

NLWJC - Kagan

DPC - Box 038 - Folder 012

Race Commission [3]

Disabil- both broken as one.

- 1) anti-discrim law (ENDA)
- 2) dealing w/ residue - affirm things

what's next? - how diff?
 ↳ reconstructing relationships
 organizing each other into a community

new America
 not black/white
 Bonia x 100
 21st cen aspect
 the ↓ great
 challenge
 avalanche of
 change

what can divert things/
 slow things down
 ↳ other things going on

Edley - 2 - rump ball
 Edmunds - 2 - another com.
 DC - worry - submerged in WH? where
 - but WH slath - more many
 mention urgency
 - also - more wt / credibility of com'n -
 more than just my pronouncement

→ "a gift to people
 20 yrs from now"

Penn - create a dialogue / go out in country
 DC - "Council" - one of the things to come out in the long run
 Alexis - need to get better sense of outcome - Penn rich
 your vehicle
 Maria - 2 - delegate it out
 Chris - 2 - delegate it out
 Ponce - brilliant
 Staker - Macomb County Michigan - need disciples though

"voices part" ??

Finance
Mandate
Membership
Report

Serious / deliberative
Research - (solutions not clear)
Bipartisan / diverse
Challenged by new views

Process

appointing difficult
~~get~~ Recs may either
substitute for meaningful
action

bigger than policy plumbing.
updating: Myrdal / Putnam

Rich in symbol + msg, but not that alive-
substantive focus

king +

You can appoint someone to look into this problem + get back to you or you can decide what needs to be done about it yourself

Option 2 is a plan to begin right now a nationwide dialogue on matters of race that drives (and ~~is~~ ^{also} driven by) concrete actions to achieve racial progress.

flexible, but 3 parts

town mtgs - where

topics

attendees

policy - up for l. action-binding mech.

conference - attendees

subjects of debate

policies

(suggested by town mtgs)

report

- findings

actions

plans

McKings b'day next yr.

Series

scholarly component

action component

Better for two reasons

~~Times a waiting~~
is short

appointments process

wait - Dec of most temp/ no op.

Keep it yours -

cede control

curry yourself to

secondary position

Affirmative action example

Option 2 is a plan to begin right now a dialogue with the American people on matters of race -- a dialogue that drives ^{at the same time,} and ~~is~~ driven by concrete actions ~~of political leadership~~ ~~initiatives~~ to advance racial reconciliation.

This option is a flexible: it can be added to and subtracted from as you like. But the basic idea is this:

- a series of town meetings
 - occurring in different kinds of communities
 - in different areas of the country
 - on different specific ~~subject~~ topics, such as race + the crim justice system or hate crimes
 - attended mainly by ordinary Americans, but also by scholars + other experts who can provide ~~empirical evidence~~ ^{useful info and} ~~informed~~ analysis
 - and finally accompanied by concrete actions or proposals for action in the subject area.
- a multi-day White House conference ^{coming from w/ let interagency process operating concurrently w/} _{These town halls}
 - attended by a range of political, business, religious, and civil rts leaders, as well as leading scholars
 - bringing together aspects of the town meetings, as well as widening + deepening the debate
 - and again accompanied by concrete actions or

groundbreaking doc series - part of legacy

proposals for action: ^{and} ~~perhaps~~ ^{by town hall mts + filtered thru IA process}
- a presidential report, issued shortly after the conference

• providing your ^{view} ~~account~~ of the state of race relations in America

• recounting what actions you have already taken
• and ^{offering a plan for} ~~recommending~~ what actions to take in the future

• All in all - meant to be ^{an extremely} serious document, which will itself contribute part of your ^{legacy} in this area.

Bill Galston said: serious + deliberative.

I agree.

This is both - and it is so even though it includes the American people in the conversation.

This ^{option} ~~action~~ has first - a serious scholarly component

scholars will participate in the town meetings + conference; in private conversations w/ you; and finally - in the drafting of the Presidential report

It has second - a serious action component, so that every event is accompanied by some concrete action or policy proposal that will push forward your agenda in this area.

Let me give you two reasons why this is a better proposal than the alternative.

1. Time's a-wasting

If go commission route: spend months forming the comm'n (Jackson/Powell/how wide or narrow)
then spend yr waiting (action task)

force can't do anything (just
in interim)

while much of the world rolls
its eyes + wonders why we
needed another com'n.

Alternatively - can begin from day one to take
action, advance agenda, make progress.

2. Keep it yours.

If go com'n route - could cede large parts of your
dom. agenda - ed, urban, welfare, crim
justice - to a pp that may not agree
w/ your priorities, accept your budget
(leaving you to reject)

at same time would entrap yourself to
a secondary position - almost that of
respondent - failing to take advantage of
your absolutely unique gift in
this area

or you can keep the agenda in your hands, place
yourself in a central position (as you should be,
not just by virtue of your position, but by
virtue of your extraordinary talents here) + make
the process entirely your own.

Last consider attack -

^{your own} you created a process; ^{your own} you took action; ^{you} explained that
in your own words ^{by doing so} action to the Amer people; + ^{you} championed (transmuted) the
debate.

disfranchise or strip
most votes of
or the n
gifts rather than
essentially ignores
them

Consider whether the same results would have followed
if you had appointed a com'n.

I don't think so

And I don't think they will here either.

Desk file
~~file~~
Reply to [unclear]

cc: Elena



CHIEF OF STAFF TO THE PRESIDENT

Erskine

Attached is the backup paper.



CHIEF OF STAFF TO THE PRESIDENT

Jason -
Sonn running this memo
to Ball / Bruce Paul
Sic via / Toddler
Manny / Conrad
Sperry

File: Race Commission

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

cc: w/ incoming:
Erskine, Bowles
1997 FEB - The White House
Gather in office
write letter
State gov. mm
Bc

February 6, 1997

The Honorable William F. Winter
Watkins Ludlam & Stennis, P.A.
Post Office Box 427
Jackson, Mississippi 39205

Dear Bill:

Thanks for your letter of January 24 on how we should proceed in bringing our nation together. You know I've been talking a lot about this lately, and, as I said in my State of the Union address, we must all work together to realize the true greatness of our diversity.

I appreciate your idea about creating a Council on Racial Reconciliation, and I've made Erskine Bowles aware of it. Our best to Elise.

Sincerely,

Bill

Rooney Gluck
Did you send to
President's secretary
in Paris - if so
please send
me a copy
John

John Enright -
Bowles kept -
will go.
Please for the
Gene Ruffel
advise me a
copy with
John
John

all things about
Rei - St. m. m. f. u.
w. m. m.

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The Honorable Bill Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500-2000

Dear Mr. President:

Your inaugural message of last Monday was the right one. The pursuit of the elusive goal of freeing this country from the forces that destructively divide us will I hope be your continuing passion.

To achieve that goal is obviously going to involve a massive effort in changing our culture - in how we think about and act toward people of different racial, ethnic and religious backgrounds. I am convinced that this can happen only by a total national effort that bears the imprimatur of your high office and your personal devotion.

May I suggest as a possible model for this the initiative of President Kennedy in creating a Council on Physical Fitness which dramatically transformed the life style of millions of Americans. A similar transformation is needed now to make it socially unacceptable for people to speak and act in ways that demean and degrade others because of their race or religion.

I believe that a Council on Racial Reconciliation could begin a process of education and sensitivity training in the schools, churches and work places of this country that could

The Honorable Bill Clinton
January 24, 1997
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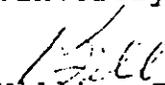
ultimately put the expression of racist attitudes and behavior outside the realm of permissible conduct in our society.

I have discussed this idea with some of our good friends like Vernon Jordan, Rodney Slater, Eddie Williams and others and have been encouraged to write you this letter.

I recognize, of course, the many complex dimensions to all of this but hope that you will think this worthy of your consideration. I would be glad to lend my energies to whatever may develop in this regard.

Let me reaffirm my enthusiastic support of your great leadership and thank you for the many personal kindnesses which you have extended my family and me. Elise joins me in these expressions and in the extension of our best wishes to you and Hillary.

Sincerely,


William F. Winter

WFW/sja

cc: Bruce Lindsey

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

2-7-97

EWB - Fyl

per letter fr. Bill Winters
need to consider
Advice

POE

1997 FEB 10 AM 9:11

**THE PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL
ON
RACIAL RECONCILIATION**

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THE PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL ON RACIAL RECONCILIATION
The Concept

Summary:

This paper describes a proposal to establish The President's Council on Racial Reconciliation, designed to fulfill President Clinton's promise that all Americans will cross the bridge to the 21st century together.

Background:

President Clinton built his campaign for re-election around the theme that all of us, no matter what our racial or ethnic background, must cross the bridge to the 21st century together. In speeches from Florida to California he repeated essentially these words:

"We need to build a new majority in America based on three principles--opportunity for all, responsibility from all, and an American community where if you show up for work tomorrow and you believe in our Constitution, our Bill of Rights, and our Declaration of Independence, we don't need to know anything else about you. We are all a part of our American community, and we're going forward together across that bridge to the 21st century."

In both the passion of his speeches and the diversity of his Administration President Clinton has demonstrated his abhorrence of racial discrimination and his commitment to inclusion. His record builds on a half-century of undeniable progress in combatting racial prejudice. Yet, recent events illustrate the perilous road that lies ahead.

Incidents in Pittsburgh and St. Petersburg remind us that color blind law enforcement remains an elusive goal. At corporations like Texaco and Avis employment discrimination emerges from behind closed board room doors. In several southern states race-related church burnings recall the most violent responses to the 1960's civil rights movement.

SAT test scores among African-American and Hispanic-American youth disclose the continuing inequality of our educational systems. A variety of studies confirm a differential quality of health care based on the race of the patient. Testing by trained multi-racial teams confirm the continued existence of racial discrimination in housing.

Beyond these events and statistics, everyday experiences of subtle, often unconscious, behavior exacerbate racial tensions. Well-dressed African-Americans can't hail a cab. Qualified minority employees fall victim to the "good old boy" network at promotion time. The media portrays young African-American males as dangerous and African-American females as unwed mothers. Resulting tensions limit racial interaction, preventing the communication we need to navigate the road to reconciliation.

This lack of communication perpetuates negative racial stereotypes and a deep-seated racial gap which 1) saps our nation's economic strength, 2) breeds political polarization, 3) de-stabilizes our communities and threatens our individual safety, and 4) jeopardizes our moral credibility in the global community. In the 21st century an increasing percentage of non-white Americans in the population and in the labor force will intensify the effects of this gap, while our changing economy, the technological revolution, increased mobility, and scarce resources will complicate the solutions.

Competing in the global economy, finding common ground on polarizing political issues, and securing our homes and communities pose difficult challenges. To a greater degree than ever before our nation's strength depends on the ability of every American to carry his or her share of the responsibility. As President Clinton has declared: "We do not have a single person to waste."

Only Presidential leadership can set us on the proper course. Only the President has the power to reach into every sector of our nation's life--from the community to the workplace, from schools to houses of worship, from the courtroom to the media. Only the President can energize the kind of comprehensive national campaign necessary to achieve meaningful racial reconciliation, build a foundation for enduring racial equity, and secure our nation's strength. As Presidents Kennedy and Johnson led us through the racial minefields of the 1960's, so President Clinton must guide us through the perils of the 1990's if we are to cross that bridge to the 21st century as "one nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all."

The Proposal:

The President's Council on Racial Reconciliation would formulate and promote strategies for meaningful racial reconciliation. It would serve as the President's action arm to engage every facet of American society and every American community in fulfilling the promise that all Americans can cross the bridge to the 21st century together. As the President's Council on Physical Fitness energized a self-satisfied and sedentary nation to meet the challenges of the 1960's, so the President's Council on Racial Reconciliation will steer a divided and suspicious nation on a course toward unity for the 21st century. The Council would:

1. Provide leadership and coordination to focus our nation on the need to eradicate negative racial stereotypes and combat racial discrimination.
2. Build coalitions with public and private sector organizations to develop a comprehensive series of strategies to increase racial interaction, enhance racial understanding, and foster racial equity.
3. Promote the implementation of these strategies through schools, the workplace, civic and community organizations, houses of worship, and the media.

4. Advise the President on steps toward achieving racial reconciliation.

To symbolize the power of our nation's diversity The Council would be led, not by a single Chairperson, but by a diverse and powerful Co-Chair team composed of at least one African-American, one Hispanic-American, and one caucasian American. The Council would pursue its work primarily through four task forces based on where racial interactions most frequently occur:

1. **Our Communities**
2. **Our Schools**
3. **Our Places of Employment**
4. **Entertainment and the Media**

These task forces would focus the work of The Council on promoting meaningful inter-racial communication, the essential ingredient of racial reconciliation. This structure avoids the dangers of divisiveness on contentious issues or of defensiveness resulting from a focus on specific groups, such as corporate executives or police officers. The Council and its task forces would:

1. Develop community improvement projects, school-based programs, and workplace activities which promote racial interaction and understanding.
2. Build partnerships with professional sports franchises, among the most integrated institutions in our society, and with major corporations to sponsor prime time public service announcements, produce and distribute materials designed to promote messages of inclusion, and support awards and special recognition to individuals and organizations.
3. Conduct policy roundtables, town meetings, major conferences, national conversations, and research projects and widely disseminate the proceedings and outcomes.
4. Issue publications providing information, insights and guidance on specific issues.
5. Establish a clearinghouse for collecting and disseminating information on successful responses to race-related matters.

Many organizations are currently engaged in activities to promote racial reconciliation. The Council will neither duplicate nor replace these activities. Rather, The Council will create an environment in which existing activities gain power and credibility, and it will promote the development and implementation of additional activities in partnership with private and public sector organizations.

For example, the task force on **Our Communities** could reach out to Rotarians or to a foundation to back local community projects. The task force on **Our Schools** could work with the National Education Association on curriculum ideas and ask universities to

host major conferences. The task force on **Our Places of Employment** could seek labor union participation in specific workplace activities and suggest steps employers can take to recruit qualified minority employees at all levels. The task force on **Entertainment and the Media** could persuade corporations to sponsor prime time public service announcements and recommend ways to combat media-induced negative stereotypes.

The Co-Chair team and the task force chairs would serve as an Executive Committee for **The Council**. They would recommend to **The Council** specific and measurable goals and objectives, and monitor progress on a regular basis. An Executive Director would manage day-to-day operations. Administrative costs would be borne by the Office of the President or by those Cabinet Departments whose responsibilities and activities are particularly relevant, or by a combination of the two. Support for program activities would come from the private sector.

Urgency:

To build on the post-election momentum and to illustrate the importance which President Clinton attaches to racial reconciliation, establishment of **The President's Council on Racial Reconciliation** should be an immediate priority. Ideally, **The Council** would be established by Executive Order by late February, 1997.

Outcomes:

Success in promoting racial reconciliation will 1) strengthen our global competitiveness, increase productivity, and generate additional tax revenue, 2) decrease the costs of law enforcement, incarceration, and welfare benefits, 3) increase the stability and vibrancy of our communities and the safety of our citizens, 4) reverse polarization on difficult political issues and create common ground for seeking solutions, and 5) reinforce our nation's moral stature.

Conclusion:

Senator Paul Simon, when he withdrew from the 1988 Democratic Presidential primary campaign, observed: "Americans instinctively know that we are one nation, one family, and when anyone in that family hurts, all of us eventually hurt. There really is a yearning across this good land for leadership that appeals to the noble in us rather than to the greed in us."

President Clinton has demonstrated his understanding of that yearning and his capacity to appeal to the noble in us. **The President's Council on Racial Reconciliation** will serve as his vehicle to take us across the bridge to the 21st century united as Americans rather than divided by race.

This paper was prepared by Michael R. Wenger, States' Washington Representative for the Appalachian Regional Commission.

PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL ON RACIAL RECONCILIATION
Mission and Goals

Mission:

To bridge the existing racial divide in the United States and to create a society which treasures the unique strengths of each individual, regardless of race, and celebrates the common threads which bind us together.

Goals:

1. To create an environment in which inter-racial communication and interaction are routinely accepted and mutually respected.
2. To increase both our collective and our individual awareness of unintended differential behavior based on race.
3. To minimize the number of instances of conscious racist behavior and maximize the public disapproval of such behavior whenever it occurs.
4. To strengthen both our collective and our individual understanding of the value of America's racial diversity and the importance of walking together across the bridge to the 21st century.

PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL ON RACIAL RECONCILIATION
Launching the Council's Agenda: A Project to Commemorate the 50th
Anniversary of Jackie Robinson's Entrance into Major League Baseball

Overview:

In 1947 Jackie Robinson, playing first base for the Brooklyn Dodgers, was the first African-American to participate in a Major League Baseball game. Baseball's popularity as our national pastime catapulted this event into one of the most significant milestones in race relations in this century. The 50th anniversary of this event offers a meaningful and powerful vehicle for launching the Council's agenda. This inaugural project, designated as "The American Team" Project, would weave together an array of visible activities into the overriding theme that we are all members of "The American Team."

In the Media:

1. Create a partnership between Major League Baseball and the President's Council on Racial Reconciliation, modeled after the partnership between the National Football League and the United Way, to air Public Service Announcements (PSA's) on Major League Baseball telecasts. The PSA's would be built around the theme that we are all members of "The American Team," would provide a telephone number to call for further information, and would promote the following broad messages:

- a) the vast majority of Americans, no matter what their race, share similar values and work hard to live those values,
- b) our diversity has been vital in building this nation, and today, more than ever, we need each other for economic, social, and political stability,
- c) despite dramatic improvements in race relations, many instances of subtle, often unconscious racial discrimination remain as barriers to enduring racial reconciliation,
- d) there are many promising racial reconciliation efforts on which to build in communities and corporations throughout America.

Funding Sources: Council produces the PSA's. Major League Baseball airs them.

2. Arrange a special "American Team" ceremony at the 1997 All-Star Game, designed for television, honoring Jackie Robinson's contribution to the game and to society. Among participants in the ceremony would be representatives of little league and other youth baseball leagues which exemplify the integration of the game made possible by Jackie Robinson's courage.

Funding Sources: Council works with Major League Baseball and television network to design ceremony. Corporate sponsors pay expenses.

In Our Communities:

1. Encourage local baseball franchises to form "American Team" partnerships with public officials and community organizations to promote community improvement activities which enhance racial interaction and strengthen racial bonds.

Funding Sources: Council provides guidance as necessary in forming partnerships. Local baseball franchises devote a portion of proceeds from team ticket sales to support activities.

2. Post billboards which build on "The American Team" theme and messages of the PSA's.

Funding Sources: Council produces the billboards. Local baseball franchises purchase the space.

In Our Schools:

1. Conduct an essay contest on the meaning of being a member of "The American Team," to be implemented through public schools in and near major league cities. Prizes for local winners would be tickets to and recognition at a major league baseball game. Prizes for national winners would be a trip to Washington, D.C., a meeting with the President, and tickets to and recognition at the World Series. All winning essays will be published and widely distributed.

Funding Sources: Council, working through State School Superintendents, conducts the contest. Local baseball franchises donate prizes for local winners. Corporate sponsors donate prizes for national winners and pay for publication and distribution of essays.

2. Introduce several "American Team" baseball card series, designed as teaching tools, which highlight:

- a) aspects of Jackie Robinson's career and life,
- b) aspects of major league baseball's progress toward integration since 1947 and the effect of this progress on our nation,
- c) significant events in our nation's progress toward racial reconciliation since 1947,
- d) important facts (such as demographic and economic information) which build the practical case for racial reconciliation.

Funding Sources: Major League Baseball and Council provide information. Teacher organizations provide guidance in designing cards as teaching tools. Baseball card distributors produce cards and sell them at cost.

3. Produce and distribute poster-size replicas of "American Team" billboards to schools.

Funding Sources: Council produces and distributes the posters with assistance from corporate sponsors.

PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL ON RACIAL RECONCILIATION
The Continuing Agenda of the Council

Overview:

In addition to building a partnership with Major League Baseball, the Council will work with the media, with communities, with our public schools, and with employers and employees to develop an array of activities which, taken together over time, will significantly narrow America's racial divide. Beginning in October, 1997, a new initiative will be announced quarterly. An outside consultant will design and implement tools to measure the impact of these activities.

In the Media:

1. Air public service announcements in prime time which focus on the need for racial harmony and mutual respect and feature popular entertainers and other public figures, as well as ordinary people in everyday situations. These PSA's could build on the "American Team" theme.

Funding Sources: Council works with corporations to produce the public service announcements. Corporations air the public service announcements in a portion of their regular advertising buys.

2. Produce and publish a book of inspirational stories and writings, patterned after the Chicken Soup for the Soul series of books, recounting heartwarming successes in overcoming racial barriers and achieving racial reconciliation.

Funding Sources: Council publishes and sells book.

3. Telecast on C-Span a series of roundtable discussions featuring a wide range of viewpoints on divisive issues like affirmative action and immigration, as well as on the broader topics of racial interaction and reconciliation, and publish the proceedings.

Funding Sources: Foundations support costs of televised discussions and publication of proceedings.

4. Issue monthly feature articles by guest writers, suitable for publication in Sunday newspapers and for use on television network news programs, exploring current race relations issues and detailing specific examples of progress we are making in overcoming racial barriers.

Funding Sources: Council prepares and distributes articles.

5. Create and regularly update a web page on the Internet which describes activities of the Council and provides ideas on how individuals can become involved in building racial unity in their communities. Provide special links to facilitate use by schools.

Funding Sources: Council creates and maintains web page.

In Our Communities:

1. In collaboration with Junior Leagues and Jaycees produce a "how-to" book of community improvement activities which promote racial interaction and reconciliation and distribute copies of the book to local chapters.

Funding Sources: Council compiles material. National Junior Leagues and Jaycees organizations publish book. Local chapters, as well as local businesses and other civic clubs, adopt and support selected activities. A small portion of the proceeds from tickets to baseball games and other public events could be used to fund implementation of some of the activities.

2. Develop and publicize a set of "American Team Principles." Award "American Team" window stickers and/or other forms of recognition to businesses, law enforcement agencies, and other local institutions which demonstrate a commitment to the "Principles."

Funding Sources: Council in collaboration with communities and trade/professional associations.

3. Arrange exchanges in which Caucasian, African-American, and Hispanic-American Members of Congress visit each other's Districts, speak at worship services at each other's churches and synagogues, and engage in other high profile activities.

Funding Sources: Members pay their own expenses.

4. Ask major organizations of public officials--NGA, USCM, NLC, NCSL, NACO--to form standing committees charged with developing policies and suggestions to help guide their members in dealing with race-related issues and in promoting racial reconciliation.

Funding Sources: Council promotes efforts of organizations.

In Our Schools:

1. Publish and distribute to schools quarterly a contemporary magazine, in versions targeted for specific age groups, highlighting ways to deal with difficult racial situations, confront racial stereotypes, overcome racial barriers, and build racial harmony.

Funding Sources: Council works with professional organizations in preparing magazine materials. Corporate sponsors and/or advertisers defray the expenses of publication and distribution.

2. Publish, distribute and regularly update a compendium of information, data, and quotes for the use of speech-writers in crafting graduation and other special occasion speeches.

Funding Sources: Council publishes and sells material.

3. Distribute video(s), movie(s), and/or book(s) on racial issues to all public schools and to teacher training institutions, modeled after Steven Spielberg's effort to distribute Shindler's List to every high school.

Funding Sources: Private sponsors such as producers and publishers.

4. Develop a sister school program among schools with different racial compositions.

Funding Sources: Participating school systems, with assistance from foundations for specific activities.

5. Create a proactive speakers bureau aimed at inspiring college campus audiences to provide leadership in overcoming racial barriers.

Funding Sources: Council operates speakers bureau. College hosts pays traveling expenses of speakers.

In Our Workplaces:

1. Develop and publicize a set of "American Team Principles for the Workplace." Provide recognition annually to those employers and employees who demonstrate their commitment to these "Principles."

Funding Sources: Council in collaboration with trade associations and labor unions.

2. Develop and distribute suggestions for the recruitment and training of minority employees.

Funding Sources: Council in collaboration with trade associations and labor unions.

3. Publish and distribute quarterly a magazine highlighting how major employers and their employees have increased productivity and workplace satisfaction by overcoming racial barriers and strengthening mutual respect in the workplace.

Funding Sources: Council publishes and trade associations distribute newsletter.

4. Work with corporations to provide information on racial matters for product packaging.

Funding Sources: Corporations.

General Activities:

1. Establish a clearinghouse for information on activities which promote racial interaction and reconciliation.

Funding Sources: Council operates clearinghouse. Users pay nominal fee.

2. Designate a national day of racial reconciliation and plan activities designed to promote racial reconciliation and provide recognition to those who have done the most during the year to promote racial reconciliation.

Funding Sources: Corporate sponsors pay expenses and receive recognition.

PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL ON RACIAL RECONCILIATION
Implementation Schedule

Weeks of 1/6/97 and 1/13/97:

1. Meet with Rodney Slater and Governor Winter to discuss work plan, schedule, potential members of Council. Consult, as well, with Eddie Williams and Hodding Carter.
2. Meet with White House officials to discuss concept, work plan, schedule, potential members.
3. Meet individually with key Congressional leaders, particularly leaders of Congressional Black Caucus and Congressional Hispanic Caucus, and key Cabinet Secretaries, particularly Education, Labor, HHS, HUD, Commerce, Transportation, Agriculture, Attorney-General.
4. Conclude draft of final work plan, implementing schedule, Council members.
5. Schedule a meeting with Major League Baseball officials for week of 1/20/97.
6. Schedule a White House briefing for week of 1/27/97 with key Congressional leaders, key Cabinet Secretaries and constituencies--civil rights groups, labor, education groups, public officials--to advise them of plan and seek further suggestions for activities and potential members.

1/20/97: Insert mention in President's Inaugural Address of need to commit ourselves to racial reconciliation as the best way to honor the memory of Dr. Martin Luther King as we celebrate his birthday.

Weeks of 1/20/97 and 1/27/97:

1. Meet with Major League Baseball officials concerning a partnership to commemorate of 50th anniversary of Jackie Robinson breaking baseball's color line.
2. Conduct White House briefing as scheduled.
3. Finalize work plan, schedule, composition of Council.
4. Notify prospective members of Council and talk with them individually, either in person or by telephone.

2/5/97: Announcement in State of the Union Address of intention to establish Council by Executive Order.

Following State of Union Address and Week of 2/10/97:

1. Prepare and finalize Executive Order.
2. Make PR arrangements for announcement of Council, for comments-by Council members, and for responses from key constituencies, Congressional leaders, etc.
3. Make arrangements for office space and equipment.
4. Begin to develop Public Service Announcements for airing when baseball season begins.
5. Prepare and distribute press packets and additional materials to Council members.

2/17/97 (Presidents' Day): Announcement by President of President's Council on Racial Reconciliation and introduction of Co-Chairs (and Executive Committee?).

Remainder of February and Month of March

Follow-up meetings/speeches/TV appearances concerning goals/activities of Council.

Hire staff (Communications and Public Affairs, Resource Development, Program Development, Inter-Governmental Affairs). Solicit names from White House, Council members, others.

Plan and schedule first meeting of Council.

Announce partnership with Major League Baseball.

Test Public Service Announcements with focus groups.

Plan for Opening Day activities.

Begin planning for activities through 1998.

3/31/97: Opening Day for Major League Baseball.

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Prospective Members

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*Henry Cisneros
*Andrew Young
*Ann Richards
*Norman Mineta

Others: Bill Bradley
Paul Simon
Bill Gray
Charles Royer

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*Nancy Kassebaum
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Ken Burns
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Steven Spielberg
Cornel West
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Academic/Research

*Eddie Williams
*Johnetta Coles

Labor

*Linda Chavez Thompson

*Ron Carey

Others: John Sweeney
Richard Trumka

Organizations

*Myrlie Evers

Others: Sanford Cloud
Hugh Price
Michael Brown
Wade Henderson
Kweisi Mfume

Baseball Personnel

*Rachel Robinson

*Henry Aaron

Others: Leonard Coleman
Gene Budig
Cal Ripkin
Pee Wee Reese
Ken Griffey, Jr.

Corporate Officials

*Bill Gates--Microsoft

*John Bryant--Sara Lee

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*Hugh McColl--NationsBank

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DRAFT

MEMORANDUM

DRAFT

Date: March 16, 1997
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The Commission would have three objectives: a) review existing research and undertake critical scholarly analyses of the current state of race relations, b) develop possible governmental and private sector solutions to address continuing problems and c) identify existing effective programs and models that lead to positive interracial interactions thereby reducing negative racial stereotyping.

Research and Analyses

The Presidential Commission would need to review and consider existing academic research and analyses, and possibly undertake original research in order to establish the current state of affairs regarding racial and ethnic relations throughout the country. Inasmuch as there are some who deny that race continues to matter in our country, such serious and thoughtful studies would help to persuade the skeptics.

For example, a significant threat to the fabric of our society is the widely divergent views regarding the police and legal system held by white Americans in comparison to African-Americans, as well as certain other ethnic groups. To the extent that a significant part of our society does not have confidence in the police and the legal system, those institutions are undermined. Research establishing that segments of our society do not share common beliefs

regarding our legal and law enforcement institutions would be useful in identifying possible solutions.

Solutions and Recommendations

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At the same time, African-Americans and other groups continue to experience in overt and subtle ways continuing discrimination, be it at the workplace, neighborhood, recreation activities or on the street. Before progress can be made in bringing people together, there must be an increase in awareness that, in fact, minorities in our society often experience daily life differently solely because of race or ethnic characteristics.

To focus attention immediately on the very serious issues of racism, hatred and bigotry, the President could establish a Council on Unity and Reconciliation. Its mission would be to identify actions that could be taken now to highlight the task at hand and find ways to create media interest in these issues. By raising the profile of these issues, the Council would assist the Commission in identifying problem areas that require research and study or find effective programs that the Commission could examine to determine best practices for achieving racial and community harmony.

The Council could assist states and local governments in finding ways of highlighting the contributions of various and diverse groups to this country's success. The Commission could engage in a variety of activities--convening town hall meetings, forums and other public outreach activities--that would educate the public across the country that the goal of equality of opportunity has not yet been achieved.

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Clinton seeks ideas for racial harmony

March 10, 1997

BY JODI ENDA
Free Press Washington Staff

WASHINGTON — Eager to leave an enduring legacy, President Bill Clinton privately is nurturing an ambition to help remedy one of the nation's most intractable and explosive problems: race relations.

The president would like to be remembered for fundamentally altering the nature of black-white relations, both by improving the economic status of black Americans and by persuading people to change the way they view one another, White House officials say.

"There are a lot of issues that we're a little reluctant to talk about," said Mack McLarty, counselor to the president. "I think you will see President Clinton in the second term talking about these issues very aggressively and attacking them from the bully pulpit, from a policy standpoint and from the heart."

Exactly what Clinton intends to do has yet to be determined, officials said, noting the White House has not said publicly that race relations will be a priority of Clinton's second term.

Several high-ranking administration officials told the Free Press Washington staff that the possibilities include:

- Establishing a race commission to evaluate problems and recommend action.
- Coordinating business, religious, nonprofit and government groups to help welfare recipients find work.
- Promoting state-based programs to train black men for the job market.

"This is an issue that the president feels incredibly passionate about, race and the issues of unity," said Sylvia Mathews, a White House deputy chief of staff. Clinton is striving, she said, for "something that contributes long after he's gone."

Clinton, a Southerner raised in the shadow of Jim Crow, has long been sensitive to the country's struggle with race.

The question is how much Clinton can and will do.

Though they support his goals, the Rev. Jesse Jackson and several other black leaders and political analysts

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worry that the same conditions that limit Clinton's presidency -- a tight budget and a Republican Congress -- also will restrict his aspirations to change the face of race relations. Bluntly stated, they said, he won't be able to make a big difference unless he spends a lot of money.

"Although it is good for the president to remind the country that we have a problem, he is unwilling to take the specific actions that are needed to alleviate the worst problems," said Roger Wilkins, a history professor at George Mason University in Virginia. "As a matter of fact, he exacerbated the problem when he signed the welfare bill."

Jackson said Clinton needs to do more to close the "structural gap" that keeps minorities at the bottom of the economic ladder.

"He has set the right tone. It only costs decency to set the right tone," said the civil rights leader. "It costs resources to close the gap."

And the president can't do it alone, Jackson said. "Congress must share that vision, and the public must share in it," he said, acknowledging that getting support from the conservative Congress may be tough.

Clinton aides argue that the administration has moved to improve economic conditions for black people and others. They point to Clinton's deficit-reduction plan, which passed Congress in 1993, as the first step toward building an economy that would open doors for minorities.

To improve race relations, aides said the first proposal the White House will announce is a plan to work with businesses, nonprofits, churches and states to help move people from welfare to work.

The president also is contemplating the creation of a race commission, similar to the Kerner Commission of the 1960s, officials said. It was the Kerner Commission that warned in 1968 that America was moving toward "two societies, one black, one white, separate and unequal."

In metro Detroit, civic leaders questioned the effectiveness of another commission on race.

"Is this another arena for just dialogue, or is it really going to get at the manifestations that drive race relations?" said Bill Beckham, president of New Detroit, the civil rights coalition formed after the 1967 riot.

"If we had a Kerner Commission and it didn't work" after the the riots of the 1960s, "how will it work now?" Beckham asked.

During last year's presidential campaign, Rep. Jesse Jackson Jr., D-Ill., and other black Democrats questioned Clinton's commitment to people of color. They cited the president's support for the welfare overhaul and what they viewed as a lackadaisical probe into the rash of black church burnings.

Clinton's Commission on race?

But Freeman Hendrix, Michigan director for Clinton's 1996 re-election campaign, said recent history does not necessarily spell out a poor race record for the president.

"I think people in the main think the president is pretty much on target with his priorities for education, policies for urban centers and so forth," said Hendrix, chief of staff for Detroit Mayor Dennis Archer. "I think this is a president who is trying to carve his niche here in history and I think he's going to work very hard, he's going to be bold."

Such a commission will work as long as Clinton's appointees have the respect and trust of people of color, said former Detroit NAACP President Arthur Johnson.

"If the purpose of such a commission is to awaken all Americans to the seriousness of the problems in race and racism in American life, then I think the appointment of such a commission is long overdue," he said.

Some black leaders and academics are skeptical that Clinton has the gumption to make greater strides. They argue that blacks' problems turn on their economic misfortunes and question whether the president has the courage to address that issue.

Ron Walters, a University of Maryland government and politics professor, said Clinton needs to find money for cities that house a large proportion of low-income and poor minorities. He said the federal government should spend more on transportation — so city residents can get to the suburbs where more jobs are moving — and step up loans to minority businesses, a major source of jobs for black Americans.

Until blacks achieve economic equality, they will not be accepted by whites, Walters said. To feel comfortable with black people, he said, whites need to see them as neighbors and coworkers, as economic equals.

Staff writer Melanie Eversley contributed to this report.

Will be lucky if we get
it named by 4/4/98

MEMORANDUM

DRAFT

Date: March 13, 1997

TO: Working Group on "One America"

FROM: M. Echaveste

SUBJECT: Draft Memorandum Outlining Proposals for Addressing President's Concerns Regarding Race and Bigotry

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solutions.

Solutions and Recommendations

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At the same time, African-Americans and other groups continue to experience in overt and subtle ways continuing discrimination, be it at the workplace, neighborhood, recreation activities or on the street. Before progress can be made in bringing people together, there must be an increase in awareness that, in fact, minorities in our society often experience daily life differently solely because of race or ethnic characteristics.

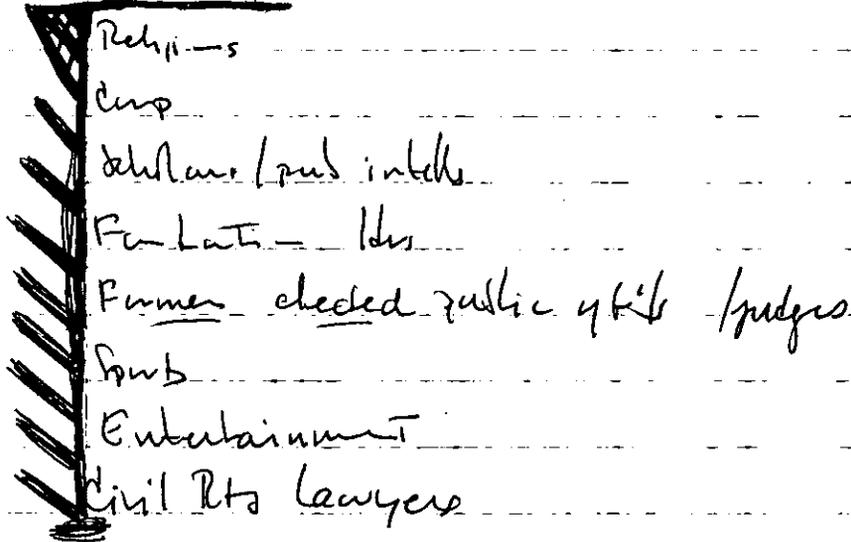
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3/17 Race Commission

Why 2? Separate mission/different people (Edley)

Calvin Coley



Hyphrice
John Hope Franklin

Options

1. Overall group - acad wh; some acti-

- broad focus on
- narrow focus.

2. Council + commission

broader/
acti-oriented.

race-focused / more academic
public intell.

private intell.

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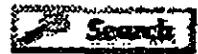
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Clinton seeks ideas for racial harmony

March 10, 1997

BY JODI ENDA
Free Press Washington Staff

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Clinton's cooking on this?

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Some black leaders and academics are skeptical that Clinton has the gumption to make greater strides. They argue that blacks' problems turn on their economic misfortunes and question whether the president has the courage to address that issue.

Ron Walters, a University of Maryland government and politics professor, said Clinton needs to find money for cities that house a large proportion of low-income and poor minorities. He said the federal government should spend more on transportation — so city residents can get to the suburbs where more jobs are moving — and step up loans to minority businesses, a major source of jobs for black Americans.

Until blacks achieve economic equality, they will not be accepted by whites, Walters said. To feel comfortable with black people, he said, whites need to see them as neighbors and coworkers, as economic equals.

Staff writer Melanie Eversley contributed to this report.

3/2 Race Conf Mtg

Pijohn

Acti-oriented council

Study-oriented council

Edley

Deepening

1. ~~Don~~ ~~advancing~~ ~~leadership~~ ~~teaching~~ of public
2. ~~Leadership~~ ~~Don~~ ~~issues~~ - model how to have constructive discussion - all race issues

Not policy recs.

Lothier - Gen. has to define its responsibls to carry forward the struggle

Wink - massive effort to evaluate racism - change how p. relate to each other

Edley Effective leadership on racial issues is research + teachable

W. sidekick

- 2. Must know their res - acti-orientation
- 3. Partnerships w/ all actors of power

Gelboin - no good dialog on these issues

idea of modeling - interesting.

Put concrete issues above + beyond "racism" - have to address specific.

otherwise - feel gd exercise evading problem

eg - Crisis of legitimacy re our legal system

hard hands + ring humbaya
hard-edged stuff (but what's the solution)

Race-based suspicion in policing

BAER - Nat'l comm - needs nat'l soluti-
do we have?

Calder - soluti- can involve other entities
Edge/teeth/links - goes in "acad" division

Wade - Ideas not mutually exclusive

Edly - Also nat'l comm - (acad)

Research into how you teach people that
discrim exists.

Just the same, nuclear modernization v.
kind of tough study - racial healing
has to come first - giving p insights/tools/
etc that would empower them to
tackle this difficult problems

History of courts
"Categories of resistance"
Consultation w/ SPS

*F. b. Rocl
Commission*

**CAUSE FOR CONCERN:
HATE CRIMES IN AMERICA
PRELIMINARY REPORT**

**Leadership Conference Education Fund
Leadership Conference on Civil Rights**

Foreword

For almost half a century, the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, and for more than a quarter century, the Leadership Conference Education Fund, have championed the idea that Americans of every heritage can live together, with equal rights and mutual respect.

Americans are proud that we are people of different backgrounds, faiths, viewpoints, and personal characteristics. But we are also one people, bound together not by bloodlines but by our respect for human rights and the Constitution.

Our diversity gives us variety and vitality. Our common commitment -- to equal justice and equal opportunity for all -- gives our nation unity and purpose.

In this report, a coalition representing a cross-section of Americans -- working together under the auspices of the Leadership Conference Education Fund and the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights -- address and assess the problem of what has come to be called "hate crimes."

Hate crimes are acts of violence directed against people because of their racial, religious, ethnic, gender or sexual identity. They are also acts of violence against the American ideal: that we can make one nation out of many different people.

That simple but powerful idea is what makes our nation different from others where people persecute each other because of how they look, how they speak, or how they worship God. In our own time, in troubled places such as the former Yugoslavia, the Middle East, Northern Ireland, Rwanda, and Burundi, we are witnessing once again the age-old tragedy of people committing horrific acts of violence against each other because they refuse to look beyond their differences to respect each other's inherent human dignity.

We are releasing this report in the hope that our own country will overcome the problem of hate crimes and become what we were always intended to be. Let us be the United States of America -- and, in the words that school children repeat each day, "One nation, under God, with liberty and justice for all."

Arnold Aronson, President, LCEF
Dorothy I. Height, Chairperson, LCCR

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The Flames of Hatred

Just around the holiday season, in December, 1994, a flier was tacked to the door of the Macedonia Baptist Church in Bloomville, South Carolina.¹ The message on the door of this African-American church was at odds with the Christmas spirit of peace and good will: It was an announcement of a Ku Klux Klan rally.

Six months later, after nightfall on June 20, 1995, the Macedonia Baptist Church was burned to the ground. Earlier that same morning, another African-American Church, the Mount Zion AME Church in nearby Greelyville, S.C., had also burned to the ground.

Local police arrested two young white men, Christopher Cox, 22, and Timothy Adron Welch, 23, in connection with the fires. The county sheriff, Hoyt Collins, said Welch was carrying a membership card for the Christian Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, one of the most active white supremacist groups in the state, when he was arrested.

Indicted for arson under state law, Cox and Welch have pleaded guilty and are awaiting sentencing. Meanwhile, two former Klansmen who federal authorities say masterminded the burning of the predominately black church in Bloomville were indicted recently on civil rights violations. The indictment also charges the two men with burning a Hispanic migrant camp in Manning, S.C. And the FBI is investigating the possibility that the fires at these two churches in Clarendon County, S.C., are linked to fires at other African-American houses of worship throughout the country.

From January 1, 1995, through June 27, 1996, there were 73 suspicious fires or acts of desecration at African-American churches.² For African-Americans and all Americans of good will, this wave of church burnings has prompted outrage and alarm. And it is awakening bitter memories of racist violence during the civil rights struggle -- particularly the 1963 bombing of the Sixth Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama, that killed four young girls.

Appalling as it is, however, the searing image of burning churches stands for an even larger problem: the persistence of violent crimes against virtually every racial, ethnic, religious, and sexual minority, as well as against women. The reaction of some to recent controversies over immigration, welfare, and the languages spoken in public places -- issues that go to the heart of America's identity as a caring, diverse and inclusive society --

has increased the incidence of hate crimes against Hispanics, Asian-Pacific Americans, and others who are stereotyped, often inaccurately, as newcomers to this country. And the persistence of religious, ethnic, and sexual intolerance creates and contributes to a climate where hate crimes are perpetrated against Jews, Arab Americans, gays and lesbians, women and members of other groups at risk of attack.

From killings and beatings to acts of arson and vandalism, these hate crimes injure or even kill thousands of people, terrify countless others, divide Americans against each other, and distort our entire society.

To be sure, hate crimes are symptoms of a host of social ills. For all the progress our nation has made in civil and human rights, bigotry in all its forms dies hard. And discrimination is a continuing reality in many areas of American life, including the workplace.

Among incidents that have attracted national attention:

o The bipartisan, blue-ribbon Federal Glass Ceiling Commission found that "Minorities and women are still consistently underrepresented and under utilized at the highest levels of corporate America."³ As the commission reported, 97 percent of the senior managers of Fortune 100 Industrial and Fortune 500 companies

are white, and 95 to 97 percent are male.

According to the commission's findings, Americans who are not male, white, and Anglo find their pay and prospects held down. In the Fortune 2000 industrial and service companies, only 5 percent of senior managers are women, and most of them are white. In another example of apparent discrimination, African-American men with professional degrees earn 21 percent less than whites with similar jobs and credentials. And, although Hispanics comprise eight percent of our country's workforce, only 0.4 percent of managers are Hispanic.

o The barriers against women and minorities often reflect the crudest and cruelest discrimination, even in major corporations.

For instance, in a plan that awaits approval by the courts and the federal Equal Employment Opportunities Commission, Texaco has agreed to pay \$115 million to some 1,400 current and former black employees, \$26.1 million in pay raises over five years for black workers, and \$35 million for diversity-training programs.⁴

This action comes in belated response to a class-action lawsuit in which the 1,400 current and former employees charged pervasive racial discrimination at Texaco. After years when Texaco dragged its feet in response to black employees' grievances, it was forced to respond when a downsized executive released a tape of top

executives at the company's headquarters discussing racial issues.

Among other remarks:

- An executive joked that "black jelly beans were stuck to the bottom of the bag." ["Jelly beans" apparently was a phrase used by a diversity consultant.]

- An executive vowed to "purge the s--t out of" papers involved in the discrimination case.

- And an executive expressed discomfort with African-American and Jewish holidays: "I'm still struggling with Hanukkah, and now we have Kwanzaa ... Poor Saint Nicholas, they have s--tted all over his beard."

- In that discussion, executives also made fun of Kwanza symbols and of the African-American anthem, "Lift Every Voice and Sing."

The remarks recorded on the tape appeared to confirm longstanding contentions by black Texaco employees that they had suffered discrimination in promotions and even personal abuse:

- Some complained about being called "porch monkeys" and "orangutans" by co-workers.

- And a woman who was pregnant had her birthday cake decorated with watermelon seeds.

o Sexual harassment represents not only abuse but also discrimination, since it discourages women from working in traditionally male jobs, distracts them from doing their best work, and deters them from seeking promotions.

Alarming, recent revelations suggest that sexual harassment may be reaching epidemic proportions in the military. At the U.S. Army's Aberdeen Proving Ground in Maryland, 19 women trainees have filed complaints of rape or sexual assault against almost 20 noncommissioned officers. One drill sergeant has been charged with rape, forcible sodomy, assault and making threats.

The sex scandal at Aberdeen has focused attention upon sexual harassment throughout the military. In an Army survey in 1995, 4 percent of all female soldiers said they had suffered from an attempted rape or sexual assault within the previous year -- nearly 10 times the incidence of rape and sexual assault outside the military. And a telephone hotline for women throughout the armed services received some 4,000 calls in its first week. Five hundred were evaluated as sufficiently serious to require further investigation.

o And, even in an agency often called upon to investigate hate

crimes -- the Federal Bureau of Investigation -- there have been reports of discrimination and abusive treatment of minorities.

In June, 1988, the U.S. District Court for the Western District of Texas found that "1) Hispanic agents suffer disparate treatment in the conditions of their employment; and 2) these conditions affect their promotional opportunities in an adverse manner." Among the incidents cited in the decision was an Hispanic woman in training who was told she "looked too ethnic."⁵

In a case brought before the federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission's Denver Office in 1986, an African-American agent was found to have been the victim of racial harassment. Among other incidents:⁶

- The agent had a photograph of his two children on his desk. It was defaced with the face of an ape placed over his son's face.
- A toy scuba diver doll with its face, hands, and feet blackened by a marking pen was left in a container of water on the agent's desk.
- Pictures of an African in native dress, the bruised face of a black man, and a black man and a white woman were all placed in his mail slot at the office.

- Invitations to office functions with the words "don't come" written over them were also placed in his mail slot.

- Bogus phone messages were left for him.

- And his dictation was erased when he was away.

The prejudice and raw hatred revealed in these incidents is only one element of a combustible mixture of social problems that produces hate crimes.

Although some violent crimes are decreasing, hate crimes and arson offenses are increasing. Extremist movements are gaining in numbers and prominence, and their targets range from minority groups to the government itself. Public debate over social policy issues -- from affirmative action to immigration to welfare -- unfortunately is used by public officials to divide us from one another. Social problems of all kinds are exacerbated by the economic anxieties prompted by corporate downsizing, stagnant wages, and vanishing health coverage and pension benefits. In such an environment, hate crimes persist as expressions of hatred, alienation, and an effort to intimidate and demean those perceived as a threat to one's own status.

It is often the case that symptoms themselves must be treated before illnesses can be cured. Hate crimes are a national emergency

requiring national action.

Our nation's leaders took an initial step in recognizing the urgency of the problem with the passage in 1990 of the Hate Crime Statistics Act (HCSA) and its reauthorization in 1996. It requires the Department of Justice to compile data on crimes that "manifest prejudice based on race, religion, sexual orientation, or ethnicity" and to publish an annual summary of the findings. The law helps local, state, and national law enforcement authorities coordinate their efforts against hate crimes. And its very existence makes a powerful statement that the United States of America celebrates the diversity of its people -- and will not tolerate violent acts of intolerance.

Six years after the initial enactment of this law, it is even more urgent for Americans to work together against the epidemic of ultra-violent behavior motivated by bigotry.

This report is the first major comprehensive assessment of the hate crime problem in the United States. It is an effort of a task force of concerned national groups working together under the auspices of the Leadership Conference Education Fund, a non-profit organization that conducts research and education on civil rights, and the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, a coalition of 180 national organizations representing persons of color, women, persons with disabilities, older Americans, gays and lesbians,

labor organizations, and major religious groups, committed to the enactment and enforcement of civil rights laws.

This report is an effort at public education and advocacy. We believe that hate crimes are a more serious problem than is generally recognized. And we maintain that this problem requires a unified and determined response by national and state leaders in government and business, by law enforcement agencies at every level, by civic, religious, and educational organizations of all kinds, and by ordinary citizens in their communities, on their jobs, in their houses of worship, and in their schools.

Once and for all, now and forever, it is time to extinguish the flames of hatred in America.

From Hate To Hurt:

The Scope of the Problem

The federal government's definition of hate crimes -- and its annual reports on total reported incidents -- paint only a partial portrait of the problem.

The crimes: The Hate Crime Statistics Act defines hate crimes as acts in which individuals are victimized because of their "race, religion, sexual orientation, or ethnicity." This definition fails to convey a deeper sense of the severity of hate crimes or their

impact on individual victims, their families and communities, and our country. Nor does it address hate crimes against women simply because they are women. The definition in the federal Hate Crimes Sentencing Enhancement Act of 1994, includes women and persons with disabilities. In this statute, hate crimes are those in which "the defendant intentionally selects a victim, or in the case of a property crime, the property that is the object of the crime, because of the actual or perceived race, color, religion, national origin, ethnicity, gender, disability, or sexual orientation of any person."

In 1993, the Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of Wisconsin's hate crime statute, which enhances the sentence of crimes in which the perpetrator "intentionally selects" the victim "because of" his or her characteristics, Wisconsin v. Mitchell, 113 S. Ct. 2194 (1993). The Wisconsin law was carefully written not to punish a person's prejudicial opinions, but rather to punish criminal intent and conduct.

Hate crimes are much more likely than other crimes to be acts of brutal violence. In comparison to other crimes, targets of hate violence are singled out because of their membership in a social group. Perpetrators are more likely to be marauding groups of predators looking for targets for their hatred. However, they can also be acquaintances, intimate partners or family members.⁷ Because the intention is to hurt, maim, or kill, hate-motivated

crimes are five times as likely as other crimes to involve assault. And these assaults are twice as likely as other assaults to cause injury and to result in hospitalization.⁸

Thus, the individual victim of a hate crime is more likely to be severely injured in body, and in spirit as well, than the victim of an ordinary offense. Unlike someone who is robbed of a wallet, someone who is attacked for no reason except their membership in a targeted class is more likely to be beaten out of sheer cruelty. And -- while crime victims often ask, "Why me?" -- the answers are perhaps more hurtful for victims of hate crimes. Victims of crime experience psychic pain regardless of the motivation of the crime. However, it is one thing to be victimized for walking down a deserted street or wearing an expensive wristwatch; but it is perhaps more painful to be victimized simply for who you are. The cruelty of these crimes is magnified because they remind the victims of terrible things that had been done in the past to members of their group, or to them, their families, or their friends -- pogroms against Jews, lynchings of blacks, rapes and beatings of women, lesbians and gay men, or grim memories in the minds of other groups.

As for the communities hit by hate crimes, these incidents make targeted individuals feel even more angry and alienated, increasing intergroup tensions of all kinds. Because victims are singled out because of who they are -- and the targets of hate

crimes are often community institutions such as synagogues or black churches -- members of entire groups feel isolated and defenseless. Others, such as a survivor of domestic violence, must live with the fear and isolation of ongoing assaults. Rightly or wrongly, they often blame the police, the government, and other segments of society for their feelings of vulnerability. Sometimes, members of the groups that have been victimized lash out against members of other groups. Thus, hate crimes can set in motion a never-ending spiral of antagonism and divisiveness.

The victims: Statistics illuminate -- but, only give a superficial analysis of the problem.

As required by the 1990 law, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) releases the totals each year for the numbers of hate crimes reported by state and local law enforcement agencies around the country based on race, religion, sexual orientation or ethnicity. These national totals have fluctuated around 6,000 or more hate crimes reported each year -- 6,918 in 1992, 7,587 in 1993, 5,852 in 1994 and 7,947 in 1995. It should be noted that these are figures for "incidents." The same incident may include several different "offenses" -- for instance, an arson or assault may also result in death.

While more than 25,000 hate crimes reported in four years are alarming enough, the FBI statistics paint only a partial portrait

of the problem. In 1994, for instance, the total number of law enforcement agencies that reported hate crimes to the FBI covered only 58% of the population of the United States. In 1995, the number of reporting agencies covered 75% of the population. The findings reflect only those cases where the victims reported incidents to local law enforcement agencies, and these agencies had classified these incidents as hate crimes. In 1995, the FBI reported 355 incidents of hate crimes against Asian Pacific Islanders. For the same year, the National Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium's 1995 audit reported 458 incidents of hateful speech and hate crimes, and concluded that "anti-Asian violence is widely underreported."⁹ Further, the FBI collects no statistics on gender-based hate crimes, and its definition may exclude other forms of bias crimes such as attacks on Arab-Americans."

Yet even these incomplete statistics suggest the scope and sweep of the problem. Thus, of the 7,947 total incidents and 9,895 total offenses reported in 1995, there were 7,144 crimes against persons. These crimes included 4,048 acts of intimidation, 1,796 simple assaults, 1,268 aggravated assaults, 20 murders and 12 forcible rapes. Sixty percent of the incidents were motivated by racial bias, 16 percent by religious bias, 13 percent by sexual-orientation bias, and 10% by bias against the victims' ethnicity or national origin. All in all, there were 10,469 victims and 8,433 known offenders, not including offenses against women as a class.

The attackers: As for the perpetrators of hate crimes, a surprisingly large number may be youthful thrill-seekers, rather than hardcore haters. According to a study conducted in 1993 for Northeastern University, 60% of offenders committed crimes for the "thrill associated with the victimization."¹⁰ Often, the perpetrators hoped their acts of violence would gain respect from their friends -- a feeling that explains why so many hate crimes are committed by gangs of young men. As one young "gaybasher" explained: "We were trying to be tough to each other. It was like a game of chicken -- someone dared you to do something, and there was no backing down."¹¹

The second most common perpetrator of hate crimes, reported under the Act is the "reactive offender" who feels that he's answering an attack by his victim -- a perceived insult, interracial dating, the integration of his neighborhood, or his battered wife's decision to leave. Often, the "reactive offenders" imagine that the very existence of lesbians and gay men -- or having to compete with women on the job -- is an assault upon their values or their own identity.

The least common offender, reported under the act, is the hard-core fanatic, imbued with the ideology of racial, religious, or ethnic bigotry and often a member of, or a potential recruit for, an extremist organization. While the oldest organized hate groups appear to be on the decline, new strategies are emerging

where organized hatemongers incite impressionable individuals to commit acts of violence against targeted minorities.

The hate groups and their strategies: Membership in the oldest and prototypical hate groups, the various groups that bear the name "Ku Klux Klan," is near a historic low of about 5500.¹² Another 17,000 people belong to similar groups. But these relatively low and seemingly declining numbers ought not lead people of good will to minimize the dangers of organized hate violence.

In part, the decline in organized hate groups is a tribute to the efforts of their opponents. For instance, in 1987 a lawsuit by the Southern Poverty Law Center resulted in a \$7 million judgement against the United Klans of America. In 1993, the Center, together with the Anti-Defamation League (ADL), successfully litigated a \$12.5 million judgment against the White Aryan Resistance.¹³

But, with the success of these lawsuits, hate groups have adopted a new strategy. Instead of orchestrating and perpetrating their own acts of violence, the new hate groups increasingly are advancing their views through the Internet, literature distribution, broadcasts over public access television, and grassroots organizing.¹⁴

The question for many is: How do we preserve the constitutional right to free speech, while countering the calls to bigotry and even violence? Brian Levin, Project Director of Klanwatch, a project of the Southern Poverty Law Center, says:

"There are racist, horrific, godless messages on the Net that encourage people to violence. They can say that every Black in the United States should be killed, that there should be another Holocaust. But the people posting these messages can't be prosecuted because they can't be specifically linked to subsequent action."¹⁵

Jerry Berman, Executive Director, Center for Democracy and Technology, said in testimony before the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Terrorism, Technology, and Government:

"The question facing us, as an open society is how to respond to the most controversial and extreme uses of this new technology, this electronic, global Gutenberg printing press that turns all citizens into publishers who can reach thousands and even millions of people around the country and the world. As an open society, governed by the democratic principles of the First and Fourth Amendments, we tolerate and even encourage robust debate, advocacy and exchange of information on all subjects and in all media of expression, without exception...Constitutional law and long-standing law

enforcement policy have dictated great restraint in order to avoid chilling legitimate speech activity."¹⁶

In short, the answer is to counter hate speech with more compelling speech promoting the vision of an America where we live together in mutual respect and celebrate our diversity. Several civil rights organizations, including the Anti-Defamation League, NAACP, ACLU, and the Simon Wiesenthal Center have already begun this process, and the LCCR and LCEF will soon launch a joint Web Page to answer the hatemongers, advance intergroup relations, and promote an appreciation of how the civil rights movement has changed our country for the better.

Hate groups are recruiting among two very different sectors of the population -- young people alienated from society and more mainstream adults who are angry at the federal government.¹⁷

Among young people, some of the readiest recruits are racist "skinheads." The "skinheads" are a cultural phenomenon dating back to the 1970's in Great Britain and the '80s here in the United States. In response to the counterculture of the '60s which favored long hair, androgynous attire, and easygoing attitudes towards life, some working class young people adopted the opposite style of grooming and clothing -- shaven heads, tight-fitting jeans, and steel-toed boots. To be sure, the great majority of "skinheads" were neither violent nor racist -- indeed, some espoused

interracial harmony. But some skinheads were drawn to racism and violence, attacking blacks, Jews, gays, and members of other minorities.¹⁸ According to the ADL, the number of racist skinheads tripled in their first five years on the American scene, and at least 37 killings can be attributed to them.¹⁹

Another pool of recruits comes from the self-styled "militia" movements, paramilitary groups that are on the rise throughout the country and that attracted attention as possible suspects in the bombing of the federal office building in Oklahoma City in April, 1995. According to the most recent ADL report, militias have operated in at least 40 states, with membership numbering at least 15,000.²⁰ To be sure, these groups appeal to opponents of government actions, such as taxation, gun control, and environmental regulations, and are more likely to espouse conspiracy theories about the Federal Reserve Board or the United Nations than explicitly racist doctrines about blacks or Jews. Nonetheless, some of the militia organizers have been associated with racist groups, such as Aryan Nations or the Klans. And, like other extremist movements, they use groups such as the militias to recruit people to their views.

Ken Toole of the Montana Human Rights Network uses a vivid metaphor to explain how hate groups recruit new followers by appealing to anti-government activists in the militias. "It's like a funnel moving through space," Toole says. "At the front end, it's

picking up lots and lots of people by hitting on issues which enrage many people here out West. Then you go a little bit further into the funnel, and it's about ideology, about the oppressiveness of the federal government. Then, further in, you get into the belief systems. The conspiracy. The Illuminati. The Freemasons. Then, it's about the anti-Semitic conspiracy. Finally, at the narrowest end of the funnel, you're drawn into the hard core, where you get someone like Tim McVeigh [the accused Oklahoma City bomber] popping out."²¹

All in all, there are 150,000 to 200,000 hate group sympathizers, according to the Center for Democratic Renewal. And, according to Klanwatch, law enforcement officials have recovered a vast array of weapons, including anti-tank and anti-aircraft weapons, military explosives, grenades, military assault rifles, Uzis, and other types of machine guns from hate groups and their sympathizers.

Organized or unorganized -- cause for concern: All this suggests that we may be witnessing not the decline of organized hate groups but their evolution. Just as we must remain vigilant against the Klan, so we must monitor and oppose the new breed of hate groups and paramilitary organizations.

While it is reassuring that the statistics indicate relatively few people who commit hate crimes are committed members of hate

groups, the predominance of less-dedicated offenders also argues for national action. These offenders have caught the viruses of bigotry and violence that exist throughout our society -- indeed, many believe that attacking members of minority groups or women will gain them the esteem of others. By changing the climate of opinion in our communities and conducting special programs to deter would-be offenders and rehabilitate existing ones, we can reduce the number of hate crimes.

The Human Face of Hate Crimes

In this most diverse society on earth, all of us are members of one or another minority -- racial, religious, ethnic, cultural, national origin, sexual. That is why so many of us are vulnerable to hate crimes, and why violence motivated by bigotry has targeted so many different segments of society: African-Americans, Hispanic-Americans, and Asian-Americans; Jewish-Americans and Arab-Americans; Native Americans; recent immigrants; women; and gays and lesbians, to name just a few.

Of the 7,947 hate crime incidents reported to the FBI in 1995, sixty percent -- 4,831-- were motivated by race. Of these, 2,988 were anti-black, 1,226 were anti-white, 355 were directed against Asian-Americans or Pacific Islanders, 221 were directed against multi-racial groups, and 41 were directed against Native Americans or Alaskan Natives.

Second to racially motivated hate crimes were hate crimes motivated by religious bigotry -- 1,277 incidents in 1995. Of these, 1,058 -- approximately 82% -- were directed against Jews.

The third major category of hate crimes, accounting for 1,019 incidents in 1995, was motivated by animus against the victims' sexual orientation. Of these, 735 were directed against male homosexuals and 146 against lesbians.

The fourth category -- ethnicity/national origin -- accounted for 814 incidents with sixty three percent (516) directed toward Hispanics.

There is no systematic documentation of hate crimes against women because they are women, but women of all races and ethnic groups, and all social classes are targets of hate crimes.²²

These stories convey a sense of how hate crimes victimize Americans of different races, religions, ethnic groups, and sexual orientation, as well as women.

Attacks upon African-Americans: Among groups currently included in the Hate Crime Statistics Act, the greatest number of hate crimes of any kind are perpetrated against African-Americans. From the lynching to the cross-burning and the church-burning,

anti-black violence has been and still remains the prototypical hate crime -- an action intended not only to injure individuals but to intimidate an entire group of people. Hate crimes against African-Americans impact upon the entire society not only for the hurt they cause but for the history they recall, and perpetuate.

That is why the epidemic of fires at black churches has generated so much concern. Churches have always been the most important independent institution in the black community, and those who would attack African-Americans have often attacked their churches. As the historian C. Eric Lincoln writes in his recent book, Coming Through the Fire: Surviving Race and Place in America, the first recorded arson of a black church took place in South Carolina in 1822. White mobs torched black churches in Cincinnati in 1829 and in Philadelphia during the 1830's. After the Civil War, in their efforts to terrorize blacks and restore white supremacy, the Ku Klux Klan targeted black churches for vandalism and arson.²³

This long and painful history still casts a long shadow. As Deval Patrick, Assistant Attorney General for the Civil Rights Division, U.S. Department of Justice, recently declared: "In our society, arson of a church attended predominantly by African Americans carries a unique and menacing threat -- that those individuals are physically vulnerable because of their race."²⁴

As civil rights activism and the desegregation of public

schools and public facilities stepped up during the 1950's and '60s, so did burnings and bombings of black churches, Jewish synagogues, and other houses of worship whose congregations were multiracial or whose clergy supported integration. While there were hundreds of attacks on churches and synagogues, the most infamous was the bombing of the 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama, where four young girls were crushed to death.

An example of the historic continuity in the attacks upon black churches is the troubled history of St. John Baptist Church in Dixiana, South Carolina. Founded in 1765, the church has been the target of attacks throughout its history -- a period that spans the eras of slavery, the Civil War, Reconstruction, segregation, and civil rights.²⁵

In 1983, while Sunday services were underway, a group of whites shot out the church's windows. Coming back later in the day, they scrawled "KKK" on the door, destroyed the piano, smashed the crucifix, tore up the Bibles, scattered beer cans on the pews, and even defecated on the sacrament cloth. Over the next 12 years, more than 200 people were arrested for acts of vandalism against the church. Then, on August 15, 1995, the church was burned down. And, in May, 1996, three white teen-agers were arrested and charged with burning down the church.

St. John Baptist Church was one of at least 73 African-

American churches that suffered suspicious fires or acts of desecration since January 1, 1995.

While the great majority of the incidents took place in the South, other parts of the country have not been immune. For instance, in January, 1994, two members of the Fourth Reich Skinheads were sentenced to prison terms for plotting an attack on the historic First African Methodist Episcopal Church in South-Central Los Angeles. The racist skinheads had hoped that the attack, which was averted by their arrest, would trigger a race war.²⁶

As the church-burnings have aroused increasing public concern, several commentators, including the editorial page of the New York Post, have called the issue a "hoax."²⁷ While there is not definitive evidence of a national conspiracy -- and civil rights advocates have not contended there is -- these facts cannot be obscured:

- o 73 predominantly black churches have been burned or desecrated since January, 1995.

- o A USA Today investigation found that, although a number of white churches have burned since January 1995, the rate of black church arsons is more than double what it had been in earlier years. And, of course, there are many fewer black

churches (65,000) than white churches (300,000), so a much higher percentage of black churches have been burned.²⁸

o The USA Today investigation also found "two well-defined geographic clusters or 'arson zones' where black church arsons are up sharply over the last three years." The zones are: 1) "a 200-mile oval in the mid-South that encompasses western Tennessee and parts of Alabama and Mississippi," and 2) another area that "stretches across the Carolinas, where the rate of black church arsons has tripled since 1993."²⁹

o Of those who have been arrested or prosecuted for destroying black churches since 1990, the majority have been white males between the ages of 14 and 45. And, of the 39 people who have been arrested in the arsons that occurred since January 1995, 26 have been white, 13 black.

o Since 1990, at least 13 of the arsons of black churches took place in January around the holiday commemorating the birth of the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr.

All this suggests that President Clinton is correct: "We do not have evidence of a national conspiracy, but it is clear that racial hostility is the driving force behind a number of these incidents. This must stop."

As with hate crimes against other groups, acts of violence and intimidation against African-Americans are by no means confined to the destruction of houses of worship. Other examples of hate crimes against blacks include:

- o On December 7, 1995, two African American residents of Fayetteville, North Carolina, were brutally and senselessly murdered by three soldiers who apparently identified themselves as neo-Nazi skinheads. Police said the soldiers were looking for black people to harass and shot the victims as they were walking down the street. A federal investigator later said, "This [crime] gives new meaning to the definition of a hate crime."³⁰

- o On Friday, March 29, 1996, an African-American woman, Bridget Ward, and her two daughters, Jamila, 9, and Jasmine, 3, moved into a rented home in the virtually all-white Philadelphia neighborhood of Bridesburg. Late that night, she heard young people marching down the street, chanting, "Burn, motherf---, burn." The next morning, Ward, who works as a nurse's aide, found racial slurs smeared on her house, ketchup spilled on the front sidewalk and back porch, and an oily liquid was splattered in the rear. From Mayor Rendell to ordinary citizens, including many of Ward's neighbors, most Philadelphians were horrified by the incident. Police patrols were stepped up on the block, and the department's Crisis

Prevention and Resolution Unit, which typically handles racial incidents, investigated the crime. But Ward continued to be subjected to racial harassment, including a letter threatening her and her children. Five weeks after she moved to Bridesburg, Ward announced her intention to move. The acts of racial hostility against the Ward family are typical of hate crimes intended to keep members of racial, ethnic, or religious minorities out of many neighborhoods.³¹

- o In Fairfax County, Virginia, an affluent community near Washington, D.C., in 1993, a 41-year-old black woman heard the doorbell ring at the home where she was house-sitting. When she looked out the window, she saw a cross burning 10 feet from the front door.³²

- o A continent away, in 1994, in the Los Angeles suburb of South Gate, the white neighbors of a black woman burned a cross on her lawn, kicked her children, hanged and gassed her puppies, and placed "White Power" signs on her property.³³

- o In Orland Park, Illinois in 1995, a black man who was talking with a white woman was attacked by a 25-year old white male who yelled racial slurs during the attack.³⁴

- o In Berwick, Pa. a car driven by a black woman was struck repeatedly by a white man who yelled racial slurs and

threatened to kill her and her son.³⁵

o In Harper Woods, Michigan, a black couple was threatened by a white man who said he would kill and dismember them if they moved into his neighborhood.³⁶

Attacks upon Jews: Of attacks upon individuals or institutions because of their religion, the overwhelming majority -- 82% of such crimes reported by the FBI for 1995 -- were directed against Jews.

As with attacks upon African-Americans, hate crimes against Jews draw upon centuries of such assaults, from the pogroms of Eastern Europe to the Nazi Holocaust to the cross-burnings of the Ku Klux Klan in this country. Hate crimes against Jews in the United States range from physical assaults upon individuals to desecrations of synagogues and cemeteries and the painting of swastikas on private homes. As with hateful acts upon other minorities, the pain is increased by arousing feelings of vulnerability and memories of persecution, even extermination, in other countries and in other times.

Hatred against Jews is fed by slanders and stereotypes that have their origins in Europe extending back for centuries. These range far beyond the view that Jews were "Christ-killers" and include conspiracy theories involving "international bankers," the State of Israel, and groups ranging from communists to freemasons.

Such views are spread by groups on the political right as well as on the left who find little basis for agreement except for their anti-Semitism. As in the past, these extremists have tried to exploit the hardships of Americans from unemployed industrial workers to hard pressed farmers. Similarly, extremists associated with some black nationalist groups have promoted anti-Semitic conspiracy theories within the black community, exploiting the pain of poverty and discrimination and exacerbating tensions between African-Americans and Jews.

In a private survey of anti-semitic incidents [it is important to note that this survey includes hateful speech as well as hate crimes]³⁷ reported to the ADL in 1995, the group found 1,843 acts against property or persons. This included 1,116 incidents of harassment and 727 incidents of vandalism.³⁸

Examples of hate crimes against Jews include:

- o On July 16, 1995, in Cincinnati, a group of youths assaulted the son of a community rabbi, chasing him for about a block before they caught him outside the synagogue and beat him until he collapsed on the street. The next day, the group assaulted a 58-year-old recent immigrant from Russia in his own driveway. A group of five young men, aged 15 to 18, was arrested and convicted for the assaults. At the sentencing, the judge asked one of the young men, Brian Scherrer, why he

had committed the crimes. He explained the attacks were part of a gang initiation and that one victim was chosen because "He was Jewish."³⁹

o On August 19, 1991, a traffic accident in Crown Heights, Brooklyn (a community with a long history of racial and religious animosity among African-Americans, Hasidic Jews, and Caribbean Nationals) resulted in the tragic death of seven-year old African-American Gavin Cato and injury to his cousin, Angela. The driver of the car was part of Grand Rebbe Menachem M. Schneerson's motorcade. The Grand Rebbe was a religious leader of Lubavitch Hasidic Jews. A riot followed over three days during which crowds roamed the streets yelling "Get the Jews" and "Heil Hitler." Jewish-owned homes, cars and other property were attacked. Yankel Rosenbaum, an Australian scholar, was stopped by a gang of twenty youngsters who yelled "Get the Jew." Rosenbaum was assaulted, held down, stabbed, and left bleeding on a car hood. He died.⁴⁰

o In Phoenix, Arizona, the crime of vandalism erupted. A Maltese Cross, SS lightning bolts, "Dirty Jews go to Auschwitz," "Sieg Heil," and a swastika were spray painted on the Temple Beth El Congregation.⁴¹

o Freddy's Fashion Mart was a Jewish-owned store in Harlem, New York, that rented space from a black church and sublet

some of that space to a black-owned record store. The landlord and owner of Freddy's wanted the Fashion Mart to expand. The owner of the record store didn't want to move and a protest of Freddy's was begun. Some people on the picket line, and their supporters, engaged in anti-Semitic rhetoric. On December 8, 1995, Roland Smith, one of the protestors, entered the store with a gun and lighter fluid. He doused the store and set it on fire. Eight people -- including Smith -- died. Although none were Jewish, anti-semitic strife was an underlying factor.⁴²

Attacks upon Hispanics: Of 814 hate crimes in 1995 that were motivated by bias based on ethnicity or national origin, 63.3% -- 516 in all -- were directed against Hispanics.

In California and throughout the Southwest, long-existing antagonisms against Hispanics have been aggravated by the furor over immigration. With job opportunities declining at a time of defense cutbacks and economic recession, there have been renewed calls for restrictions against legal immigration and harsh measures against undocumented immigrants. In November, 1994, 59% of California voters approved a statewide referendum proposal, Proposition 187, which declares undocumented immigrants ineligible for most public services, including public education and non-emergency health care.

As with attacks upon African-Americans and Jews, attacks upon Hispanics are part of a history of hatred. In California and throughout the Southwest, there have been recurring periods of "nativism," when not only newcomers but longtime U.S. citizens of Mexican descent have been blamed for social and economic problems. During the Depression of the 1930's, citizens and non-citizens of Mexican descent were the targets of mass deportations, with a half million "dumped" across the border in Mexico. In the early 1950's, a paramilitary effort, with the degrading name "Operation Wetback," deported tens of thousands of Mexicans from California and several other southwestern states. The historian Juan Ramon Garcia describes the climate of fear and hatred that existed from the 1930's through the '50s:

"The image of the mysterious, sneaky, faceless 'illegal' was once again stamped into the minds of many. Once this was accomplished, 'illegals' became something less than human, with their arbitrary removal being that much easier to justify and accomplish."

While illegal immigration and its impact on public services is a legitimate concern, much of the recent debate has echoed the nativist rhetoric of earlier eras. For instance, Ruth Coffey, the founder of Stop Immigration Now, told the Los Angeles Times: "I have no intention of being the object of 'conquest,' peaceful or otherwise, by Latinos, Asians, Blacks, Arabs, or any other group of

individuals who have claimed my country." And Glenn Spencer, president of Voices of Citizens Together, which collected 40,000 signatures to qualify Proposition 187 for the ballot, said: "We have to take direct and immediate action to preserve this culture and this nation we have spent two centuries building up."

During the emotionally charged debate over Proposition 187, hate speech and violent acts against Latinos increased dramatically. And, in the aftermath of the approval of 187, civil rights violations against Latinos went on the upswing, with most of the cases involving United States citizens or permanent legal residents. All in all, in the Los Angeles metropolitan area alone, the County Human Relations Commission documented an 11.9% increase in hate crimes against Latinos in 1994.⁴³ For example:

o On November 12, 1994, Graziella Fuentes (54) was taking her daily one mile walk through the suburban San Fernando Valley, when eight young males 14 to 17 years old shouted at her that now that Proposition 187 has passed, she should go back to Mexico. After calling her "wetback" and other names, they threw rocks at her hitting her on the head and back.⁴⁴

Bigotry and hate crimes against Hispanics are not confined to California and the Southwest. From the Midwest, to the Northeast, to Florida, Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, Cuban-Americans, and immigrants from other countries in Central and South America have

been the targets of harassment and violence.

Here are several examples of hate crimes against Hispanics over the years:

o In the summer of 1995, Allen Adams and Tad Page were sentenced to 88 and 70 months, respectively, for their roles in the ethnically motivated shooting of four Latinos in Livermore, Maine. Three of the shooting victims were migrant laborers working in an egg farm, while the fourth was visiting his ailing mother, a migrant worker. The incident began at a store, where the victims were trying to make a purchase. Adams and Page, who were also at the store, taunted the victims with ethnic epithets, telling them: "Go back to Mexico or [we'll] send you there in a bodybag." After the victims drove away from the store, Adams and Page chased them by car, firing 11 rounds from a nine millimeter handgun at the victims' automobile. One victim was shot in the arm, while another bullet hit the driver's headrest, just a few centimeters from the driver.⁴⁵

o On June 11, 1995, arsonists burned down the home of a Latino family in the Antelope Valley, California, city of Palmdale. They spray-painted these messages on the walls: "Wite. [sic] power" and "your family dies."⁴⁶

o A Hispanic man at a camp for homeless migrant workers in Alpine, Calif., was beaten with baseball bats by six white men in October, 1992. The assailants later reportedly bragged about "kicking Mexican ass."⁴⁷

While not the focus of this report there have been well publicized reports of severe police beatings of Hispanics suspected of being undocumented immigrants.

o In April 1996, two Riverside County, California sheriff's deputies were videotaped beating two suspected undocumented Mexican immigrants. The man and woman were continuously struck with batons and the woman was pulled to the ground by her hair.⁴⁸

Bobbi Murray, an official with the Coalition for Humane Immigrants' Rights of Los Angeles said in response to the beating: "We were really sickened when we saw it. But we're not inordinately surprised because we've been concerned for a long time that this inflamed election year rhetoric of bashing immigrants and singling them out as an enemy creates an atmosphere that gives license to this sort of stuff."⁴⁹

Hispanic rights organizations charge that Hispanic-Americans are often targets of a growing trend of abuse by private citizens and local law enforcement officials. They attribute the increasing

abuse in part to the hostile political climate in which anyone who is perceived as an immigrant becomes a target for "enforcement" activities that are excessive, inappropriate, and often illegal.

Attacks upon Asian Pacific Americans: Anti-immigrant sentiment also seems to be feeding attacks upon Asian-Americans. A study found that there were 461 anti-Asian incidents reported in 1995 -- 2% more than in 1994 and 38% more than in 1993. The violence of the incidents increased dramatically, with assaults rising by almost 11%, aggravated assaults by 14%, and two murders and one firebomb attack committed. The number and severity of the incidents increased significantly in the two largest states, California and New York.⁵⁰

As with other minorities, violence against Asian-Americans feeds upon longstanding discrimination and contemporary tensions. Chinese, Japanese, and other Asian-Americans have been subjected to cycles of intolerance since they first arrived in the United States more than a century-and-a-half ago.

In the mines and on the railroads in the middle of the Nineteenth Century, Chinese-Americans were exploited as cheap labor by their employers and bitterly resented by other workers. Soon, the courts were treating Chinese-Americans as second-class citizens. In People v. Hall, the California Supreme Court prohibited people of Chinese descent from testifying in cases

involving whites. This decision shielded whites from prosecution for crimes committed against Chinese-Americans. And it made Chinese-Americans even more vulnerable to violence and discrimination. For instance, in 1887 in Hells Canyon, Oregon, 31 Chinese gold miners were shot to death. Their six killers either escaped or were acquitted.

During the years before and during World War II, as Japan became the enemy of the United States, Japanese-Americans were treated as a threat to the nation. They were targeted for an unprecedented and egregious violation of civil rights -- forcible relocation to internment camps, with complete disregard for their rights to due process. And, even though China was an ally of the United States, Chinese-Americans were also occasionally subject to hostility by whites who felt that all Asians were the enemy.

In recent decades, Asian Pacific Americans have been the targets of a range of resentments. Anti-Japanese sentiments remaining from World War II have been exacerbated by the resentment of economic competition from Japan and, more recently, South Korea. Although they are likely to have supported the governments of South Vietnam, Vietnamese immigrants have been the target of Americans' shame and anger at our defeat in the war in their native land.

Since those who tend towards intolerance are often unable to distinguish one national origin minority from another, these

resentments have spilled over into hostility towards all Asian Pacific Americans. Meanwhile, for those who hate non-whites or fear immigrants and their children, Asian Pacific Americans are one more target for their free-floating rage. And these antagonisms have been aggravated by the stereotype of Asian Pacific Americans as "a model minority" -- harder-working, more successful in school, and supposedly more affluent than most Americans. It is an image remarkably similar to the stereotype of Jews -- a stereotype that fuels a mixture of admiration and resentment. In addition, some people do not accept Asian Pacific Americans as legitimate Americans viewing them as perpetual foreigners.

These examples illustrate the range of hate crimes against Asian Pacific Americans:

- o A 19-year-old Vietnamese American pre-med student in Coral Springs, Fla., was beaten to death in August, 1992, by a mob of white youths who called him "chink" and "Vietcong."⁵¹
- o On the afternoon of November 8, 1995, in the parking lot of a supermarket in Novato, California, Eddy Wu, a 23-year-old Chinese-American, was carrying groceries to his car when he was attacked by Robert Page, who stabbed him twice. Chasing Wu into the supermarket, Page stabbed him two more times. Wu suffered several serious injuries, including a punctured lung. In his confession, Page, an unemployed musician, said: "I

didn't have anything to do when I woke up. No friends were around. It seemed that no one wanted to be around me. So I figured, 'What the f--- I'm going to kill me a Chinaman.'" He also said he wanted to kill an Asian because they "got all the good jobs." Page pleaded guilty to attempted murder and a hate crime, and was sentenced to eleven years.⁵²

O In August 1995, at a nightclub in Orange, California, an Asian Indian male was struck in the head with a metal pipe during a confrontation with a group of skinheads.⁵³

O In October 1995, in San Francisco, California, a white male dressed in skinhead attire kicked a Pilipino male's leg, breaking his bone, and declared to him, "Death to all minorities."⁵⁴

o On June 18, 1995, Thanh Mai, 23, and two other Vietnamese-American friends visited a teen nightclub in Alpine Township, Michigan. At one point during the evening, when he was sitting alone, Mai was accosted by three drunken young white men who taunted him, "What the f--- are you looking at, gook?" Mai tried to walk away, but one of the young men, Michael Hallman, hit him in the face. Mai fell to the cement floor with such force that his skull split open, sending him into convulsions. He died five days later from major head trauma. Hallman was tried in January, 1996, and sentenced to only two to fifteen

years for manslaughter. The prosecuting attorney did not seek hate crime penalty enhancement, denying that adequate evidence existed under the existing statute.⁵⁵

Attacks upon Arab-Americans: Especially in times of crisis in the Middle East or during incidents of domestic terrorism, the two to three million Americans of Arab descent are vulnerable to hostility, harassment, and violence. But, because the federal government does not recognize Arab-Americans as a distinct ethnic group, the Justice Department does not report on how many hate crimes are committed each year against Arab-Americans.⁵⁶

Arab-Americans suffer from being stereotyped as everything from exotic belly-dancers to desert nomads, terrorists, religious fanatics, and oil-rich sheiks. As with Jewish-Americans and Asian-Americans, Arab-Americans are often resented by residents of communities where they run small businesses. Arab Americans, many of whom are recent immigrants, must also deal with problems of nativism and anti-immigrant attitudes similar to that faced by Hispanics and Asian Americans. Too often, the media blame Arabs or Muslims for incidents to which they have no connection, such as the bombing of the federal office building in Oklahoma City.⁵⁷ In fact, at least 227 incidents of harassment of Muslims were reported in a three-day period following the Oklahoma City bombing.⁵⁸

As with African-Americans and Jews, houses of worship are

especially vulnerable. During 1995, at least seven mosques were burned down or seriously vandalized.⁵⁹

Illustrative of the types of hate crimes directed against Arab-Americans are:

- o In Aurora, Colorado, a campus chapter of the American Arab Discrimination Committee received threatening letters and telephone calls as it sought to organize an "Arab Awareness Week." In an apparent effort to discourage the effort, the president of the chapter was assaulted on campus by two individuals.⁶⁰

- o In Oklahoma City, following the bombing of the federal office building, an Iraqi refugee in her mid 20s, miscarried her near-term baby after an April 20th attack on her home. Unknown assailants pounded on the door of her home, broke windows and screamed anti-Islamic epithets.⁶¹

Attacks upon Gays and Lesbians: Attacks upon gays and lesbians are increasing in number and in severity. During 1995, 2,212 attacks on lesbians and gay men were documented by the National Coalition of Anti-Violence Programs -- an 8% increase over 1994.⁶²

More alarmingly, these attacks are becoming more violent. Nearly 40% of total incidents in 1995 involved physical assaults or

attempted assaults with a weapon. These incidents resulted in injuries to 711 victims. Thirty-seven percent -- 265 -- of the people who were injured suffered serious injury or death. Of the victims who were injured, 38% received medical treatment in an emergency room or on an out-patient basis, 10% were hospitalized, and 19% needed, but did not receive, medical attention.⁶³

Worst of all, there were 29 gay-related murders. Most murders were accompanied by hideous violence including mutilation.

A sense of the brutality of the attacks can be conveyed by describing the weapons involved. In assaults involving weapons, bottles, bricks, and rocks were the most frequently used weapons, followed by bats, clubs, and blunt objects. Knives and other sharp objects were a close third.

Gays and lesbians seem most at risk of attack when there is emotionally charged political debate and heightened media coverage about their rights and their role in society. In recent years, these issues have been raised in the controversies over gays in the military, gay marriage, and referenda in Oregon, Colorado, Maine, and other states and local communities. As with controversies about affirmative action and immigration, debates about gay/lesbian issues often demonize the members of minorities already subject to discrimination.

As with African-Americans, Hispanics, and other minorities gays and lesbians often feel isolated and vulnerable because of the difficult relationship between their communities and many police departments. That is one reason why the rate of reporting incidents of violence against gays and lesbians to the police -- an estimated 36% in 1995 -- is significantly less than the estimated reporting rate of 48% for all crimes. Moreover, even when victims reported an incident to the police and stressed its biased nature, more than half the time police failed to classify the incidents as bias-motivated.⁶⁴

These incidents from 1995 are examples of the kinds of crimes committed against gays and lesbians:

- o In Jackson Heights, New York, a 24-year-old gay man who was distributing HIV-related information was assaulted with a knife by a 17-year-old man. The victim suffered a severe cut on his elbow requiring medical attention. The perpetrator repeatedly referred to the victim as "faggot." The case is being prosecuted by the District Attorney's office as a bias crime.⁶⁵

- o In Washington, D.C., three men accosted a gay man walking in a park and, at gun-point, forced him to go under a bridge. There, they beat him viciously. Before losing consciousness, he heard one of his assailants say, "We're going to teach this

f---ing faggot a lesson!"⁶⁶

o In Minneapolis, Minnesota, soon after moving to a new apartment, an African-American lesbian found a note reading "Hate Nigger Faggots" at her door. Over the next several weeks, she and her child were the target of verbal slurs from their neighbors, including: "You dyke," "you faggot," and "you nigger." After a burned cross was left outside her door, she moved.⁶⁷

Another sexual minority that is subject to violence is "transgendered" people, an umbrella term that includes transsexuals, cross-dressers, intersexed people (also known as hermaphrodites), and others whose sexual identity appears ambiguous. Transgendered people have been assaulted, raped, or murdered; these crimes should be included in the Hate Crime Statistics Act.

Attacks upon Women -- cause for concern and for classification as hate crimes: In recent years, many women's advocates have spoken out about the alarming rate of violent physical and sexual assaults against women. Although the most common forms of violence against women have traditionally been viewed as "personal attacks," or even the victim's "own fault," there is growing recognition that, as one woman's advocate testified before Congress: "women and girls...are exposed to terror, brutality, serious injury, and even death because of their sex."⁶⁸

Society is beginning to realize that many assaults against women are not "random" acts of violence but are actually bias-related crimes. However, the Hate Crime Statistics Act was passed, signed into law, and recently reauthorized without including hate crimes against women as a class.⁶⁹ Other federal laws and many state hate crime statutes also exclude bias crimes targeting women.⁷⁰

This is wrong -- and should be corrected. As with hate crimes against racial, ethnic, religious, and sexual minorities, hate crimes against women are a form of discrimination. Gender-motivated violence reflects some men's efforts to dominate and control women. These crimes are encouraged by stereotypes of what women are and how women should act.⁷¹ And these crimes are often accompanied by hateful epithets against women as a group of people.

To be sure, not every violent assault against a woman is a hate crime -- just as not every crime against an African-American is based on bigotry. And, men as well as women face robbery on the street and burglary in the home. However, crimes that present evidence of bias against women should be considered hate crimes. And, with these crimes, society should look for identifying factors similar to those present in other hate crimes.

These factors may include evidence of sexual assault, mutilation, and the extreme brutality and cruelty that characterize bias-related crimes.⁷² Many crimes against women reflect a

resistance to their efforts to achieve equality. These crimes are often intended to intimidate women into staying in -- or returning to -- their "place" of subservience to men at home, in the workplace, and throughout society.

Women of color experience discrimination based on gender as well as race, national origin, religion, language and sexual orientation. These forms of discrimination are not always separable.⁷³ And, without protections against gender-based attacks, such women's unique experiences of intersecting forms of prejudice cannot be fully recognized -- or remedied.

Because women as a class are not covered by the Hate Crime Statistics Act, the FBI keeps no records of gender-based hate crimes. Thus, there are no federal government surveys of hate crimes against women. However, statistics gathered on rapes and domestic assaults demonstrate the pervasiveness of violence against women. Approximately 683,000 adult women are raped each year.⁷⁴ And, between 1992 and 1993, current and former husbands and other current and former intimate partners committed more than a million assaults, rapes, and murders against women.⁷⁵

Some studies do attempt to identify the number of violent assaults against women that may be motivated by gender bias. For instance, in Arkansas, a mostly rural state with a population of 2.3 million, 81 women were murdered in 1990 in cases where robbery

was not a motive, according to the Arkansas Women's Project.⁷⁶ Some were raped and killed. Others were murdered with extreme cruelty and disfigurement.

Examples of crimes that are committed against women because they are women include:

o In Massachusetts in 1994, a "serial batterer" -- a man who repeatedly physically assaulted women with whom he lived -- was found to have violated the state's hate crime law for his bias crimes against women. Four women recounted his abuse, including severe physical battering, rape, death threats, and constant verbal abuse.⁷⁷ In addition, he called the women "whores," "bitches," and "sluts," and made derogatory comments that they -- and all women -- are weaker than men and not as smart as men.⁷⁸

o In Arkansas, a woman was found stabbed approximately 130 times in the breasts, vagina, buttocks, both eyes and forehead, two days after her second wedding anniversary. Her husband was charged with the murder.⁷⁹

The statistics and examples demonstrate that violence against women is a severe problem -- and suggests that the violence includes many bias-related crimes. The lack of precise data only highlights the need for resources to study and track the problem.

America Answers Hate Crimes:

What is being done

The federal response: Under the Hate Crime Statistics Act of 1990 and its extension in 1996, the Attorney General collects data on the number of crimes committed each year that are motivated by "prejudice based on race, religion, sexual orientation, or ethnicity." The Attorney General has directed the Federal Bureau of Investigation's Uniform Crime Reporting Program to collect the data and produce annual reports.

Meanwhile, the FBI has trained almost 3,700 staff members from almost 1,200 state, local, and federal law enforcement agencies on how to prevent, prosecute, and deal with the aftermath of hate crimes.

In these training programs, the FBI works with the Justice Department's Community Relations Service (CRS). Created by the 1964 Civil Rights Act, CRS is the only federal agency whose most important purpose is to help communities cope with disputes among different racial, religious, and ethnic groups. CRS professionals have helped with Hate Crime Statistics Act training sessions for hundreds of law enforcement officials from dozens of police agencies around the country.

In 1992, Congress approved several new programs under the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act to combat hate crimes and reduce racial and religious prejudice:

- o Each state's juvenile delinquency plan must include a component designed to combat hate crimes.

- o The Justice Department's Office of Juvenile Justice Delinquency Programs (OJJDP) is conducting a national assessment of youths who commit hate crimes, their motives, their victims, and the penalties they receive for their crimes. The OJJDP has provided \$100,000 for this study.

- o OJJDP has also provided a \$50,000 grant to develop a curriculum for preventing and treating hate crimes by juveniles.

In 1994, by a bipartisan majority, Congress passed the Violence Against Women Act, a comprehensive federal response to the national problem of violence against women.⁸⁰ This legislative package includes \$1.6 billion in funding over six years for improved law enforcement and prosecution programs, victims services such as domestic violence shelters and rape crisis centers, and education and research programs. It also includes new domestic violence offenses, changes in immigration law and other legal forms. Most significantly, it includes a civil rights remedy -- a

provision allowing a woman to sue in federal or state court for an act of gender-motivated violence that rises to the level of a felony.⁸¹

In the aftermath of the rash of fires at black churches, and with the strong support of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, Congress passed and President Clinton signed into law the Church Arsons Prevention Act of 1996. With bipartisan sponsorship by Reps. Henry Hyde and John Conyers and Sens. Edward Kennedy and Lauch Faircloth, it enhances federal jurisdiction over and increases the federal penalties for the destruction of houses of worship. And Congress and the Administration provided \$12 million for a federal investigation of the church fires. In addition, the Act gives a continuing mandate to the Hate Crime Statistics Act.

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (USCCR) has undertaken a project to produce radio public service announcements on discrimination and denials of equal protection of the law. The first PSA "Discrimination: Just Out of Tune with America," was recorded by Mary Chapin Carpenter and began running in January 1996. The next PSA which will be recorded by Bill Cosby will carry the theme "Teach Children the Need to Be Tolerant and to Value Differences."

The USCCR held community forums on the church burnings in six Southern states "to conciliate, find facts and hear from people in

the communities where the burnings took place." Transcripts of the forums and reports were issued on church burnings in Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee.

The United States has ratified two core international human rights treaties that are relevant to the problem of hate crimes. In 1992, the United States ratified the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, undertaking an international commitment to ensure that everyone in the U.S. enjoys the rights outlined in the treaty, including the right not to be subjected to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment, "without distinction of any kind, such as race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status." In 1995, the U.S. presented its first compliance report to the Human Rights Committee, the United Nations body charged with monitoring State performance. The U.S. Government outlined federal laws that prohibit hate crimes and cited recent prosecutions by the Department of Justice's Civil Rights Division under these laws.

In 1994, the United States ratified the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination which places additional responsibilities on States party to the treaty to take "special and concrete measures to ensure the...protection of certain racial groups or individuals belonging to them, for the purpose of guaranteeing them the full and equal enjoyment of human

rights and fundamental freedoms."

The state and local response: All of the states, with the exception of Nebraska, South Carolina, and Wyoming,⁸² and including the District of Columbia, have passed some form of hate crime statute. These laws have come in a variety of forms, including:

- o Outlawing vandalism against religious institutions, such as churches and synagogues.
- o Outlawing intimidation of individuals.
- o Allowing for civil actions against perpetrators of hate crimes.
- o Holding parents liable for the actions of their children.
- o Requiring states to compile statistics on hate crimes.

In addition, some states have gone further by enacting statutes that "enhance" criminal penalties for hate-motivated crimes.

On the local level, there is good news -- but there are also indications of gaps in the monitoring of hate crimes.

It is heartening that a growing number of law enforcement agencies are participating in data-collection under the Hate Crime Statistics Act. Almost 9,600 agencies participated in 1995 -- an increase over the number of agencies that reported in 1994. But this still represents far fewer than the 16,000 agencies that regularly report other crime data to the FBI under the Bureau's Uniform Crime Reporting Program.

Another encouraging development is the founding of special bias units in a growing number of cities, including New York. (While creating the New York City unit was a positive step, there are still problems with under-reporting of hate crimes and police-community relations.) Officers in these squads are specially trained to be sensitive to victims of bias crimes. When victims find that police are sympathetic, they are more likely to report hate crimes and cooperate with investigations and prosecutions. And they make better witnesses at trials.

Successful bias units develop working relationships with minority communities, with prosecutors, and with officers from different law enforcement agencies. This helps law enforcement agencies at every level prevent, investigate, and prosecute hate crimes.

Yet another hopeful sign is the growing number of local governments that are sponsoring community education programs to

reduce prejudice of all kinds and discourage hate crimes. In 1993, the U.S. Conference of Mayors and the Anti-Defamation League found that 72 cities -- 42% of those that responded to the survey -- indicated that they sponsored or participated in local prejudice reduction programs.⁸³

In response to the outbreak of church arsons, three governors of southern and border states, James Hunt of North Carolina, David Beasley of South Carolina, and Don Sundquist of Tennessee, have set up commissions to examine and improve race relations.

Private initiatives: Civil rights, religious, civic, educational, and business organizations have long played a leading role in combating bigotry and crimes motivated by bias.

For instance, since 1992, the Leadership Conference Education Fund (LCEF) has been conducting an informational campaign in partnership with the Advertising Council to promote interracial understanding and combat bigotry of all kinds.⁸⁴ The campaign includes public service announcements in English and Spanish, with the message: "Life's too short. Stop the hate." These TV and radio announcements were developed by the Mingo Group, a black-owned and managed advertising agency.

In addition, with a contribution from the Procter and Gamble Fund, the LCEF is developing programs targeted to children to

promote understanding and celebrate our diversity. With the Advertising Council and the Griffin Bacal agency, the LCEF developed the "Don't Be Afraid, Be a Friend" campaign to encourage children to make friends across racial, ethnic and disability lines and not to respond to the differences among people with fear and hate. The "Don't Be Afraid, Be a Friend" campaign has received more than \$20 million of free television air time. In keeping with the children's theme, LCEF's new public service announcement, targeted at children 4-7 years of age, is based on a poem, "The Crayon Box that Talked," written by the President of Random House Entertainment.

In addition to the partnership with the Advertising Council, the LCEF has worked with Nickelodeon, the children's cable television station, to produce vignettes on diversity and tolerance. The spots feature children of varied racial and ethnic backgrounds and a child in a wheelchair talking about diversity, getting to know each other, and how they would like to be perceived. And the LCEF has also developed a brochure for parents on why it is important to talk to children about racism, prejudice, and diversity.

Similarly, the Anti-Defamation League has developed a number of hate crime training resources that are available to communities and law enforcement officials. These include a new comprehensive guide to hate crime laws, a seventeen-minute training video on the

impact of hate crime and appropriate responses (prepared in cooperation with the New Jersey Department of Law and Public Safety), and a handbook of existing hate crime policies and procedures at large and small police departments.

Meanwhile, the ADL's A World of Difference Institute has developed prejudice reduction initiatives for use by educators, employers, and civic leaders. These programs help people develop the skills, sensitivity, and knowledge to combat bigotry and encourage understanding and respect among diverse groups, from classrooms, to communities and workplaces.

Another program dedicated to prejudice reduction is the American Jewish Committee's Hands Across the Campus program. In place in 15 cities and approximately 150 public and private schools, the program includes administrative, teacher and student training and lesson plans and student activities for use in English and social studies classes.

People for the American Way's STAR (Students Talk About Race) Program trains college volunteers to lead discussions in high school and middle school classrooms to provide a forum for youth to share their personal thoughts and experiences, to reflect on complex issues like prejudice and citizen responsibility, and to learn the value of tolerance in today's society.

In addition to the Southern Poverty Law Center's legal work against hate groups, its Teaching Tolerance project provides training and curriculum materials for teachers including the Teaching Tolerance Magazine. The Center has just established a Teaching Tolerance Institute that will bring together for the first time in the summer of 1997 30 K-12 teachers for intensive training in tolerance and the development of tolerance-related action plans for their schools and communities.

This year, public outrage over the arsons of black churches has prompted renewed efforts to promote racial reconciliation. Private citizens, businesses, religious and civic groups have raised more than \$10 million to help small congregations rebuild their church buildings. In other gestures of support, bankers have offered low-interest loans and individuals have offered to help rebuild the churches themselves.⁸⁵

The National Council of Churches has played a leading role in bringing Americans together to heal their differences and rebuild the churches. The Council's general secretary, Joan Brown Campbell, said: "For the first time in almost 20 years, I see...the possibility of a partnership of white people, African-Americans, of Christians, Jews, and Muslims...I sense the possibility of a new coalition that wants to address the underlying issue of racism and bigotry."⁸⁶

The Center for Democratic Renewal in collaboration with the National Council of Churches and Center for Constitutional Rights conducted a six-month preliminary investigation of the church burnings and issued the results of their investigation in Black Church Burnings in the South.⁸⁷ These organizations and others, including LCEF and LCCR, co-hosted a leadership summit on hate crimes, Challenging Hate in America, in Atlanta in December 1996.

Four leading human rights groups have launched a new initiative, "Bigotry Watch," to monitor and respond to acts of intolerance of all kinds throughout the nation. The effort's sponsors are the National Urban League, the Anti-Defamation League, the National Council of La Raza, and the National Conference. These groups have also called for a national conference on "pluralism."

In a corporate effort to advance interracial understanding, the Levi Strauss Foundation is contributing more than \$5 million to Project Change, designed to help communities reduce racial prejudice and promote harmony. It has programs in Knoxville, Tenn., Valdosta, Ga., Albuquerque and El Paso. And Levi-Strauss Chief Executive Officer Robert Haas is meeting with fellow CEOs and asking them to "step up to the plate" on race relations.

On another front, the National Task Force on Violence Against Women, a coalition of over 1700 organizations, chaired by the NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund with the strong support of the

National Organization for Women, has been instrumental in gaining national recognition of the problem of violence against women. This coalition helped pass the Violence Against Women Act and its groundbreaking civil rights remedy for gender-based hate crimes. Now, the coalition is monitoring federal support and implementation of the law.

America answers hate crimes:

What must be done

While much is being done to promote respect for diversity and to combat crimes based on bias, much more is needed. Federal, state, and local governments, educational, religious, community, and business organizations, and individual citizens all should assume even more responsibility to make sure that no individuals in our country are injured because of who they are.

Here are some recommendations for action by every sector of society:

1) **Exercise national leadership:** National leaders from every sector of society -- including government, business, labor, religion, and education -- should use their prestige and influence to encourage efforts to promote tolerance and harmony and to combat bigotry. Although much progress toward reducing hate-crime violence and discrimination in American life has been achieved over the past

30 years, steps must be taken now to avoid losing ground. *We strongly urge President Clinton to convene a White House conference in 1997 to focus on more effective ways of fighting ongoing discrimination, bigotry and intolerance, and to identify ways that all persons in this country, both citizens and immigrants, can live and work together in greater harmony.*

2) **Enforce existing laws:** The nation must reprioritize the enforcement of federal and state civil rights laws. The recent revelations about pervasive discrimination and personal abuse against African-Americans at Texaco are another reminder that bias and bigotry are still part of American life. The fact that a tape leaked by a disgruntled former executive confirms earlier allegations by black employees is one more indication, if any were needed, that claims of discrimination should be thoroughly investigated, not casually dismissed.

Unfortunately, discrimination in employment, housing, and even public accommodations is still prevalent, as evidenced by similar incidents at companies ranging from the national restaurant chain, Denny's, to real estate agencies throughout the country. In August 1996, the Wal-Mart Stores Inc. settled a law-suit filed by eleven Hispanic men, all U.S. citizens, who were forced by Wal-Mart store personnel to leave a Wal-Mart store in Amory, Mississippi, and informed that it was the store's policy not to serve Mexicans.

Existing civil rights laws against all forms of discrimination are an important part of America's effort against bigotry, bias and hate crimes. These laws should be aggressively enforced. Moreover, significant increases in funding for all federal civil rights enforcement agencies is essential and should be included in the FY'98 budget. Offices such as the Department of Justice Civil Rights Division, the EEOC, the Department of Education's Office of Civil Rights, the Department of Labor's Office of Federal Contract Compliance, the Department of Housing and Urban Development's Fair Housing Enforcement Office, the Department of Agriculture's Office of Civil Rights are illustrative of those offices that need increased funding to address both the short and long-term problems associated with discrimination and with hate crime violence in the United States.

3) **Renew America's commitment to vigorously combat hate crimes:** Congress should renew the Hate Crime Statistics Act (HCSA) without a sunset provision, and expand its coverage to include gender. This will make an important statement that America will not tolerate hate crimes. It will also provide a continued mandate for law enforcement agencies at every level of government and communities and citizens all across the country to continue monitoring, preventing, prosecuting, and, in every way, combating hate crimes. In giving the HCSA a permanent mandate, Congress should provide more funding for training assistance and implementation. This will help all 16,000 law enforcement agencies

throughout the nation participate in reporting hate crimes.

a) Reauthorize U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. Congress should re-authorize the United States Commission on Civil Rights. The Commission identifies, analyzes, and reports on the major civil and human rights problems confronting the nation; including the persistence of bigotry and discrimination, tensions among different groups, and hate crimes motivated by bigotry and influence.

Since 1990, the Commission has been especially effective, holding hearings on racial and ethnic tensions in major metropolitan areas and in the Mississippi-Delta region. It has also been vigilant in response to the church fires. In fact, the recent findings of the Commission have sparked a renewed discussion about the persistence of racism in American society.

b) Restore funding for Community Relations Service. Congress should also restore funding for the Community Relations Service (CRS) of the Department of Justice, whose budget has been cut in half after some members of Congress sought to eliminate it entirely. CRS works to resolve group conflicts and racial tensions in communities across the country. It offers mediation and technical assistance to communities trying to address hate motivated incidents. It is an invaluable resource that must be preserved and strengthened.

c) Improve data collection. For the HCSA, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, the Community Relations Service and other efforts against discrimination and intolerance to succeed, the nation needs accurate and up-to-date demographic information about the racial, ethnic, and religious composition of the population. The need for federal data is essential to effective enforcement of civil rights laws. That is why it is so important that Congress allow the Census Bureau to take all available steps to reduce the persistent, disproportionate undercount of racial minorities and the poor in the 2000 census. With guidance from state and local officials and business and community leaders, the bureau has developed a plan to make sure that every person is counted, including those who historically have been hardest to reach. Congress should approve, not impede this plan, including census efforts at "sampling" residents in low-income communities.

4) **Study the appropriateness of enacting additional hate crime laws:** State and local officials should study the appropriateness of enacting additional hate crime laws, including "penalty enhancement" provisions that impose harsher punishments for criminal acts in which the victim is "intentionally selected" because of his or her race, religion, national origin, gender, sexual orientation, etc. While bigotry cannot be outlawed, conduct can and should be punished. Hate crime statutes demonstrate an important community commitment to confront crimes prompted by prejudice. Police departments should be required to enforce these laws, and

prosecutors should utilize them when appropriate.

Law enforcement agencies should also consider identifying specific ethnic groups, such as Arab-Americans, who have been targets of hate violence. Unless all hate-motivated incidents are identified, monitored, and documented, the full extent of the severity and prevalence of this violence cannot be adequately addressed.

5) **Create hate crime units:** Local police departments should create hate crime units, with specially trained officers and outreach efforts to minority communities. These units are indispensable for preventing, investigating, and prosecuting hate crimes, for convincing potential offenders and potential victims alike that communities are committed to combating hate crimes. There should also be victim assistance programs for those who suffer from hate crimes.

6) **Encourage communities to participate:** Congress and the Administration should encourage local law enforcement agencies to participate in the HCSA data collection effort. They can require that Department of Justice technical assistance grants be dependent on participation in the HCSA data collection effort. And they can also make such participation a requirement for receiving funds from the Justice Department's Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS). Additional federal funding should be included to cover the

costs of local law enforcement participation.

Linking community policing to the effort against bias-related crimes can be especially effective. Hate violence can be addressed effectively through a combination of presence, prevention, and outreach to the community that is the hallmark of community policing. Congress and the Administration should see that new officers hired and trained under the COPS initiative begin to receive training in how to identify, report, and respond to hate violence.

Communities should also encourage efforts by businesses, labor unions, civic groups and concerned citizens. The response by communities, companies, civic organizations, and ordinary citizens to the arsons of African-American churches is a model for how America should answer hate crimes. Schools, businesses, congregations, and communities all across America should initiate or intensify efforts to promote respect for diversity and to discourage acts of intolerance. The projects described in this report, as well as other efforts by the NAACP, National Council of La Raza, the Anti-Defamation League, and National Urban League, among others, are all models for what can and must be done.

7) **Debate the issues with reason, not rancor:** In a democracy, there should be free and open debate about public issues. Political questions about immigration, abortion, affirmative

action, and gay rights among others can and should be debated. But Americans of all backgrounds and viewpoints should find ways to debate these issues without demonizing one another. Public debate should be an appeal to reason, not an incitement to violence.

8) **Prepare the next generation of Americans for a diverse society:** The disturbingly large number of young people who commit hate crimes underscores the need for educational programs on the importance of civic responsibility, cultural diversity, and a respect of cultural differences in the United States. As the Citizens Commission on Civil Rights has urged, the federal government should promote democracy-building and citizenship initiatives -- efforts such as teaching about the Bill of Rights and the parts that many different groups have played in our national history. The Department of Education should make information available about successful prejudice-reduction and hate crime prevention programs and resources. Local communities and school systems should offer programs on prejudice awareness, religious tolerance, conflict resolution, and multicultural education.

9) **Use the Internet to Educate:** Messages on the Internet are protected by the First Amendment. Rather than seeking to censor hate speech on the Internet as some have suggested, it is better to use the strength of the Internet as a market place of ideas to change attitudes. Moreover, the Internet has a growing utilization

among young people, and therefore, must be considered in any serious public education campaign to address the problem of hate-related violence in America.

The Leadership Conference on Civil Rights and the Leadership Conference Education Fund will construct an Internet web-site devoted to civil rights and a greater understanding of the importance of civil rights laws in building the "more perfect Union" which is our national promise. The LCCR/LCEF plan to develop what may be called "the definitive civil rights web-site," means that in addition to its own content, the new web-page will connect to the existing web-sites of LCCR members, thereby expanding its reach considerably.

10) **Comply with International Law:** Racism in America, and hate crimes as tangible evidence of racism, has attracted the attention of the international community. In 1994, the United Nations Special Rapporteur on Contemporary forms of Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance came on mission to the United States and last year filed an extensive report citing a "pattern of increased racist violence" in the U.S. The report concludes that "racism and racial discrimination persist in American society," despite the fact that "knowledge of the extent of racist violence in the United States continues to suffer from the lack of a uniform and accurate source of information."

In its periodic reports to the U.N. treaty monitoring bodies, the government should fully detail the extent of the hate crime problem in America -- not just cite to laws on the books that criminalize hate crimes -- and outline steps it is taking to eliminate the causes of hate crimes through increased enforcement, expansion of existing law, and educational programs. The U.S. should file its delinquent report on compliance with the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and should actively seek the participation of civil rights groups in the U.S. in the preparation of this report.

These recommendations themselves are intended as a starting-point for a national discussion on how Americans can not only prevent hate crimes but promote positive relationships among people of every heritage. In this effort, the sponsors of this study are eager to work together with other Americans of goodwill.

Acknowledgments

As is true for many LCCR documents, this report developed in collaboration with LCEF, represents a consensus of some but not necessarily all LCCR members. This report draws on the work of countless individuals and organizations involved in the effort to promote human rights and ease intergroup tensions. In particular, we would like to thank the following individuals for the information, insights, and other assistance they have provided to this project from start to finish: Karen Narasaki, National Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium; Michael Lieberman, Anti-Defamation League; Judy Appelbaum, National Women's Law Center; Patricia Ireland, Jan Erickson, Rosemary Dempsey, National Organization for Women; Pat Reuss, Pamela Coukos, Julie Goldscheid, NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund; Leslie Wolfe, Center for Women's Policy Studies; Richard Foltin, American Jewish Committee; Charles Kamasaki, Carmen Joge, National Council of La Raza; Helen Gonzales, National Gay and Lesbian Task Force; Georgina Verdugo, Mexican American Legal Defense Fund; Marvin Wingfield, American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee; Rebecca Isaacs, People For the American Way; Beni Ivey, Center for Democratic Renewal; and MacCharles Jones, National Council of Churches.

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

2-7-97

*File - Race
Commission*

THE PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL
ON
RACIAL RECONCILIATION

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THE PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL ON RACIAL RECONCILIATION
The Concept

Summary:

This paper describes a proposal to establish The President's Council on Racial Reconciliation, designed to fulfill President Clinton's promise that all Americans will cross the bridge to the 21st century together.

Background:

President Clinton built his campaign for re-election around the theme that all of us, no matter what our racial or ethnic background, must cross the bridge to the 21st century together. In speeches from Florida to California he repeated essentially these words:

"We need to build a new majority in America based on three principles--opportunity for all, responsibility from all, and an American community where if you show up for work tomorrow and you believe in our Constitution, our Bill of Rights, and our Declaration of Independence, we don't need to know anything else about you. We are all a part of our American community, and we're going forward together across that bridge to the 21st century."

In both the passion of his speeches and the diversity of his Administration President Clinton has demonstrated his abhorrence of racial discrimination and his commitment to inclusion. His record builds on a half-century of undeniable progress in combatting racial prejudice. Yet, recent events illustrate the perilous road that lies ahead.

Incidents in Pittsburgh and St. Petersburg remind us that color blind law enforcement remains an elusive goal. At corporations like Texaco and Avis employment discrimination emerges from behind closed board room doors. In several southern states race-related church burnings recall the most violent responses to the 1960's civil rights movement.

SAT test scores among African-American and Hispanic-American youth disclose the continuing inequality of our educational systems. A variety of studies confirm a differential quality of health care based on the race of the patient. Testing by trained multi-racial teams confirm the continued existence of racial discrimination in housing.

Beyond these events and statistics, everyday experiences of subtle, often unconscious, behavior exacerbate racial tensions. Well-dressed African-Americans can't hail a cab. Qualified minority employees fall victim to the "good old boy" network at promotion time. The media portrays young African-American males as dangerous and African-American females as unwed mothers. Resulting tensions limit racial interaction, preventing the communication we need to navigate the road to reconciliation.

This lack of communication perpetuates negative racial stereotypes and a deep-seated racial gap which 1) saps our nation's economic strength, 2) breeds political polarization, 3) de-stabilizes our communities and threatens our individual safety, and 4) jeopardizes our moral credibility in the global community. In the 21st century an increasing percentage of non-white Americans in the population and in the labor force will intensify the effects of this gap, while our changing economy, the technological revolution, increased mobility, and scarce resources will complicate the solutions.

Competing in the global economy, finding common ground on polarizing political issues, and securing our homes and communities pose difficult challenges. To a greater degree than ever before our nation's strength depends on the ability of every American to carry his or her share of the responsibility. As President Clinton has declared: "We do not have a single person to waste."

Only Presidential leadership can set us on the proper course. Only the President has the power to reach into every sector of our nation's life--from the community to the workplace, from schools to houses of worship, from the courtroom to the media. Only the President can energize the kind of comprehensive national campaign necessary to achieve meaningful racial reconciliation, build a foundation for enduring racial equity, and secure our nation's strength. As Presidents Kennedy and Johnson led us through the racial minefields of the 1960's, so President Clinton must guide us through the perils of the 1990's if we are to cross that bridge to the 21st century as "one nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all."

The Proposal:

The President's Council on Racial Reconciliation would formulate and promote strategies for meaningful racial reconciliation. It would serve as the President's action arm to engage every facet of American society and every American community in fulfilling the promise that all Americans can cross the bridge to the 21st century together. As the President's Council on Physical Fitness energized a self-satisfied and sedentary nation to meet the challenges of the 1960's, so the President's Council on Racial Reconciliation will steer a divided and suspicious nation on a course toward unity for the 21st century. The Council would:

1. Provide leadership and coordination to focus our nation on the need to eradicate negative racial stereotypes and combat racial discrimination.
2. Build coalitions with public and private sector organizations to develop a comprehensive series of strategies to increase racial interaction, enhance racial understanding, and foster racial equity.
3. Promote the implementation of these strategies through schools, the workplace, civic and community organizations, houses of worship, and the media.

4. Advise the President on steps toward achieving racial reconciliation.

To symbolize the power of our nation's diversity The Council would be led, not by a single Chairperson, but by a diverse and powerful Co-Chair team composed of at least one African-American, one Hispanic-American, and one caucasian American. The Council would pursue its work primarily through four task forces based on where racial interactions most frequently occur:

1. Our Communities
2. Our Schools
3. Our Places of Employment
4. Entertainment and the Media

These task forces would focus the work of The Council on promoting meaningful inter-racial communication, the essential ingredient of racial reconciliation. This structure avoids the dangers of divisiveness on contentious issues or of defensiveness resulting from a focus on specific groups, such as corporate executives or police officers. The Council and its task forces would:

1. Develop community improvement projects, school-based programs, and workplace activities which promote racial interaction and understanding.
2. Build partnerships with professional sports franchises, among the most integrated institutions in our society, and with major corporations to sponsor prime time public service announcements, produce and distribute materials designed to promote messages of inclusion, and support awards and special recognition to individuals and organizations.
3. Conduct policy roundtables, town meetings, major conferences, national conversations, and research projects and widely disseminate the proceedings and outcomes.
4. Issue publications providing information, insights and guidance on specific issues.
5. Establish a clearinghouse for collecting and disseminating information on successful responses to race-related matters.

Many organizations are currently engaged in activities to promote racial reconciliation. The Council will neither duplicate nor replace these activities. Rather, The Council will create an environment in which existing activities gain power and credibility, and it will promote the development and implementation of additional activities in partnership with private and public sector organizations.

For example, the task force on **Our Communities** could reach out to Rotarians or to a foundation to back local community projects. The task force on **Our Schools** could work with the National Education Association on curriculum ideas and ask universities to

host major conferences. The task force on **Our Places of Employment** could seek labor union participation in specific workplace activities and suggest steps employers can take to recruit qualified minority employees at all levels. The task force on **Entertainment and the Media** could persuade corporations to sponsor prime time public service announcements and recommend ways to combat media-induced negative stereotypes.

The Co-Chair team and the task force chairs would serve as an Executive Committee for **The Council**. They would recommend to **The Council** specific and measurable goals and objectives, and monitor progress on a regular basis. An Executive Director would manage day-to-day operations. Administrative costs would be borne by the Office of the President or by those Cabinet Departments whose responsibilities and activities are particularly relevant, or by a combination of the two. Support for program activities would come from the private sector.

Urgency:

To build on the post-election momentum and to illustrate the importance which President Clinton attaches to racial reconciliation, establishment of **The President's Council on Racial Reconciliation** should be an immediate priority. Ideally, **The Council** would be established by Executive Order by late February, 1997.

Outcomes:

Success in promoting racial reconciliation will 1) strengthen our global competitiveness, increase productivity, and generate additional tax revenue, 2) decrease the costs of law enforcement, incarceration, and welfare benefits, 3) increase the stability and vibrancy of our communities and the safety of our citizens, 4) reverse polarization on difficult political issues and create common ground for seeking solutions, and 5) reinforce our nation's moral stature.

Conclusion:

Senator Paul Simon, when he withdrew from the 1988 Democratic Presidential primary campaign, observed: "Americans instinctively know that we are one nation, one family, and when anyone in that family hurts, all of us eventually hurt. There really is a yearning across this good land for leadership that appeals to the noble in us rather than to the greed in us."

President Clinton has demonstrated his understanding of that yearning and his capacity to appeal to the noble in us. **The President's Council on Racial Reconciliation** will serve as his vehicle to take us across the bridge to the 21st century united as Americans rather than divided by race.

This paper was prepared by Michael R. Wenger, States' Washington Representative for the Appalachian Regional Commission

PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL ON RACIAL RECONCILIATION
Mission and Goals

Mission:

To bridge the existing racial divide in the United States and to create a society which treasures the unique strengths of each individual, regardless of race, and celebrates the common threads which bind us together.

Goals:

1. To create an environment in which inter-racial communication and interaction are routinely accepted and mutually respected.
2. To increase both our collective and our individual awareness of unintended differential behavior based on race.
3. To minimize the number of instances of conscious racist behavior and maximize the public disapproval of such behavior whenever it occurs.
4. To strengthen both our collective and our individual understanding of the value of America's racial diversity and the importance of walking together across the bridge to the 21st century.

PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL ON RACIAL RECONCILIATION
Launching the Council's Agenda: A Project to Commemorate the 50th
Anniversary of Jackie Robinson's Entrance into Major League Baseball

Overview:

In 1947 Jackie Robinson, playing first base for the Brooklyn Dodgers, was the first African-American to participate in a Major League Baseball game. Baseball's popularity as our national pastime catapulted this event into one of the most significant milestones in race relations in this century. The 50th anniversary of this event offers a meaningful and powerful vehicle for launching the Council's agenda. This inaugural project, designated as "The American Team" Project, would weave together an array of visible activities into the overriding theme that we are all members of "The American Team."

In the Media:

1. Create a partnership between Major League Baseball and the President's Council on Racial Reconciliation, modeled after the partnership between the National Football League and the United Way, to air Public Service Announcements (PSA's) on Major League Baseball telecasts. The PSA's would be built around the theme that we are all members of "The American Team," would provide a telephone number to call for further information, and would promote the following broad messages:

- a) the vast majority of Americans, no matter what their race, share similar values and work hard to live those values,
- b) our diversity has been vital in building this nation, and today, more than ever, we need each other for economic, social, and political stability,
- c) despite dramatic improvements in race relations, many instances of subtle, often unconscious racial discrimination remain as barriers to enduring racial reconciliation,
- d) there are many promising racial reconciliation efforts on which to build in communities and corporations throughout America.

Funding Sources: Council produces the PSA's. Major League Baseball airs them.

2. Arrange a special "American Team" ceremony at the 1997 All-Star Game, designed for television, honoring Jackie Robinson's contribution to the game and to society. Among participants in the ceremony would be representatives of little league and other youth baseball leagues which exemplify the integration of the game made possible by Jackie Robinson's courage.

Funding Sources: Council works with Major League Baseball and television network to design ceremony. Corporate sponsors pay expenses.

In Our Communities:

1. Encourage local baseball franchises to form "American Team" partnerships with public officials and community organizations to promote community improvement activities which enhance racial interaction and strengthen racial bonds.

Funding Sources: Council provides guidance as necessary in forming partnerships. Local baseball franchises devote a portion of proceeds from team ticket sales to support activities.

2. Post billboards which build on "The American Team" theme and messages of the PSA's.

Funding Sources: Council produces the billboards. Local baseball franchises purchase the space.

In Our Schools:

1. Conduct an essay contest on the meaning of being a member of "The American Team," to be implemented through public schools in and near major league cities. Prizes for local winners would be tickets to and recognition at a major league baseball game. Prizes for national winners would be a trip to Washington, D.C., a meeting with the President, and tickets to and recognition at the World Series. All winning essays will be published and widely distributed.

Funding Sources: Council, working through State School Superintendents, conducts the contest. Local baseball franchises donate prizes for local winners. Corporate sponsors donate prizes for national winners and pay for publication and distribution of essays.

2. Introduce several "American Team" baseball card series, designed as teaching tools, which highlight:

- a) aspects of Jackie Robinson's career and life,
- b) aspects of major league baseball's progress toward integration since 1947 and the effect of this progress on our nation,
- c) significant events in our nation's progress toward racial reconciliation since 1947,
- d) important facts (such as demographic and economic information) which build the practical case for racial reconciliation.

Funding Sources: Major League Baseball and Council provide information. Teacher organizations provide guidance in designing cards as teaching tools. Baseball card distributors produce cards and sell them at cost.

3. Produce and distribute poster-size replicas of "American Team" billboards to schools.

Funding Sources: Council produces and distributes the posters with assistance from corporate sponsors.

PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL ON RACIAL RECONCILIATION
The Continuing Agenda of the Council

Overview:

In addition to building a partnership with Major League Baseball, the Council will work with the media, with communities, with our public schools, and with employers and employees to develop an array of activities which, taken together over time, will significantly narrow America's racial divide. Beginning in October, 1997, a new initiative will be announced quarterly. An outside consultant will design and implement tools to measure the impact of these activities.

In the Media:

1. Air public service announcements in prime time which focus on the need for racial harmony and mutual respect and feature popular entertainers and other public figures, as well as ordinary people in everyday situations. These PSA's could build on the "American Team" theme.

Funding Sources: Council works with corporations to produce the public service announcements. Corporations air the public service announcements in a portion of their regular advertising buys.

2. Produce and publish a book of inspirational stories and writings, patterned after the Chicken Soup for the Soul series of books, recounting heartwarming successes in overcoming racial barriers and achieving racial reconciliation.

Funding Sources: Council publishes and sells book.

3. Telecast on C-Span a series of roundtable discussions featuring a wide range of viewpoints on divisive issues like affirmative action and immigration, as well as on the broader topics of racial interaction and reconciliation, and publish the proceedings.

Funding Sources: Foundations support costs of televised discussions and publication of proceedings.

4. Issue monthly feature articles by guest writers, suitable for publication in Sunday newspapers and for use on television network news programs, exploring current race relations issues and detailing specific examples of progress we are making in overcoming racial barriers.

Funding Sources: Council prepares and distributes articles.

5. Create and regularly update a web page on the Internet which describes activities of the Council and provides ideas on how individuals can become involved in building racial unity in their communities. Provide special links to facilitate use by schools.

Funding Sources: Council creates and maintains web page.

In Our Communities:

1. In collaboration with Junior Leagues and Jaycees produce a "how-to" book of community improvement activities which promote racial interaction and reconciliation and distribute copies of the book to local chapters.

Funding Sources: Council compiles material. National Junior Leagues and Jaycees organizations publish book. Local chapters, as well as local businesses and other civic clubs, adopt and support selected activities. A small portion of the proceeds from tickets to baseball games and other public events could be used to fund implementation of some of the activities.

2. Develop and publicize a set of "American Team Principles." Award "American Team" window stickers and/or other forms of recognition to businesses, law enforcement agencies, and other local institutions which demonstrate a commitment to the "Principles."

Funding Sources: Council in collaboration with communities and trade/professional associations.

3. Arrange exchanges in which Caucasian, African-American, and Hispanic-American Members of Congress visit each other's Districts, speak at worship services at each other's churches and synagogues, and engage in other high profile activities.

Funding Sources: Members pay their own expenses.

4. Ask major organizations of public officials--NGA, USCM, NLC, NCSL, NACO--to form standing committees charged with developing policies and suggestions to help guide their members in dealing with race-related issues and in promoting racial reconciliation.

Funding Sources: Council promotes efforts of organizations.

In Our Schools:

1. Publish and distribute to schools quarterly a contemporary magazine, in versions targeted for specific age groups, highlighting ways to deal with difficult racial situations, confront racial stereotypes, overcome racial barriers, and build racial harmony.

Funding Sources: Council works with professional organizations in preparing magazine materials. Corporate sponsors and/or advertisers defray the expenses of publication and distribution.

2. Publish, distribute and regularly update a compendium of information, data, and quotes for the use of speech-writers in crafting graduation and other special occasion speeches.

Funding Sources: Council publishes and sells material.

3. Distribute video(s), movie(s), and/or book(s) on racial issues to all public schools and to teacher training institutions, modeled after Steven Spielberg's effort to distribute Shindler's List to every high school.

Funding Sources: Private sponsors such as producers and publishers.

4. Develop a sister school program among schools with different racial compositions.

Funding Sources: Participating school systems, with assistance from foundations for specific activities.

5. Create a proactive speakers bureau aimed at inspiring college campus audiences to provide leadership in overcoming racial barriers.

Funding Sources: Council operates speakers bureau. College hosts pays traveling expenses of speakers.

In Our Workplaces:

1. Develop and publicize a set of "American Team Principles for the Workplace." Provide recognition annually to those employers and employees who demonstrate their commitment to these "Principles."

Funding Sources: Council in collaboration with trade associations and labor unions.

2. Develop and distribute suggestions for the recruitment and training of minority employees.

Funding Sources: Council in collaboration with trade associations and labor unions.

3. Publish and distribute quarterly a magazine highlighting how major employers and their employees have increased productivity and workplace satisfaction by overcoming racial barriers and strengthening mutual respect in the workplace.

Funding Sources: Council publishes and trade associations distribute newsletter.

4. Work with corporations to provide information on racial matters for product packaging.

Funding Sources: Corporations.

General Activities:

1. Establish a clearinghouse for information on activities which promote racial interaction and reconciliation.

Funding Sources: Council operates clearinghouse. Users pay nominal fee.

2. Designate a national day of racial reconciliation and plan activities designed to promote racial reconciliation and provide recognition to those who have done the most during the year to promote racial reconciliation.

Funding Sources: Corporate sponsors pay expenses and receive recognition.

PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL ON RACIAL RECONCILIATION
Implementation Schedule

Weeks of 1/6/97 and 1/13/97:

1. Meet with Rodney Slater and Governor Winter to discuss work plan, schedule, potential members of Council. Consult, as well, with Eddie Williams and Hodding Carter.
2. Meet with White House officials to discuss concept, work plan, schedule, potential members.
3. Meet individually with key Congressional leaders, particularly leaders of Congressional Black Caucus and Congressional Hispanic Caucus, and key Cabinet Secretaries, particularly Education, Labor, HHS, HUD, Commerce, Transportation, Agriculture, Attorney-General.
4. Conclude draft of final work plan, implementing schedule, Council members.
5. Schedule a meeting with Major League Baseball officials for week of 1/20/97.
6. Schedule a White House briefing for week of 1/27/97 with key Congressional leaders, key Cabinet Secretaries and constituencies--civil rights groups, labor, education groups, public officials--to advise them of plan and seek further suggestions for activities and potential members.

1/20/97: Insert mention in President's Inaugural Address of need to commit ourselves to racial reconciliation as the best way to honor the memory of Dr. Martin Luther King as we celebrate his birthday.

Weeks of 1/20/97 and 1/27/97:

1. Meet with Major League Baseball officials concerning a partnership to commemorate of 50th anniversary of Jackie Robinson breaking baseball's color line.
2. Conduct White House briefing as scheduled.
3. Finalize work plan, schedule, composition of Council.
4. Notify prospective members of Council and talk with them individually, either in person or by telephone.

2/5/97: Announcement in State of the Union Address of intention to establish Council by Executive Order.

Following State of Union Address and Week of 2/10/97:

1. Prepare and finalize Executive Order.
2. Make PR arrangements for announcement of Council, for comments by Council members, and for responses from key constituencies, Congressional leaders, etc.
3. Make arrangements for office space and equipment.
4. Begin to develop Public Service Announcements for airing when baseball season begins.
5. Prepare and distribute press packets and additional materials to Council members.

2/17/97 (Presidents' Day): Announcement by President of President's Council on Racial Reconciliation and introduction of Co-Chairs (and Executive Committee?).

Remainder of February and Month of March

Follow-up meetings/speeches/TV appearances concerning goals/activities of Council.

Hire staff (Communications and Public Affairs, Resource Development, Program Development, Inter-Governmental Affairs). Solicit names from White House, Council members, others.

Plan and schedule first meeting of Council.

Announce partnership with Major League Baseball.

Test Public Service Announcements with focus groups.

Plan for Opening Day activities.

Begin planning for activities through 1998.

3/31/97: Opening Day for Major League Baseball.