponsored the Statewide Days of Dialogue beginning April 30, 1998, in conjunction with the National Day of Commitment to End Racism and Erase the Hate. Again, to broaden the impact, make the most effective use of limited resources, and institutionalize the process, we reached out to partners, including 110 YWCA affiliates that collaborated with local partners to organize dialogues on race in their communities. Twenty-two mayors participated in the local dialogues, and governors of 39 states and two territories issued proclamations in support of

dialogues on race and/or participated in events related to Statewide Days of Dialogue. Advisory Board members and PIR staff fanned out across the country to give strength and momentum to the day. Over a three-day period for the Statewide Days of Dialogue, we and the Initiative had a presence at more than 100 events in every region of the country.

In recognition of the special legal and political status of tribal governments in the United States and to ensure American Indians had an opportunity to participate in the conversation, Advisory Board members made a special effort to meet with and hear from tribal leaders. (See Appendix _____ for listing of specific meetings.)

In almost every meeting two issues were raised:

- There was no American Indian Advisory Board member. American Indians are almost always left out of appointments on councils and boards and often are not present when important discussions and decisions are being made; and
- American Indians have a unique status in this country as dependent sovereign nations with a very special history, and there are many knowledgeable people who do not understand the government-to-government relationship.

In addition, many tribal leaders expressed their concerns that the United States is not living up to its promise of treaties and agreements and is not meeting its agreed to obligations and responsibilities, such as equality in the formulation of regulations that affect their tribal

governments. Other frequently expressed sentiments included Indian people's concern that the Initiative was seeking to create One America, and that they did not want to be assimilated. Rather, they want to retain their right to self-govern as nations within a nation and maintain their own language, culture, religion, way of life and traditional practices. Lastly, Indian people expressed concern that they are an invisible community in America because of their relatively small population, the remote location of their reservations, and that history books do not accurately reflect the history of this country when it comes to American Indians.

[insert as sidebar quote: "We can't redo history, but we can more accurately reflect America's history in our school's textbooks." Mike Her Many Horses, Executive Director of the Oglala Lakota Nation, Meeting with the Dakota Territories Tribal Chairmans Association, May 20, 1998, Washington, D.C.]

Guide to Dialogue. The Advisory Board supported the creation of a guide to assist those who had not engaged in dialogue about race issues or needed assistance in organizing this type of dialogue. In March 1998, the Initiative and the Community Relations Service of the U.S. Department of Justice collaborated with a number of non-profit organizations[4] specializing in race dialogues to draft and publish a thorough and authoritative guide to conducting discussions

[4] The organizations are Hope in the Cities, Richmond, Virginia; National Multicultural Institute, Washington, D.C.; YWCA, New York, New York; National Days of Dialogue, Washington, D.C.; Study Circles Resource Center, Pomfret, Connecticut; National Conference on Community and Justice, New York, Nw York.

on race, the *One America Dialogue Guide.* **(See Appendix ___ for excerpts from the *Guide*.)** More than 6,000 *Guides* have been distributed to individuals and groups eager to conduct meaningful discussions on race, and it is available on the PIR website.

The *Guide* has proven extremely valuable, and the Advisory Board believes that the *Guide* should continue to be distributed. The President should make direct appeals in an information campaign about the usefulness of the guide. The Administration should secure long-term commitments to use and distribute the *Guide* from organizations that reach communities that do not normally discuss race. Lastly, the Administration should develop a strategy to increase the number of people skilled in facilitating racial dialogue.

We have made a significant start. We have observed successful efforts at dialogue involving hundreds of people in Columbia, South Carolina; Seattle, Washington; Jackson, Mississippi; Winston-Salem, North Carolina and in many other cities in other parts of the country. We hope that our efforts will have a ripple effect and eventually touch every person in America.

Leadership Counts

The Advisory Board recognized that without strong leadership in a number of sectors that finding common ground across racial lines would be extremely difficult and slow. It was clear that

dialogue alone was not the solution and another prong of our strategy to achieve racial harmony was to identify a cadre of leaders committed to this work over time. We found many leaders and "local heroes" who, on their own initiative, were mobilizing colleagues to build racial bridges in their communities, at their workplaces, and in their houses of worship. We tried to build on these existing efforts and recruit new leaders to build an infrastructure for the continuing work toward racial harmony.

We devoted special attention to the religious and corporate sectors by organizing forums to engage leaders from these sectors in our work. The religious sector brings the strength of its moral authority and history of commitment to racial healing efforts. The power of economic motivation makes the corporate sector an invaluable partner in building One America.

The Role of Religious Leaders. We learned that many religious leaders are already engaged in building bridges of racial reconciliation. At the same time, many members of the clergy could do much more for racial reconciliation than a sermon topic once or twice per year. Some in the religious community have expressed regret at their lack of leadership and a desire to become more aggressive leaders in the community. Most agreed that places of worship are among the least racially integrated institutions in our society.

[insert sidebar quote: "And it our hope and prayer . . . that through this initiative and through the dialogue that we create, that we, indeed, can be headlights as we go into the new millennium, that we will let our light shine, that others will see the work that is before us." – Reverend Dr. Suzan Johnson Cook, Religious Leaders Forum, May 21, 1998, New Orleans, Louisiana.]

Advisory Board member Reverend Dr. Suzan D. Johnson Cook took the lead in outreach efforts to the religious sector. On November 19, 1997, following the President's Prayer Breakfast, she convened a small group of religious leaders representing a variety of faiths, to discuss the most effective ways to reach out to the religious community. These leaders agreed that holding forums for religious leaders to discuss race and faith would be useful.

In response to these leaders' suggestion, the Advisory Board held two forums for religious leaders. **(See Appendix ___ for more information on the forums.)** Locations were chosen because of the diversity of their faith communities. Attendees were primarily local religious leaders, with a small representation of leaders from national religious organizations.

At these two forums, attendees found commonalities despite racial differences. Most importantly, those who attended agreed that they had a role to play in achieving racial harmony. The forums focused on three areas:

- **Examining the changing demography of the faith community.** Leaders agreed that the demographics of their faith communities were changing dramatically and that they need to examine the significant implications these changes had for racial healing among their congregations.

- **Exploring the key elements to success of efforts to bridge racial divisions.** Participants agreed that crucial elements for success included getting a significant number of white people to come to the table, providing more student and adult education programs and offering forums for direct communication among community members.

- **Strengthening efforts of the faith community with regard to racial reconciliation activities.** Despite the active involvement of many members of the faith community, participants agreed that much more can be done. At the forums, small group breakout sessions were used to develop plans for local efforts at narrowing racial divisions.

During a visit to the Glide Memorial Church in San Francisco the Advisory Board saw an enormously compelling example of successful racial integration of a religious institution. **[insert specifics]**

The Advisory Board believes that there should be continued outreach to the religious community and that a small group of religious leaders should be convened to continue our efforts. This

group of committed leaders would engage people at the national, local and tribal levels and would call upon religious and spiritual leaders at all levels to use their moral authority more assertively to promote racial reconciliation. Our ability as a nation to be a credible and effective moral leader around the globe rests largely on our ability to exercise moral leadership within our own borders.

The Role of Corporate Leaders. Enlisting leaders in the corporate sector in efforts to build One America is vital since it is in the work place where people most often come into contact with people from other races. While corporate leaders do not always agree on the best approach to handling race in the work place or on the extent of racial issues in their work place, over and over, they told us that diversity in the workplace was simply good business in a world economy.

The main vehicle for reaching leaders in the corporate sector was the convening of four forums hosted by Advisory Board member, Robert Thomas in different parts of the country. **(See Appendix ____ for more information on these forums.)** These forums offered opportunities to learn of the commitment of many corporate and labor leaders to providing a fair and equitable work environment in firms, unions and small business. Also, company executives attending the forums clearly expressed the need for their workforce to reflect the characteristics of the cities and towns they serve and in which they are located.

The three primary purposes for the forums were to:

- **Discuss the economic benefits of having a racially diverse workforce.** As Miami Herald publisher David Lawrence told the forum in Miami:

  > Our newspapers—and your businesses—need a workplace environment that encourages and enables all employees to achieve their full potential and, hence, produce the best results for our customers and constantly changing communities.

- **Identify and share best practices.** Diverse groups of panelists shared their companies' experiences in recruiting, hiring, training, promoting, and retaining minority employees.. Panelists also discussed how their companies built a cohesive and productive racially diverse workforce. **[insert example heard at one of the forums]**

- **Strengthen networking between majority-owned and minority-owned companies.** Representatives of major corporations and minority suppliers and vendors explored ways to strengthen the relationships between large majority-owned companies and smaller minority-owned companies as an important element to promoting entrepreneurship in minority communities. This approach offers the promise not only of job development

but of wealth creation, which ultimately provides the community a more stable route to economic empowerment.

The forums enabled leaders in the corporate community to learn that harmonious racially diverse workforces are usually more creative and more effective at problem solving than homogeneous workforces. While the Advisory Board recognizes that building a harmonious racially diverse workforce takes time and effort, the experience of these corporate leaders shows that it pays off in productivity.

The Role of Young Leaders

In addition, we also engaged in specific outreach to young leaders. Almost everyone to whom the Advisory Board spoke agreed that the quality of leadership that emerges from our young people will determine the future of America. They will ultimately decide whether we achieve our goals and build One America. Therefore, they must be at the top of our policy agenda. To provide the flexibility needed to address high school students, working adults and young professionals during it year tenure, the Advisory Board decided to define young America as those Americans born after the 1964 Civil Rights Act.[5]

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[5] Not everyone agreed what age was the best age to involve our youth in achieving racial harmony. Some believed that you must reach children before they begin school, others believed

Our outreach strategy was comprised of two phases. Phase one of this strategy, built on direct appeals from the President, Vice President, and First Lady, called for the direct involvement of young people interested in leading efforts in their communities. This included a letter from the President to 25,000 high school, college and university student leaders and leaders from national and local youth organizations challenging them to become involved in One America by promoting race reconciliation in their communities.

Phase two involved the aggressive marketing of One America to young America. Members of the Advisory Board during their travels personally spread the PIR message to youth through participation in forums, conferences, seminars, One America Conversations, town hall meetings and school visits.

[insert sidebar description: The Student Council from Plum Senior High School led an effort which resulted in their school, district, and borough declaring May 1st as "Youth Action for Diversity Day." On May 1, 1998 students held rallies and appeared on television speaking openly about the value of diversity and the importance of the President's Initiative on Race.]

[insert experiences of the Advisory Board, e.g. LCT visit to schools prior to K-12 mtg. Or Dr. Franklin visit to N.C. Charter School or the Children's Defense Fund Town Hall

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that college is when people begin to truly develop their racial identity.

Meeting]

For example, Angela Oh visited the Loreto Elementary School in Los Angeles in preparation for the Advisory Board meeting on K-12 Education. In her discussion with the students, 93% of them Spanish speaking and the remainder Asian, she found that they were interested in learning languages other than their native language **[to feel like they were more a part of America?]** In addition, she was impressed with the students' awareness of diversity when she joined a group of second graders who read the book Amazing Grace, and they discussed the theme of exclusion raised in the story. **[Angela, please check this for accuracy.]**

The youth outreach effort is a continuing process. The views of America's young people on race are different than those held by any generation preceding them. The Advisory Board members were surprised and heartened to learn that young people are more willing than their elders to look at each other through the eyes of equals and friends regardless of race. When they encounter racism it frustrates and angers most of them. Young America is an untapped resource for achieving racial harmony, and we must find ways to turn their anger and frustration at racism into positive action.

We Must Support Our Leaders. Key to racial healing and achieving racial harmony are the community leaders -- "local heroes" of all ages in all sectors. They possess the kind of commitment that cannot be solicited or manufactured and that is needed to overcome the inevitable challenges they will face. These "local heroes" viewed the Initiative as a much-

needed affirmation of the work they were doing, and told Advisory Board members that the Initiative's presence and support has spurred them, in many cases, to do more.

On a daily basis, they are engaged in directing individual or institutional attention to racial divisions and disparities, channeling resources toward eliminating divisions and disparities, changing social norms toward promoting diversity and inclusion, advocating for change in social or institutional practices, and building coalitions across racial lines. Working across racial lines and working toward racial healing can be exciting, challenging and rewarding; too often it can be difficult, frustrating and dangerous as well. The quest for racial justice can be lonely, and even these leaders need help and support.

- Active leaders need to know there are others across the country working toward the same goal. They need contact with other leaders, moral support from authority figures, and recognition for their efforts from respected institutions.

- Many potential leaders need assistance to overcome fears of fighting the social norm, which is to avoid dealing with racial issues, if possible.

- Leaders in activities designed to affect racial attitudes—rather than narrow specific areas of disparities need to be appreciated for what they do. Often they are discouraged when their efforts are characterized as insignificant projects that do not address the more important

issues of disparities in educational attainment, economic opportunity, access to affordable housing and quality health care, and fairness of law enforcement. Addressing racial attitudes is an equally vital task because it affects the political and social climate in a manner that makes people more receptive to policies designed to narrow specific disparities.

- Many potential leaders want to provide leadership, but they do not know what to do or how to reach out to broad sectors of the community.

- Fighting racism is a personal and lifelong struggle. Many active and potential leaders need to be reminded of this. Although there is progress and constant change, the finish line in not yet in sight. We must have leaders in every generation who will speak to their peers with the passion and commitment necessary to bring each generation closer to the vision of One America.

- Many active and potential leaders could make good use of additional funds from governments, foundations and corporations to assist with wider mailings, rental of facilities, materials for dialogues, and travel to provide and obtain technical assistance.

Promising Practices Give Us Hope[6]

[insert as a sidebar: "... what our Initiative has done is prick the consciousness of America. The promising practices that we've seen have heightened my hope to show that America is more hopeful than not." – Reverend Dr. Suzan Johnson Cook, June 18, 1998, Washington, D.C.]

An old lesson is relearned: participation in common activities and working toward a common goal is among the best means to reduce racial tension and promote racial tolerance and acceptance. One of the Board's most gratifying discoveries was the vast number of existing efforts to improve race relations in communities throughout the country. These promising practices usually involve or result from dialogue and are the product of strong leadership.

Sometimes, they are informal efforts and never institutionalized. In other instances, organizers

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[6] In many fields, people use the term "best practices" to call attention to programs that should be models for others to replicate. The Board uses the term "Promising Practices," indicating that the Board has no predetermined understanding of what an ideal program should look like, but based on preliminary criteria, these efforts show promise. Because some of these efforts have been develop to address specific local issues, communities in a different region or locale should modify a program to suit its own needs.

recognize that they will better help their communities if formal programs and organizations are created that others can join. A promising practice represents not just a one-time event but a regular sustained effort. They are examples of efforts that can be replicated and tailored by other communities. The programs demonstrate what leaders in the effort to build One America can do when they commit themselves to making a change and can find common goals across racial lines. Promising practices are a source of optimism; they demonstrate that people concerned about race relations can go beyond mere concern and take action to make race relations better.

We learned that Americans often live in self-segregated neighborhoods based on their need for cultural or ethnic identity and community, out of convenience and the comfort of an already existing family and cultural life that is found in that neighborhood, or because they cannot afford to move from the neighborhood in which they grew up. Often the only opportunities for interacting with people from other races is at school or at work. However, participating in community activities or joining in many of the efforts that bring Americans together to seek a better life for their children and themselves also work to bring people together across racial lines.

Throughout the year, we attempted to learn more about promising practices. Some of these efforts are large programs run by national organizations with affiliates around the country. Others are small and often involve only a handful of people meeting regularly at a local diner. These programs range from efforts to involve multiracial groups of people in common service

projects to programs that focus on creating settings that foster interracial dialogue to programs that concentrate on expanding the opportunities of historically disadvantaged groups and to lessen racial disparities. These efforts vary tremendously in scope, duration and intensity of activity, but all are making at least some improvement in the racial climate.

While we expected a wide variety of programs that could play a vital role in racial reconciliation, the vast range of existing programs, however, was a surprise. This diversity of programs reflects that America has not come close to a consensus about what racism is, where it comes from, and how to eliminate it and bridge racial divides.

We describe in this section just some of the many efforts we discovered. (See Appendix _____ for a listing of the many organizations identified during the year; refer to the One America website at www.whitehouse.gov/Initiatives/OneAmerica for a full description of these promising practices.)

One program that is explicitly concerned with reducing the dependence of minority communities on government through entrepreneurship is the Start-Up program in East Palo Alto, California, which Robert Thomas visited in conjunction with the Advisory Board meeting on Race and Poverty. Start-Up puts together aspiring businesspeople from low-income communities with

students from the Stanford Business School. During his visit, Robert Thomas heard from residents from East Palo about the difficulties of obtaining capital and racial discrimination they had experienced in trying to start a business and the importance of Start-Up in assisting them in becoming entrepreneurs. **[Bob, please verify for accuracy.]**

Governor Kean was particularly impressed by Two Towns: One Community in Maplewood and South Orange, New Jersey which develops strategies to promote racial diversity in those towns. It provides low-income disadvantaged residents in those towns with assistance on how to purchase a home. Services include how to finance a home, understanding the loan process, and what to ask when purchasing a home. The project goal is to improve the asset holdings of low income residents and improve their economic stability.

Other organizations such as the Healing Racism Institutes, located in areas such as Little Rock, Arkansas and Houston, Texas focus on reexamining the social and psychological aspects of racism, not on common actions. **[John Hope Franklin spoke with some of the leaders of this organization and learned more about their work in examining the complexity and pervasiveness of racism and prejudice. He heard about how the institutes have helped participants in their programs make changes in their lives to overcome racial barriers. Dr. Franklin, please verify.]**

[insert Joe Hicks, Executive Director of the Los Angeles Human Relations Commission as

example of promising practice?]

As these examples show, promising practices bring people together and allow people to find and share common goals and activities. Dialogue serves an important first step in achieving racial harmony and promising practices go beyond dialogue as more active efforts to bridge racial divisions. These promising practices -- and the leadership which makes them work must be recognized and rewarded, nurtured and supported if One America is to become a reality.

This section presents the core of the Advisory Board's work over the year, in serving as the "eyes and ears" of the President to understand the "the course our nation is charting on issues of race relations and racial diversity."[7]

These activities and efforts focused on taking the pulse of the nation on matters dealing with race and identifying viable means for addressing the complex problems of race that still divide our country. We learned that while we have much that unites us, the legacy of America's racial history, racial disparities, and discrimination continue to plague us in our ability to become one America. In the remaining chapters, we share many of the lessons we learned this year and how

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[7] Executive Order 13050

they led us to making recommendations about how to change hearts and minds for the better on the issue of race and how we can use dialogue, an ever growing cadres of informed and dedicated leaders, the sharing and replication of promising practices, and appropriate governmental policy and programs to become one America in the 21st century.

Chapter Two

Struggling with the Legacy of Race and Color

Does race matter in America? During the Initiative year, this question arose over and over again. Time and time again, the Advisory Board heard this answer: yes, race does matter. It has become increasingly clear to us that America is still struggling with the impact of past policies, practices and attitudes based on racial differences -- what we are calling the legacy of race and color. During the very first meeting of the Advisory Board on July 14, 1998, Advisory Board members John Hope Franklin and Angela Oh began a discussion of the legacy of race and color, its implications for the future and the goal of achieving One America in the 21st century. Ms. Oh expressed her interest in having the conversation on race go beyond discussions of racism affecting black Americans. She indicated: "We need to go beyond that because the world is about much more than that, and this [Initiative must look towards]... the next horizon." Later, in response to Ms. Oh's comment, Advisory Board Chairman, Dr. Franklin remarked:

> This country cut its eye teeth on racism in the Black/White sphere....[The country] learned how to [impose racism on]... other people at other times and later times because [it had] already become experts in this area.
>
> And I think that gives us the kind of perspective we need. It's not to neglect [others]...but it's to try to understand how it all started and how we became so proficient and so expert in this area.

This brief discussion was perceived by many as a split in the Advisory Board over whether the Initiative's focus would be on the past or be future-oriented and whether the President's Initiative on Race would be confined to what many called "the black-white paradigm." The characterization of the discussion was not shared by the Board. Nor did the Board ascribe to the view that its preliminary discussion signaled an intent to ignore the growing racial diversity of the American people and focus its attention only on the history and current circumstances of African-Americans. However, the perception of the meeting was widely reported in the media and highlighted the difficulty we would encounter throughout the year in trying to explore candidly issues of race and race relations in both an historical and contemporary context and to make our mission clear.

As the year progressed, the Advisory Board had numerous opportunities to read and think and talk about theses issues and to hear from many experts and individuals about the significance of the legacy of race and color and the way in which that legacy is manifested in current attitudes and behavior by both individuals and institutions. We have never been in doubt about the appropriateness of looking at the past to gain a better understanding of how to move the country forward on race. In the words of Dr. Franklin at our first meeting: "the beginning of wisdom is knowledge, and without knowledge of the past we cannot wisely chart our course for the future."

In this Chapter, the Advisory Board shares some of the insights that it Board gathered during monthly Board meetings and through its participation in events convened by others to which members were invited. What we have learned is this: the absence of both knowledge and

understanding about the role race has played in our collective history, continue to make it difficult to find solutions that will improve race relations, eliminate racial disparities and create equal opportunities in key areas of American life. Our failure to devise effective and comprehensive solutions will, in turn, undermine our future as the world's most internally strong and globally competitive society. We have no doubt that educating the nation about our past and the role race has played in it is a necessary corollary to shaping solutions and policies that will guide the nation to the next plateau in race relations -- where race no longer results in disparate treatment or limits opportunities and where differences are not only respected but celebrated as opportunities to expand our horizons. We understand that this challenge is a formidable one. We also recognize the potential cost of not going forward and are heartened by the obvious enthusiasm of the many Americans who have participated in dialogues and meetings stimulated by the President's Initiative on Race.

Understanding the Past to Move to a Stronger Future

At the dawn of a new century, America is once again at a crossroads on race. The eminent African-American scholar W.E.B. DuBois noted that the main problem of the 20th century would be the color line.[8] Based upon its collective experience gained in the Initiative year, the Advisory Board finds that, indeed, at the end of the 20th century, the color of one's skin still has a profound impact on the extent to which a person is fully included in American society and

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[8] W.E.B. DuBois wrote in The Souls of Black Folk: "The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line -- the relation of the darker to the lighter races of men in Asia and Africa, in America and the islands of the sea." London: Archibald Constable & Co., Ltd., 1905, p. 13.

provided the equal opportunity and equal protection promised to all American's in our chartering documents. The color of one's skin continues to affect an individual's opportunities to receive a good education, acquire the skills necessary to maintain a good job, have access to adequate health care, and to receive equal justice under the law. But now, more than ever, the challenge of race in America is more than solely a matter of color. The challenge for America is not only whether skin color, and other physical characteristics associated with "race", but other critical factors including ethnicity, national origin, language, accent ,religion, or cultural customs will continue to affect the quality of life choices of Americans or whether we will finally be able to treat each other with dignity and respect regardless of our differences.

More importantly, the Board's work over the past year demonstrates the need for all Americans to improve their understanding of the role of race in American history, including the history and contributions of all minority groups and the continuing effect of that history on race relations in America today. For example, too few Americans realize that from 1934 to 1949 the Federal Housing Administration required segregation covenants in any subdivision that used FHA financing. Segregation covenants were permitted until 1962.[9] Although housing patterns may change over time, the long-term impact of these forces can be significant. The concentration of public housing in cities is a similar example. A critical component for a constructive and honest national dialogue about race and racism is a greater public awareness of the history of

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[9] The Wealth of Cities: Revitalizing the Centers of American Life, John O. Norquist.

oppression, conquest and government sanctioned discrimination suffered by all people of color[10] as well as the many contributions made by people of color to American society.

Our History, Ourselves: Looking at America Through the Eyes of Others

From the first contact between the indigenous peoples and colonists from Europe to the latest hate crime, our nation has grappled with the tensions caused by interaction between peoples of different cultures and races. Our system of government has evolved from one in which rights and privileges were accorded only to those men of European heritage, whose physical attribute of white skin and the property they owned connoted superiority and privilege, to one in which a bedrock principle is that every American, regardless of race, national origin or gender, is entitled to equal protection under the law.

The path toward racial progress has a difficult, sometimes bloody history: our treatment of American Indians and Alaska Natives, the enslavement and subsequent segregation of African Americans, the conquest and legal oppression of Mexican Americans and other Hispanics, the forced labor of Chinese Americans, the internment of Japanese Americans, and the harassment of religious minorities is a history of which many Americans are not fully aware and of which no American should be proud.

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[10] Despite recognition of the failure of current language or terms of art to render fully the many issues with which the Advisory Board has wrested, the Board must still rely on much of the inadequate language to present its findings. It is based on this qualification, that the Advisory Board agrees, for purposes of this report, to use the term "people of color" or "minorities" to refer to the collective group of principal American minorities -- African Americans, Hispanics, Asian Americans, Pacific Islanders, American Indians, and Alaskan Natives.

However, as difficult as it may be to acknowledge the darker side of our history, we strongly acknowledge and appreciate the fact that at every stage of the struggle to close the gap between the promise of our democratic principles and our policies and practices, Americans of all races worked side-by-side to move the nation closer to the realization of that promise. White Americans, American Indians, African-Americans, Latino-Americans and Asian Americans -- from the abolitionists of the 18th and 19th centuries, to the migrant camps of the West and Southwest , and more recently to the advocacy of representatives and constituent members of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights at the close of the 20th century fighting to restore and expand civil rights protections. No racial group in America has been absent in these pursuits. Nor can it be so in the future if we are to succeed.

As we look back, we see can more than struggle and discrimination. Along the uneven path to racial progress, we have also witnessed great courage and extraordinary leadership by ordinary Americans. These are ordinary men and women who have recognized that race is often at the center of our challenge to close the gap between who we are and who we aspire to be as a nation. Our continuing challenge is to understand fully what the struggle was about -- making real the promise of America for all -- and to identify and harness the energy and commitment exhibited by earlier generations of ordinary Americans of all races at critical points in our history.

Any analysis or description of a group -- particularly as large a group as a race of people -- has its limits and exceptions. No group is monolithic. We recognize that. Nevertheless, based on existing research and on what we heard and learned, there are some statements and conclusions

about people in specific racial groups and their experiences in America that are valid more often than not. It is in that context, here and throughout the report, that we offer our observations.

American Indians and Alaska Natives continue to be excluded from the promise of America.

The Board found during this year that our understanding of America's racial history and its significance within the context of our larger history is often impeded by complex relationships and competing, sometimes contradictory, principles and values. The experience of American Indians and Alaska Natives is a powerful example of this complexity and contradiction.

The Advisory Board had a unique opportunity to meet with and learn from American Indian tribal government leaders and members at several points during the Initiative Year. Advisory Board member, Robert Thomas, has recently made the following observation about American Indians:

> Their history is unique, their relationship with our state and federal governments is unique, and their current problems are unique. While not large in numbers, their situation tugs at the heart. I confess to being embarrassed this past year at my lack of knowledge of their overall situation. Embarrassed because I actually grew up and worked much of my life in geographic areas populated by Indian tribes, and I was oblivious to all but the common stereotypes. I suspect that most Americans are as equally oblivious, and believe

a focused "education" initiative the American public is in order."[11]

On virtually every indicator of social or economic progress, the indigenous people of this nation, American Indians and Alaska Natives, continue to suffer disproportionately in relation to any other group. They have the highest unemployment rates, the lowest family incomes and the highest percentage of people living below the poverty level, **[disparities in access to health care, disparities in numbers receiving a college degree]**, and the highest suicide rates.

And, yet, the ancestors of those people we know as American Indians and Alaska Natives have been continuous inhabitants of the North American continent for more than 30,000 years.[12] Today, there are over 550 American Indian tribal governments and tribes but American Indians have become America's most invisible minority. Little is known by most Americans about the rich and varied history and culture of the oldest inhabitants of this continent.

Like other racial groups, the history of American Indians and Alaska Natives is unique. However, American Indians and Alaska natives have both a unique and extraordinarily complex status in the United States. They are the only minority populations with a special relationship with the United States -- one that has been developed over a 200 year period. It is a singular

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[11]Letter to the President from Robert J. Thomas, Advisory Board Member dated August 21, 1998, p.4.

[12] Michael A. Dorris, *The Grass Still Grows, the Rivers Still Flow: Contemporary Native Americans.* **Daedalus**, Spring 1981, p. 44.

relationship; one that was crafted from an enormously varied set of indigenous societies and a massive European immigrant population and the separate laws of each.[13] American Indians both are citizens and members of tribes that are sovereign nations and have consistently been so. Sovereignty as an independent political entity means that, like any nation, they have geographic, land-based boundaries. No other racial minority in this country has a land base of over 56 million acres in mostly reservation land held in trust in the continental United States, with an additional 40 million acres in Alaska. Like another nation, the relationship of tribal governments with the federal government is defined by hundreds of distinct treaties that vary in terms of their specific goals and objectives. Within reservation boundaries, American Indians are subject to Tribal and federal laws, but not the laws of contiguous states without tribal consent.[14] This country's policies toward American Indian tribes and their sovereignty are further supported and defined by Congressional acts, federal, state and tribal court judgments and programs administered by all Federal agencies.

Race and racism affect American Indian communities in many ways similar to their effect on other non-white and Hispanic minorities in America. Early contacts between American Indians and newcomers to the continent resulted in treaties and thus a recognition of the legal status of Indian tribes as co-equal sovereign entities. Nevertheless, deeply entrenched notions of white supremacy held by European immigrants were applied to American Indians, who like black

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[13] Dorris, p. 43

[14] Ibid.

Americans, were regarded as inferior and "uncivilized." Therefore, throughout history, access to opportunities have been limited and American Indians have experienced exclusion and isolation from rights and privileges often taken for granted by most white citizens.

The significance of sovereignty to American Indians cannot be overstated. In a statement provided to the Board by tribal leaders of the Hualapai Indian Tribe, the importance of sovereignty and its relationship to race and racism is described as follows:

> I wanted to touch on a few key points for an understanding of how racism manifests itself against Indian tribes . . . As Indian people, we have survived years of persecution -- in what can only be understood today as a combination of racism and greed .... we have survived as a Tribe. Our sovereign status is therefore, not only a political status, recognized from the earliest days of European settlement in the United States, it is also key to our existence as Indians. Accordingly, the most virulent and destructive form of racism faced by Indian people today is the attack on our tribal sovereignty.

Few Americans have had an opportunity to become educated about the indigenous people of America in a way that extends beyond the most simplistic, widely perpetuated stereotypes of Indians. Based upon the experiences of the Advisory Board members during the Initiative year, it appears that very little, if any, correct information about tribal governments is taught in most of our schools. This lack of understanding is particularly problematic when it involves those who are responsible for developing and implementing government policies and programs -- at the

federal, state, and local level -- that affect American Indian tribes. The Advisory Board heard many anecdotes about the unfortunate negative consequences of government policy made or implemented without a full understanding of tribal sovereignty.

[We need to mention here or somewhere else in the report, some indicators of progress in redressing the shortfalls of history, e.g., The Executive Order and the Economic Development Conference].

African-Americans and the Unique Legacy of Slavery

Like American Indians and later other minority populations, black-Americans have been subjected to long-term and systematic social and economic discrimination. The black American experience is made unique because of Constitutionally sanctioned and government enforced slavery and its bitter and long-lasting legacy. However, racial discrimination directed against black people in America began even before permanent slavery was institutionalized, reflecting negative attitudes about race and color that were to remain in place from the 17th century to the present. The plight and history of black Americans perhaps has commanded more attention in relative terms than the history and treatment of other American racial minorities. This is so for a number of reasons. African-Americans have constituted the largest American minority community for many decades. The only Civil War fought in the United States was over slavery and its economic importance to the Southern states and the secession of those states after Abraham Lincoln won the presidency on an antislavery platform.

For black Americans the period that followed the Civil War, emancipation and the

Reconstruction period of American history was equally if not more of a repudiation of the principles and values of the Constitution as they applied to black Americans. Even as citizens, black Americans were denied by law in the Southern states and by social custom in the North and West practically all of the rights and privileges of citizenship enjoyed by whites. This was accomplished in a systematic and complete way. The deeply ingrained ideology of white supremacy continued to impose upon black citizens the badge of inferiority that the 13th Amendment of the Constitution was enacted to eradicate -- closing off practically all opportunities to become assimilated as equals in American society.

Perpetuation of the Badge of Inferiority: Latinos and Asian-Americans

Every minority group in America has a distinctive and unique historical experience with racism and oppression. The early connections of American Indians, African Americans, Puerto Rican, Chicano and other Latinos and Asian Americans with the United States are fundamentally different. Unlike black Americans, Latinos can trace their presence in the United States to either conquest or choice (immigration). In 1848 with the end of the United States' war against Mexico, thousands of people living on land that was formerly part of Mexico became subjects of the United States. Similarly, Puerto Ricans became part of the United States by conquest in 1898. Puerto Ricans, like Mexican Americans, were bound by their language and culture and, although Americans by conquest, remained native to their geographical homeland. Both groups, however, and subsequent Spanish-speaking immigrants from Mexico and Central and South America, experienced marginalization and discrimination in the United States.

The treatment of Asian Pacific Americans **[at some point we need to reconcile the use of different terms to describe the various racial groups, e.g., Hispanic-Latino, Asian Americans - Asian Pacific Americans]** as non-white, non-European immigrants is similar to that of other non-white minority groups. While most Americans believe that Asian Pacific Americans are new to this country and only recently affected by the nation's conversation and debate on race, Asian Pacific Islanders have been immigrating to the United States since the 1800's. These immigrants were often thought of as a source of cheap labor. Discriminatory laws and informal sanctions limited the economic opportunities of early Asian Pacific Americans and excluded them from certain occupations. They were also prevented from establishing families and owning land in the early 1900's. The first Asian Pacific American immigrants were thus relegated to jobs as agricultural and factory laborers or owners of small businesses that required little capital to start and few English skills, such as restaurants and grocery stores.

Each of the minority groups discussed above share in common a history of legally mandated and socially and economically imposed subordination to white European Americans and their descendants. That subordination is largely based on the ideology of white supremacy and has had powerful consequences for us as a nation. Those consequences are manifested in the racial disparities that we discuss [below and] in Chapter Four.

However, our interaction with thousands of Americans of all races during this Initiative year has taught us that the blatant and egregious forms of prejudice and discrimination that were routine even three decades ago are relatively rare in our contemporary society. Racial discrimination is

still a fact of life though often subtle. What clearly remain are significant barriers to opportunity. Barriers such as racially isolated and underfunded schools, deeply embedded racial stereotypes about the capacity, motivation and ability of minorities, they have their roots in the past but have the capacity to shape our future unless we act as a community to eliminate them. Many Americans are searching for answers on how to achieve that result.

The White Ethnic Immigrant Experience. Another experience that is important to the building of America is that of the white immigrant and the impact of ethnic difference on one's ability to assimilate into American society. For some immigrants from countries such as Ireland or Poland, the process of assimilation was fraught initially with discrimination in employment and disenfranchisement at the polls. After these groups gained some empowerment through the political process, social acceptance then followed. For other groups with strong religious identification, such as those who were Jewish or Catholic, social exclusion, discrimination and disenfranchisement were also a common experiences, with social acceptance much slower to follow. More recent immigrants, many from Muslim countries, are just now undergoing the process of immigration to assimilation.

The point we make here is that any group that enters a new country has had to face a barrage of barriers, whether language or religion or other customs which are unfamiliar. The promise of the American experience has been the ability of the political process to absorb people from every other country in the world. However, we also recognize that the matter of color has influenced the ability of some groups to gain acceptance as full Americans.

An Apology for Slavery? In the early weeks of the Initiative, members of the Advisory Board were frequently asked if we would recommend that you, Mr. President, and/or the Congress apologize for slavery. Many believe that this is a necessary step in the race relations "healing process" especially for black Americans. The Advisory Board has given this issue considerable thought over the course of the Initiative Year. We conclude that the question itself -- should there be an apology for slavery? -- is much too narrow in the context of our growing racial diversity and efforts to achieve racial reconciliation and racial justice. The period of slavery in this country represents a national tragedy from many perspectives. However, slavery is not alone responsible for the legacy of race and color that we confront today. That legacy derives, as well, from the many other periods in our nation's history when we failed as a nation to practice the principles and values that are at the heart of our constitutional democracy, principles and values so eloquently expressed in the Declaration of Independence and the United States Constitution. We have briefly discussed some of these failures above. Our challenge today is both to understand how the groundwork for racism and unequal treatment was laid and reinforced during these decades of our history and to work more diligently to eradicate their consequences. Our work this year has been focused almost exclusively on identifying and developing effective national and community-based solutions to this challenge.

Thus, we believe that the most appropriate apology and form of reparations for all Americans is one in which we all continue to demonstrate through positive action our collective commitment to eliminate the racial disparities in opportunity and treatment that characterize all too many areas of our national life. Unless we take forceful steps to eliminate these consequences of our

history, they will continue to be a blight on our children's, our grandchildren's and our nation's future. Much progress has already been made -- in the passage and enforcement of the nation's civil rights laws; in policies and through programs that have helped to close the gap in educational achievement and employment opportunities. However, much more must be done if we are truly to become One America. And in the end it is our commitment through word and deed to achieve One America in the 21st century that will constitute the most effective apology for slavery.

In Spite of Much Progress Racial Disparities and Discriminatory Behavior Persist in America.

If there has been a constant theme in our meetings over the Initiative year, it is this: persistent racial disparities and discrimination remain a legacy of race and color in this nation. America Changing: Indications of Social and Economic Well Being by Race and Hispanic Origin, a report compiled by the White House Council of Economic Advisors, is being released in conjunction with this report. These indicators of social and economic well-being by race present evidence that while progress has been made, significant racial disparities and discrimination continue despite more than 30 years of civil rights laws and some progress directly attributable to affirmative action and other programs.

For example, the long-term trend in higher rates of unemployment and lower rates of pay for minorities compared with whites are among the longest-standing and persistent racial disparities

in this country. Continued shortcomings in the quality of education and schools attended by many minority children play a major role in limiting their ability to take advantage of labor market opportunities, which in turn limits access to affordable housing in convenient and safe neighborhoods and the accumulation of wealth to pass on to future generations. Many of the experts with whom we spoke acknowledged that many of the root causes of these disparities can be traced to past discriminatory practices and the legal and social exclusion and isolation of people of color. However, active continuing discrimination does not account for all of the disparities. They are instead the continuing consequences of our racial past -- the legacy of race and color that is the focus of this Chapter.

[Some of the key "facts" can be put into endnotes, text charts/graphs, or even into an appendix. Obviously there's no need to repeat the President's 1997 CEA report. We will also need to get in some key findings about current levels of employment and/or housing discrimination that show that the forms of discrimination are less like door slamming but equally effective in limiting opportunities.--See Phoenix transcript, presentation by Claudia Withers on employment testing for language]

America Holds Conflicting Views of Race and Racial Progress

One experience that Advisory Board members repeatedly had was that while most people of color recognize the role of the legacy of race and color in their experiences, many whites **do** ~~did~~ not. The Advisory Board found that the story of race at the end of the 20th century and into the 21st century is a story of conflicting viewpoints. Americans—white and people of color—hold

differing views of race, seeing racial progress so differently that an outsider could easily believe that whites and most persons of color see the world through different lens. Whites and minorities also view the role of government in extremely divergent ways, especially with respect to the government's role in redressing discrimination. **[Add example from Board member.]**

Another element of contradiction, if not conflict, is the way in which America functions as a nation of great optimism, tolerance and inspiration focused on creating a more stable and diverse community, although discrimination, racial and ethnic oppression, and a smaller number of instances of outright racial evil persist alongside our better selves. We are a country in racial transition; some of us welcome the change, others are unaware of the change and its ramifications, while a few cling to an older order in which racism is so comfortably ingrained that it is simply characterized as "the way it is."

Whites and people of color hold differing attitudes on race and on each other. According to numerous polls and surveys reviewed by the Advisory Board, most whites believe much of the problem of racial intolerance in this country has been solved. Polls also show that most Americans have a distorted view of who we are as a nation and an intolerance to some racial groups other than their own. A poll released by the Washington Post, Kaiser Foundation and Harvard University in March 1995 revealed surprisingly uninformed views on the racial composition of America and suggested negative views minority groups hold toward one another. A Gallup poll, released in June 1997, pointed out that "from the white perspective, there are fewer race problems, less discrimination, and abundance of opportunity for blacks, and only

minimal personal prejudice." Another 1995 poll by the *Washington Post* revealed that only 36 percent of whites believe that "past and present discrimination is a major reason for the economic and social problems" facing blacks.[15]

A contradictory image of race in this country is clearly felt by a large majority of blacks, Hispanics, American Indians/Alaska Natives, and Asians/Pacific Islanders.[16] **[check accuracy of statement to source]** Numerous civil rights cases and social science reports carefully document this stark difference in viewpoints. The legal analyst, Richard Delgado offers an explanation: "White people rarely see acts of blatant or subtle racism, while minority people experience them all the time."[17] Research by psychologists echo that conclusion. [Jack Dovidio testimony, September 30, 1997]

Evidence[18] presented to the Board makes it clear that many whites, in general, are unaware of how color disadvantages most members of other groups. For example, Dr. Lawrence Bobo of Harvard University observed at the September Advisory Board meeting:

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[15] Most of the polls that the Advisory Board could obtain were focused on the attitudes of blacks and whites.

[16] "Black/White Relations in the United States: 1997," Gallup Poll Social Audit, New York: The Gallup Organization, June 1997. See also Hochschild, Jennifer, *Facing up to The American Dream: Race, Class and the Soul of the Nation*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995, and testimony of Dr. Lawrence Bobo, September 30, 1997, at p. 105.

[17] Richard Delgado. 1994. "Rodrigo's Eighth Chronicle: Black Crime, White Fears—On the Social Construction of Threat." Virginia Law review. (March): 503–548.

[18] **[We should cite to the earlier discussion and any other evidence we believe appropriate]**

> In many ways, the centerpiece of the modern racial divide comes in the evidence of sharply divergent beliefs about the current level, effect, and very nature of discrimination Blacks and Latinos, and many Asian-Americans as well, feel it and perceive it in most domains of life. Many whites acknowledge that some discrimination remains, yet tend to downplay its contemporary importance.... However, minorities not only perceive more discrimination, they see it as more institutional in character .... **[footnote? Transcript, September 1997, at p.105.]**

A number of experts raised to the Advisory Board the sensitive issue of "white privilege" -- institutional advantages based on historic factors that have advantaged white Americans. To understand fully the legacy of race and color with which we are grappling, we as a nation need to understand that people who are white tend to benefit, either unknowingly or consciously, from this country's history of white privilege. Examples of white privilege include being offered an automobile at a price lower than that offered to a comparable person of color[19], if the person of color receives an offer at all; not being followed through department stores by clerks or detectives while almost all young Hispanic and black men are followed; being offered prompt service while people of color are refused service or made to wait. One of the lessons of our experience is the significant degree of unawareness by whites of the extent today of stereotypes, discrimination, and racism. And one of our conclusions is the importance of educating all people of the continuing existence of prejudice and privilege. These invisible benefits need to be

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[19]**[Can we corroborate this with any social science data or cases? Otherwise more well known instances should be substituted -- we discussed a few at our 8/26 meeting]**

acknowledged by all as a vital and consequential feature of our society.

Moving in the Right Direction The Advisory Board found that while the legacy of race and color operates to continue to disadvantage people of color, there is clear evidence of progress. Those who argue that there has been no change and that racism is an unchanging fixture in American life are incorrect. Research presented by Dr. Bobo and other researchers reveals steadily improving racial attitudes, especially of white Americans over the past four decades: it is fair to say that there is a deeply rooted national consensus on the ideals of racial equality and integration, even if that consensus falters on the best means to achieve those ideals. The local police and the Federal Bureau of Investigation aggressively pursued the investigation of the murder of James Byrd **[add footnote describing the incident]**; the family and neighbors of Mr. Byrd did not feel the need to seek vengeance **[add an example from other minority groups]**.

[add additional advisory board experiences.]

Many tangible examples of racial progress exist, from the integration of the military, to the numbers of minority-elected officials compared with 30 years ago, to the freedom of persons of color to use public accommodations to the reduction of racial hostility when persons of color seek to rent or buy homes, to the growing minority middle-class and the significant increase in interracial marriages. Discriminatory treatment still persists, but it is often, although not always, more subtle and less overtly hostile.

We have come to the conclusion that too few of us have a real, or less than superficial, understanding of the forces that have resulted in the racial disparities that exist in educational and economic opportunity. Nor do we have a full or clear understanding of the way societal institutions currently manifest the vestiges of past discrimination and racist behavior. Many believe that racial discrimination is very much a thing of the past -- the distant past at that. Many sincerely believe that racial inequality, and racial disparities in educational and employment are the result of lack of capacity, individual failing, poor family values, the influence of an environment in which personal responsibility is absent or just plain bad luck. And, while all of those factors may play a role with respect to certain individuals, the fact that non-white groups experience certain life conditions far more detrimentally than non-minority citizens we believe offers powerful evidence that the consequences of discrimination, prejudice and unequal treatment have not been adequately addressed in our society. There is much social science data to support this assertion.

Chapter Three

The Changing Face of America

With few exceptions, the challenges and issues brought to the attention of the Advisory Board through meetings, dialogues on race, reports and correspondence, while often complex, were not new issues. What has changed and will continue to change is the extent of our racial and ethnic diversity.

Thirty-three years ago, in 1965, President Lyndon Baines Johnson said the following in the Foreword to a journal exploring the state of race relations:

> Nothing is of greater significance to the welfare and vitality of this nation than the movement to secure equal rights .... No one who understands the complexity of this task is likely to promote simple means by which it may be accomplished. [The]... effects of deprivation [are interlocking] -- in education, in housing, in employment, in citizenship, in the entire range of human endeavor by which personality is formed.
>
> If we are to have peace at home, if we are to speak with one honest voice in the world - - indeed, if our country is to live with its conscience -- we must affect every dimension of the [black American's] life for the better.[20]

President Johnson's focus and society's focus was almost exclusively black-white. Sixteen years later, in 1981, President Johnson's statement about the plight of black Americans was cited again in the same journal. However, in addition to confirming its continued relevance, the journal's editor noted that the issues raised by the President had become even more insistent and complex. Importantly, the discussion in 1981 was expanded beyond the black/white paradigm to include not only black Americans but American Indians, Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans as well; "four peoples -- the 'victims' of conquest -- men and women who did not choose America, who have long suffered exclusion and discrimination because of their origins, live overwhelmingly in

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[20] [cited in the Spring, 1981 volume of **Daedalus** with reference to its earlier appearance in the Fall, 1965 issue (no page number provided); quoted on p. v of 1981 edition]

conditions substantially different from those common to other groups in the United States."[21]

In 1998, although we have made a great deal of progress, Americans are still significantly(?) divided by racial and cultural barriers. Our challenge is to see the racial and cultural barriers that remain as opportunities for learning, not as obstacles to common interests. We believe it is a challenge we can meet.

To be successful, however, we as a nation need first to understand the changing face of America and the implications of the change for how we think about race and race issues and how we go about improving race relations and becoming one American community in the new millennium. Trends indicate that as we move into the 21st century, we can anticipate an even more significant shift in the demographic profile of the American population by race and ethnicity, making racial reconciliation even more urgent.

A. We Are A Nation in Racial Transition

Who we are, who we will become. From before its founding, through its expansion and colonization, and through immigration, this nation has always had a significant mix of races, cultures and ethnic groups. The diversity of this mix is greater now than at any time in our nation's history. America's native populations alone include more than 550 American Indian

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[21] **Daedalus**, Spring, 1981, p.vii.

Tribes and Alaska Native Villages with distinctive cultures, speaking over 150 different languages -- only a fraction of whom the Advisory Board was able to reach during its year tenure. **[we should include other illustrative examples of our current diversity, e.g. the number of countries of origin(or national origins of) that comprise the Latino and Asian Pacific American communities.]**

During our meeting in September, 1997, we heard from demographers who described the current United States population and the expected future racial composition of the population in the next fifty years. Today, the face of America is almost 73 percent White, 11 percent Hispanic, 12 percent Black, 4 percent Asian/ Pacific Islander, and one percent American Indian/Alaska Native.

Statistics indicate that in the 21st century, America's racial landscape will continue to shift. In 2050, the population in the United States will be approximately 53 percent White, 25 percent Hispanic, 14 percent Black, 8 percent Asian/ Pacific Islander, and 1 percent American Indian/Alaska Native. Two-thirds of the U.S. population growth over the next 50 years most likely will come from immigrants, their children and their grandchildren. **[cite, Census] [are there data available for the last 50 years, as a point of comparison?]** The overwhelming majority (over three-fourths) of the new immigrants to the United States will be Hispanic or Asian/Pacific Islander. **[cite, INS data on immigrants admitted?]**

According to recent Census Bureau reports, the United States now has, for the first time, more

Hispanic children under age 18 than it does black children.[22] Hispanic children have grown from only 8 percent of the population in 1980 to 15 percent in 1998. **[cite]** The Census Bureau estimates that by the year 2020, 20 percent of all children under 18 years of age will be of Hispanic origin, while black children will constitute 17 percent of this age group. **[cite]** Another example of dramatic demographic change is that Asian/Pacific Islanders, while less than 1 percent of the total U.S. population in 1970, make up about 4 percent of the total today. The Census Bureau estimates that the Asian/ Pacific Islander population will grow to more than 8 percent in 2050, representing the fastest growing percentage change of any racial groups. **[cite]**

The growing complexity of racial designations. The country's growing diversity will be influenced by the increasing number of intermarriages. Americans are marrying persons of a different race at consistently high rates. Intermarriage occurs often in the second generation. By the third generation, the pattern is even more frequent.

U.S. Census data for persons aged 25-34 indicate that almost 32 percent of native born Hispanic husbands and 31 percent of native-born Hispanic wives had white spouses. Thirty-six percent of native-born Asian Pacific American men marry white women and 45 percent of Asian Pacific American women marry white men. A majority of American Indian men and women marry

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[22] See Bryson, Kenneth. "America's Children: Key Indicators of Well-Being, 1998," U.S. Bureau of the Census press release, July 16, 1998. Dr. George Vernez of The RAND Corporation has estimated that by the year 2005, persons who describe themselves as Hispanic will constitute the largest ethnic minority group in the United States. **Also Census Bureau Projections.**

white spouses and have the highest rates of intermarriage.[23]

Rates of intermarriage are important for two reasons in our view. They are important measures of social interaction between persons of different races and they complicate the way in which the offspring of intermarriage may identify themselves by race. The U.S. Census has only recently provided an opportunity for individuals to identify themselves by race using more than one racial category. It remains to be seen how offspring of racial intermarriage will identify themselves. This uncertainty puts into doubt whether the demographic changes predicted by the U.S. Census, based on the trends of previous years, will be realized. Indeed, the concepts of race and the language we use to discuss our diversity today may change as fast and as dramatically as our diversity itself.

There are no easy metaphors or key slogans to describe what we are becoming. In the travels of the Advisory Board and through discussions with people across the nation, it was apparent that many were struggling to attach a new metaphor to the changing demography. The metaphors of a "melting pot" and "mosaic" are inadequate given what we know today. The melting pot suggests a loss of identity and the mosaic suggests that people will never come together but will instead maintain rigid separation. Instead, we are becoming a new society based upon a new, fresh mixture of immigrants, racial groups, religions, and cultures that is in search of a new

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[23] **[This data comes from a 8/16/98 N.Y. Times Magazine article by Michael Lind, "The Beige and the Black", p. 38. The author is citing data from Reynolds Farley's analysis of the 1990 U.S. Census] [U.S. Census cite?]**