

U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

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50 YEARS LATER: REFLECTING ON THE 1968 U.S.
COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS OF MEXICAN-AMERICANS

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FRIDAY, JUNE 15, 2018

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The Commission convened in Suite 1150 at
1331 Pennsylvania Avenue, Northwest, Washington,
D.C. at 12:00 p.m., Catherine Lhamon, Chair,
presiding.

PRESENT:

CATHERINE E. LHAMON, Chair

PATRICIA TIMMONS-GOODSON, Vice Chair

DEBO P. ADEGBILE, Commissioner

GAIL HERIOT, Commissioner

PETER N. KIRSANOW, Commissioner*

DAVID KLADNEY, Commissioner*

KAREN K. NARASAKI, Commissioner

MICHAEL YAKI, Commissioner*

MAURO MORALES, Staff Director

MAUREEN RUDOLPH, General Counsel

* *Present via telephone*

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STAFF PRESENT:

ROBERT AMARTEY
LASHONDRA BRENSON
EVELYN BOHOR
KATHERINE CULLITON-GONZALEZ, Director, OCRE
BARBARA DELAVIEZ
PAMELA DUNSTON, Chief, ASCD
LATRICE FOSHEE
ALFREDA GREENE
TINALOUISE MARTIN, Director, Office of Management
DAVID MUSSATT, Regional Programs Unit
SARALE SEWELL
MICHELE RAMEY
BRIAN WALCH
MARIK XAVIER-BRIER

COMMISSIONER ASSISTANTS PRESENT:

SHERYL COZART
JASON LAGRIA
CARISSA MULDER
AMY ROYCE
RUKKU SINGLA
ALISON SOMIN
IRENA VIDULOVIC

INTERNS PRESENT:

VALENTINA CANNAVO
NICOLE CARROLL
MADELINE COOK
SABRINA ESCALERA-FLEXHAUG
JAKE GOLDBERG
AARON HURD
AMY JEANNERET
AIME JOO
ZAK LUTZ
SCOTT POLLINS
MATT ROBINSON
SHIMENG ZHANG

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P R O C E E D I N G S

(12:00 p.m.)

VICE CHAIR TIMMONS-GOODSON: Good morning.

This meeting of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights comes to order at 12:00 noon on the 15th of June, 2018. The meeting takes place at the Commission's headquarters located at 1331 Pennsylvania Avenue, Northwest, Washington, D.C.

I am Vice Chair Timmons-Goodson. Other Commissioners present at this meeting are Commissioner Narasaki, Commissioner Heriot. I believe that Commissioner Adegbile is in the building. A number of Commissioners are participating by telephone. If you could confirm you're on the line after I say your name. I believe that we have on the phone Chair Lhamon.

CHAIR LHAMON: I'm here. Thank you.

VICE CHAIR TIMMONS-GOODSON: Commissioner Yaki?

COMMISSIONER YAKI: I am here.

VICE CHAIR TIMMONS-GOODSON: Commissioner Kirsanow?

COMMISSIONER KIRSANOW: Here. In addition to Debo, is Elvis in the building?

(Laughter.)

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1 VICE CHAIR TIMMONS-GOODSON: He has not yet
2 arrived, sir.

3 (Laughter.)

4 VICE CHAIR TIMMONS-GOODSON: Commissioner
5 Kirsanow, I've heard your voice. Commissioner Kladney?

6 COMMISSIONER KLADNEY: Yes, I'm here.

7 VICE CHAIR TIMMONS-GOODSON: Yes. All
8 right. Thus, we have a quorum of Commissioners
9 present. Is the court reporter present?

10 COURT REPORTER: Yes.

11 VICE CHAIR TIMMONS-GOODSON: Is the Staff
12 Director present?

13 STAFF DIRECTOR MORALES: Yes.

14 VICE CHAIR TIMMONS-GOODSON: This meeting
15 shall now come to order. Commissioner Adegbile is now
16 present with us.

17 Is there a motion to approve the agenda for
18 the business meeting?

19 **I. APPROVAL OF AGENDA**

20 COMMISSIONER NARASAKI: So moved.

21 VICE CHAIR TIMMONS-GOODSON: Having been
22 moved by Commissioner Narasaki, is there a second?

23 COMMISSIONER ADEGBILE: Second.

24 VICE CHAIR TIMMONS-GOODSON: Okay. All in
25 favor of approving the agenda, say aye?

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1 COMMISSIONER HERIOT: Madam --

2 COMMISSIONER NARASAKI: Do we need to move
3 to amend?

4 COMMISSIONER HERIOT: Do you want motions
5 to amend before or after?

6 VICE CHAIR TIMMONS-GOODSON: I was going to
7 approve the agenda and then go forward with amendments
8 --

9 COMMISSIONER HERIOT: Okay.

10 VICE CHAIR TIMMONS-GOODSON: -- if that's
11 all right with everybody. All right. All in favor of
12 approving the agenda, say aye.

13 (Chorus of ayes.)

14 VICE CHAIR TIMMONS-GOODSON: If there is
15 any in opposition, I don't hear that. Any
16 abstentions? Okay. Are there any amendments to the
17 agenda? Any motions to amend?

18 COMMISSIONER NARASAKI: Yes, Madam Chair.

19 VICE CHAIR TIMMONS-GOODSON: Yes, ma'am.

20 COMMISSIONER NARASAKI: I would like to
21 move to amend the agenda to remove the discussion and
22 vote on the Commission report: "An Examination of
23 Excessive Force and Modern Policing Practices."

24 COMMISSIONER HERIOT: Second.

25 VICE CHAIR TIMMONS-GOODSON: All right.

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1 And are there any other amendments?

2 COMMISSIONER HERIOT: Madam Chair.

3 VICE CHAIR TIMMONS-GOODSON: Yes.

4 COMMISSIONER HERIOT: I would like to amend
5 the agenda to include a discussion and possible motion
6 on printing reports.

7 VICE CHAIR TIMMONS-GOODSON: All right. Is
8 there a second to that motion to amend?

9 COMMISSIONER KIRSANOW: Kirsanow, second.

10 VICE CHAIR TIMMONS-GOODSON: Okay. Are
11 there any other motions to amend?

12 CHAIR LHAMON: Madam Vice Chair, I'd like
13 to --

14 VICE CHAIR TIMMONS-GOODSON: Yes, Chair
15 Lhamon.

16 CHAIR LHAMON: -- move to amend the agenda
17 to introduce a letter on separation of families at the
18 border.

19 VICE CHAIR TIMMONS-GOODSON: All right.
20 Did everyone hear that? Her motion is to amend the
21 agenda to include the introduction of a letter on
22 separation of families at the border. Is there a
23 second?

24 COMMISSIONER YAKI: Second.

25 VICE CHAIR TIMMONS-GOODSON: All right. I

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1 believe heard Commissioner Yaki seconding that. Are
2 there any other amendments?

3 COMMISSIONER KIRSANOW: Madam Chair,
4 Kirsanow here.

5 VICE CHAIR TIMMONS-GOODSON: Yes, sir.

6 COMMISSIONER KIRSANOW: I'd like to amend
7 the agenda to include a discussion on a statement
8 regarding the recognition of Jack Johnson or the
9 pardon of Jack Johnson.

10 COMMISSIONER HERIOT: Second.

11 VICE CHAIR TIMMONS-GOODSON: All right.
12 And so we have a number of amendments to the agenda
13 that are now up for a vote. The first -- well, I'll
14 just read all of them. We'll be voting on all of them
15 at one time, if there's no objection to that. All
16 right.

17 The first being a motion to remove the
18 discussion of the report, "Examination of Excessive
19 Force and Modern Police Practices".

20 A second amendment would be to discuss
21 printing of our reports.

22 A third involving the introduction of a
23 letter on the separation of families at the border.

24 And finally, a statement regarding the
25 pardoning of Jack Johnson.

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1 All in favor of the agenda being amended as
2 I have set forth, let me hear you say aye.

3 (Chorus of ayes.)

4 VICE CHAIR TIMMONS-GOODSON: Are there any
5 Commissioners opposing the amendments to the agenda?
6 Any abstentions? All right. It sounds as if it's
7 unanimous then.

8 Now, let us move to the speaker series.

9 **II. BUSINESS MEETING**

10 **A. SPEAKER SERIES**

11 VICE CHAIR TIMMONS-GOODSON: We have the
12 pleasure of hearing from three speakers today as part
13 of our continuing speaker series. Today's topic is,
14 50 Years Later: Reflecting on the 1968 U.S. Commission
15 on Civil Rights Hearings on the Civil Rights of
16 Mexican-Americans. Our Staff Director, Mr. Mauro
17 Morales, arranged today's presentation. We'll turn to
18 him now for some opening remarks before introducing
19 the speakers.

20 Mr. Morales?

21 STAFF DIRECTOR MORALES: Thank you, Madam
22 Chair, Madam Vice Chair, and Commissioners. I'm proud
23 to be an American and a Latino Staff Director of the
24 Commission, and I'm grateful for this opportunity to
25 make a statement.

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1 In a moment, you'll hear from a former
2 staff member of the Commissioner as well as
3 distinguished scholars about a historic hearing the
4 Commission held 50 years ago in San Antonio, Texas.
5 These presentations that the Commission has been
6 holding for the past year and a half have allowed us
7 to learn about civil rights history. We have heard
8 about the creation of the Commission, the fight to end
9 separate but equal schools, the struggles for equality
10 for women, the disabled, gender issues, and challenges
11 to racial and ethnic communities.

12 I encourage the public and Commissioners,
13 if they haven't already done so, to read "A Stranger
14 in One's Land" published by our agency in 1970. The
15 report documents the week of hearings this Commission
16 held 50 years ago in San Antonio, Texas. These
17 hearings took place in 1968 during a dramatic time of
18 change in our country.

19 When I received this account that we
20 published, I was shocked but not surprised to read the
21 comments of a principal in charge of a San Antonio
22 Junior High School. This individual stated his belief
23 that there is something in the background or
24 characteristics of Mexican-Americans that inhibits
25 high achievement. He agreed that genetic factors

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1 account for differences in student achievement.

2 I am a graduate of Georgetown University
3 and the law school at the University of Southern
4 California. I'm a member of the California and
5 District of Columbia bars as well as the
6 presidentially appointed staff director of this
7 agency. I am proof that such a statement was and
8 remains pseudoscientific nonsense and is patently
9 false. We can all agree that so much has changed when
10 such an ignorant belief that like was publically
11 expressed. And yet, we still have a long way to go.

12 Four weeks ago, the Commission held a
13 briefing about the rise of hate crimes being
14 experienced in this country. We heard about hatred
15 being directed at people because of what they were
16 wearing, what language they spoke in public, who they
17 chose to love, because they had a disability, their
18 gender, or their racial or ethnic background. It was
19 compelling and heartbreaking testimony.

20 At no time since the San Antonio hearings
21 50 years ago have Americans of Latino heritage felt
22 more challenges to our right to be a part of this
23 nation than right now. Our community regularly reads,
24 hears, or are subject to attacks over our right to
25 speak another language in addition to English, our

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1 presence as citizens, and even our patriotism.

2 I am honored to serve as a director of this
3 esteemed 60-year-old institution where it is our
4 mission to research and investigate civil rights
5 policy and enhance the enforcement of federal civil
6 rights law. The Commission is a jewel and a national
7 treasure. It is precious because of its independence
8 and bipartisan nature and because we can take the time
9 to examine and understand how to address pressing
10 civil rights issues. And our briefings and published
11 reports have led to changes in federal civil rights
12 law that have had lasting impact for our nation.

13 Each Commissioner, their special
14 assistants, and all the men and women who work at this
15 agency are dedicated to civil rights. Today, we'll
16 learn how 50 years ago, the Commission successfully
17 exposed civil rights challenges faced by Mexican-
18 Americans in the Southwest.

19 Obtaining knowledge from history is
20 essential if we are to grow as a nation and as a
21 people. I look forward to hearing from our speakers
22 today.

23 Thank you, Madam Vice Chair.

24 VICE CHAIR TIMMONS-GOODSON: And thank you,
25 Mr. Morales. You are a jewel and a treasure of the

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1 U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. We thank you for
2 bringing this program to us today.

3 Our first speaker is J. Richard Avena,
4 former director of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
5 then-field office in San Antonio, Texas. Mr. Avena
6 drafted text used in the Commission report entitled,
7 "The Tarnished Golden Door: Civil Rights Issues in
8 Immigration". He was formerly employed in the
9 Legislative Reference Department in the Library of
10 Congress and taught for seven years at the University
11 of San Carlos.

12 Our second speaker is Robert Brischetto,
13 Ph.D., Founding Executive Director, Southwest Voter
14 Research Institute. He taught for 12 years in Texas
15 at University of Texas at El Paso, Our Lady of the
16 Lake University, and Trinity University.

17 Working with William Velasquez at the
18 Southwest Voter Registration Education Project, he
19 established the Southwest Voter Research Institute and
20 served as its executive director from 1986 to 1995.
21 At the request of the director of the Bureau of the
22 Census, he launched one of the first census
23 information centers after the 1990 census for minority
24 researchers to access and use census data. He has
25 also served as an expert witness in more than six --

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1 excuse me -- more than 40 voting rights cases
2 throughout the southwestern part of the United States.

3 As the research consultant to the Annie E.
4 Casey Foundation, he conducted evaluations of low-
5 income neighborhoods in San Antonio from 2000 to 2008.
6 Since 2009, he's been a regular contributor of op-ed
7 pieces to the San Antonio Express News on current
8 issues, especially those affecting minorities. He is
9 also author of more than five dozen publications, both
10 academic and popular, throughout his career.

11 And our third speaker is Candace de Leon-
12 Zepeda, Ph.D., Chair of the Department of English,
13 Mass Communication, and Drama at Our Lady of the Lake
14 University in San Antonio, Texas. Her field of study
15 is in both Latino-Latina literary cultural studies and
16 rhetorical and written studies. Her scholarship is
17 currently focused on how Hispanic-serving institutions
18 can better serve students of color with inclusive
19 program design, curriculum, assessment, and culturally
20 relevant pedagogies.

21 She's the author of six book chapters
22 related to these topics and is currently co-editing a
23 book related to teaching practices for students of
24 color. Dr. Zepeda joined the 50th Anniversary event's
25 Executive Committee two years ago and is currently a

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1 conference planning committee member.

2 We will have questions and answers after
3 all of our speakers have presented. And thus, we will
4 begin with Mr. Avena.

5 **SPEAKER SERIES**

6 **J. RICHARD AVENA**

7 MR. AVENA: Thank you very much. I want to
8 thank the Commission, the Staff Director Morales for
9 your invitation because those of us that are working
10 on this project really believe it's historic in
11 nature. And as I go through my material, I think
12 you'll understand what I'm saying.

13 I want to end -- before I finish, let me
14 tell you this. I have two stories to tell you.
15 They're both true. One happened back in '68-'67, and
16 one happened this year. And they'll give you an idea
17 of the changes that have been made or that we're
18 making. I have some handouts here. I don't know if
19 somebody could -- thank you.

20 I haven't been back to this city for 15
21 years. I've never been to Europe. I've been to Latin
22 America. But I still think Washington is the
23 greatest, most beautiful city in the world. I drove a
24 taxicab here. I sold encyclopedias. You all don't
25 remember what encyclopedias are. You do?

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1 (Laughter.)

2 MR. AVENA: Some of you do, to get through
3 school. And in 1968, the Civil Rights Commissions
4 said, well, Richard, we're going to hold a hearing in
5 San Antonio. Can you go down there for six months,
6 six months, and work on the hearing then come back?
7 Oh, yes. I'm from El Paso, so I'll be able to see mom
8 and dad. And six months turned into 50 years, and
9 here I am.

10 Nothing to do with civil rights, but to
11 dramatize the difference. If you worked for the
12 government in '68, whether you went to New York,
13 Chicago, Atlanta, San Antonio, or Washington, after
14 paying for your airfare, your per diem was 16 dollars
15 a day, 16 -- eight for your three meals and eight for
16 your hotel. So you can see what difference that has
17 made. I barely make the tip with eight dollars.

18 But anyway, in April of 1968, the New
19 Mexico Advisory Committee to the Civil Rights
20 Commission was holding a hearing in a little town I'm
21 sure nobody has ever heard of called Clovis, New
22 Mexico. Clovis, New Mexico is in the northern-eastern
23 part of the state. The reputation was so egregious as
24 being racist against -- there are very few blacks but
25 a lot of Mexican-Americans. It was so bad that people

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1 gave it the ultimate insult. What is the ultimate
2 insult you can give a little community? They called
3 it Little Texas. Little Texas, it was so bad. It's
4 close to the panhandle of Texas.

5 The night before the hearing, we were
6 sitting around the hotel waiting for a hearing. Our
7 court reporter was there. Sterling Black, the son of
8 Supreme Court Justice Black, was the chairman of the
9 committee. When we got the word that Dr. Martin
10 Luther King had been shot and killed in Memphis, we
11 huddled around and we didn't know what to do. Our
12 first thought was to cancel the hearing. Then we
13 thought, no, if Dr. King was still living, he'd want
14 us to go ahead with the hearing.

15 So we held the hearing. I made my way
16 back. I flew to Atlanta and was able to march with my
17 sister in the King funeral march from the church, and
18 then I flew back to Washington. When I got off of the
19 airplane at National Airport, the first thing that hit
20 me was the smoke -- the smell of the smoke of the
21 homes and businesses burning down over and around
22 Georgia Avenue.

23 So we kind of settled down. And then two
24 months after that, I was living over here by Arena
25 Stage in a little apartment. Two months after that,

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1 at 3:00 in the morning -- and I can remember it was
2 3:00 because I looked at my watch -- I get a call from
3 Esteban Torres, who used to work for United Auto
4 Workers and later became a Congressman from L.A.,
5 telling me that Robert Kennedy had been shot and
6 killed in Los Angeles.

7 The third thing that happened before I left
8 was the Poor People's Campaign. The Poor People's
9 Campaign was something else, probably the first time
10 in history that a great influx of Hispanics, Mexican-
11 Americans, Spanish-Americans as people from New Mexico
12 like to call themselves Spanish-Americans, not
13 Mexican-Americans, and blacks convened in one place.

14 And I remember it well because Resurrection
15 City was established, and the Mexicans and Hispanics
16 didn't want to live in Resurrection City. And so we
17 found them a school where they could live in,
18 Hawthorne School. And so that was the third big major
19 event that happened before I left. I left in August
20 of '68 to go to San Antonio.

21 Now, when we got to San Antonio, you have
22 to realize that Mexican-Americans were not known
23 throughout the country. The census counted us as
24 white, Caucasian. And so what was missing were
25 demographics, drop-out rates, unemployment rates,

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1 things like that, that nobody ever knew of because we
2 were kind of in the lump sum of being white.

3 There were a lot of unrests around
4 California, Colorado, Arizona. And so the Commission
5 decided to hold a hearing looking at the civil rights
6 issues of Mexican-Americans. The next big debate was
7 where to have it. It came down to Los Angeles or San
8 Antonio. Oh, my God. Nobody -- Los Angeles? Are you
9 out of your mind? Those crazy people, they're going
10 to disrupt the hearing.

11 CHAIR LHAMON: We have a rule against
12 defaming and degrading. And as someone from --

13 MR. AVENA: There'll be no -- there'll be
14 violence. There'll be no peace and --

15 CHAIR LHAMON: -- Los Angeles, I have to
16 address it.

17 (Laughter.)

18 MR. AVENA: I'm sure some of you -- and I'm
19 sure Los Angeles has changed, right?

20 (Laughter.)

21 MR. AVENA: But anyway, so then I'm not
22 from San Antonio, and I'd only been through there. I
23 never -- they said, San Antonio. Oh, yes. That's
24 more of a farm mentality, a rural mentality. People
25 aren't so violent. So we'll go to San Antonio. I was

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1 listening to that debate while they were having it.

2 I know that Mexican-Americans were not
3 known because in my job at the Library of Congress, I
4 worked for Legislative Reference which I was hired as
5 a translator, the only Mexican-American in Legislative
6 Reference. And all of the scholars, I mean, they had
7 -- you think Bob's a scholar. They doubled here. They
8 had four or five Ph.D.'s, I mean, really smart people.

9 And then members of Congress started
10 asking, who are these Mexicans? Who are they? What
11 are their conditions? Nobody thought they were
12 victims of discrimination, and I remember well some of
13 those real scholars would come and look for me in my
14 basement office at the Library of Congress. Richard,
15 do you know anything about Mexicans? What am I going
16 to say? Well, I am one. But I wasn't hired as a
17 researcher, so I didn't know the demographics. But I
18 do know that the government really didn't know a lot
19 about Mexican-Americans.

20 My first story, which is really going to
21 give you a feeling for what happened around '67-'68,
22 Henry Ramirez, who directed our first education study,
23 tells a story of going to visit a public school in and
24 around Kingsville, Texas. And he was talking to the
25 teachers, the principal, and some of the students.

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1 And as he was getting ready to leave, the janitor
2 called him over -- a Mexican-American janitor. He
3 said, come here.

4 So Henry followed him and he led him out to
5 the back of the school where he had his tool shed --
6 the janitor had his tool shed. He asked Henry to step
7 up on a little wooden stool. Henry didn't know what
8 was going on. He said, look out that window -- mira
9 por la ventana. And Henry told the story of looking
10 out the window. And in the playground was a white
11 Anglo female teacher holding a little Mexican girl by
12 her ankles and whacking her on the butt, I mean,
13 physically. Can anybody guess what her crime was?
14 They caught her speaking Spanish. In Texas, it was in
15 the constitution that it was a crime to speak Spanish
16 on public school property or activities.

17 So Henry went on and he developed the
18 education study. The education study, by the way, was
19 a real, real success. By the way, all those studies
20 that were done by the Commission, the Commission held
21 the hearings in '68 in employment, education,
22 administration of justice, economic security. And
23 then the Commission wrote their statutory reports.
24 They all went through legal sufficiency and they were
25 used as evidence in lawsuits. I'm sure Bob knows a

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1 lot about this. They were used in school
2 desegregation lawsuits. They were used in school
3 financing lawsuits.

4 There's something impressive, okay, that
5 says, the United States Commission on Civil Rights
6 says. And when you present that in a court of law to
7 a judge or to a jury, there's something impressive
8 about that. So what you were saying, Mr. Morales,
9 earlier is that this is truly a unique institution.
10 And I hope you're around forever, and I hope you're
11 always bipartisan. I hope you're always bipartisan.

12 The Commission accomplished a lot. It gave
13 legitimacy to the issues of Mexican-Americans. The
14 reports, as I mentioned, were used as evidence and in
15 trials and so forth. And this leads me to my last
16 story. The decision was made in '68 to call the
17 NAACP. It was hearing on Mexican-American civil
18 rights issues. But the decision was made to call the
19 NAACP and make a presentation. The black population
20 of San Antonio was not that big.

21 So two or three members of reverends came
22 and presented before the Commission, and one of the
23 things they complained about, they said, we have a
24 hard time getting jobs with the city. And we have our
25 utility called the Public Service Commission -- Public

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1 Service Commission, yes. And we can't get jobs there.

2 But you know what? Very few black men are hired, but
3 there are no black women at all. For some reason,
4 they don't hire black women. Okay, so they said this
5 to the Commission in '68.

6 Time goes by. I come back from Guatemala
7 where I'd been spending time teaching. And I pick up
8 the newspaper, and this is this year. I see an
9 article where there is a new CEO of the city Public
10 Service Commission in San Antonio, a new CEO. All
11 right. This year, before bonuses, before anything,
12 her salary was 730,000 dollars. And you know what?
13 She's an African-American woman. She's an African-
14 American woman.

15 So when things like that -- you see things
16 like that happening, you see that there may be hope.
17 And I would love to have left you on a positive note
18 except for this handout that I gave you. These are
19 babies. They're not in the United States. They're on
20 the bridge coming from Mexico. They can't get in to
21 claim asylum because there's no room. The U.S. side
22 says there's no room. There's too much activity.
23 They can't let them in yet, so they have to sleep and
24 find places to eat on the bridge.

25 Now, let me ask you. I talked to somebody

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1 yesterday about this. I said, now, look at these
2 children. Can you believe that this would be
3 happening if these children were white? Just answer
4 yourself that question. If these were white kids,
5 would our government let them be and exist like that?

6 Thank you very much for your time, and I'll
7 be happy to answer any questions afterwards.

8 CHAIR LHAMON: Thank you, Mr. Avena. Mr.
9 Brischetto?

10 **SPEAKER SERIES**

11 **ROBERT BRISCHETTO, Ph.D.**

12 DR. BRISCHETTO: Thank you.

13 CHAIR LHAMON: Your mic is not on, if you
14 wouldn't mind pushing the talk button.

15 DR. BRISCHETTO: I have to turn the mic on.

16 CHAIR LHAMON: Thank you.

17 DR. BRISCHETTO: Commissioners, thank you
18 for inviting us. And I know 1968 was a year that
19 brought attention to race and ethnic relations.

20 As Richard mentioned, there was a march in
21 Los Angeles, 15,000 Latino high school students walked
22 out of their classes to demand a better education. In
23 April of that year, Reverend Martin Luther King was
24 murdered in Memphis, followed by race riots, Detroit,
25 Chicago, Washington, D.C. In June of that year, civil

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1 rights advocate Bobby Kennedy was assassinated in Los
2 Angeles while he was campaigning to be President.

3 And Americans wanted answers and they
4 wanted government action. And President Lyndon
5 Johnson signed the Civil Rights Act of 1968 to end
6 housing discrimination, and he proclaimed the first
7 National Hispanic Heritage Week, put a positive focus
8 on America's fastest growing ethnic group.

9 It was also a time for reflection,
10 reflection on race relations. The Kerner Commission
11 Report came out, released to try to understand the
12 root causes of the riots. The U.S. Commission on
13 Civil Rights then held a hearing in San Antonio, Our
14 Lady of the Lake University. For six days, the
15 Commissioners heard challenges facing Mexican-
16 Americans in Texas and other southwestern states.

17 Now, here we are, 50 years later, and a
18 time when civil and human rights of Latinos are very
19 much in peril. And so it's a number of leaders in San
20 Antonio and scholars have taken it upon their own
21 initiative to come together and in the same place in
22 San Antonio in November of this year to hold up the
23 mirror and reflect once again with a conference
24 exploring what has happened since the 1968 Commission
25 hearings.

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1 And it's my job here today to tell you
2 about a report that hopefully will become a published
3 book that will explore the progress and the challenges
4 that still remain for Mexican-Americans. I'd like to
5 tell you about each of the 15 authors and the chapters
6 that they've written or are writing -- it's a book in
7 progress -- but I don't have the time. So I'm going
8 to focus on an example of one of the chapters on
9 education. It'll give you an idea of what we're
10 trying to accomplish with this volume.

11 During his time as superintendent of
12 Edgewood School District -- which, by the way, was the
13 poorest school district in the state -- Dr. Jose
14 Cardenas, who, by the way, the year before had
15 testified before the hearings of the Commission in
16 '68. He helped launch the Rodriguez case which
17 challenged school finance system in Texas, and it was
18 lost before the Supreme Court in 1973.

19 But Cardenas went on from there to form the
20 Intercultural Development Research Association, IDRA,
21 with the goal of improving the educational opportunity
22 of Latino students, in Texas particularly. I worked
23 for him and am proud to say as his first research
24 director.

25 There are three IDRA researchers that we

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1 have now who are collaborating to produce a chapter
2 that traces the progress and the difficulties in
3 achieving educational equity in Texas: David Hinojosa,
4 who's a civil rights attorney, works full time at IDRA
5 on education, Maria "Cuca" Robledo Montecel, who
6 succeeded Cardenas as the president of IDRA, and
7 Aurelio Montemayor, who is their lead trainer of
8 educators, who also, by the way, testified in the 1968
9 hearings of the Commission.

10 They're writing about the battles that were
11 fought for equity in funding education with the help
12 of the Mexican-American Legal Defense and Educational
13 Fund, MALDEF, both in the courthouse and the
14 statehouse. They write about the progress that's made
15 through litigation and policy changes in bilingual and
16 multicultural education.

17 They write about establishing the right of
18 immigrant children, regardless of their legal status,
19 to free public education. They write about the
20 miseducation of migrant children and how advocacy
21 groups emerged in the '70s to support better
22 educational services for these needy students. They
23 write about the improvement of college access and
24 preparedness and the challenges of the rising tuition
25 costs and the declining of state funding for higher

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1 education. They conclude with recommendations for
2 equity-based remedies, improving the pipeline of K
3 through 20 for all school children.

4 So today, if you look at San Antonio, much
5 as in other cities in the Southwest and as it was in
6 1968 with 17 mostly segregated school districts, we
7 find that some of the same problems exist. We find
8 school districts that are 97 percent Mexican-American
9 student enrollment in segregated neighborhoods with
10 poverty rates exceeding 40 percent, some of the same
11 challenges.

12 Education, by the way, is just one of the
13 eight areas that our experts are exploring in the
14 study of civil rights of Texas Latinos. And from the
15 indicators over the 50 years on population,
16 employment, economic security, farm workers, and the
17 justice system, they trace the changes and the
18 progress and the problems over that period of time,
19 and even issues that were not treated in depth in your
20 1968 hearings, like housing and immigration. We have
21 Henry Cisneros is one of our experts, and we're all
22 working with one of his experts at HUD to examine fair
23 housing and affordable housing.

24 We have Lee Teran, a professor of law at
25 St. Mary's University School of Law and lifelong

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1 litigator on immigration and human rights who writes
2 about the dramatic changes that have taken place in
3 immigration policies and immigration practice. And by
4 tracking the numbers, she has found that the federal
5 government has arrested, detained, and deported more
6 Latinos than at any time in history.

7 Now, during the past 50 years, Latinos have
8 grown to become the largest ethnic minority in the
9 United States. They're already a majority population
10 in large cities like San Antonio, but they still
11 suffer high poverty rates and they have fewer
12 educational opportunities than Anglos. And by the
13 year 2060, the Census Bureau projects Hispanics will
14 number about 119 million, and they'll be nearly 30
15 percent of our country's population.

16 How can America thrive without removing all
17 barriers to success for so many million fellow
18 citizens? This new book will look back at the 50
19 years since the last Commission hearing in '68 in San
20 Antonio and what has happened to Mexican-Americans
21 since then.

22 The idea for the book comes from Richard
23 Avena. He's going to be writing the preface, and he
24 started this with an idea, no money, just an idea.
25 And now, he involved many, many important people in

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1 the development of both a conference and a book, both
2 academicians and activists. And they've been meeting
3 each month now for about over two years. And they
4 will hopefully create a blueprint for positive,
5 lasting change.

6 Thank you.

7 CHAIR LHAMON: Thank you, Dr. Brischetto.
8 Dr. Zepeda?

9 **SPEAKER SERIES**

10 **CANDACE DE LEON-ZEPEDA, Ph.D.**

11 DR. ZEPEDA: Well, I want to thank the
12 Commission for inviting us. I also want to
13 acknowledge Richard, as Bob said, for starting us off
14 with a pretty profound idea, where we come 50 years
15 later.

16 Richard ended his introduction with saying
17 he wished he would leave on a high note. Hopefully, I
18 will conclude on that high note that this conference,
19 as a Conference Planning Committee member, is
20 ultimately about advocacy and civil rights. And which
21 is why I was drawn to work with Richard when, two and
22 a half years ago, our campus president at Our Lady of
23 the Lake University, Diane Melby, and our provost, Dr.
24 Marcheta Evans, reached out to me to participate as a
25 point of contact for our university to work with the

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1 executive committee.

2 So I will speak mostly about the conference
3 and the conference committee and where we are at, and
4 then afterwards, be happy to take any questions that
5 you may have. And I know that the committee does have
6 copies of sort of what I'm going to highlight. But I
7 will go ahead and read some of this for those in the
8 audience.

9 So the Conference Planning Committee role
10 was ultimately to organize a call for papers. This is
11 at the point in time where I was brought in to work
12 with the executive committee.

13 Our role was not only to craft and draft
14 and write the call for proposals which probably went
15 through 10 or 11 drafts. But it was also to circulate
16 the call for papers to not only universities and
17 community colleges but to social media sites, local
18 and national community organizations, and our own
19 individual points of contact. It was an exhausting
20 experience to get the news out for those to
21 participate in this conference.

22 We also developed the conference agenda,
23 secured conference space at Our Lady of the Lake
24 University, and curate the concurrent sessions as well
25 as work with other subcommittee members to finalize

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1 the agenda.

2 I am proud to say that I am working with
3 eight fierce and amazing Latina scholars and activists
4 and community leaders that include Rosie Castro who's
5 also a civil rights executive committee member. Maria
6 Antoinette Berriozabal who's a civil rights executive
7 committee member, a former City Council member, and
8 she's currently part of the Housing Policy Task Force
9 for San Antonio.

10 Dr. Berta Perez, who is a retired professor
11 out of University of Texas at San Antonio. Nicole
12 Monsibais, who is at Our Lady of the Lake University
13 and she's our JD, ADA coordinator for services to
14 students with disabilities. Barbara, the executive
15 committee couldn't actually live without, she's the
16 executive assistant to the 50th Anniversary committee.

17 Maria Vasquez, who's a program director of ACT Center
18 for Equity and Learning. And Rebecca Flores, who's an
19 activist and community leader. She's also the Texas
20 Director of the United Farm Workers Association.

21 So I thought it was important to share with
22 you a brief blurb. It's not the entire one of the
23 call for papers that went out nationally. In 1968,
24 the U.S. Commission in Civil Rights held a six-day
25 hearing in San Antonio, Texas to examine civil rights

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1 issues facing Mexican-Americans in the U.S. Southwest.

2 The hearings held at Our Lady of the Lake University
3 examined education, employment, administration of
4 justice, and economic issues.

5 When the Commission came under severe
6 criticism from the established leadership in the local
7 community, Reverend Theodore Hesburgh, president then
8 of Notre Dame University and Vice Chairman of the
9 Commission, responded, quote, "We are not an
10 enforcement agency. We make reports to the President
11 and to Congress. All we do is hold up a mirror to the
12 community and let them tell us if there are any
13 problems, and that's what we're doing here," end
14 quote. Hence, the name of our conference.

15 In November 2018, we return 50 years later
16 to Our Lady of the Lake University in San Antonio,
17 Texas. Our goal is to examine our past and progress
18 since the landmark hearings in Texas and explore the
19 path forward for all Mexican-American and Latino
20 populations in the U.S. This conference will address
21 changing civil rights, demographics, education, the
22 administration of justice, economics, employment,
23 immigration, political participation, and voting
24 rights issues.

25 We will also celebrate Mexican-American

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1 contributions to the art and culture. The conference
2 is open to civil rights leaders, historians, and
3 representatives of academic, civic, and social civil
4 rights and leaders as well as arts and culture and
5 student organizations in Texas and throughout.

6 Our Lady of the Lake University is in San
7 Antonio, Texas situated in the west side and located
8 by the beautiful Elmendorf Lake. Our Lady of the Lake
9 was founded in 1895 by the Congregation of Divine
10 Providence, is a co-educational liberal arts
11 institution with an enrollment of approximately 3,300
12 students. A multi-campus regional university, Our
13 Lady of the Lake has locations in San Antonio,
14 Houston, and the Rio Grande Valley. And we are
15 currently moving towards an extensive online presence.

16 So the conference is this November,
17 November 15th through Saturday, the 17th. So just
18 briefly to kind of give you an idea of some keynote
19 speakers that are speaking on those separate dates.

20 On Thursday, there is going to be planned
21 an art opening reception. Our keynote speaker will be
22 San Antonio's first lady, Erica Prosper. We will also
23 have a reading by San Antonio's first Latino male poet
24 laureate, Dr. Octavio Quintanilla. And we also have
25 other tentative readings by other area poets and

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1 literary authors as well as an art reception. This
2 event will be open to the entire community.

3 On Friday, we will have a welcome by our
4 university's president, Dr. Diane Melby, an
5 introduction of keynote speaker by our own mayor, Ron
6 Nirenberg. The keynote morning speakers will include
7 former Secretary of Housing and Urban Development
8 Julian Castro, our Congressman Joaquin Castro, and
9 their mother, Rosie.

10 Our lunch keynote tentative speakers
11 include U.S. Senator of Nevada Catherine Cortez Masto
12 and retired University of Texas Pan American president
13 and first Latina college president of University of
14 Texas System's Dr. Bambi Cardenas. And on Saturday,
15 our tentative speakers includes City Council member
16 Ana Sandoval and immigration rights leader Gaby
17 Pacheco.

18 So just for a couple, for those in the
19 audience, to get an idea of our conference concurrent
20 session, some of the themes right now that we're
21 organizing include: Chicana activism and leadership;
22 education, the great equalizer in the unequal Texas;
23 constructing Chicano Latino educational pipelines, a
24 critical race conversation and analysis; family
25 engagement in Chicano education.

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1 Immigration discussing Senate Bill 4;
2 language rights, policy and leadership; historical
3 reoccurring and new dynamics in civil rights from a
4 political point of view; voting rights; urban housing;
5 economic development; economic security and digital
6 equity; bilingual education and San Antonio history in
7 context; Mexican-American studies for the masses; San
8 Antonio eastside transition from African-American to
9 Mexican-American; Mexican-American community and
10 public health; the critical significance of the 1975
11 Voting Rights Act.

12 And we will have a significant amount of
13 roundtable sessions focused on civic activism and
14 civil rights. It is a big honor for me to serve with
15 the executive leaders on this particular conference.
16 As Bob can tell you and as academics, we attend many
17 conferences. It's part of our role as a faculty
18 member. But this particular conference really holds a
19 special place in my heart because, again, considering
20 where we have come, sometimes I question how far we've
21 come. And it's important we have these conversations
22 to bring to light the injustices that are currently
23 happening in the United States.

24 Thank you.

25 CHAIR LHAMON: Thank you to each of our

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1 speakers because I very much appreciate your
2 presentation. In just a moment, I'm going to open it
3 up for questions and conversation with my fellow
4 Commissioners. I do want to apologize to you for not
5 having been here in person at the beginning of your
6 presentation. My daughter graduated eighth grade this
7 morning, so I rushed here from that graduation to be
8 with you. So terrific, thank you.

9 So I'll open it for questions from my
10 fellow Commissioners.

11 **SPEAKER SERIES**

12 **QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSION**

13 CHAIR LHAMON: Commissioner Adegbile?

14 COMMISSIONER ADEGBILE: Yes, thank you for
15 the wonderful presentations. I'm interested in taking
16 us back to that time in 1968 when the original
17 convening happened and to understand what, if any,
18 changes did you see that came out in the immediate
19 aftermath? It's my experience that sometimes change
20 in the area of civil rights has a longer breathe, and
21 you have to plant seeds that get cultivated in a
22 different time. But I'm interested to hear whether or
23 not there were any immediate impacts and then more
24 broadly how the work has continued.

25 MR. AVENA: Is that for me?

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1 COMMISSIONER ADEGBILE: You can decide who
2 wants to take it first.

3 MR. AVENA: I just want to mention a couple
4 of things that are so visible. There are visible
5 things and then there are not so visible things. But
6 I always had this thing about, in 1968, the Texas
7 Department of Public Safety testified. And it was a
8 big thing because of the farm worker movement in South
9 Texas.

10 Texas Rangers had no Mexican-Americans, of
11 course, no blacks, no women. Texas Rangers were found
12 to have really brutalized the organizing efforts in
13 South Texas of the farm workers. The United Farm
14 Workers under Cesar Chavez had their branch there.
15 And this is another one of the main reasons the
16 Commission decided to go to Texas. And I'm not an
17 attorney and I really respect attorneys, but the
18 attorneys didn't want to deal with the Texas Ranger
19 issues. I remember they said, no, no, no, that's too
20 controversial. And my director, Sam Simmons, and
21 Howard Lichtenstein, who was the acting staff
22 director, said, oh, no, you can't go to San Antonio,
23 Texas and not deal with the Texas Rangers. So they
24 were done. That was '68.

25 In '72, the Texas Rangers underwent a

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1 reorganization and they hired two Mexican-American
2 Texas Rangers. We're going to have a count, but I
3 don't know. But you know what? I have seen African-
4 American Texas Rangers. I have seen Hispanic Texans.
5 I haven't seen any women, but there are probably some
6 women.

7 So in the area of employment, I would say
8 that there's some dramatic changes. I watch a lot of
9 cable news, and we recently had that bombing in
10 Austin. I don't know if you all heard about that. And
11 there was a -- it's a FedEx near San Antonio in a
12 church. There was a bomb found. And so they're
13 showing on the television -- they're showing the head
14 of the local FBI office, either the director or
15 assistant director, tall, very dark-complected
16 African-American man is the head of the FBI office.
17 That just doesn't happen.

18 Next to him was a tall -- and I keep
19 emphasizing tall, dark-complected Mexican-American
20 who's the head of ATF. And they were in a press
21 conference. Nobody said anything. Just, oh, hey,
22 that's great. That's wonderful. But always think
23 back -- always think back to 1968. And so I think, in
24 my opinion, employment has been some of the more
25 recent and more rapid changes.

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1 DR. BRISCHETTO: Yes, I would add to that.
2 Yes, there has been some advancement considerably in
3 employment. There's been advances in education. You
4 can tell by just looking at the list of authors on the
5 handout that I gave you for the book and what do you
6 see, well, you see progress. You see 15 -- 14 of
7 those 15, I think it is, with Spanish surname, a
8 higher education advancement and so forth.

9 But there are some areas that I think that
10 while certainly there was some advances made, there's
11 areas where there's regression and need for more
12 advancement. Let me give you one of them.

13 The farm workers at that time were a
14 flashpoint in our history. They had strike -- well,
15 Cesar Chavez had stricken in 1965 over in California,
16 brought the strike to the valley in Texas in 1966.
17 The farm workers came and testified at your hearings
18 at that time along with Commissioner Ali who was head
19 of the Texas Rangers. And there was a tremendous
20 amount of conflict going on with regard to the farm
21 worker issue.

22 Well, the farm workers today have almost
23 been driven out of their work by, maybe, globalization
24 is part of the reason. But I asked one of our authors
25 of that chapter. Her name is Rebecca Flores who, at

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1 that time, was an organizer and was trained by Cesar
2 Chavez, was organizing in the valley and started an
3 organization at that time called LUPE, La Union Del
4 Pueblo Entero, which was really a means of organizing
5 colonias in the valley, these poor communities that
6 are unincorporated, substandard housing. Some of them
7 don't even have potable water and electricity.

8 And she continued after the strike ended
9 and even after many of the workers no longer had jobs
10 in the fields and so forth to organize these colonias.

11 We still have, of course, colonias today in Texas and
12 we still have problems of housing.

13 And 1968 was a year when we passed the Fair
14 Housing Act. And indeed, it was a time of great hope
15 for achieving fair housing. When we say "fair", we
16 mean affordable housing, too. We still have
17 tremendous challenges in regard to providing fair,
18 affordable housing in this country. And segregation
19 in the neighborhoods is still very, very evident.

20 So there's some areas. Voting rights is
21 one. If you recall back at that time in '68, we just
22 had passed three years earlier the Voting Rights Act,
23 particularly impacting blacks in the South, but also,
24 in 1975, extended to language minorities. Many
25 provisions of the Voting Rights Act extended to

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1 language minorities. And we brought a lawsuit then
2 against San Antonio for discriminatory election system
3 -- at large election system.

4 Many changes occurred after the Voting
5 Rights Act was applied to Mexican-Americans. It's
6 almost been a major transformation of the types of
7 election systems in Texas that are now fairer, and
8 that's why you see more elected officials that are
9 Mexican-American.

10 So there's been challenges and successes.
11 And I think that's our point of this conference and of
12 documenting all of this and trying to track those
13 types of changes that have occurred over the 50 years
14 to see what needs to be done and to look to the
15 future.

16 DR. ZEPEDA: Actually, I just have one
17 brief to address that. There are some areas that are
18 significantly improved, but we still have a long way
19 to go in higher education. So although Hispanic-
20 serving institutions also under the umbrella of a
21 minority-serving institutions have significantly
22 increased over the last ten years with I think we're
23 close to, like, 450 HSIs throughout the Southwest.

24 Full-time faculty who identify as Latina or
25 Latino still make up only 3 percent of faculty at

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1 universities nationwide. Latinas make up only 1.5
2 percent of faculty members at all university. And
3 even though we're seeing a steady increase of Latino
4 students going to universities, they're still not
5 graduating at the same rate as non-Latinos. It's
6 significantly typically by their junior-senior year,
7 they don't complete their education.

8 And so there's still room for improvement,
9 but I think even in higher ed, we need to look at how
10 our universities could better serve the students who
11 are populating them, particularly with administrators
12 or faculty.

13 COMMISSIONER ADEGBILE: One more. I note
14 that MALDEF and La Raza Unida were founded at about
15 that time. Was there a relationship between the
16 convenings and the community coming together and the
17 growth of these groups that would carry the message
18 and the advocacy further?

19 MR. AVENA: Well, you know MALDEF was
20 founded in 1968, and the first executive director and
21 legal director, Pete Tijerina, testified at the
22 hearing. And I remember he testified along with
23 another attorney, Matt Garcia, about the lack of
24 Mexican-Americans on juries. They said conducted or
25 filed many lawsuits where in deep South Texas where

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1 the Mexican-American population was 70-80 percent and
2 there were no Mexican-Americans on the jury. So they
3 discussed that.

4 One of the things that Pete Tijerina talked
5 about and he announced was that they had just filed
6 one of their very first lawsuits in Texas, and the
7 Commissioners asked him, where was this? He said, we
8 sued the city of Marlin -- Marlin, Texas. And what
9 was that suit about? They had the director or the man
10 who ran the swimming pool as saying -- and the witness
11 was saying, I would rather close the swimming pool
12 than let Mexicans swim in it.

13 Now, to me, that goes back to the Deep
14 South because I had some experience in civil rights in
15 the South as well. And I kept thinking of those kinds
16 of things. Now, I haven't been to Marlin. I don't
17 think I've ever been through Marlin. It can't be that
18 big of a town. But you can't go there now or you
19 can't go to any swimming pool but you see everybody
20 swimming in it. So those are the kinds of things at
21 MALDEF.

22 Southwest Voter was established when --

23 DR. BRISCHETTO: Well, let me tell you
24 about that one. That's interesting. Early 1970s,
25 Willie Velasquez formed --

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1 MR. AVENA: By the way, excuse me, Bob.
2 I've got to get this in. Willie Velasquez was a
3 member of the Texas Advisory Committee to the U.S.
4 Civil Rights Commissioner. Rosie Castro was a member
5 of the Texas Advisory Committee as was Maria
6 Berriozabal. And so I want to give a plug to the
7 advisory committees. They do a hell of a job. Okay.

8 DR. BRISCHETTO: That's very good, and
9 they're all a part of that history.

10 MR. AVENA: Yes, they are.

11 DR. BRISCHETTO: I was just going to tell
12 you about how they work together which was your
13 question. There's three organizations, for example,
14 that were working on voting rights back then. Willie
15 Velasquez has formed the Southwest Voter Registration
16 Education Project in the early '70s -- 1973.

17 And then they began to establish an office
18 in the same building on the same floor as MALDEF, the
19 Mexican-American Legal Defense and Educational Fund.
20 I joined them in the early '80s -- '82. And then
21 there was a third organization that was actually a
22 part of -- at that time, it was Texas Rural Legal Aid
23 was on the next floor up.

24 And the three of them worked together to
25 file lawsuits challenging election systems that

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1 discriminated. And so they began making lists and
2 doing the research, and that's why they hired me to
3 dig into some of the research and that they get the
4 data on what we could use to bring into these lawsuits
5 and us serving as an expert witness, challenging the
6 at-large election systems.

7 For example, our very suit that we worked
8 with, with MALDEF was in San Antonio challenging the
9 at-large election system of electing City Council
10 members, 1975, and right as soon as the Voting Rights
11 Act was extended to language minorities. They worked
12 together.

13 And now, in this book, we hope to
14 enumerate. The authors a working on a list, an
15 inventory of all those suits in Texas that were filed
16 and brought about changes in the way in which we elect
17 our public officials, not only in the cities but also
18 in school districts and in other public government
19 offices, county level as well as state representatives
20 in state offices.

21 So I think that's really part of the job
22 here in trying to see how these organizations work
23 together to bring a transformation that wouldn't have
24 been possible if we didn't have the types of laws like
25 the Voting Rights Act to help.

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1 And now, we see a tax on that very law that
2 were made, the Section 5, which was essentially
3 disabled was the way in which we often -- and this was
4 done in the City of San Antonio case where it was
5 brought where the Justice Department would be involved
6 in pre-clearing any changes that were to be made in
7 election systems.

8 And at that time, it was a very powerful
9 tool for bringing about changes. That is no longer
10 available to us, so it's up to the Congress now to
11 replace, if you want, Section 5 with a formula that
12 would say, which states are to be pre-cleared and so
13 forth? That is something that, indeed, we certainly
14 need at this time.

15 And so there's a lot of things that where
16 we've made some great progress then. We need to go
17 back and revisit them and make sure that we shore up
18 our civil rights tools to continue to bring about
19 change.

20 CHAIR LHAMON: Thank you, Dr. Brischetto.
21 Mindful of time, I understand that the Vice Chair had
22 some questions as well.

23 VICE CHAIR TIMMONS-GOODSON: Just very
24 quickly, I'm fascinated with holding up a mirror. And
25 so I was wondering, holding up the mirror to an issue,

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1 for example, in the area of administration of justice.
2 What do you have to share about current juries,
3 Mexican-Americans serving on juries, the number of
4 prosecutors -- elected prosecutors, and also, just
5 holding up that mirror to voting as it relates to
6 voter IDs, if you'll just say a word or two about
7 those.

8 MR. AVENA: We have -- and one of the
9 attorneys that actually worked for the Commission at
10 one time who worked for MALDEF is putting together the
11 information on the current juries. But anywhere you
12 go in South Texas, I see -- I think and I see anyway a
13 large number of Mexican-Americans on juries.

14 Now, the grand jury system was changed. I
15 think George Corbett was telling us. A grand jury in
16 Texas has always been the elite. You pick the elite
17 people to be the grand jurors. But the regular juries
18 that serve on the lower courts, I think that now as
19 far as African-American participation, like, in
20 Houston, Dallas, or wherever, I really couldn't say.
21 But just from observing, I think there's been a big
22 increase, yes.

23 And by the way, mentioning holding up the
24 mirror, when the Commission opened its hearings in San
25 Antonio, we were attacked by everybody -- not

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1 everybody but virtually everybody. And you know who
2 one of our biggest opponents was? The local
3 Congressman Henry B. Gonzalez.

4 I mean, he went after the big shots like
5 Howard Lichtenstein. But I remember riding around and
6 listening. He came after me personally. He didn't
7 know who I was, but he said, you're wasting money.
8 Why are you spending a little bit of information? The
9 hearings cost between 250-300,000 dollars to put on.
10 That was a lot of money in those days.

11 But I'll never forget that. He came after
12 us. And Father Hesburgh said, well, we're just
13 holding up the mirror. That's all we're doing. The
14 people are doing the talking. But that's part of the
15 history. That's got to be part of our history.
16 That's why we're looking so forward to this
17 conference.

18 DR. BRISCHETTO: Just a little something on
19 the key man system of jury selection which existed in
20 Texas until just -- I think it was a year ago or this
21 year. We called it a pick-a-pal system of choosing
22 grand juries because they would select friends of
23 theirs. The key man system was selecting others who
24 were in the community to serve on the jury. And what
25 you'd end up with, of course, was a jury that was very

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1 lopsided in favor of one group of prominent
2 individuals in the community who were often white men.

3 Now, I think that's going to be changing.
4 We certainly have challenged it in court in many ways
5 and able to show statistically that this is not
6 something that could happen by chance if you pick
7 jurors out of the jury pool of voters, for example.

8 CHAIR LHAMON: Thank you. Commissioner
9 Narasaki.

10 COMMISSIONER NARASAKI: So many questions.
11 So one quick one. I'm very curious because we are
12 getting ready to pick hearing topics for the next
13 year. So where did the idea come to hold -- because
14 that's a long hearing. That was a week-long hearing,
15 right?

16 MR. AVENA: Yes.

17 COMMISSIONER NARASAKI: We struggle over
18 doing something more than four hours with our
19 resources. So I'm just wondering, who was driving
20 that since MALDEF hadn't organized and a lot of the
21 infrastructure that exists today did not exist then?
22 Was it Father Hesburgh? Was it someone on the
23 Commission? Was it the State Advisory Committee?

24 MR. AVENA: No, Dr. Hector Garcia was
25 appointed right before the Commission, the first

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1 Mexican-American on the Commission. I think part of
2 it had to do with the President, LBJ. I think part of
3 it had to do with the uprising of the Mexican-American
4 who, having had experience in the black civil rights
5 and then the Mexican-American civil rights, there was
6 an impact. There was an influence of the black
7 militant civil rights movement that affected the
8 Chicano Movement in the Southwest. And the Chicano
9 Movement was looking to see what's going on, what's
10 happening there.

11 And by the way, many Mexican-American
12 organizations and Mexican-American people that I
13 talked to, they didn't believe the civil rights laws
14 were for them. They said, oh, yes. Well, that's for
15 the blacks, right? Well, they didn't understand that.

16 And so I think it just kind of built up.

17 I'll tell you the Commission held a hearing
18 in San Francisco where -- and I don't have my facts
19 accurate. But the story was that Father Hesburgh --
20 there was some militant student up in, of course,
21 Berkeley, right?

22 (Laughter.)

23 COMMISSIONER NARASAKI: Still the case.

24 MR. AVENA: And the Commission was holding
25 a hearing on education. And some Chicano students got

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1 up and raising hell about education and so forth. And
2 I have to be very careful because I'm not sure if it
3 was Dr. Hesburgh. But one of the Commissioners got up
4 and said, well, you know what? You people should be --
5 you should be thinking about this because I just came
6 back from Peru, and you should see the conditions
7 those Peruvians have down there. And that proverbial
8 you know what hit the fan. And they jumped. They
9 said, we're not Peruvians. We're Americans.

10 And so I think all of that combination, and
11 I don't know of any one person but I would say the
12 collective wisdom of the Commission at that time led
13 by Dr. Hannah, I think, from Michigan State, Father
14 Hesburgh from Notre Dame. And they just said, we
15 better do something.

16 CHAIR LHAMON: Can you lean forward closer
17 to your microphone just so we can record?

18 MR. AVENA: What's that?

19 CHAIR LHAMON: Could you lean forward
20 closer to your microphone so we can record the
21 testimony? Thank you.

22 COMMISSIONER NARASAKI: Yes, so there's a
23 documentary about Father Hesburgh that's just been
24 finished that I'm going to go see. So maybe we'll see
25 --

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1 MR. AVENA: Oh, wonderful.

2 COMMISSIONER NARASAKI: -- in that. I just
3 had two other short questions.

4 CHAIR LHAMON: Commissioner Yaki has a
5 question as well and we're also over time so maybe
6 one.

7 COMMISSIONER NARASAKI: Okay. I don't know
8 which one to choose because I wanted to ask about the
9 high school students. But I will ask about Section
10 203 because we're getting ready to issue our report on
11 the Voting Rights Act. And we're looking at all these
12 sections and no one's really been able to tell me how
13 this Section 203, the language assistance provisions,
14 came to be that really added in protection for Latinos
15 but also Native Americans and --

16 MR. AVENA: Asian-Americans --

17 COMMISSIONER NARASAKI: -- Asians.

18 MR. AVENA: -- and Native, yes.

19 COMMISSIONER NARASAKI: And I've always
20 been curious. I could sort of see how Latinos, but
21 I've always been curious how Asians got thrown in
22 because Asians did not have much political power at
23 that point, so --

24 MR. AVENA: Do you know that, Bob? I
25 attended a voting rights conference in 2015 in Austin,

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1 and a lot of that came out. There was a woman who
2 worked for us, Pat Villareal, who is an attorney. She
3 worked both in San Antonio and here. And she worked
4 for Don Edwards from California. And the story was
5 that she actually helped write that and started
6 pushing Congressman Edwards. I really don't know all
7 the details, but also MALDEF was involved, I think.

8 DR. BRISCHETTO: I don't know the details
9 on that either. I'm sorry. But I do know that
10 language minorities were certainly brought in at that
11 time in '75, and I'm sure there was a strong push to
12 look at questions that had to do with fairness at the
13 ballot box at that time.

14 MR. AVENA: Yes.

15 CHAIR LHAMON: So we'll turn to
16 Commissioner Yaki for the last question.

17 COMMISSIONER YAKI: Thank you very much,
18 and thank you, Panel, for some amazing words of wisdom
19 and reflection.

20 I've got to say that I'm sort of the --
21 someone who delves a little bit more into the politics
22 having been in politics most of my life. And one of
23 the things that has struck me is that frequently
24 people have been commentators and analysts have talked
25 about Latinos as the sleeping giant of electoral

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1 politics.

2 But every year, it seems to not be the
3 case. And I'm just wondering what is it that you
4 think that -- and maybe this follows up a little bit
5 from Karen's question, but -- from Commissioner
6 Narasaki. But what do you think of that perception
7 and how you explain either it's -- is it accurate or
8 is it not accurate? And I'd just like to get your
9 thoughts on that.

10 Because again, every election cycle, people
11 talk about, given the growth of the Latino community
12 and given the presence in a lot of key areas of this
13 nation that this will be the year that their influence
14 as a voting block comes to pass and each year it seems
15 not to be, at least the perception is. So your
16 thoughts?

17 DR. BRISCHETTO: Well, one thing I've
18 noticed in working with Willie Velasquez and working
19 on voting rights and voter mobilization was that when
20 we began to organize in local communities, on local
21 elections where Latinos could actually run as
22 candidates, that's when Latinos began to participate
23 in the voting and turning out at the polls. Willie
24 Velasquez had sort of an approach that he used that
25 involved several steps.

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1 The first step was to challenge the
2 election system that was discriminating, get rid of
3 it, change it. If it was an at-large election, you
4 needed a majority to win and you were a minority of
5 the population. People were voting along racial
6 lines. You were discriminated against.

7 So we challenge that large election systems
8 in the courts. Once that was changed and those
9 barriers were removed, you then registered voters.
10 And the way you ran a registration project was to get
11 Latinos themselves to recruit and set up an office in
12 the town. You get them to recruit locally to get
13 people involved and registered.

14 And that same group then, you would step
15 out at that point. The third step was that group that
16 had been registering voters could now pick their own
17 candidates and make sure they had someone that they
18 could support for that position on the City Council or
19 the school board on the local level. And they would
20 get them out to vote in those elections.

21 So it really involved getting people
22 engaged in the electoral process at each level, not
23 only in registering and voting, but also in supporting
24 a candidate and getting people to participate in their
25 actual government system. I think that was kind of

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1 key. And if you don't see participation by an ethnic
2 group in an election, it's probably because they don't
3 see that their interests are represented in that
4 election.

5 DR. ZEPEDA: Just briefly, to address that.

6 Texas recently adopted high schools could participate
7 in electing their own ethnic studies course. Well,
8 this past week, it changed the name from ethnic
9 studies to Mexican-American studies. And some
10 students in the high school systems will now be able
11 to learn their history. And I think part of what Bob
12 and Richard is addressing also involves having
13 students early enough learn their history to, if
14 anything, have their civic consciousness, at least
15 move towards participating in knowing how to be
16 involved.

17 And so hopefully, we can start educating
18 our youth to understand how to be more actively
19 involved in their own communities to be awoken in
20 political structures.

21 CHAIR LHAMON: Thanks very much to each of
22 really appreciate this lively conversation. And we
23 will take a break now before reconvening for the rest
24 of the business meeting for today. We'll take a ten-
25 minute break and come back at 1:30.

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1 Thank you very much.

2 (Whereupon, the above-entitled matter went
3 off the record at 1:19 p.m. and resumed at 1:29 p.m.)

4 CHAIR LHAMON: Okay. I will call us back
5 to order for the next part of our business meeting.
6 The next item on our agenda is the discussion and vote
7 on the State Advisory Committee Chair nominations.

8 **B. STATE ADVISORY COMMITTEE APPOINTMENTS**

9 CHAIR LHAMON: Before we begin the
10 discussion, I remind my fellow Commissioners that the
11 Commission has a policy not to defame, degrade, or
12 incriminate any person. Each of these individuals has
13 agreed to volunteer time and energy in the pursuit of
14 the protection of civil rights. We appreciate it.

15 I also understand that the Commissioner
16 requested that we table for our next meeting a
17 discussion and vote on the D.C. State Advisory
18 Committee Chair. So we'll proceed only with
19 discussion of the other three.

20 So with that, I'll begin with the Arkansas
21 Advisory Committee.

22 **ARKANSAS**

23 CHAIR LHAMON: The Staff Director has
24 recommended for appointment Carol Johnson as Chair of
25 the Arkansas Advisory Committee. To open the floor

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1 for discussion, I move that we approve this
2 appointment. Do I have a second?

3 VICE CHAIR TIMMONS-GOODSON: Madam Chair, I
4 second.

5 CHAIR LHAMON: Thank you. Is there any
6 discussion on this appointment? Hearing none, I'll
7 call the question and take a roll call vote.

8 Commissioner Adegbile, how do you vote?

9 COMMISSIONER ADEGBILE: Aye.

10 CHAIR LHAMON: Commissioner Heriot?

11 COMMISSIONER HERIOT: Aye.

12 CHAIR LHAMON: Commissioner Kirsanow?
13 Commissioner Kirsanow, are you on the phone? We'll
14 come back. Commissioner Kladney?

15 COMMISSIONER YAKI: You're on mute, Peter.

16 CHAIR LHAMON: Or not present at the
17 moment. Okay.

18 Commissioner Kladney, how do you vote?

19 I vote yes.

20 Commissioner Narasaki, how do you vote?

21 COMMISSIONER NARASAKI: I vote yes.

22 CHAIR LHAMON: Commissioner Yaki?

23 COMMISSIONER YAKI: I'm here, so I'm voting
24 yes.

25 CHAIR LHAMON: Okay. The motion passes.

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1 VICE CHAIR TIMMONS-GOODSON: I don't think
2 I voted.

3 CHAIR LHAMON: Oh, I'm sorry. Vice Chair,
4 how are you voting?

5 (Laughter.)

6 VICE CHAIR TIMMONS-GOODSON: And I'd like
7 to register a yes.

8 COMMISSIONER ADEGBILE: It passes by a
9 larger margin.

10 CHAIR LHAMON: Thank you. Apologies. The
11 motion passes. No Commissioner opposed. Two
12 Commissioners did not answer and so therefore
13 abstained. And all of us were in favor.

14 Next, we'll turn to the District -- oh,
15 we'll skip the District of Columbia for the moment.
16 Next, we will turn to the Florida Advisory Committee.

17 **FLORIDA**

18 CHAIR LHAMON: And the Staff Director has
19 recommended for appointment Nadine Smith as chair of
20 that committee. To open the floor for discussion, I
21 move that we approve this appointment. Do I have a
22 second?

23 VICE CHAIR TIMMONS-GOODSON: I second.

24 CHAIR LHAMON: Thank you. Is there any
25 discussion of this appointment?

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1 COMMISSIONER HERIOT: I'm just curious why
2 we skipped John Malcolm for the D.C. Advisory
3 Committee. And part of the reason I'm willing to vote
4 yes is that John Malcolm is on the list here.

5 CHAIR LHAMON: Thank you. As I mentioned,
6 and perhaps you didn't hear me, but --

7 COMMISSIONER HERIOT: Sorry, I must not
8 have.

9 CHAIR LHAMON: -- one of the Commissioners
10 has requested that we table that discussion for the
11 next business meeting. And so we'll table that one
12 and proceed with the other State Advisory Committees.

13 So is there any discussion about the
14 Florida State Advisory Committee Chair? Hearing none,
15 Commissioner Adegbile, how do you vote?

16 COMMISSIONER ADEGBILE: Aye.

17 CHAIR LHAMON: Commissioner Heriot?

18 COMMISSIONER HERIOT: I had intended to
19 vote yes because I thought that this was a situation
20 where we were willing to go forward with an advisory
21 committee chair who was not on the far left. But
22 since that's been tabled, then I am going to abstain.

23 CHAIR LHAMON: Okay. Commissioner
24 Kirsanow, how do you vote?

25 COMMISSIONER KIRSANOW: Abstain.

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1 CHAIR LHAMON: I'm sorry. Did you say
2 abstain?

3 COMMISSIONER KIRSANOW: Yes.

4 CHAIR LHAMON: Thank you. Commissioner
5 Kladney, how do you vote? Commissioner Kladney, are
6 you there?

7 Vice Chair, how do you vote?

8 VICE CHAIR TIMMONS-GOODSON: Yes.

9 CHAIR LHAMON: Commissioner Narasaki, how
10 do you vote?

11 COMMISSIONER NARASAKI: Yes.

12 CHAIR LHAMON: Commissioner Yaki?

13 COMMISSIONER YAKI: Aye.

14 CHAIR LHAMON: And I vote yes. The motion
15 passes. Two Commissioners abstained, no Commissioner
16 opposed, and all others were in favor.

17 **WYOMING**

18 CHAIR LHAMON: Finally, the Staff Director
19 has recommended for appointment Melanie Vigil -- I
20 apologize, Melanie Vigil as Chair of the Wyoming
21 Advisory Committee. To open the floor for discussion,
22 I move that we approve this appointment. Do I have a
23 second?

24 COMMISSIONER ADEGBILE: Second.

25 CHAIR LHAMON: Thank you. Is there any

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1 discussion of this appointment? Hearing none, I'll
2 call the question and take a roll call vote.

3 Commissioner Adegbile, how do you vote?

4 COMMISSIONER ADEGBILE: Aye.

5 CHAIR LHAMON: Commissioner Heriot?

6 COMMISSIONER HERIOT: I abstain.

7 CHAIR LHAMON: Commissioner Kirsanow?

8 COMMISSIONER KIRSANOW: No.

9 CHAIR LHAMON: Commissioner Kladney?

10 COMMISSIONER KLADNEY: Yes.

11 CHAIR LHAMON: Thank you. Vice Chair
12 Timmons-Goodson?

13 VICE CHAIR TIMMONS-GOODSON: Yes.

14 CHAIR LHAMON: Commissioner Narasaki?

15 COMMISSIONER NARASAKI: Yes.

16 CHAIR LHAMON: Commissioner Yaki?

17 COMMISSIONER YAKI: Aye.

18 CHAIR LHAMON: And I vote yes. The motion
19 passes. One Commissioner abstained, one Commissioner
20 opposed, and all other Commissioners were in favor.

21 We'll now turn to our State Advisory
22 Committee presentations.

23 **C. PRESENTATION BY THE CHAIR OF THE NEW YORK**

24 **ADVISORY COMMITTEE**

25 CHAIR LHAMON: We will hear first from the

1 New York State Advisory Committee Chair Alexandra
2 Korry. And the Committee released a report titled,
3 "The Civil Rights Implications of 'Broken Windows'
4 Policing in New York City and General NYPD
5 Accountability to the Public".

6 Chair Korry, we are looking forward hearing
7 from you.

8 MS. KORRY: Great. Well, thank you very
9 much. Good afternoon. I apologize in advance if I
10 exceed my allotted time.

11 CHAIR LHAMON: I'll be happy to cut you off
12 if that happens.

13 (Laughter.)

14 MS. KORRY: Feel free. As you know -- as
15 you just have said, we released our report in March of
16 this year. The Committee focused its inquiry on
17 whether low-level NYPD enforcement disproportionately
18 affects communities of color in New York City and
19 particularly the youth in those communities. At the
20 same time, the Committee invited comment on the
21 accountability structures and mechanisms of the NYPD
22 and how they affect both police officer behavior and
23 the public's perception of the NYPD.

24 The NYPD is a huge organization with a 2018
25 fiscal year budget of 5.6 billion, and so this report

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1 was no easy task. The Committee help two days of
2 public briefings and we also held three different
3 meetings with senior leadership of the NYPD to
4 understand their point of view.

5 Our bottom line conclusion was that broken
6 windows, as a policy, is broken. Beginning with the
7 Floyd mandated stop-and-frisk reforms and accelerating
8 in the last two years with a host of other reforms,
9 the NYPD has taken huge steps towards 21st century
10 policing. However, arresting or providing summonses
11 to New Yorkers, particularly black and Hispanic youth,
12 for low-level, nonviolent offenses we believe
13 disproportionately affects those communities least
14 able to endure the consequences of that enforcement
15 and ought not to be part of an enlightenment
16 government's policing.

17 Broken windows policing began in New York
18 City in the early '90s. It's based on an academic
19 theory that postulated that strict enforcement of low-
20 level crimes known as quality-of-life offenses would
21 reduce the likelihood of serious crimes. The policy
22 resulted in New York City in a high number of
23 summonses and arrests for individuals engaged in such
24 activity as hopping a subway turnstile, smoking
25 marijuana, riding bicycles on sidewalks, disorderly

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1 conduct, urinating in public, consuming alcohol in
2 public or loitering in the park.

3 There's significant collateral consequences
4 to this type of enforcement. Among them, arrestees
5 who languish in jail awaiting prosecution because of
6 their inability to make bail which is a subject for
7 another time.

8 As a result of broken windows policing,
9 misdemeanor arrests in New York City increased
10 drastically from 1994 to 2010 in which there were
11 approximately 292,000 arrests for misdemeanors. The
12 NYPD claims that its policing was responsible in large
13 part for New York City going from a city that in 1990
14 had 9.6 percent of the nation's homicide to one in
15 2013 that had 2.4 percent of the nation's homicide.

16 But since 2010, the number of misdemeanor
17 arrests has steadily declined each year and we're now
18 at pre-broken windows levels of about 179,000 per year
19 which is still a very high number. And yet, in 2017,
20 New York City achieved the lowest per capita murder
21 rate since 1951, experienced the fewest shootings in
22 the modern era, and saw robberies drop to their lowest
23 levels since 1965.

24 At the same time, the number of criminal
25 summonses also declined every year, but still at a

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1 very high number of 296,000 in 2016. The most
2 frequently charged criminal summons offenses were
3 consumption of alcohol on the street, disorderly
4 conduct, and possession of marijuana, all those
5 together comprising about 120,000 of criminal summons
6 offenses in 2016. In the recently released second
7 quarterly NYPD report on summonses issued in New York
8 City, the most frequently charged non-vehicular, non-
9 administrative criminal summonses continue to be
10 marijuana use and consumption of alcohol.

11 Critics of broken windows policing argue
12 that there's no statistical correlation between
13 quality-of-life enforcement and serious crime
14 reduction, a point of view seemingly supported by the
15 statistics I just cited as well as by the New York
16 City Office of the Inspector General for the NYPD
17 which issued a report in 2016 that found no empirical
18 evidence demonstrating a clear and direct link between
19 an increase in summons and misdemeanor arrest activity
20 by the NYPD and a related drop in felony crime.

21 The OIG did, however, note that the rate of
22 quality-of-life enforcement citywide was positively
23 correlated with higher proportions of black and
24 Hispanic residents and requested that the NYPD release
25 several sets of data regarding the effect on the

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1 broken windows enforcement and its impact on specific
2 demographic groups who were disproportionately
3 affected by the enforcement. The NYPD has chosen not
4 to take on these recommendations.

5 Irrespective of the merits of the
6 underlying policy, the record seems to indicate that
7 broken windows policing does disproportionately affect
8 communities of color. Critics argue that NYPD
9 officers are more likely to issue low-level summonses
10 and make arrests in predominately black or Hispanic
11 neighborhoods, and the statistics seem to support
12 them.

13 In 2015, over 90 percent of the
14 approximately 315,000 people arraigned in New York
15 City criminal courts were black or Hispanic and
16 roughly 80 percent of those arraignments were from
17 misdemeanors or violations. And according to 2016
18 census data, the population of New York City is 32
19 percent white, 29 Hispanic, 22 percent black, and 14
20 percent Asian.

21 2016 data shows that for each misdemeanor
22 category in which the NYPD reports statistics, blacks
23 and Hispanics made up between 75 percent and 83
24 percent of those arrested. Moreover, during the
25 fourth quarter of 2017, at least 61 percent of

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1 criminal summonses issued in New York City were issued
2 to people who were either black or Hispanic and at
3 least 67 percent of criminal summonses were issued to
4 people of color with the remaining being issued to
5 either whites or, quote, people of unknown race.

6 Between 1997 and 2016 as well,
7 approximately 85 percent of the 700,000 individuals
8 arrested for low-level possession of marijuana were
9 black or Hispanic. At a time where there's
10 substantial evidence that white's usage of marijuana
11 is at least equal to if not greater than marijuana
12 usage by people of color. In 2017, the NYPD still
13 made 17,000 marijuana-related arrests, 86 percent of
14 which were of black or Hispanic people. And the
15 number of criminal summonses mirrors those numbers.

16 It's also the case that blacks are more
17 likely than whites to be taken into custody rather
18 than being given what is called a desk appearance
19 ticket in New York which allows the person being
20 arrested to avoid being placed into custody until
21 arraignment for misdemeanor violation arrests.

22 In the fourth quarter of 2017, blacks were
23 given desk appearance tickets for 34 percent of
24 arrests in which one could've been given while whites
25 were given desk appearance tickets in lieu of

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1 custodial arrests for 47 percent of arrests in which
2 one could have been given. Likewise, 92 percent
3 individuals ticketed or arrested for subway fare
4 evasion each year are people of color.

5 The NYPD makes a big point that the data
6 merely reflects the makeup of the population that
7 commits the crimes and is based on those that report
8 them. And it says that it's an entirely false
9 narrative to imply that the disproportionality in the
10 statistics demonstrates that the NYPD's methods of
11 enforcement are in any way discriminatory.

12 It should be noted that in the Floyd case,
13 Judge Scheindlin concluded that the NYPD stop-and-
14 frisk policy was tantamount to indirect racial
15 profiling and that senior NYPD officials, quote, acted
16 with deliberate indifference, the NYPD's practice of
17 making unconstitutional stops and conducting
18 unconstitutional frisks.

19 Whether it's a function of court mandates
20 or political pressure from advocates or just
21 internally generated changes, the NYPD has recently
22 instituted a series of reforms that seem to pay heed
23 to some of the data as well as the import of cases
24 like Floyd among other things.

25 As we noted in the report, the NYPD has

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1 reformed officer evaluation metrics so that officers
2 are no longer evaluated by the number of arrests they
3 make but rather on their ability to solve problems
4 creatively. They've also been given discretion to
5 issue civil summonses rather than criminal summonses.

6 The NYPD says that it's really focused now
7 on training their officers to address implicit bias
8 and improve their problem solving skills and they've
9 also been publicizing their neighborhood policing and
10 precision policing which is aimed at getting to know
11 the neighborhood better and tracking individual
12 criminals and guns and not just stopping whoever they
13 think may be about to commit a crime.

14 So commentators argue that the improvements
15 and training have not yet translated into improved
16 relations with the community because NYPD officers are
17 still not held to the standards that are imparted upon
18 them in training. Critics also contend that while the
19 NYPD says it no longer evaluates officer on the basis
20 of quotas, there is reason to believe that the NYPD
21 historically employed quotas and continues to employ
22 de facto quota systems, particularly in communities of
23 color, a contention that the NYPD vehemently denies.

24 CHAIR LHAMON: Chair Korry, thank you very
25 much for the presentation. I want to make sure that

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1 there's time for questions and comments from the
2 Commission. So I'm going to open it for that now.

3 MS. KORRY: Sure. Go ahead.

4 CHAIR LHAMON: Thank you. Commissioner
5 Narasaki?

6 COMMISSIONER NARASAKI: Thank you for the
7 very thorough work that your State Advisory Committee
8 did. We did a hearing up there as well on a similar
9 topic. And so some of the things that you were
10 talking about reminded me of that and the testimony
11 that we had from one former law enforcement person who
12 said that the reason why there were so much more drug
13 arrests for minorities was because the officers had
14 quotas.

15 And if they tried to arrest middle class or
16 wealthier people who had the means to complain
17 politically to the mayor, then they knew they would
18 get in trouble. So they went after people who they
19 knew would not be able to be similarly situated
20 politically. So the data seems to bear out that
21 testimony.

22 MS. KORRY: Yes, Commissioner Narasaki.

23 COMMISSIONER NARASAKI: I'm very --

24 MS. KORRY: I think the same issue applies
25 to marijuana enforcement because obviously they've

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1 been enforcing marijuana smoking in the streets
2 particularly. And it's the case that in white
3 neighborhoods that there's less of a police -- police
4 presence. And also, people don't tend to smoke on the
5 street as much as in whatever places they can find
6 indoors. So I think that's another factor.

7 COMMISSIONER NARASAKI: Yes, I was very
8 interested in your recommendations. So one of them
9 was that the NYPD should incentivize the supervising
10 officers to accurately review their subordinates'
11 performance and create clear, widely publicized
12 punitive consequences for supervising officers failure
13 to comply.

14 So was there a widespread -- was there a
15 finding that there is a widespread issue? And what
16 would the incentivizing be?

17 MS. KORRY: Well, I think one of the
18 problems, as we point out in the report, is that there
19 are very few who complain. There's a complaint
20 process and there are a very few complaints that end
21 up with any police officer being disciplined. And
22 it's sort of hard to get to that point. People are
23 intimidated about filing a complaint because of what
24 they have to go through in order to prosecute that
25 complaint or to continue to pursue the complaint.

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1 And so one of the things I think that we
2 would want to see is specific changes in the patrol
3 guide rules and then with those changes, real
4 consequences being spelled out for what happens when
5 somebody has actually broken those rules. The CCRB --
6 it takes a long time to get a case through just the
7 CCRB. And when they come out, many times, those cases
8 are changed or the outcomes are changed. And the
9 public never really kind of hears about them.

10 And one of the things that we would be
11 looking for is greater transparency because once
12 people feel that there's actually an outcome that's
13 happened, you know, there are very few bad apples
14 probably amongst the NYPD. But when there are bad
15 apples, then what happens is that those consequences -
16 - if there are no consequences that are shown, then
17 the public, I think, loses its trust in the process
18 and in the institution.

19 So we would be hoping to have something
20 with greater transparency and with more clear rules so
21 that the infractions don't become systemwide.

22 CHAIR LHAMON: I know Commissioner Kladney
23 has a question, but go ahead Commissioner Narasaki, if
24 you have one. I think your mic is on, sorry.

25 COMMISSIONER NARASAKI: And then also one

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1 of your recommendations was about the early warning
2 detection system and the data collection that done on
3 each officer because we have, ourselves, heard
4 testimony about the fact that it's really only a very
5 small percentage of officers who are repeatedly having
6 issues. And one of the things that we could do to
7 solve some of the misuse of force is to try to
8 identify those officers early and either give them
9 retraining or move them on to a job that might suit
10 them better.

11 And your recommendation was to incorporate
12 better data on level of arrests and summons, number of
13 resisting arrests, number of obstruction of
14 governmental administration, number of disorderly
15 conduct, adverse suppression rulings and adverse
16 credibility rulings. And I was very interested where
17 that came from. That's the first I've seen that kind
18 of recommendation and it sounds like it makes sense.

19 MS. KORRY: Well, a couple of things. I
20 mean, we don't, I think, actually know whether it's
21 just a few bad apples. I mean, that is the statement
22 that the NYPD makes. That's the statement that's
23 backed up by, I think, the number of cases that are
24 actually brought to fruition from the CCRB's point of
25 view.

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1 But, you know, before Floyd and before body
2 worn cameras, I think that we have a dearth of
3 information on the last few years, the amount of data
4 that's going up as a result partially of legislation
5 is increasing. And so people could actually try to
6 start to track that stuff. But as I mention in the
7 report and the New York Times followed up last week
8 with a story on Section 50A of the statutes -- New
9 York state statutes, there is a prohibition on
10 disclosing confidential information about police
11 officers.

12 And so we don't necessarily know what kind
13 of disciplinary action has been taken by officers that
14 rise to the level of sort of the CCRB action. And I
15 think there's a move for it to try to change that and
16 it's certainly one of our recommendation is to change
17 that law so that we have greater visibility on whether
18 or not it's just a few bad apples.

19 But as to your question on early warning --
20 the early warning system, there was this specific --
21 and I don't quite remember at the time the particular
22 individual who testified before us but who is an
23 expert in sort of risk systems and who argued in favor
24 of those specific types of early warning sort of
25 inputs into the system.

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1 CHAIR LHAMON: Thank you.

2 MS. KORRY: I know I read in this year's
3 police report -- NYPD's annual report that they are
4 moving towards implementing a more sophisticated early
5 warning system this year. But those inputs still are
6 an open question.

7 CHAIR LHAMON: Thank you. Commissioner
8 Kladney, I understand you have a question.

9 COMMISSIONER KLADNEY: Yes, thank you,
10 Madam Chair.

11 I would like to thank your SAC.
12 Commissioner Adegbile and I attended these hearings
13 and I just thought they were excellent, well done.
14 And the participation there are the Commission was
15 just superb.

16 MS. KORRY: Thank you, Commissioner.

17 COMMISSIONER KLADNEY: One of your
18 statements had to do with jumping subway turnstiles.
19 And as I recall when I was at the meeting, it was
20 mostly juveniles. And they were to be arrested for
21 this offence. And that would affect their schooling
22 and sometimes they would become suspended as a result.
23 Was there a crossover there? And if so, can you
24 expound on that?

25 MS. KORRY: Well, I think there's crossover

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1 to this extent, I mean, that there are two factors.
2 One is either you're arrested or you're given a
3 criminal summons. In either case, you're absent from
4 school which is not necessarily the best objective for
5 our youth.

6 I don't know that there's a specific
7 crossover. But I will say this, that you may have
8 read in the New York Times that there's been a lot of
9 discussion about how subway fares are high for low-
10 income New Yorkers and that many of the subway evaders
11 and the turnstile jumpers are really youth who can't
12 really afford to keep paying the subway fares. And
13 the city council and Mayor de Blasio just reached an
14 agreement in which they're going to subsidize safe
15 subway fares for those individuals who are under the
16 poverty line. They're going to pay half of the fares.

17 But I see your question as crossover. I
18 don't know specifically that crossover question. I do
19 know that missing school is obviously an issue. And
20 whenever you have a criminal summons or you're
21 arrested, you're missing a lot of school.

22 COMMISSIONER KLADNEY: Thank you.

23 CHAIR LHAMON: Thanks very much. Chair
24 Korry, we really appreciate your presentation to us
25 and also the work of the State Advisory Committee on

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1 this topic. Thank you very much.

2 MS. KORRY: Thank you very much.

3 CHAIR LHAMON: We'll turn next to a
4 presentation from our Minnesota Advisory Committee
5 Chair Velma Korbel on their recently released report
6 titled Civil Rights and Policing Practices in
7 Minnesota.

8 **D. PRESENTATION BY THE CHAIR OF THE MINNESOTA**
9 **ADVISORY COMMITTEE**

10 CHAIR LHAMON: Ms. Korbel?

11 MS. KORBEL: Thank you, Madam Chair and
12 Commissioners. Thank you for allowing me to present
13 today.

14 First of all, I would let the Commission
15 know that we chose the topic Policing Practices in
16 Minnesota after a lot of discussion and a lot of
17 winnowing down of several topics. But this is the one
18 that, at the time, was the most compelling for us as a
19 community and was most relevant at the time because
20 there had been recent events in the state of
21 Minnesota. We have recent police shootings in the
22 state of Minnesota. And also, it was consistent with
23 the conversation that was occurring on a national
24 level.

25 So we had, in 2015, Jamar Clark was shot

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1 and killed by a white police officer. And that was
2 very controversial and included protests subsequent to
3 that shooting. In 2016, there was another police
4 shooting somewhere outside St. Paul, Minnesota. It
5 received some national attention. Philando Castile
6 was shot and killed inside his vehicle by a police
7 officer.

8 And then while we were in the process of
9 producing this report, there was a police shooting. A
10 black Somali police officer shot Justine Damond, a
11 white woman. But needless to say, there was tension
12 and pain and a lot of discussion ongoing about the
13 topic of police-community relations as we were
14 preparing our report.

15 One of the other challenges in selecting
16 this topic, in all of this, with all of this in the
17 dynamic, we're really looking for speakers and
18 testifiers and subject matter experts that can provide
19 a balance in light of the pain and trauma going on in
20 the community.

21 And so we spent a great deal of time just
22 trying to identify testifiers that could represent the
23 perspective, especially around the base of our report
24 which was President Obama's 21st century policing task
25 force and looking at those six pillars. It was

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1 extremely important to us to find individuals from
2 community, from academia, from law enforcement and
3 from the policy makers who provide that perspective
4 over a myriad of those issues.

5 Probably some of the testimony that was
6 relevant to the formulation of our findings and
7 recommendations came from individuals both from
8 community, from academia, and from our policy makers.

9 And that testimony from Dr. Ebony Ruhland regarding
10 the experiences that people of color have had with
11 police here in the Metro area and she explained that
12 distrust around the community's reaction to police
13 response when calls for serviceman are from
14 individuals from communities of color.

15 It was ironic that one of the policy
16 makers, then -- we had the City Council President
17 Barbara Johnson talked about police mistrust, using an
18 example of a woman who did not wish to call police for
19 service because of an interaction this woman, one of
20 her constituents, had had with police when she was a
21 young person.

22 So although we had different individuals
23 from different perspectives talking about the trust
24 between police and community, they both identified the
25 distrust and mistrust of police as one of the key

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1 issues. And that really sort of bubbled to the
2 surface as one of our key things. And that is the
3 trust is fragile between police and community in the
4 state of Minnesota and certainly in the Metro area
5 where these incidents had occurred and that trust
6 needs to continue to be built.

7 One of the other things that rose to the
8 surface was that, you know, police departments in
9 Minnesota are being provided more tools and
10 technology. And the debate is on whether or not that
11 those tools and technology are a help or a hindrance
12 to police-community relations. And some of those
13 tools and technology that people pointed out were body
14 worn cameras, tasers, use of chemical irritants. And
15 one of our recommendations speaks directly to that.

16 One of the other things that bubbled to the
17 surface as we were hearing from testifiers from
18 community and police which was it's really ironic
19 because even though people believed they're really far
20 away sometimes on this topic.

21 They are really much closer together than
22 they would realize because both police and community
23 talked about the recognition that trauma plays both in
24 the community but also with regards to trauma in the
25 police department and identified a need for that to be

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1 acknowledged. But also for things to be put in place
2 that would address those things.

3 One of the police chiefs from the two
4 largest cities in Minnesota, former Chief Janee
5 Harteau who was then police chief of Minneapolis and
6 police chief from St. Paul, Todd Axtell, talked about
7 the 21st century policing recommendations that two of
8 the police departments that were actually committed to
9 improving their police departments using those pillars
10 and identified a training and diversification of their
11 police forces as key components that they were using
12 to improve police-community relations in their
13 respective jurisdictions.

14 And one of the other things that bubbled to
15 the surface was how police departments, in using their
16 tools and resource, also need to be using the data to
17 drive their decision making. There are a lot of
18 numbers and trends and data being collected by police
19 departments. And the testifiers, especially those
20 from the community, suggested that the police
21 department actually use what they were collecting to
22 make sure that things were being done well for people
23 in the community.

24 We have several recommendations that we've
25 identified in the report that I'm sure you all have

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1 seen. The Committee has not prioritized those
2 recommendations. We have a meeting that's coming up
3 where we plan on talking about what to do with this
4 report because we think there's good information in
5 this report that needs to be shared on a wider basis.

6 So I'd like to thank you, the Commission,
7 for sending letters to the individuals and
8 organizations that we had identified in the report and
9 the recommendation needed to be forwarded to. And so
10 we're going to talk about how to circle back on that
11 and follow up with those individuals and organizations
12 and also talk about some of the other data points in
13 this study that we need to drill down on.

14 And so I will stop there to allow time for
15 questions.

16 CHAIR LHAMON: Thank you very much, Chair
17 Korbelt. I really appreciate it. And I'm going to
18 open for questions and comments from my fellow
19 Commissioners. Commissioner Narasaki?

20 COMMISSIONER NARASAKI: Thank you, Madam
21 Chair. And I really want to appreciate the State
22 Advisory Committee of Minnesota. I had the honor of
23 actually attending that hearing, and there was
24 incredible testimony, both by the police who came out
25 to their credit in full force to talk about what they

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1 were trying to do to improve the situation as well as
2 by the community.

3 And I was particularly struck by one of the
4 stories that you do document in the report about an
5 African-American woman who actually did a lot of work
6 with the police doing some training with them actually
7 on many issues. And she, herself, had been stopped
8 four times, once for having snow on her window and
9 once for having an air freshener tag hanging from her
10 mirror.

11 And she was trying to make the point that
12 if she who works with the police, counts many of them
13 as her friends, gets stopped in that way and she feels
14 that it erodes her trust, can you imagine how someone
15 who, in fact, doesn't have police as friends would
16 feel. So it was a very powerful day, and I want to
17 appreciate your work.

18 I was very interested in a lot of the
19 discussion around who makes up the police force and
20 how does that impact policing. And the fact that in
21 the city, the residency requirement got struck out.
22 And so that in fact, the vast majority of police do
23 not live in the communities that they police. And
24 also that in your report, I think it said that only
25 one African-American had been graduated in one of the

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1 police academy forces.

2 So I'm particularly interested in your
3 recommendations around addressing that particular
4 issue.

5 MS. KORBEL: Madam Chair, thank you,
6 Commissioner, for the compliment. And thank you for
7 coming out and joining us at that hearing.

8 There are 800 or so police officers in the
9 Minneapolis Police Department. It probably is one of
10 the most diverse police departments in the state. It
11 ought to be since Minneapolis is the most diverse city
12 in the state. It's the largest city and the most
13 diverse city in the state.

14 I don't recall which police department said
15 that only one person of color had graduated from its
16 police academy. But I do know that that is --
17 recalling from the testimony of Chief Axtell and also
18 from Chief Harteau that is a focus of theirs. And I
19 know now with the new police chief, Medaria Arradondo
20 here in Minneapolis who happens to be an African-
21 American man, that is a focus for his work going
22 forward as well.

23 In terms of the makeup of the police
24 departments in the state of Minnesota, 60 percent of
25 the population in Minnesota resides here in the metro

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1 area. So of course, the police departments are larger
2 in Minneapolis and St. Paul. Bloomington also is one
3 of those cities that make up the metro area.

4 So the metro has the most diverse police
5 department in the state. But also, ironically, there
6 are over 400 police agencies in the state of
7 Minnesota. About half of them have fewer than 25
8 officers in their police force, and that includes
9 tribal police forces, non-municipal police forces,
10 those at parks or colleges, transit police, et cetera.

11 And so the farther you get out from the
12 Twin Cities area, the less diverse the population
13 becomes. The less diverse, of course, the police
14 departments become. There are probably five and a
15 half million people in the state of Minnesota. The 85
16 percent of the people in the state are white. The
17 largest minority group here are African-Americans --
18 black and African-Americans. That's only about five
19 percent of the population. And then smaller
20 percentages of racial and ethnic minorities as you
21 look at the groups.

22 So to have the recruitment effort and the
23 focus to diversify these police forces is laudable.
24 Not enough is happening quickly enough. But it is ---
25 so that's some of the reality that they're dealing

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1 with.

2 COMMISSIONER NARASAKI: The second
3 narrative that I was really struck with when I was
4 there was the story that was told by Emily Baxter of
5 contrasting an 18-year-old young African-American man
6 who stole a single bottle of beer and was charged with
7 petty theft and then was later denied entrance to a
8 career as a police officer. And the second who was a
9 17-year-old who actually broke into a local liquor
10 distribution plant building and threw a party and he
11 was now currently chief of police. And she told that
12 story to make the point to counter what she believed
13 is the false narrative of the reason that minorities
14 are overly present is because they're bad -- they're
15 more bad than whites.

16 And in fact, she had been studying for five
17 years comparing youths who had committed similar
18 nonviolent criminal activity and documenting how white
19 youth were more often given a warning and another
20 opportunity to correct their behavior while youth of
21 color were not. And that the difference was not in
22 who was committing some of these low-level petty
23 crimes but what kind of second chances people are
24 giving and how they're being treated in the system.

25 So I was very interested in that research.

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1 And if something like that is available, I would hope
2 that that could be shared with the Commission.

3 MS. KORBEL: We certainly can pull that
4 testimony from Ms. Baxter. And if we do have that
5 report, we'll make sure we get that. But, you know,
6 along those same lines, that's one of the issues that
7 we will be looking at here in Minneapolis in
8 particular. Now, in my regular job, I'm also the
9 civil rights director for the City of Minneapolis.
10 Because one of the points raised in this study was the
11 disproportionate number of low-level offenses that
12 people of color are charged with, relative to their
13 representation in the population. And so there's a
14 disparate impact there.

15 So there's work to be done. The data has
16 given us some things to work with. And so we do plan
17 on looking at that as we move forward.

18 CHAIR LHAMON: Ms. Korbel, the ninth and
19 the tenth recommendations in your report are to
20 continue the 21st century task force that had begun in
21 the prior administration and also to create an
22 effective civilian oversight body for the state of
23 Minnesota. And I wondered if you could expand on your
24 views or the Committee's views on the value of both
25 recommendations.

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1 MS. KORBEL: Yes, thank you for that
2 question. One of the challenges that we found with
3 this report is that in trying to do a report that
4 covered the entire state of Minnesota, we found that
5 we were somewhat limited by the fact that the majority
6 of the population and the police force are here in the
7 metro area as I had mentioned.

8 We actually attempted to do survey of
9 police forces in rural Minnesota. And the limitation
10 was kind of twofold. First was the Paperwork
11 Reduction Act, so we only were able to send surveys
12 out to nine police agencies. But then even given
13 that, the response was so low that the information
14 collected was actually pretty unsubstantial.

15 And so one of the reasons that we proposed
16 this recommendation is that if we had a police
17 oversight mechanism in the state of Minnesota, then
18 someone who had that responsibility could look across
19 all of these 400 or so agencies and hold them
20 accountable to a certain set of standards. And so
21 that's the rationale behind that recommendation.

22 So the second part of your question on
23 continuing an entity similar to the President's task
24 force on 21st century policing, both here in the state
25 of Minnesota but it sure wouldn't hurt on a national

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1 level either is because the memories -- people have
2 short memories. Because if you read in our study
3 where we talk about implicit bias training where when
4 people go back and do surveys on how well people are
5 attending to the filters that they're using with which
6 to judge people of color, women, immigrants, et
7 cetera.

8 The closer they are to the implicit bias
9 training, the more likely they are to say that
10 implicit bias training works. The farther you get
11 away from that, the improvements are minimal. I think
12 negligible is the word that the doctor used in the
13 testimony that he provided. So similarly, if there's
14 no one providing this oversight mechanism on a broader
15 scale, both here in Minnesota and also on a national
16 level, people will forget until the next tragedy. So
17 that's the reason for that recommendation.

18 CHAIR LHAMON: Thanks very much. Are there
19 questions or comments from fellow Commissioners?
20 Okay. Ms. Korbelt, thank you to you, and also again,
21 thank you to Ms. Korry. These are both thorough,
22 comprehensive reports. I really appreciate the work
23 that your Committees have done and very much
24 appreciate your presentation and the time for the
25 presentation today.

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1 MS. KORBEL: It was a pleasure. Thank you
2 very much for having me.

3 MS. KORRY: Thank you.

4 CHAIR LHAMON: Thank you. We'll now
5 consider our amended business items beginning first
6 with the proposed letter on the separation of children
7 from their families after crossing the southern
8 border.

9 **E. PROPOSED LETTER ON THE SEPARATION OF CHILDREN**
10 **FROM THEIR FAMILIES AT THE SOUTHERN BORDER**

11 CHAIR LHAMON: I'm going to read the letter
12 as it's drafted so that we know what it is that we
13 might vote on, and then I'll move to open the floor
14 for discussion. So the text of the letter is to the
15 Attorney General and to the Department of Homeland
16 Security Secretary. And is our convention, I won't
17 read the footnotes just in the interest of time.

18 So Dear Attorney General Sessions and
19 Secretary Nielson, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
20 writes to urge the Departments of Justice and Homeland
21 Security to stop separating children from their
22 families after crossing our southern board. In 2015,
23 the Commission reported on immigrant detainee
24 facilities, including the policies that separated
25 children from families and placed those children in

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1 separate detention centers. We were concerned then
2 that the government provided inadequate or
3 inappropriate care when it took charge of undocumented
4 children.

5 Given recent reports, the Commission once
6 again has grave concerns about the fair administration
7 of justice due to coercive tactics and lack of due
8 process afforded to these families. Reportedly,
9 families seeking refuge are separated and children and
10 shuffled into detention centers in what one judge
11 stated was, quote, if true, brutal, offensive, and
12 fails to comport with traditional notions of fair play
13 and decency, end quote.

14 The policies can coerce parents into
15 withdrawing what may be valid asylum applications or
16 otherwise impairing their immigration proceedings for
17 fear of what may be happening to their children. The
18 Commission's concerns are exacerbated by the apparent
19 animus directed at Mexican and Central American
20 immigrants by the Administration, giving rise to
21 questions of unwarranted discrimination on the basis
22 of national origin.

23 In the last two months, the Departments of
24 Justice and Homeland Security have issued new
25 directives instituting a zero-tolerance policy that

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1 has led to the increased separation of families. On
2 May 4, 2018, the Department of Homeland Security
3 issued an internal memorandum directing agents to
4 prosecute all individuals crossing the border, even if
5 that required separating children from their families.
6 On May 7, 2018, Attorney General Sessions announced
7 that the Department of Justice would pursue the
8 policy.

9 These recent policy directives changed
10 longstanding border enforcement practices. The new
11 policy unnecessarily separates families with no clear
12 evidence that it increases border security. The
13 Commission notes that a prior joint initiative of the
14 Departments of Justice and Homeland Security that
15 instituted a similar zero-tolerance approach did not
16 reduce illegal border crossings as verified by the
17 Department of Homeland Security.

18 The policy ignores the reality that many of
19 those coming to the border are desperately seeking
20 asylum fully within the parameters of our nation's
21 immigration laws. The policy is inhumane and against
22 the best interest of the children. By separating
23 children from their families, the policy causes
24 irreparable harm to children and families.
25 International authorities are taking note and

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1 disapproving of the U.S. government's actions. There
2 is also bipartisan agreement that keeping families
3 together is the best policy.

4 The Commission calls on the Departments of
5 Justice and Homeland Security to stop this approach
6 which subverts the fair administration of justice and
7 appears to discriminate against families on the basis
8 of their national origin.

9 Thank you for your consideration, and we
10 look forward to your response. Sincerely -- and it
11 would be signed by members of the Commission.

12 So I move that we open the floor for a
13 discussion and a vote to approve this letter to the
14 Attorney General and to the Secretary of Homeland
15 Security. Do I have a second?

16 COMMISSIONER KLADNEY: Second.

17 CHAIR LHAMON: Thank you. Is there any
18 discussion on this statement? Commissioner Narasaki?

19 COMMISSIONER NARASAKI: I support this
20 statement. I am horrified by the fact that we are
21 taking children as young as babies, infant children
22 away from their parents and basically holding them
23 hostage in order to coerce their parents into giving
24 up whatever claims of asylum they have. That is not
25 the behavior of a civilized nation that professes to

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1 be committed to the rule of law and to human rights.
2 And I strongly support this statement.

3 VICE CHAIR TIMMONS-GOODSON: Madam Chair, I
4 strongly support this statement. As I understand it,
5 many of these individuals are following the law.
6 They're showing up at the border seeking asylum, as
7 set out in our laws. And to be processed, handled in
8 this way, I just don't understand it. And I'm a
9 mother myself, and I can't imagine complying with the
10 law and my child or children being removed from me.

11 And if even a fraction of these reports
12 that we're getting are true, it rips my heart open.
13 And I believe that there are millions in the nation
14 that share that. And we must speak up and out. Thank
15 you.

16 CHAIR LHAMON: Thank you. Commissioner
17 Heriot?

18 COMMISSIONER HERIOT: There are many points
19 made in this letter that I have sympathy for, but
20 there are too many points that I can't sign onto. So
21 I'm going to say no on this one.

22 CHAIR LHAMON: Thank you. Commissioner
23 Adegbile?

24 COMMISSIONER ADEGBILE: Yes, Madam Chair.
25 Of course, the rule of law is important. It's

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1 important to everybody on this Commission. I think
2 it's also important that we understand that a great
3 nation must also think about temperance and think
4 about policy judgments about how the law is enforced
5 such that our policy choices about how laws are
6 enforced don't have the effect of undermining the
7 appreciate of the rule of law and visiting harsh
8 outcomes on people that are not in a position to
9 defend themselves. And I think the rule of law in
10 America, and it's embraced traditionally, of human
11 rights is important. This is not our finest hour, and
12 I hope the policy is revisited.

13 CHAIR LHAMON: Thank you. Any further
14 discussion?

15 COMMISSIONER YAKI: Yes, Commissioner Yaki.

16 CHAIR LHAMON: Commissioner Yaki?

17 COMMISSIONER YAKI: Oh, go ahead,
18 Commissioner Kirsanow.

19 CHAIR LHAMON: Commissioner Kirsanow?

20 COMMISSIONER KIRSANOW: Thank you,
21 Commissioner Yaki. I support changing the law. But
22 as the law stands currently, the reason parents and
23 children are separated is because of, among other
24 things, the Flores consent decree of 1977, Ninth
25 Circuit's interpretation thereof, which virtually

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1 mandates that there is going to be separation given
2 that children can only be detained for 20 days. I
3 support changing that.

4 But one of the ironic things about this,
5 we've been talking about the rule of law. One of the
6 reasons many immigrants come to this country is
7 because we have the rule of law as opposed to the
8 countries from which they have fled.

9 And it's not simply a matter of maintaining
10 the rule of law for the rule of law's sake. There are
11 many things that flow from not maintaining the rule of
12 law. A nation devolves into the kind of nation from
13 which they are fleeing. And to which they are seeking
14 asylum is the nation that preserves the rule of law
15 and all that flows therefrom.

16 So my preference is let's change the law.
17 But I will be voting against this particular
18 resolution despite, as Commissioner Heriot said, I
19 share many of the sympathies reflected in this letter.

20 CHAIR LHAMON: Thank you, Commissioner
21 Kirsanow. I will say my colleagues at the National
22 Center for Youth Law where I litigate are counsel in
23 the Flores consent decree. And it will not be a
24 surprise to you that it's not my case and I don't have
25 intimate knowledge of the inside of that case. But it

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1 strongly not their view that the Flores consent decree
2 mandates this action. So at best, reasonable minds
3 could differ about at least that component.

4 Commissioner Yaki?

5 COMMISSIONER YAKI: Yes, I just wanted to
6 echo your statement as well as Commissioner Narasaki's
7 and others. And to make the point about the dangers
8 of sort of whether or not this requires any law change
9 or not, which I do not believe it does, there are
10 those who would seek to package a law change that
11 would, they say, deal with this issue in the context
12 of other laws enacted at the same time which would
13 devastate immigration as we know it in this country
14 and effectively close our borders to all but those who
15 are rich enough to make it through.

16 So I would just like to note that this
17 letter makes a statement that these actions are not
18 needed, that the law, as it stands now, can allow
19 these families to be together. There's no need for a
20 fix, and there's certainly no need for a fix that
21 seeks to play upon the well-founded concerns, fears of
22 people by then using it to piggyback in a draconian
23 change in our immigration law.

24 CHAIR LHAMON: Thank you. Unless there's
25 further discussion on the statement, I'll call for a

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1 roll call vote.

2 Commissioner Adegbile, how do you vote?

3 COMMISSIONER ADEGBILE: Aye.

4 CHAIR LHAMON: Commissioner Heriot?

5 COMMISSIONER KIRSANOW: No.

6 CHAIR LHAMON: Commissioner Kirsanow?

7 COMMISSIONER KIRSANOW: No.

8 CHAIR LHAMON: Commissioner Kladney?

9 COMMISSIONER KLADNEY: Yes.

10 CHAIR LHAMON: Vice Chair Timmons-Goodson?

11 VICE CHAIR TIMMONS-GOODSON: Yes.

12 CHAIR LHAMON: Commissioner Narasaki?

13 COMMISSIONER NARASAKI: Yes.

14 CHAIR LHAMON: Commissioner Yaki?

15 COMMISSIONER YAKI: Aye.

16 CHAIR LHAMON: And I vote yes. The motion
17 passes. Two Commissioners opposed, no Commissioner
18 abstained, and all others were in favor.

19 Our next items is the statement about the
20 pardon of Jack Johnson.

21 **F. STATEMENT REGARDING THE PARDON OF JACK JOHNSON**

22 CHAIR LHAMON: And I turn it over to
23 Commissioner Kirsanow to read the statement so we are
24 clear about what we're voting on.

25 COMMISSIONER KIRSANOW: Thank you, Madam

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1 Chair. The statement is very brief.

2 It says, the U.S. Commission on Civil
3 Rights applauds President Donald Trump's posthumous
4 pardon of boxing great Jack Johnson. Mr. Johnson was
5 an African-American who was the 1908 heavyweight
6 champion of the world.

7 He was subjected to racially motivated
8 prosecutions for his relationships with white women,
9 including a woman who later became his wife. Mr.
10 Johnson fled the country to avoid imprisonment and
11 made a return to the United States to serve his
12 sentence but the conviction irrevocably damaged his
13 career and he was unable to regain the heavyweight
14 title.

15 Mr. Johnson applied for a pardon in 1920,
16 but the Harding Administration refused to grant the
17 application because of public opposition. Thanks to
18 the efforts of many individuals, including Sylvester
19 Stallone, President Trump pardoned Mr. Johnson on May
20 24th, 2018, only the third time a President has
21 granted a posthumous pardon.

22 The Commission expresses its gratitude to
23 President Trump for righting this historic injustice.

24 CHAIR LHAMON: Thank you. We can discuss
25 the statement. Is there a motion so we can open the

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1 floor for discussion?

2 COMMISSIONER HERIOT: So moved.

3 CHAIR LHAMON: Is there a second?

4 VICE CHAIR TIMMONS-GOODSON: I'll second
5 it.

6 CHAIR LHAMON: Terrific. Is there any
7 discussion on this statement? Madam Vice Chair?

8 VICE CHAIR TIMMONS-GOODSON: Yes, I have
9 some concerns and in terms of expressing those
10 concerns, I don't want us to get, as a Commission, to
11 place ourselves in a position where we applaud those
12 pardons that we agree with and then other pardons that
13 we take issue with, speaking out against them. I'm
14 concerned about the process, the policy involved. And
15 so I have some reservations about voting in favor of
16 issuing it.

17 CHAIR LHAMON: Thank you. Commissioner
18 Adegbile?

19 COMMISSIONER ADEGBILE: Relatedly, I think
20 that with some time, we might be able to get to a
21 version of this statement that takes account of some
22 broader considerations. But I think that we might
23 want to consider taking some more time to do that.
24 These pardons are happening in a larger context, and I
25 think that the procedural considerations are important

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1 and perhaps if we take some time, as Commissioner
2 Heriot has suggested that we attempt to in some other
3 contexts, we might be able to find our way to
4 consensus the underlying sentiment expressed in
5 Commissioner Kirsanow's resolution is important.
6 There obviously was an unspeakable injustice visited
7 on Mr. Johnson. And I think that, with time, we can
8 probably get there.

9 CHAIR LHAMON: I'm sorry. I share those
10 sentiments. I am a child of an interracial marriage
11 which is the product of the type of crime for which
12 Mr. Johnson was, I think, unjustly convicted. And I
13 do think it is important to right past injustice, even
14 105 years later. And I appreciate the sentiment that
15 underlies the proposed statement and also the
16 circulation of the proposed statement two days ago.

17 But I do think that there's more work to be
18 done consistent with the Vice Chair's views about
19 taking a position about the way that the pardon
20 authority is used. And we have already, as a
21 Commission, expressed very serious concern about the
22 use of the pardon authority in the case of Sheriff Joe
23 Arpaio and we are seeing increasing accentuation of
24 the pardon authority, including as recently as with
25 respect to Jack Johnson or functionally as recently

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1 with respect to Anne-Marie Johnson.

2 So I, too, would like some time to be able
3 to try to work together on more fulsome text that can
4 express the types of views being discussed.

5 Commissioner Narasaki?

6 COMMISSIONER NARASAKI: I would like to
7 thank Commissioner Kirsanow for bringing this up. I
8 was not familiar with the history of Mr. Johnson, and
9 I do believe that the pardon was merited. And I would
10 like to have the Commission make a statement. But I
11 agree with others that would like to see it more fully
12 fleshed out. And I think that we could probably get
13 to a place hopefully where we could have a unanimous
14 statement.

15 COMMISSIONER KIRSANOW: Madam Chair?

16 CHAIR LHAMON: Commissioner Kirsanow?

17 COMMISSIONER KIRSANOW: Thank you. The
18 thanks that Commissioner Narasaki directs to me should
19 appropriately be directed to toward Commissioner
20 Kladney and the rest of the Commission because we
21 voted unanimously to seek such a pardon for Jack
22 Johnson. And Commissioner Kladney introduced that
23 motion.

24 I am happy to table this until next month's
25 meeting in order to see if we can reach a consensus on

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1 this. So if the majority wishes, I will defer until
2 next month.

3 CHAIR LHAMON: Okay. Thank you very much.
4 And thank you all for the discussion on this item.

5 Our next item is Commissioner Heriot's
6 suggestion that we discuss a motion related to
7 printing reports.

8 **G. DISCUSSION ON PRINTING REPORTS**

9 CHAIR LHAMON: Would you like to make the
10 motion yourself?

11 COMMISSIONER HERIOT: Aren't we better off
12 just with a discussion first? Can we do that?
13 Because --

14 CHAIR LHAMON: Okay.

15 COMMISSIONER HERIOT: -- it's not clear to
16 me what the motion should be.

17 CHAIR LHAMON: Okay.

18 COMMISSIONER HERIOT: It's just I'm very
19 concerned about the notion of not printing our reports
20 at all. I think that's a mistake. I think there are
21 many people who prefer a written report, and they are
22 more likely to read and they are more likely to keep a
23 report that is printed than something that they read
24 on the internet or something that they even print from
25 the internet.

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1 One problem that we have is simply one of
2 timing here. At this point in time, our website is
3 ghastly. And trying to get a report to download, I
4 have on many occasions simply given up and decided
5 that, well, I guess I don't need to read that report
6 after all. And if I'm willing to do that and, like, I
7 care deeply about our reports.

8 There are a lot of people who, when told
9 here, use this link. They're not going to even get
10 their computers to download the report, much less, you
11 know, entice them to want to wait for the report to
12 download and to fully print. Many people don't like
13 printing out long documents. I think that we have in
14 the past wasted some money by printing too many
15 reports. But as Commissioner Narasaki pointed out,
16 it's also true that most of the money that has to be
17 spent when you print a report is right up front,
18 whether you're printing one, two, or ten thousand.
19 That's true.

20 But nevertheless, I think that we need to
21 rethink the notion that we don't need to print reports
22 anymore. I mean, one of the examples I gave when we
23 were meeting informally about the budget this morning
24 was how different it is when you have a printed report
25 with a cover. And when you're done looking at it, I

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1 think many people would put something like that on
2 their bookshelf where they might then forget about it.

3 But, like, one year, two years, six years
4 later, there it still is and they're reminded of it.
5 If we go to an internet-only way of distributing our
6 reports, that use of the report disappears because
7 once they're done looking at it, if they're lucky
8 enough to have downloaded it from our website, then it
9 goes down the memory hole. They don't recall it
10 anymore, and they won't ever see it again.

11 And I think something is lost there. I
12 think that this is the core of what the Commission
13 does. It issues reports. And if there are no written
14 reports or if we have to print them up on an ordinary
15 printer, staple them together, it looks very
16 unprofessional. And we need to be taking into
17 consideration the cost of that too.

18 If we say we're saving money by not
19 printing reports, well, we're going to be paying for
20 that, in part. And it won't be as expensive, but it
21 will nevertheless be a cost of printing up large
22 numbers of these reports, stapling together, and
23 hustling down to House office buildings or to the
24 Department of Justice or to the Department of
25 Education with these unwieldy and very unprofessional-

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1 looking reports. I think that's a loss. And again,
2 that will also be expensive, 300 pages times how many
3 ever get printed up is -- that's money that has to be
4 looked at as counterbalancing the printing costs.

5 So what I would like to do -- and in fact,
6 in a sense, there's no need for a motion here because
7 the Commission can always do this -- and that is, with
8 each report, make an ad-hoc decision about whether to
9 print that report or whether to -- if so, how many?
10 The problem is if we plan as if there's going to be no
11 printing cost, then we won't be able to make that
12 decision. And I think that's a big mistake. I think
13 we're going to want to print reports in the future.

14 CHAIR LHAMON: Commissioner Narasaki?

15 COMMISSIONER NARASAKI: As a daughter of a
16 librarian, I actually like to have printed materials
17 in my hands and appreciate the sentiment that
18 Commissioner Heriot has made.

19 I think the challenge is, to me, it's all
20 about tradeoffs in the budget. And as we all know,
21 our budget had been virtually flat for 20 years which
22 meant that, in real dollars, we have been losing
23 budget size. And we have managed to survive by
24 cutting staff, by having to shut down regional
25 offices, by having to make a lot of very tough

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1 choices.

2 And here, we face another one. As
3 Commissioner Heriot notes, our website is barely
4 functional as are our computers and our software which
5 is, like, I think a decade old. I'm not even sure
6 what language our computers speak. But I know that it
7 doesn't speak to my computer which is only five years
8 old.

9 So -- and that's the challenge. And do we
10 print off nice looking reports in an age where people
11 are really doing their research more and more online?

12 Or do we try to save some of that money and actually
13 improve our website and give our staff the kind of
14 computers and software we need to really be as
15 efficient as possible because we have a shrinking
16 number of staff? And I think that's the challenge.
17 That's the reality of having a fairly flat budget.

18 Congress was wonderful in giving us some
19 additional money so that we could expand some of our
20 hearings and support better our State Advisory
21 Committees who we heard today are doing incredible
22 work. But they did not allow us to be able to use any
23 of that money to fix some of these operational issues
24 that we really have.

25 So to me, you can't just look at one part

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1 of the budget in isolation. You need to look at it in
2 the context of our overall budget. And I think staff
3 are really trying to make difficult choices. And I
4 think that Commissioners do not help if we try to just
5 pick off different issues in isolation.

6 CHAIR LHAMON: Well, I share, I think, all
7 of the sentiments described so far. I, too, very much
8 enjoy having a book to hold in hand and to refer back
9 to and I am sufficiently allowed that I tend to write
10 in the margins. And I like to be able to find those
11 again and see my highlights.

12 We are in a time where we are in
13 extraordinary fiscal constraint. And in the year and
14 a half that I've had the pleasure and honor to serve
15 on this Commission, I have watched our staff struggle
16 under, I think, enormous, enormous constraints to be
17 able to do the work that they are charged to do. I am
18 very grateful for what they, nonetheless, accomplish.

19 I think that the work that we have been putting out
20 is extraordinary, and I'm very grateful for what that
21 looks like and what I think will continue in these
22 difficult budgetary times. I think we need to be able
23 to support the staff we have and to privilege our
24 output over the production of written, pretty,
25 accessible documents.

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1 I will also say that I think we all would
2 like to see our website updated. I think that's
3 something would be something that is a goal for all of
4 us. And in my experience, I have been able to
5 download all of our reports and have been able to
6 download our past reports as well. And so I
7 appreciate being able to have ready access to them.

8 COMMISSIONER HERIOT: Well, I'd like to be
9 able to do that too.

10 (Laughter.)

11 CHAIR LHAMON: I'm happy to share with you
12 my expert skills.

13 COMMISSIONER HERIOT: Am I not right, that
14 Congress, in giving us the extra money, wanted it used
15 on reports, including SAC reports but also our
16 reports? So this actually goes with what Congress
17 intended that extra money to go for.

18 CHAIR LHAMON: I don't agree with that
19 assessment. I think that Congress absolutely wanted
20 us to have more output. I read no text in our
21 appropriations language or the staff report that
22 suggested that Congress wanted us to print them. And
23 in fact, my conversations at the Hill have included
24 Hill staff direct admonishment that we discontinue
25 practices that use our costs that way.

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1 So I think that we need to be very, very
2 cautious about our funds, our fund usage, and also we
3 can all hope for a time when we have fewer fiscal
4 constraints and more opportunities for how we can
5 spend those dollars.

6 VICE CHAIR TIMMONS-GOODSON: Madam Chair, I
7 am truly torn and a lot of what Commissioner Heriot
8 says makes sense. I wonder whether, in fact, this is
9 an issue that we need to vote on or make a definitive
10 decision at this time. I ask that we consider using
11 our considerable creativity and see if we can't find a
12 way to split the baby. As Commissioner Heriot says,
13 not all of our reports perhaps need to be printed and
14 certainly not in the manner in which we've done it in
15 the past. But there are some, if only the statutory
16 reports, for example. But anyway, I ask that we use
17 our considerable creativity to see if we can't come up
18 with a way to split the baby and have some that are
19 actually printed. But need we make that decision now?

20 CHAIR LHAMON: Commissioner Heriot?

21 COMMISSIONER HERIOT: I have to leave in
22 ten minutes. But it makes sense to me that this
23 doesn't have to be decided right now. It can be left
24 up in the air for a while. It's not like we're
25 printing a report today.

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1 And so if we want, we can continue this
2 discussion in July. And if mine doesn't print it
3 then, then we can continue it in August. It's not
4 possible for the Commission to bind itself never to
5 print a report. But we'd like to be a little bit more
6 organized than that and have a policy. So I would
7 propose we continue the discussion at a later meeting
8 in July, and if that's not possible, August.

9 CHAIR LHAMON: Sure. Thank you for the
10 discussion. I thank you for raising it. And with
11 that, we'll turn to the Staff Director's Staff
12 Director report.

13 **H. MANAGEMENT AND OPERATIONS -**

14 **STAFF DIRECTOR'S REPORT**

15 STAFF DIRECTOR MORALES: Thank you, Madam
16 Chair. I have nothing more to discuss beyond what's
17 already contained in the Director's report. As
18 always, I stand available if any Commissioner has a
19 particular question that is in the report.

20 But I do want to take a moment to
21 acknowledge the coming on board of our law clerks and
22 interns. And I see a lot of their faces out there in
23 the audience at the moment. So I want to take a
24 moment just to read off their names. And as
25 Commissioners cycle through the agency this summer to

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1 introduce themselves and avail themselves of getting
2 to know some incredibly bright minds and a lot of
3 really great hard work that they're already doing for
4 us.

5 And so I want to say thank you to all of
6 the law clerks and interns. And let me go ahead and
7 read your names. And I apologize if I make a mistake.

8 It's one of the worst characteristics that I have is
9 sometimes I can fumble the name.

10 But in any case, I want to welcome Scott
11 Pollins. Scott, welcome to here. I want to welcome
12 Valentina Cannavo. I want to welcome Amy Jeanneret.
13 I want to welcome Jake Goldberg. I want to welcome
14 Shimeng Zhang. I want welcome Aaron Hurd. I want to
15 welcome Zak Lutz. Welcome to Madeline Cook. Welcome
16 to Nicole Carroll. Welcome Matt Robinson who I'm just
17 going to do a shout out because you're at USC and I'm
18 a USC alum. I want to say welcome to Sabrina
19 Escalera-Flexhaug. And I want to welcome Aime Joo who
20 is here as well.

21 So thank you all for the hard work. I look
22 forward to seeing you throughout the summer. Please,
23 my office is open. Anytime you want to chat and have
24 a cup of coffee and kind of talk about the work we're
25 doing and why your involvement is so important. My

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1 door is always open.

2 So thank you very much, Madam Chair.
3 That's all I have. And so with that, over to you.

4 **III. ADJOURN MEETING**

5 CHAIR LHAMON: Terrific. Well, I will echo
6 the thanks and the gratitude to our interns this
7 summer. You are exponentially increasing our
8 efficacy. We're really thrilled to be able to have
9 you. And that I know it's my hope -- I think I speak
10 for all of our Commissioners in saying that it is our
11 hope that this experience with us this summer will
12 redouble your commitment to civil rights and to public
13 service. And we really very much look forward to
14 continue to work with you and are very grateful that
15 you're here. So thank you very much for that.

16 And also, very many thanks to our staff for
17 making sure that today's meeting has run as smoothly
18 as it has, which has been my also consistent
19 experience of this staff for which I'm very, very
20 grateful.

21 So with that, I will hereby adjourn our
22 meeting at 2:43 Eastern Time.

23 (Whereupon, the above-entitled matter went
24 off the record at 2:43 p.m.)

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