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COMMISSION BRIEFING:

DISCRIMINATION AGAINST NATIVE AMERICANS IN BORDER TOWNS

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FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 2007

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The meeting convened in Room 540 at 624 Ninth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. at 9:30 a.m., Abigail Thernstrom, Vice Chairman, presiding.

PRESENT:

ABIGAIL THERNSTROM, Vice Chairman JENNIFER C. BRACERAS, Commissioner GAIL L. HERIOT, Commissioner (via telephone) ARLAN D. MELENDEZ, Commissioner ASHLEY L. TAYLOR, JR., Commissioner MICHAEL YAKI, Commissioner

KENNETH L. MARCUS, Staff Director

STAFF PRESENT:

DAVID BLACKWOOD, General Counsel TERESA BROOKS CHRISTOPHER BYRNES, Attorney Advisor to the OSD & Acting Deputy General Counsel, OGC DEBRA CARR, Associate Deputy Staff Director, OSD PAMELA A. DUNSTON, Chief, ASCD LATRICE FOSHEE MONICA KIBLER ROBERT LERNER, Assistant Staff Director for OCRE SOCK FOON MacDOUGAL EMMA MONROIG, Solicitor/Parliamentarian EILEEN RUDERT KARA SILVERSTEIN KIMBERLY TOLHURST AUDREY WRIGHT MICHELE YORKMAN

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DOMINIQUE LUDVIGSON LISA NEUDER RICHARD SCHMELCHEL KIMBERLY SCHULD

PANELISTS:

STEPHEN L. PEVAR FRANK BIBEAU ALVIN WINDY BOY, SR. JAMES RUNNELS BARRY D. SIMPSON DUANE H. YAZZIE

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| 1  | P-R-O-C-E-E-D-I-N-G-S   |
| 2  | (9:37 a.m.)   |
| 3  | I. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS BY CHAIRMAN   |
| 4  | VICE CHAIR THERNSTROM: On behalf of the   |
| 5  | U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, I welcome everyone to  |
| 6  | this briefing on discrimination against Native  |
| 7  | Americans in border towns.  |
| 8  | Today, November 9th, 2007, the following  |
| 9  | commissioners are present: Commissioners Braceras,  |
| 10 | Melendez, Yaki, Ashley Taylor, and myself. And I  |
| 11 | believe that Commissioner Heriot is going to  |
| 12 | participate on the phone.   |
| 13 | Gail, are you there?  |
| 14 | COMMISSIONER HERIOT: Yes, I'm here.   |
| 15 | VICE CHAIR THERNSTROM: Welcome to the   |
| 16 | Commission. Commissioner Kirsanow has asked me to   |
| 17 | convey his regrets that he can't be here. He is   |
| 18 | hearing oral arguments in a major case as part of his   |
| 19 | duties as a member of the National Labor Relations  |
| 20 | Board. And the Chair, Gerald Reynolds, also regrets   |
| 21 | his absence. He has extremely important business in   |
| 22 | California.   |
| 23 | So we address today a question that   |
| 24 | actually is not new to the Commission. It has been  |
| 25 | before the State Advisory Commission. And there has   |
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5 1 been a recent report by the New Mexico Advisory 2 Committee on precisely this topic, which is obviously 3 an important one. So past studies of the U.S. Commission on 4 5 Civil Rights and its State Advisory Committees have 6 investigated the claim by Native American reservation 7 members that some non-Native residents, non-Native American residents of border towns, have willfully 8 9 violated their civil rights. Commission will 10 The examine three of 11 questions: one, the number civil rights 12 violations, whether the number of civil rights violations has changed over time; two, what has been 13 14 done to improve relations between the two groups and reduce incidents of discrimination; and, three, the 15 16 nature of current problems. 17 The Commission has assembled a panel of experts to discuss this topic. And the speakers are 18 19 if Ι mispronounce anybody's name, please and 20 forgive me and correct me -- Mr. Stephen Pevar. 21 MR. PEVAR: Pevar. VICE CHAIR THERNSTROM: 22 Pevar. Thank you. 23 And I hope I remember it the next time. -- Senior Staff Attorney, American Civil 24 25 Liberties Union. Mr. Frank Bibeau, is that? **NEAL R. GROSS** COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS 1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.

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| 1  | MR. BIBEAU: Yes, ma'am.   |
| 2  | VICE CHAIR THERNSTROM: Oh, made one of  |
| 3  | them.   |
| 4  | is an attorney with the hope I get  |
| 5  | this pronunciation here correctly Anishinabe. Is  |
| 6  | that correct?   |
| 7  | MR. BIBEAU: Yes, ma'am.   |
| 8  | VICE CHAIR THERNSTROM: Legal Services;  |
| 9  | Mr. Alvin Windy Boy, Sr., former Chairman of the  |
| 10 | Chippewa-Cree tribe, Rocky Boy's Reservation, Montana;  |
| 11 | Mr. James Runnels, Chief of Police at Farmington, New   |
| 12 | Mexico; Mr. Barry D. Simpson, Superintendent, Bishop  |
| 13 | Union Elementary School District; and Mr. Duane H.  |
| 14 | Yazzie, President, Shiprock Chapter, Navajo Nation.   |
| 15 | The record will be open for 30 days.  |
| 16 | Public comments may be mailed to the U.S. Commission  |
| 17 | on Civil Rights, Office of Civil Rights Evaluation,   |
| 18 | room 740, 624 9th Street, Northwest, Washington, D.C.   |
| 19 | 20425.  |
| 20 | So we have divided our experts into two   |
| 21 | panels. And panel one consists of Stephen Pevar. Got  |
| 22 | it right this time. Thank you. He was a graduate of   |
| 23 | Princeton University and the University of Virginia   |
| 24 | Law School.   |
| 25 | From 1971 through 1974, Mr. Pevar was a   |
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| 1  | staff attorney with the South Dakota Legal Services on  |
| 2  | the Rosebud Sioux Indian Reservation. From 1976 to  |
| 3  | the present, he has been a national staff counsel for   |
| 4  | the American Civil Liberties Union.   |
| 5  | He has litigated over 200 federal cases   |
| 6  | involving constitutional rights. His specialties  |
| 7  | include free speech, Indian rights, prisoners' rights,  |
| 8  | separation of church and state. He is the author of   |
| 9  | The Rights of the Indians and Tribes.   |
| 10 | Frank Bibeau is an attorney for the oh,   |
| 11 | here we go again Anishinabe Legal Services did I  |
| 12 | mess up this time? serving White Earth, Leech Lake,   |
| 13 | and Red Lake Reservations in northern Minnesota.  |
| 14 | He is an enrolled member of the White   |
| 15 | Earth Reservation, has four cases before the Minnesota  |
| 16 | Court of Appeals addressing different Indian civil and  |
| 17 | treaty rights.  |
| 18 | He has been in private practice and worked  |
| 19 | as a tribal attorney for the Leech Lake Reservation   |
| 20 | from 2000 to 2004. He has also been an attorney for   |
| 21 | the State of Minnesota.   |
| 22 | Please swear and affirm the information   |
| 23 | you have provided is true and accurate, to the best of  |
| 24 | your knowledge and belief.  |
| 25 | (Whereupon, there was a chorus of   |
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| 1  | affirmative responses.)   |
| 2  | COMMISSIONER MELENDEZ: Madam Chair, I   |
| 3  | would like to read a statement before we hear the   |
| 4  | testimony, if possible. It's just acknowledging this  |
| 5  | month as  |
| 6  | VICE CHAIR THERNSTROM: Sure.  |
| 7  | COMMISSIONER MELENDEZ: I want to announce   |
| 8  | that November has again been proclaimed National  |
| 9  | American Indian Heritage Month by the President. The  |
| 10 | President said that American Indians and Alaska   |
| 11 | Natives continue to shape our nation by preserving the  |
| 12 | heritage of their ancestors and by contributing to the  |
| 13 | rich diversity that is our country's strength. Their  |
| 14 | dedicated efforts to honor their proud heritage have  |
| 15 | helped others gain a deeper understanding of the  |
| 16 | vibrant and ancient customs of the Native American  |
| 17 | community.  |
| 18 | We also express our gratitude to the  |
| 19 | American Indians, Alaska Natives who serve in our   |
| 20 | nation's military and work to extend the blessings of   |
| 21 | liberty around the world.   |
| 22 | VICE CHAIR THERNSTROM: Thank you very   |
| 23 | much for that statement.  |
| 24 | Well, I welcome you to the Commission once  |
| 25 | again. I am calling on you in the order you have been   |
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| 1  | given for the record. So, Mr. Pevar, you will speak   |
| 2  | for ten minutes. Please watch the clock. And we are   |
| 3  | really going to try to keep this on time because  |
| 4  | obviously we have a lot of speakers. Please proceed.  |
| 5  | MR. PEVAR: Thank you very much. You   |
| 6  | know, ten minutes is cruel and unusual punishment.  |
| 7  | II. SPEAKERS' PRESENTATIONS   |
| 8  | MR. PEVAR: I want to acknowledge the  |
| 9  | Commission for continuing these investigations and for  |
| 10 | inviting me to participate in these discussions.  |
| 11 | Border racism against Indians exists. It  |
| 12 | is pernicious. It is virulent. And it manifests   |
| 13 | itself every day in scores of ways: law enforcement,  |
| 14 | in the public schools, in voting rights, housing  |
| 15 | discrimination, and in banking, to name just a few.   |
| 16 | I know it exists because I have seen it   |
| 17 | with my own eyes. I saw it happen numerous times when   |
| 18 | I lived on the Rosebud Sioux Indian reservation in the  |
| 19 | early '70s: the suspicious looks that I and my  |
| 20 | clients would receive when we went off the reservation  |
| 21 | to courts, the racial profiling that I saw occur, the   |
| 22 | seemingly unfair and harsh sentences that my clients  |
| 23 | often received.   |
| 24 | In the question and answer period, I would  |
| 25 | love an opportunity to discuss one case in particular,  |
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which for me manifested inexcusable racism against my Indian client in Murdo, South Dakota. I also know that it still exists.

4 Ι and my colleaques have filed race 5 discrimination cases. The Voting Rights Project of 6 the ACLU has been leader in filing voting а 7 discrimination that cases have proven race discrimination in Colorado, Nebraska, South Dakota, 8 9 and Montana. Federal court decisions have recognized 10 that communities just off the reservation were where, 11 let's say, school districts encompass portions of the 12 reservation, have deliberately and intentionally discriminated against Indian citizens, such as 13 by having block votes to elect their members. 14

In a school district, for example, there 15 16 may be 40 percent Indian and they're all located in, 17 let's say, the southeast portion of the district. Ιf delegates were voted on by district, then the Indian 18 19 population would likely be able to elect two people. Knowing this, communities have deliberately chosen to 20 21 elect their representatives on an at-large basis, resulting in no Indian ever being elected to the 22 23 school board.

24 In the past 18 months, I have been one of 25 the staff ACLU attorneys pursuing a lawsuit entitled

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Antione v. Winter School District in South Dakota, which alleges race discrimination against Indians in the public school system in Winter, Tripp County. This school district borders on the Rosebud Sioux Indian Reservation and has a sizeable Indian population.

7 Just very quickly, to give you an idea, the school's records suggested 8 own rampant 9 discrimination in virtually every aspect of the school administration. For instance, regarding out-of-school 10 suspensions, expelling, kicking kids out of school, in 11 12 the middle school, between 2001 and 2006, one in every 5 Indian students was suspended from school but only 13 one in every 27 white kids. 14

15 Even though Indians are only 20 percent of 16 the population of the middle school, they receive 60 17 percent of the school suspensions. The comparison of graduation rates was shocking. In the high school in 18 19 2003, for instance, only 11 percent of the Indian kids 20 began as a freshman or freshwoman ultimately who 21 graduated, a 90 percent failure rate, 90 percent. The graduation rate for white kids was 82 percent. 22

There is also in that school system what we call the school-to-prison pipeline, where Indian kids in our view were discriminated against and where

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| 1  | infractions if committed by a white student were  |
| 2  | viewed as "Well, boys will be boys," but if committed   |
| 3  | by an Indian student, it represented some violent act,  |
| 4  | some enormous threat to the school.   |
| 5  | Between 2001 and 2006, 11 percent of  |
| 6  | Indian students were referred to the police, so one   |
| 7  | out of every 10 nearly. For white kids, it was less   |
| 8  | than one out of 50.   |
| 9  | Now, here is the good news that I'm very  |
| 10 | pleased to report. To the enormous credit of school   |
| 11 | officials in Winter, South Dakota, a very proactive   |
| 12 | settlement of our lawsuit was agreed upon.  |
| 13 | Just a couple of months ago, we negotiated  |
| 14 | an excellent remedial plan that I will be happy to  |
| 15 | discuss if anyone asks questions about it or needs  |
| 16 | more details. I will even submit a copy of the final  |
| 17 | decree to the Commission.   |
| 18 | We are appearing December 10th in federal   |
| 19 | court in Pierre, South Dakota. Both sides are urging  |
| 20 | the court to adopt this remedial plan. And it will if   |
| 21 | implemented properly change virtually everything about  |
| 22 | the discrimination that has been rampant for decades  |
| 23 | in the school system.   |
| 24 | Now, as the author of the book, The Rights  |
| 25 | of the Indians and Tribes, I keep a file on the   |
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| 1  | subject of discrimination against Indians. Obviously   |
| 2  | I do not investigate these issues throughout the       |
| 3  | United States. It would be impossible to do so.        |
| 4  | But I do keep a sizeable file on that                  |
| 5  | subject. And in preparation for these remarks, I       |
| 6  | reviewed my file. And, indeed, I did find articles or  |
| 7  | copies of studies on virtually every aspect of our     |
| 8  | society.   |
| 9  | One article that I brought with me that I              |
| 10 | would be happy to leave, it's a December 24, 2003      |
| 11 | article in "Indian Country Today" reporting on a       |
| 12 | survey conducted by the U.S. Department of Housing and |
| 13 | Urban Development in the States of Montana, Minnesota, |
| 14 | and New Mexico. And it found discrimination. And I'm   |
| 15 | reading now from the article, "Discrimination against  |
| 16 | American Indians occurred 28.5 percent of the time     |
| 17 | when families or individuals attempted to find         |
| 18 | adequate rental housing."                              |
| 19 | More than one-quarter of the Indians who               |
| 20 | sought to rent an accommodation were denied. But then  |
| 21 | when they sent a white person to rent the same         |
| 22 | facility, it was told that it was available.           |
| 23 | Hispanics were next at 25.7 percent, followed by       |
| 24 | African Americans at 21.6 percent and Asians 21.5      |
| 25 | percent. So the HUD study found that Indians were the  |
|    |  |

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1 most likely racial minority to experience race discrimination. 2 Now, I will also submit as part of my 3 4 written materials as soon as I have an opportunity to 5 gather them other articles or studies involving race 6 discrimination against Indians. Indians have every 7 constitutional right, both on the reservation and off, that every other citizen has. But these rights often 8 are violated due to race discrimination. 9 No one, no one, should be made to feel 10 inferior as a result of his or her race, not in this 11 12 country and not anywhere. Racism cheapens and 13 diminishes all of us. We all need to improve our race relations, all of us. 14 15 Thank you very much. 16 VICE CHAIR THERNSTROM: Thank you very 17 much, coming in early even. Okay. Mr. Bibeau, you are --18 19 MR. BIBEAU: Thank you. 20 VICE CHAIR THERNSTROM: You have got ten 21 minutes. 22 MR. BIBEAU: I appreciate being here 23 And I'm glad that Bill couldn't come so I today. could come for Mr. Lawrence. And his remarks have 24 25 already been presented. I'll try not to duplicate **NEAL R. GROSS** COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS 1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W. (202) 234-4433 WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701 www.nealrgross.com

1 those or Mr. Pevar's, which I think are accurate for 2 almost every reservation. It's interesting that he mentioned voting 3 4 rights. The ACLU has set up a project in the 5 three-reservation area where I live. And they worked 6 on the voting rights. We had tribal IDs made, and we were allowed to use those for identification in the 7 elections. 8 9 Shortly after that, because they didn't have the little strips on it that give all the other 10 information on everybody like a credit card, our IDs 11 12 were determined by the state to no longer be useful for anything. 13 We even have in one county where 14 the police go and tell the pawn shops that they can't use 15 16 the Red Lakers IDs to identify them for pawning 17 And that pawn dealer actually takes whatever. pictures of the individuals because he wants to make 18 19 sure he knows who he is dealing with. But, yet, the police have a habit of telling the businesses what 20 21 they can and can't use for an ID, which seems very odd. 22 23 You are probably familiar with the Red Lake shootings that happened at the high school a 24 25 couple of years ago. Interestingly enough, there's a **NEAL R. GROSS** COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS 1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W. (202) 234-4433 WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701 www.nealrgross.com

lot of problems between trying to figure out where you want to have your kids, whether you want to have them in a reservation school or off reservation.

4 One of the adjacent communities that we're 5 working through a couple of issues with right now, a 6 town called Kelliher, the school board has put a max 7 class size, which I would say coincidentally mirrors the non-Indian population size for the people who 8 9 attend the school in an effort to prevent Red Lake children from going to that school. It's very odd to 10 see those kinds of things, and we're going to be 11 12 working through that as well. But those things do happen. 13

Minnesota is a different state in that 14 it's a Public Law 280 state. 15 And it confuses, I 16 think, the state and the government that exists there because in 1953, when the federal government gave 17 jurisdiction and limited civil 18 criminal some 19 jurisdiction to the state, the state assumed all 20 jurisdiction.

In 1987, when some of the casino stuff came up with the Cabazon decision, people started realizing that the civil jurisdiction wasn't quite as broad as everyone had assumed being 100 percent. And since that time, we are trying to regain the rights

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| 1  | that we have always had but people don't want to let                              |
| 2  | us have.  |
| 3  | One of the problems that I come across is   |
| 4  | that and I will just tell you one of the little                                   |
| 5  | stories. I was in county court. And when I go into                                |
| 6  | county court and I represent somebody, oftentimes the                             |
| 7  | other Indians in the room will come and stop me                                   |
| 8  | because they also realize that I understand more about                            |
| 9  | what is going on.   |
| 10 | There was a young man in there who was  |
| 11 | about 20 years old. And he was in there for a ticket                              |
| 12 | for what they called the "Not a Drop" rule. And that                              |
| 13 | means that between ages 18 and 21, if you have any                                |
| 14 | amount of alcohol whatsoever and you're caught                                    |
| 15 | driving, it's a zero tolerance violation.   |
| 16 | I asked him how did he get stopped, and he  |
| 17 | said he didn't have any license plates on his car.                                |
| 18 | And I said, "Well, did he give you a ticket for that?"                            |
| 19 | He said, "Well, no."  |
| 20 | And I said, "Well, what about   |
| 21 | registration?"  |
| 22 | He says, "I didn't have that either."   |
| 23 | I said, "Well, did he give you a ticket   |
| 24 | for that?"  |
| 25 | And he said, "No."  |
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| 1  | I said, "Do you have a driver's license?"   |
| 2  | He said, "No."  |
| 3  | I said, "Did you have insurance?"   |
| 4  | And he said, "No."  |
| 5  | I said, "He only gave you the ticket for  |
| 6  | 'Not a Drop'?"  |
| 7  | He says, "That's it."   |
| 8  | Unfortunately, the "Not a Drop" rule is   |
| 9  | perceived as criminal where we live, and the other  |
| 10 | four are perceived as civil regulatory. And they  |
| 11 | would go to tribal court. The police feel that the  |
| 12 | Indian people do not punish their own people severely   |
| 13 | enough or properly enough. And so they also don't   |
| 14 | want to write tickets and waste their time to go and  |
| 15 | testify at court for what may have happened for safe  |
| 16 | driving conduct for everybody in Minnesota.   |
| 17 | Oddly, at the same time, because  |
| 18 | everybody's budgets are shrinking, they're looking for  |
| 19 | every penny they can find. And so they write tickets  |
| 20 | for what they think they can extract from Native  |
| 21 | Americans through their court system, as opposed to   |
| 22 | sending people to ours.   |
| 23 | The opposite is happening on the White  |
| 24 | Earth Reservation. In White Earth, the casino was   |
| 25 | placed on non-trust land at the time. It's in trust   |
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They pay their taxes under protest. And for the last three years, the taxes have approximately reached \$12 million. Mahnomen County is wholly within that reservation and cannot come up with \$12 million.

They are so mad that the county attorney has told the records person for the county that they cannot give marriage licenses to tribal members who have been divorced in tribal court because it's not recognized by them. They can go to the next county over and get a marriage license, but they can't get one from that county.

When tickets are given to tribal members and they realize that the tribal members have a right to have it transferred to tribal court, rather than having it transferred to tribal court, they just dismiss it because it would cost time and money to put a letter together and send it over to tribal court.

19 Tribal court might actually collect the 20 fine. So you actually don't have prosecution. But, 21 yet, when they could recover the money for a marriage 22 license or other things, they would rather just tell 23 the Indian people no.

24 It's a very weird environment to live in 25 because I grew up here in Manassas 25 years ago. I

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20 1 moved here during the '60s and '70s during civil 2 rights and everything else. Civil rights have not 3 reached the Indian people. 4 Oddly, at this time, because of casinos 5 and gaming, you have internal oppression as well and 6 also good pieces. Minimum wage where I live is 7 probably \$7.50 because of the casino jobs. And most often reservations are the largest employer in the 8 9 counties. That has enabled us to get credit. 10 That 11 has enabled us to get cars and houses and things. 12 That also means that we have patronage in our politics and that you can be fired just because you're in the 13 wrong family. 14 15 When that happens, when we lose our jobs 16 and our credit, the people who are adjacent to us in the non-Indian communities can't always tell who we 17 are and what our backgrounds are. And so they don't 18 19 want to give us credit again maybe. destabilized 20 We have adjacent our 21 communities at the same time. It's a form of racism. It's a form of discrimination. I don't see it so much 22 with the people, but the police I certainly see it. 23 And the police, both internally, the tribal police, as 24 25 well as the county police, have even come to some **NEAL R. GROSS** 

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| 1  | agreement when if they perceive it's a tribal member   |
| 2  | who is called, they try to have the tribal police go   |
| 3  | out there because the county doesn't think they have   |
| 4  | to anymore.  |
| 5  | It's falling apart, instead of coming                  |
| 6  | together in a lot of ways. And it leaves people in a   |
| 7  | vacuum. It leaves people unsure of what rights are     |
| 8  | going to be enforced.                                  |
| 9  | At the same time, I work on treaty rights              |
| 10 | in state court. A particular case that I have been     |
| 11 | working on for some time is called civil forfeiture.   |
| 12 | And you may be familiar with the concept that you've   |
| 13 | had drunk driving two or three times, fleeing from     |
| 14 | maybe a drunk driving or something. They call it a     |
| 15 | criminal thing. And they go to take your car.          |
| 16 | Because it's civil and it happens on the               |
| 17 | reservation to tribal members, it's civil regulatory   |
| 18 | and it belongs in tribal court and state lacks         |
| 19 | jurisdiction, while I have been able to get cars back  |
| 20 | for many years and the county attorneys know I can get |
| 21 | those cars back, they will not voluntarily release     |
| 22 | those cars when they know they have taken them from a  |
| 23 | tribal member on their reservation. They will attempt  |
| 24 | to keep that vehicle and sell it, hoping I don't find  |
| 25 | out.   |
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| 1  | I have finally gotten a judge to rule                  |
| 2  | against me. I've taken it to the Court of Appeals now  |
| 3  | also. And hopefully I'll get a precedent set for       |
| 4  | tribal members on their reservations throughout        |
| 5  | Minnesota.   |
| 6  | In the meantime, people are trying to                  |
| 7  | collect everything they can from the poorest people.   |
| 8  | They're keeping us poor. We're helping ourselves       |
| 9  | sometimes keep us poor. But it's very difficult where  |
| 10 | I live for the distances. If you don't have a car,     |
| 11 | you don't have a job, you don't maybe get to keep your |
| 12 | house, you don't maybe get to keep your family and     |
| 13 | kids.  |
| 14 | There are people who go through CHIPs,                 |
| 15 | Children in Need of Protection, because they are       |
| 16 | homeless. There was a woman who didn't have the        |
| 17 | proper refrigeration for insulin for the diabetes for  |
| 18 | her child. And so they took her child out of the home  |
| 19 | until she could get a home. Well, it's hard to get a   |
| 20 | home without a car and without a job.                  |
| 21 | It's very weird how the laws are starting              |
| 22 | to impact us. We're bringing a lot more stuff into     |
| 23 | tribal court, but we really don't always have the      |
| 24 | resources. And I'm not so sure that the counties and   |
| 25 | the state really want us to.                           |
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23 1 And in many ways, you know, it's sad for 2 much as I try to be friendly with all the me, as 3 attorneys. These are some of the smartest people in 4 the world who know exactly what they're doing, who 5 know they're doing things that I believe are against 6 the law, and they continue to do them for the welfare 7 of their own budgets. When you talk about civil rights, I think 8 in positions of in the 9 people who are power 10 establishment who understand what your rights are and 11 intentionally look the other way or, contrarily, even 12 penalize you, I find that very offensive. It's very And there are things like that that I think 13 sad. people need to understand that still exist. 14 It's not very much different than what the 15 16 South was 30-40 years ago, when I was a kid. It still arrived. And it's in the United States. 17 Thank you. 18 19 VICE CHAIR THERNSTROM: Two witnesses who have used their time extremely well, and we thank both 20 21 It is now open to questions and comments by of you. commissioners. Yes, Commissioner Yaki? 22 23 QUESTIONS BY COMMISSIONERS AND STAFF DIRECTOR III. COMMISSIONER YAKI: I would like Mr. Pevar 24 25 since he opened the door to tell us about the one case NEAL R. GROSS COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS 1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.

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| 1  | in South Dakota that he wished to discuss.  |
| 2  | MR. PEVAR: I was appointed to represent   |
| 3  | an Indian man who lived in the town of Murdo. Murdo   |
| 4  | is a relatively small town, but it's on U.S. 90. And  |
| 5  | he was accused of possessing stolen property.   |
| 6  | When I spoke with him, he told me the   |
| 7  | story that late one night, four Indian fellows, whom  |
| 8  | he didn't know, stopped off at his house and asked if   |
| 9  | he would give them \$20 if they left this saddle with   |
| 10 | him.  |
| 11 | And being Indian and this being part of   |
| 12 | his culture, he agreed. And he gave them \$20. And  |
| 13 | they said that they were going to Rapid City and later  |
| 14 | in the week would come back and pick up the saddle.   |
| 15 | They never came back. Three months later  |
| 16 | he then took the saddle to a rancher, whom he knew had  |
| 17 | horses, and offered to sell him the saddle. The   |
| 18 | rancher immediately recognized the saddle as his own  |
| 19 | saddle that had been stolen. The rancher then called  |
| 20 | the police. And they came and arrested my client.   |
| 21 | At trial, I called three witnesses,   |
| 22 | including a former Chairman of the Rosebud Sioux  |
| 23 | tribe, as well as two very prominent Indian business  |
| 24 | people, all of whom testified that in Indian culture,   |
| 25 | you help one another, you don't question, you don't   |
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worry, if you can help somebody, you do and that they had given money out to many Indian people who appeared needy at the time, took property, and about half the time, people came back for the property and the other half didn't.

In other to prove this crime, you would 6 7 have to show intent that this gentleman knew that the property was stolen when he possessed it. 8 Now, 9 obviously he could not have known that it belonged to the very person whom he tried to sell it to. 10 No one is that stupid. And the evidence showed that in the 11 12 Indian world, it was perfectly reasonable for him to do exactly what he did do. 13

We also called as a witness the white woman whom this man worked for. And she reported that he had been working for her for almost two years, he was totally reliable, she gave him the key to his house, and he often did work inside the house, that she couldn't believe that he would have deliberately either stolen property or possessed property.

It took the jury less than 60 minutes to come back with a guilty verdict. I was stunned. I started crying. My client went like this to me as if I was the only one in the entire courtroom who actually thought that he would be found not guilty.

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The next day the white woman who had testified called me to report that she drove her car out of her driveway that evening and the brakes failed and that when she took it to the shop in the morning, the mechanic told her that someone had slashed the fluid cable to her brakes.

7 This is the kind of thing that I in Legal 8 Aid and my other co-counsel in Legal Aid experienced 9 routinely. It is the kind of shocking thing that 10 probably the majority of us don't experience or I 11 should say the majority of white people anyway unless 12 they might live in some minority community or minority 13 country, don't even have a clue as to what goes on.

this day, just horribly 14 То Ι am SO 15 disappointed at my fellow citizens in Murdo, South 16 Dakota who sent to prison for a year this man, whom I 17 am absolutely convinced was innocent. That's the criminal case. 18

19 VICE CHAIR THERNSTROM: Other questions20 from commissioners?

21 COMMISSIONER MELENDEZ: Yes. Mr. Pevar, 22 you talked about recent voting rights discrimination. 23 Could you comment a little more on specific cases? 24 MR. PEVAR: There have been four or five 25 cases that I am aware of handled by the ACLU Voting

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| 1  | Rights Project: Thurston, Nebraska; in Martin, South  |
| 2  | Dakota; in northern South Dakota; in Montana; and in  |
| 3  | Colorado.   |
| 4  | And all of them involve the same basic set  |
| 5  | of facts, as I mentioned. It was either the county  |
| 6  | commissioner's office or a school district in which   |
| 7  | there were substantial minority, Indian minority,   |
| 8  | populations. But they were congregated in an area, in   |
| 9  | a region within the voting district. And, rather than   |
| 10 | make voting by districts, they had an at-large  |
| 11 | election.   |
| 12 | And, as a result, if the Indian population  |
| 13 | was less than 50 percent, as it was in all of these   |
| 14 | situations, Indians routinely lost the elections. All   |
| 15 | five of these cases resulted in federal court decrees   |
| 16 | finding intentional discrimination.   |
| 17 | COMMISSIONER MELENDEZ: One more question  |
| 18 | I have, could you please talk more about voter ID   |
| 19 | requirements? I know that not every Native American   |
| 20 | person drives as far as a driver's license and the  |
| 21 | issue on using tribal enrollment cards and those types  |
| 22 | of things. Can any of you   |
| 23 | MR. PEVAR: Frank mentioned that subject   |
| 24 | and not me. The issue about voter IDs is a national   |
| 25 | issue, not only for Indians but a number of people who  |
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28 might not have driver's licenses. And it 1 is a 2 pressing problem. I know it is for Indians that they have difficulty registering to vote if they don't have 3 4 a picture government ID. 5 Ι have any personal information don't about this. So I need to qualify this. 6 But I have 7 heard that a number of Indians have had difficulty registering to vote, even when they have had tribal 8 9 IDs. 10 But Frank have may more personal information about that than I do. 11 And I think his comments are 12 MR. BIBEAU: accurate for where we are at. It was surprising for 13 us, as a number of reservations, to go through the 14 15 effort to try to get IDs out to everybody in concert 16 with the state. 17 And then I think it was a year later they basically said, "Well, your IDs don't have all the 18 19 stuff we like to have on, whether it's the PATRIOT 20 Act, the Homeland Security Act." 21 We don't mind people knowing who we are and knowing where we live, but, you know, we also like 22 23 a little privacy. And we don't just want the man who always seems to know where we live and when to find us 24 25 to just be able to do it that much easier either. NEAL R. GROSS COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS 1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.

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| 1  | And it seems odd that we would go through   |
| 2  | this. And now that we have met one hurdle, now let's  |
| 3  | put this little magnetic strip on there. And, as  |
| 4  | Indian people, we're not going to know what's on that   |
| 5  | magnetic strip. We don't know what kind of  |
| 6  | information is on there.  |
| 7  | It's a very strange world in that sense.  |
| 8  | It just seems like as soon as you meet one barrier,   |
| 9  | another one comes up. And I guess that's the real   |
| 10 | problem because I know that I have gone to vote in  |
| 11 | what I would call white. And I use the term "white"   |
| 12 | like Mr. Pevar because in Indian law, you're either   |
| 13 | Indian or white. I mean, that's kind of how the   |
| 14 | language works.   |
| 15 | So I have gone to vote there. And you can   |
| 16 | bring an electric bill. It shows your address. It   |
| 17 | shows you're currently there. It's strange. But   |
| 18 | they've gotten things now. And supposedly and you   |
| 19 | are aware of the other attorney general's firing.   |
| 20 | There was one in Minnesota that was intentionally   |
| 21 | fired. They're not sure. And a new one came out   |
| 22 | there.  |
| 23 | The rumor around the reservations is that   |
| 24 | she is looking at the voting rights issues because  |
| 25 | tribal members when we go to our elections, we give a   |
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30 1 lot of people rides because they don't have cars, they 2 don't have driver's licenses, and they don't like --3 and I say, "they." I'm guessing the Republicans don't 4 like the way we turn out to vote. And I guess we help 5 each other with gas money or whatever. And so they 6 think that maybe we're doing this, which is in a 7 predominantly DFL state. And supposedly the U.S. 8 so Attorney 9 General is going to be looking at the way we do our 10 voting on reservation to see how it may impact off reservation as well. And we're not that big a people 11 12 to impact the vote. Are people looking for a problem? 13 I don't know. Are they making a problem? I don't know. 14 It's 15 interesting. 16 COMMISSIONER YAKI: Aren't there also some 17 sovereignty issues involved? I mean, don't you have the ability to make your own ID? What is it that in 18 19 that interplay between the notion of a sovereign 20 nation and the neighboring town that enables them to 21 say that "We're sorry. We decide not to recognize your own sovereign form of ID"? Has anyone brought 22 23 that up or how has that been --MR. BIBEAU: I don't think it's the people 24 25 Minnesota is a very diverse population. so much. **NEAL R. GROSS** COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS 1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.

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| 1  | Even in the early turn of the Nineteenth Century and  |
| 2  | the late 1800s, you have many, many ethnic groups that  |
| 3  | were all discriminated against over the years.  |
| 4  | And so they have all been intermarried for  |
| 5  | 10 decades, 15 decades. But it's the system. I  |
| 6  | perceive it's the actual institution. If we don't   |
| 7  | have a Minnesota driver's license, we haven't paid  |
| 8  | \$18.50. They want us to pay them for the stuff that  |
| 9  | they recognize.   |
| 10 | I perceive it as a way to keep us in  |
| 11 | poverty in a sense. I don't get it. Our tribal IDs  |
| 12 | used to be free. We have to pay a little bit for them   |
| 13 | now. But it seems odd that who I am, even as an   |
| 14 | attorney at times, I still have to be able to prove   |
| 15 | much more of who I am to be able to do things. And it   |
| 16 | all seems economic. Almost every problem I look at,   |
| 17 | if you look at it, there's an underlying dollar sign  |
| 18 | problem.  |
| 19 | And that's what I think is happening with   |
| 20 | the budget problems and everything everywhere in the  |
| 21 | United States. In Indian country, when you are  |
| 22 | dealing with a lot more poor people, it just becomes a  |
| 23 | lot more obvious.   |
| 24 | COMMISSIONER MELENDEZ: Just one more  |
| 25 | question I had. Can you talk more about how legal   |
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jurisdiction on and off reservation affects the enforcement of criminal and anti-discrimination laws?

MR. PEVAR: Yes. Chapter 8 of my book qoes into this in detail. Criminal jurisdiction on Indian reservations is enormously complicated. And who has jurisdiction over a particular crime will depend on where the crime occurred, whether on Indian land or non-Indian land. It can also depend on the the victim as well as the race of the race of perpetrator. And all of those factors have to be considered in determining whether the tribe, the state, and/or the federal government has jurisdiction.

There have been a host of court decisions 13 as well as several federal statutes that help decide 14 15 many of these questions of criminal jurisdiction. But 16 having said all of that, let me emphasize, as I do in 17 my book, that one of the very unfortunate and shameful the complex and complicated 18 aspects of set of 19 jurisdictional laws is that, as Frank mentioned, many 20 law enforcement agencies simply throw up their hands 21 and say, "Well, I'm not going to spend my time and my money prosecuting violators on an Indian reservation." 22 23 And, as a result, there's a vacuum of law enforcement. I don't know if this Commission has been 24

aware of the recent Amnesty International report on

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33 1 violence against Native American women, but if not, I 2 cannot urge you more strongly to incorporate that into 3 your findings. 4 Amnesty International found that women, 5 Native women on the reservation, were two and a half 6 times more likely to be raped than non-Native women 7 off the reservation, and the majority of the time by white men. In the vast majority of these instances, 8 there's no prosecutions. 9 10 So that is a very dramatic way of trying to answer your question. I could, if you would like, 11 12 spend some time and explain who does have jurisdiction on Indian reservations. Let me just pick one example. 13 In 1885, Congress passed the Major Crimes 14 15 Act. And he had authorized the federal government for 16 the first time to prosecute people who violate any one of then seven major crimes, including rape. A number 17 of crimes have been added. 18 19 As a result of the MCA, the Major Crimes 20 Act, anyone now who commits a major crime on the 21 reservation, whether Indian an or а non-Indian, against an Indian -- the victim would have to be an 22 23 Indian, but the perpetrator could be either Indian or non-Indian -- would then be prosecuted in federal 24 25 court for committing that felony. But, here again, I **NEAL R. GROSS** 

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| 1  | can report that there is a vacuum in law enforcement.   |
| 2  | On the Rosebud reservation, for example,  |
| 3  | the nearest federal court is 100 miles away. That is  |
| 4  | where the marshals are. That's where the FBI is. And  |
| 5  | they're simply reluctant to spend that much time and  |
| 6  | energy, days of investigating 100 miles from their  |
| 7  | home these heinous crimes.  |
| 8  | COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: Can I ask a  |
| 9  | question?   |
| 10 | MR. PEVAR: Sure.  |
| 11 | COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: Because I think I  |
| 12 | am not disputing that there's a lack of prosecution of  |
| 13 | these crimes, but you have taken quite a leap in  |
| 14 | positing why that might be.   |
| 15 | MR. PEVAR: And I will defend it.  |
| 16 | COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: With what  |
| 17 | evidence?   |
| 18 | MR. PEVAR: Years of experience.   |
| 19 | COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: I'm not doubting   |
| 20 | that there is a lack of prosecution. What I am asking   |
| 21 | you is, you're asserting that it's because they don't   |
| 22 | want to spend the time and money, right?  |
| 23 | And what I want to ask you is, what do the  |
| 24 | federal authorities say is the reason for the low   |
| 25 | number of prosecutions?   |
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| 1  | MR. PEVAR: You will have to ask them.   |
| 2  | COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: Have you ever  |
| 3  | pursued that with them or do you just jump to   |
| 4  | conclusions that it's because of money or   |
| 5  | discriminatory reasons?   |
| 6  | MR. PEVAR: I believe that there are a   |
| 7  | number of reasons. I know that Indian people often  |
| 8  | distrust white people. And I'm sure that prosecutions   |
| 9  | have been hampered by Indians not wanting to testify  |
| 10 | against others.   |
| 11 | I mean, your point is very well-taken.  |
| 12 | And I certainly   |
| 13 | COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: And whose fault  |
| 14 | would that be? I mean, in other words, if witnesses   |
| 15 | aren't going to come forward to help law enforcement  |
| 16 | prosecute a case, you can't very well blame law   |
| 17 | enforcement.  |
| 18 | MR. PEVAR: You're absolutely right.   |
| 19 | COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: You see that in  |
| 20 | many domestic violence cases, right?  |
| 21 | MR. PEVAR: Yes, I do.   |
| 22 | COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: Across races?  |
| 23 | MR. PEVAR: Yes, I do. I still believe   |
| 24 | that the primary reason, though, and this was   |
| 25 | discussed in the Amnesty report as well is that the   |
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36 1 U.S. Attorney's Office simply lacks the funds to 2 adequately prosecute many crimes. COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: 3 Right. And so if 4 I understand you correctly, you're saying it's a lack 5 resources, which doesn't single out crimes of on 6 Indian reservations. I mean, my guess is that the 7 lack of resources hampers prosecutions across the state in a major city as well as in rural areas and on 8 9 reservations. I'm sure it does. 10 MR. PEVAR: I still stand by my statement, though, that in my professional 11 12 opinion based on years of experience, including living on an Indian reservation and begging U.S. attorneys to 13 involved in heinous crimes, that the only 14 become 15 explanation other than intentional discrimination --16 and I don't want to go there - is a lack of 17 resources. COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: But I quess what I 18 19 am asking you is, if you don't want to go there, why 20 are we here? Because our jurisdiction as a commission 21 investigate discrimination, not lack is to а of resources, right? 22 I mean, all law enforcement agencies and 23 offices 24 federal prosecutorial arguably, are, 25 under-funded. And there's nothing this Commission can **NEAL R. GROSS** COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS 1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.

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| 1  | do or say to affect that debate.  |
| 2  | MR. PEVAR: The reason that I don't go   |
| 3  | there is that I have not studied that. I did go there   |
| 4  | with respect to the voting rights cases. I did go   |
| 5  | there with respect to the school cases.   |
| 6  | COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: Right.   |
| 7  | MR. PEVAR: But, as you have pointed out,  |
| 8  | and properly so, I have not looked into why, exactly  |
| 9  | why, these men and women are making those choices.  |
| 10 | COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: I guess what I'm   |
| 11 | wondering, though, as far as  |
| 12 | MR. PEVAR: But I think you should.  |
| 13 | COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: That is what we  |
| 14 | are trying to do. And in bringing you forward, we're  |
| 15 | looking for evidence from you as witnesses, right?  |
| 16 | MR. PEVAR: Then you have asked the wrong  |
| 17 | person because I haven't studied that issue. I can  |
| 18 | report on what I did report. But you then should call   |
| 19 | some people who are criminal lawyers, which I am not.   |
| 20 | You should call some U.S. attorneys and   |
| 21 | show them that "You have had 100 rapes or sexual  |
| 22 | assaults reported on this reservation and, yet, 4   |
| 23 | prosecutions. Why?" You should ask them those   |
| 24 | questions.  |
| 25 | I am charitably saying it is a lack of  |
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38 1 resources, but I haven't studied it. And I hope you 2 will. Right. And I'm 3 COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: 4 charitably saying that the U.S. Commission on Civil 5 Rights doesn't investigate issues of under-funding. 6 We only investigate allegations of discrimination. So 7 what we're looking for from you as witnesses is evidence and data that support an allegation of 8 9 discrimination. If there is no data or evidence that supports such an allegation, I am not sure what we are 10 11 supposed to do. 12 MR. PEVAR: Well, I don't think you should 13 be blind to evidence that is out there. I am just 14 saying that I don't have it. But I know that others 15 have investigated this. 16 COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: Well, I quess what 17 I would ask from you, all of the witnesses as well as 18 our staff, is to try to uncover that evidence and 19 submit it to us before the time we close the record 20 because --21 I am giving you the evidence MR. PEVAR: 22 in my area of expertise. If you want evidence on some 23 other area, then you should ask someone else. 24 VICE CHAIR THERNSTROM: Mr. Bibeau? 25 MR. PEVAR: And I hope you will. **NEAL R. GROSS** COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS 1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W. WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

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| 1  | VICE CHAIR THERNSTROM: Mr. Bibeau, you  |
| 2  | have something to say.  |
| 3  | MR. BIBEAU: I would just like to add a  |
| 4  | little bit. And this comes back to jurisdictional   |
| 5  | questions as well and sovereignty as well. And that   |
| 6  | is where some of these problems occur.  |
| 7  | In the middle '90s, there were two trials   |
| 8  | in Minnesota on White Earth and Leech Lake  |
| 9  | reservations. And they convicted three tribal leaders   |
| 10 | on each reservation. On White Earth, it was voting  |
| 11 | fraud and other kinds of kickbacks. And on Leech  |
| 12 | Lake, it was basically theft and things like that.  |
| 13 | While the United States wants to say, on  |
| 14 | one side, you know, "You guys are sovereign. We don't   |
| 15 | want to butt into your affairs," at the same time the   |
| 16 | feds come in and they arrest a number of people and   |
| 17 | prosecuted and convicted three of them.   |
| 18 | They never told us how we were being  |
| 19 | ripped off. They never told us who else was ripped  |
| 20 | off. They took three people out and let the entire  |
| 21 | system in there that was ripping us off continue.   |
| 22 | That is criminal in my mind.  |
| 23 | Someone owes us an explanation of how they  |
| 24 | know that these things are ripped off, not just that  |
| 25 | millions of dollars were taken but tell the victims so  |
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| 1  | we can correct it. Don't leave us wondering who else  |
| 2  | was in there. That's part of the problem.   |
| 3  | The other thing is sometimes these guys   |
| 4  | just they don't know. And Mr. Pevar was getting to  |
| 5  | that. The Indian people don't know who they can rely  |
| 6  | on because you give information, and it seems like  |
| 7  | nothing is done.  |
| 8  | The prosecutions that took place, Bill  |
| 9  | Lawrence, who is not able to be here today, probably  |
| 10 | spent five or six years trying to convince the feds,  |
| 11 | giving them information on a weekly basis before  |
| 12 | something happened. I've tried giving things to the   |
| 13 | fed.  |
| 14 | On the other side now I'm talking about   |
| 15 | the AGs, the Attorney Generals. The FBI in Bemidji  |
| 16 | when I was fired from Leech Lake as a tribal attorney,  |
| 17 | I didn't know it when I had served a lawsuit on the   |
| 18 | chief of police that I had been reported to the FBI as  |
| 19 | an al-Qaeda terrorist. They actually attached my  |
| 20 | complaint to their complaint report and gave it to the  |
| 21 | FBI. I didn't find out until March.   |
| 22 | When I found out, I directly went to the  |
| 23 | agent in Bemidji. And I asked him what the hell was   |
| 24 | going on. And he said, "Oh." He said, "I read the   |
| 25 | papers. I know you're not a terrorist."   |
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41 1 And I'm thinking, "The chief of police of 2 a reservation says, 'al-Qaeda terrorist' and gives it 3 to the FBI. And the FBI knows that the chief of 4 police is full of crap and does nothing for months 5 because he knows there is no reliability in our system 6 because nobody wants it to be reliable. They want us 7 to not succeed." If we are successful, we may be able to do 8 9 a lot more than people understand. And keeping us 10 impoverished, that's how you keep the third world in its place. 11 12 COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: That's а verv broad accusation that the government in general or the 13 government in your state wants to keep all 14 Indian 15 peoples impoverished. 16 Well, I'm just looking at how MR. BIBEAU: 17 the result is. I can't say that they wake up in the morning or saying their prayers at night. 18 COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: 19 But you basically 20 did just say that. You said that their goal and 21 objective Native American is to keep peoples impoverished and politically powerless. 22 23 In a technical sense, MR. BIBEAU: 98 percent of the resources of the United States have 24 25 been taken from the Native Americans. They're looking **NEAL R. GROSS** COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS 1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W. WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

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| 1  | for the last two percent.                              |
| 2  | VICE CHAIR THERNSTROM: Well, that does                 |
| 3  | not answer the question that Commissioner Braceras     |
| 4  | just raised, which is you have made a very broad       |
| 5  | statement about intent to keep                         |
| 6  | MR. BIBEAU: Could be omissions.                        |
| 7  | VICE CHAIR THERNSTROM: Well, I mean, I                 |
| 8  | find that, the accusation, troubling in its breadth.   |
| 9  | I mean, that's the kind of statement, it seems to me,  |
| 10 | that needs a lot of evidence.                          |
| 11 | But people have their hands raised here,               |
| 12 | and I will go to them. I have a few questions myself,  |
| 13 | but I will let others continue. Commissioner Yaki?     |
| 14 | COMMISSIONER YAKI: Yes. Thank you.                     |
| 15 | I just wanted to respond briefly to                    |
| 16 | something that Commissioner Braceras had said when she |
| 17 | said she was looking for direct evidence. To me part   |
| 18 | of the Commission's duties is to look at whether or    |
| 19 | not resources are being properly allocated for the     |
| 20 | enforcement of civil rights.                           |
| 21 | Prior to this year, we had always put out              |
| 22 | a report documenting how much money the federal        |
| 23 | government was spending in different agencies on civil |
| 24 | rights enforcement. And I think that when you get a    |
| 25 | report from Amnesty International talking about the    |
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43 1 disproportionate rape and sexual assault cases of 2 Native American women and the lack of prosecution 3 thereof, I think that is a legitimate question in 4 terms of the enforcement of our civil rights statutes. 5 And it may be a resource issue. It may 6 But, even if it is a resource issue, you can not. 7 U.S. the question, why is there always ask one attorney and one deputy for a 5,000-mile territory? I 8 9 mean, that's the way. In the old days, that's how you carried 10 out non-justice if you wanted to do it. You posted 11 12 your lousiest attorneys out to the middle of nowhere, where they had to go eight months riding from one 13 place to another to administer justice. 14 And that 15 evidence gets stale. Things happen. Community 16 pressure gets involved. So I think that we have to be 17 careful when we talk about resources not being a civil rights issue. It absolutely is when it comes to 18 19 enforcement. Second of all --20 21 VICE CHAIR THERNSTROM: Can I just ask you 22 a question, Michael? 23 COMMISSIONER YAKI: Yes, yes. Feel free. VICE CHAIR THERNSTROM: 24 I mean, if there 25 disparate distribution of for law resources was **NEAL R. GROSS** COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS 1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W. (202) 234-4433 WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701 www.nealrgross.com

44 1 enforcement that had a disparate impact on one area, 2 in this case a disparate impact on law enforcement in the areas we're talking about, then you would say, 3 4 yes, it's a civil rights --5 COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: Wait. Or even if 6 there's a lack of funding with respect to civil rights 7 types of cases, --VICE CHAIR THERNSTROM: Right. 8 COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: -- as opposed to 9 10 other types of crimes. 11 VICE CHAIR THERNSTROM: Right. 12 COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: I think you could then also --13 VICE CHAIR THERNSTROM: Right. 14 15 COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: -- make that case. 16 But I see no evidence on that question today. 17 MR. PEVAR: Have you asked for it? COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: Well, that's why 18 19 we're holding the hearing, isn't it? 20 COMMISSIONER YAKI: Wait, wait, wait, 21 wait, wait. First of all --MR. PEVAR: I don't know. 22 COMMISSIONER YAKI: First of all, 23 no, that's not -- we can talk about the scope of the 24 25 later, but just to say one, what you're hearing **NEAL R. GROSS** COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS 1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W. (202) 234-4433 WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701 www.nealrgross.com

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| 1  | saying, Madam Temporary Chairwoman, is that   |
| 2  | VICE CHAIR THERNSTROM: Just call me Vice  |
| 3  | Chairman.   |
| 4  | COMMISSIONER YAKI: is a legal standard  |
| 5  | that goes toward a burden of proof brought by the   |
| 6  | plaintiffs or appellants in a case. That's not what   |
| 7  | we're here for. We're here and have been here for 50  |
| 8  | years to determine whether or not our government is   |
| 9  | doing the job and doing   |
| 10 | VICE CHAIR THERNSTROM: But if it is   |
| 11 | COMMISSIONER YAKI: I'm sorry. Now, with   |
| 12 | regard to   |
| 13 | VICE CHAIR THERNSTROM: It shows a lack of   |
| 14 | resources in every nook and cranny with respect to law  |
| 15 | enforcement or prosecutorial offices. You cannot say  |
| 16 | there's particular discrimination.  |
| 17 | COMMISSIONER YAKI: Well, then I think   |
| 18 | that we ought to take a look at the Amnesty report and  |
| 19 | incorporate that into the record and, if need be, call  |
| 20 | in witnesses from DOJ to respond to that report,  |
| 21 | respond to other instances.   |
| 22 | We've heard that they have been responsive  |
| 23 | on, at least it seems to be responsive on, some of the  |
| 24 | voting rights issues, which is good. So we know that  |
| 25 | there has been some interaction there. But just in  |
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terms of the scope of the briefing, I think that we need to respect what questions the witnesses were given by staff and how they responded.

4 If they are saying to us with some genuine 5 surprise about some other parts of this, it means 6 A) they were not asked to do it. So b) we that: 7 should not criticize them for not having it. And c) if that's something where the Commission needs to go, 8 9 then we should promulgate some interrogatories, send 10 out some subpoenas, and get the information that we need to make this a fuller thing because there's one 11 12 thing that I want to hear from them and from the next panel, you know, and that's the topic that we're kind 13 14 of dancing around, which is why is this endemic to 15 borders, to towns bordering Indian reservations. What 16 it about that unique set of circumstances that is this kind of hearing to be held and 17 the causes friction that seems to be resulting there from? 18

19 VICE CHAIR THERNSTROM: Commissioner20 Braceras, do you want to answer this?

21 COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: Well, I just want 22 to be perfectly clear. I'm not in any way blaming the 23 panelists. I very much value your testimony and hope 24 that you will supplement it in whatever ways you feel 25 necessary to support some of the points that you're

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| 1  | making. And I welcome that.   |
| 2  | To the extent that I'm blaming anyone, I  |
| 3  | think that, you know  |
| 4  | COMMISSIONER YAKI: You can blame me,  |
| 5  | Jennifer.   |
| 6  | COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: No, I'm not  |
| 7  | blaming you, but I guess I would say that it's going  |
| 8  | to be difficult for us, I think, to do a report with  |
| 9  | any findings and recommendations when the topic is so   |
| 10 | broad and to some extent nebulous as to sort of defy  |
| 11 | proof, right?   |
| 12 | I mean, you know, the summary of the  |
| 13 | methodology here says that panelists will present   |
| 14 | information on: One, the number of reported incidents   |
| 15 | alleging discrimination; two, the state of race   |
| 16 | relations. I mean, what is that, the state of race  |
| 17 | relations? We could write volumes and volumes on that   |
| 18 | topic alone. Three, examples of discrimination in   |
| 19 | border towns. Four, what, if any, changes have  |
| 20 | occurred in the way discrimination is inflicted, felt,  |
| 21 | and understood in border towns?   |
| 22 | So I think I have a problem with the scope  |
| 23 | of the briefing, not that all of those issues aren't  |
| 24 | important and relevant, but, as I sit here and listen   |
| 25 | to the testimony, I am beginning to wonder how we are   |
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| 1  | going to sort of put this all together into   |
| 2  | recommendations for policy-makers that can be useful.   |
| 3  | Does that make sense?   |
| 4  | MR. PEVAR: It makes perfect sense. And  |
| 5  | when I was invited, the first thing that I said is,   |
| 6  | how could any one person respond to everything that   |
| 7  | you want them to respond to?  |
| 8  | I mean, you're obviously a knowledgeable  |
| 9  | person in this area. If I were to put a microphone in   |
| 10 | front of you and say, "Okay. You know something about   |
| 11 | discrimination against women. Tell us about   |
| 12 | discrimination against women in health care. How  |
| 13 | about law enforcement? How about employment?"   |
| 14 | COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: Right.   |
| 15 | MR. PEVAR: I mean, the list is  |
| 16 | endless. And I said I feel very comfortable in  |
| 17 | speaking about the areas about which I know.  |
| 18 | COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: Right.   |
| 19 | MR. PEVAR: And to the extent I could  |
| 20 | contribute, that would be great. But since you and  |
| 21 | the Commission, and rightfully so, have an interest in  |
| 22 | law enforcement issues, I could not urge you more to  |
| 23 | get experts in that field. I can tell you that there  |
| 24 | are people who would have no qualms about sitting here  |
| 25 | and accusing the United States of absolute racism in  |
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| 1  | law enforcement.  |
| 2  | COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: Well, accusations  |
| 3  | mean nothing unless they're supported by  |
| 4  | MR. PEVAR: And they would have that   |
| 5  | support. I don't. It's not an area that I have  |
| 6  | investigated.   |
| 7  | COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: Right. I just  |
| 8  | think and this is for the staff and not the   |
| 9  | panelists that as we go forward and begin to cull   |
| 10 | through the testimony presented today and the evidence  |
| 11 | presented today, we may need to think about narrowing   |
| 12 | the scope for purposes of putting together a report.  |
| 13 | And that may require asking more specific questions,  |
| 14 | more targeted questions, either of these witnesses or   |
| 15 | additional witnesses, because it's, as I said, too  |
| 16 | vast right now.   |
| 17 | MR. PEVAR: It is.   |
| 18 | VICE CHAIR THERNSTROM: I know,  |
| 19 | Commissioner Melendez, you have had your hand up, but   |
| 20 | Commissioner Taylor hasn't had a chance to speak at   |
| 21 | all. Would you give him a chance first?   |
| 22 | COMMISSIONER TAYLOR: Mr. Pevar, you   |
| 23 | mentioned early but briefly a remedial plan that you  |
| 24 | are apparently submitting along with the defendants   |
| 25 | for approval by a federal court presumably and then to  |
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50 1 a consent decree, et cetera. And you said you were 2 hopeful that that would bring about change. 3 And to Commissioner Braceras' point, that 4 sounded like an area where you were not only 5 obviously experienced but you had submitted а complaint to a federal court. 6 And the complaint was 7 presumably based on allegations of discrimination, disparate discipline within the school setting. 8 9 So I wanted to hear about the specifics 10 with respect to the remedial plan and on some aspects of the plan and what you hoped would be the result 11 12 once the plan was implemented. 13 MR. PEVAR: Thank you. My own feeling -- and this is really what 14 has been a motivating force for me in my life -- is 15 16 that reasonable people can reach reasonable decisions. 17 And if they will sit down and shed their initial cloaks of prejudice or whatever, you could come up 18 19 with a decision and a resolution that is in everyone's best interest. And that's exactly what we did. 20 21 The federal judge appointed а U.S. magistrate and literally locked us in a room for two 22 23 days. CHAIR THERNSTROM: 24 VICE What was the 25 charge that was before the judge? **NEAL R. GROSS** COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS 1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W. (202) 234-4433 WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701 www.nealrgross.com

1 MR. PEVAR: We had filed a massive lawsuit 2 accusing the Winter School District of discriminating against Indian students in virtually every aspect of 3 4 \_ \_ 5 COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: Do you have the case name or docket number? 6 7 MR. PEVAR: The case name. I could give you both. The case name is Antoine, A-n-t-o-i-n-e, v. 8 9 <u>Winter School District</u>. And I could give you the case 10 number. COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: You don't have to 11 12 do it right now. That's fine. MR. PEVAR: 13 Okay. And the result that we 14 came up with is phenomenal. Among other things, it requires that the school district will hire someone 15 16 who is Indian. 17 COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: I'm sorry. Before you talk about the remedy, can I just get a little 18 19 more information? 20 MR. PEVAR: Sure. Yes. 21 COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: So the case was 22 filed in federal court alleging violations of what 23 statute, Title VI or --MR. PEVAR: Of the equal protection and 24 25 Title VI. That's correct. **NEAL R. GROSS** COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS 1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W. (202) 234-4433 WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701 www.nealrgross.com

| 2       Title VI and a constitutional violation as well?         3       MR. PEVAR: And equal protection. The         4       right.         5       COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: Okay. And         6       said that the district court judge sent it formagistrate and the parties working with the magistrate         7       magistrate and the parties working with the magistrate         8       came up with its remedy?         9       MR. PEVAR: That's correct. We involved in months of discovery.         10       involved in months of discovery.         11       VICE CHAIR THERNSTROM: So there was not involved in months of discovery.         12       a trial here?         13       MR. PEVAR: There was never a trial.         14       both sides were not looking forward to a trial.         15       one thing, it would polarize the community.         16       Indians would be calling school officials rac:         17       And school officials would be calling Indian pand all manners of things.         19       So everyone knew that this was not in best interest to actually go to trial and force plaintiffs to prove race discrimination. But statistics were so glaring that it assisted u reaching a settlement. | 52        |
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| 21 plaintiffs to prove race discrimination. But<br>22 statistics were so glaring that it assisted u<br>23 reaching a settlement.   | .n the    |
| 22 statistics were so glaring that it assisted u 23 reaching a settlement.   | e the     |
| 23 reaching a settlement.  | t the     |
|  | us in     |
|  |           |
| 24 VICE CHAIR THERNSTROM: These  | were      |
| 25 statistics on student performance or  |           |
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| 1  | COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: Discipline.  |
| 2  | MR. PEVAR: Discipline.  |
| 3  | VICE CHAIR THERNSTROM: But also on  |
| 4  | student performance? You were concentrating on  |
| 5  | discipline here or  |
| 6  | MR. PEVAR: Well, we showed that Indian  |
| 7  | kids, as I mentioned, were far more likely to leave or  |
| 8  | be expelled from school.  |
| 9  | VICE CHAIR THERNSTROM: Right. But were  |
| 10 | there other issues as well on the table?  |
| 11 | MR. PEVAR: The other side would have  |
| 12 | argued that the reason is not because of racism but   |
| 13 | because Indian kids couldn't compete, which we felt   |
| 14 | was   |
| 15 | VICE CHAIR THERNSTROM: The reason for the   |
| 16 | disciplinary problems?  |
| 17 | MR. PEVAR: I'm sorry?   |
| 18 | VICE CHAIR THERNSTROM: The reason for the   |
| 19 | disciplinary problems?  |
| 20 | MR. PEVAR: The reason for failing in  |
| 21 | school, not doing well.   |
| 22 | VICE CHAIR THERNSTROM: So you are talking   |
| 23 | about student academic performance as well as   |
| 24 | disciplinary. Those were both before the judge?   |
| 25 | MR. PEVAR: More discipline  |
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54 COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: 1 Departures from 2 school both because of expulsion and discipline or 3 because of academic reasons, right? 4 MR. PEVAR: Yes, that's right. All right. 5 So the result is this wonderful consent decree that 6 we trust Judge Kornmann will sign December 10th in a 7 And, among other things, the consent decree hearing. requires the district to hire an Indian ombudsperson, 8 9 who must sit in on every disciplinary hearing with a a vice principal 10 or and represent principal the interests of the Indian child. 11 There is also a 12 requirement of having several programs each vear student or school-wide that commemorate Indian culture 13 and Indian history. Every child must have certain 14 15 courses on Indian history and the contributions that 16 Lakotas made to South Dakota. There's the а 17 that parents be notified of certain requirement instances and be given an opportunity to meet with 18

19 school officials.

20 We focus on informal resolutions. And 21 only if nothing else succeeds, then discipline and 22 expulsion can be considered. But it is very proactive 23 in terms of the culture of the Native Americans and 24 seeking to arrive at remedies that involve the family 25 and the community.

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1 COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: But will the 2 disciplinary procedures be the same for white students and Native American students? In other words, you 3 described --4 5 The punishments will be the MR. PEVAR: 6 same. 7 COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: The punishments will be the same. But you described a new --8 9 MR. PEVAR: Process. COMMISSIONER TAYLOR: Process. 10 COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: -- framework and 11 12 process for adjudicating claims of student misconduct that you believe are more consistent with Native 13 14 American culture. Are those processes equally applied 15 16 MR. PEVAR: No. 17 COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: white to students? 18 19 MR. PEVAR: The only difference --COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: the 20 So Native 21 American students get an ombudsman or defense counsel, 22 if you will? And the Caucasian students are on their 23 own to face down the principal? MR. PEVAR: Yes. 24 25 COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: And that's equal **NEAL R. GROSS** COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS 1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W. (202) 234-4433 WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701 www.nealrgross.com

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| 1  | how?  |
| 2  | MR. PEVAR: That is an accommodation of  |
| 3  | what we felt was historic discrimination.   |
| 4  | COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: Interesting.   |
| 5  | VICE CHAIR THERNSTROM: I still don't  |
| 6  | quite understand this.  |
| 7  | MR. PEVAR: Let me just mention one other  |
| 8  | main thing about the lawsuit. The school district   |
| 9  | must contract with a federal agency, the Inter-West   |
| 10 | Mountain the name escapes me, but it is federally   |
| 11 | funded it works out of Colorado State University  |
| 12 | to go up and to analyze in South Dakota why there have  |
| 13 | been these problems in the first place. They have a   |
| 14 | set of techniques and studies that they have used   |
| 15 | throughout the United States, not just for Indians but  |
| 16 | in minority school districts where minorities have  |
| 17 | been underachieving.  |
| 18 | And there is a host of variables from   |
| 19 | ignoring bullying to not having teachers being  |
| 20 | adequately sensitive to the needs of minority   |
| 21 | students. The Inter-West Agency will then make  |
| 22 | recommendations.  |
| 23 | COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: Well, wait a   |
| 24 | minute.   |
| 25 | MR. PEVAR: Sure.  |
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57 1 COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: Let me just stop 2 you there because I don't doubt that those things are 3 true, but a red flag is raised in my mind when 4 somebody tells me that a school district, an agency of 5 the government is going to be applying different 6 disciplinary procedures depending on the race of the 7 child. PEVAR: No. They're not going to. 8 MR. 9 They're going to make recommendations as to why are we 10 where we are today --11 COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: No, no, no. But 12 -- and what you need to do or 13 MR. PEVAR: what suggestions they could present to the school 14 district to --15 16 COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: So under the 17 consent decree, the school district is not obliged to adopt different disciplinary procedures for Native 18 Americans versus --19 20 MR. PEVAR: No. I didn't say that either. 21 I acknowledged that under the consent decree, they would be required to. 22 23 COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: Oh, okay because I 24 25 MR. PEVAR: And that's the ombudsperson. **NEAL R. GROSS** COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS 1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W. (202) 234-4433 WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701 www.nealrgross.com

58 1 COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: Right. And that 2 is something I have to say that raises a red flag for 3 me as somebody who teaches Title VI and somebody who 4 has read and studied and written a great deal on 5 issues of civil rights and education. Equal processes 6 are at the heart of what the equal protection clause 7 is all about. Well, then you may want to 8 MR. PEVAR: attend the hearing and object. 9 VICE CHAIR THERNSTROM: 10 There's some --COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: I don't think I 11 12 want to go that far. I'm just pointing out that the rights of the same procedures and the same process, 13 the same due process, is, regardless of race, inherent 14 15 in the equal protection mandates of this country. So 16 I find it bizarre that that would be the remedy that 17 you would seek. I'm not in any way questioning that there 18 19 were violations or that there needs to be some remedy. 20 I'm just questioning the choice of remedy. 21 MR. PEVAR: Right. Fine. VICE CHAIR THERNSTROM: You know, I have 22 23 I don't find it bizarre. 24 MR. PEVAR: 25 VICE CHAIR THERNSTROM: I'm still confused **NEAL R. GROSS** COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS 1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.

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59 1 on а basic point here. When you have а 2 disproportionately high number of Indian suspensions from school and other disciplinary actions, what was 3 4 the process? 5 I mean, getting suspended from schools is 6 this is not something that happens in general 7 easily without quite an elaborate process, a hearing. Parents have rights. And schools have got their hands 8 9 in terms of getting rid of troublemakers tied in 10 general or kids they perceive as troublemakers. 11 So what was the process before this 12 remedial action? Surely, the principal couldn't wake up one morning with a kid sitting in his office whom 13 some teacher had been unhappy, whose behavior 14 had 15 provoked some teacher, and the principal says, "Out." 16 I mean, there had to be a process in place and --17 MR. PEVAR: There were numerous processes, almost all of which we contended were 18 racially 19 discriminatory, starting with a subjective evaluation of the severity of what the child had done. 20 21 VICE CHAIR THERNSTROM: Who did that evaluation? 22 MR. PEVAR: The school did. 23 We subpoenaed the school disciplinary records. And we sat there 24 25 literally for weeks looking at how teachers and the **NEAL R. GROSS** COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS 1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W. WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

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60 1 principals and administration described the events 2 that resulted in various punishments. And you could just sit there and see that 3 4 Bill and Johnny, whom you later find out are two white 5 kids, were engaged in horseplay. And, therefore, they were given detention. 6 7 You then read another report of Johnny White Owl, who engaged in the identically 8 was 9 described conduct and was cited for violence or was cited for insubordination, a much higher offense. 10 So one thing that --11 12 COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: If the underlying conduct is the same --13 The underlying conduct was 14 MR. PEVAR: identical. 15 16 COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: -- but it's being 17 simply described differently and punished differently, 18 then that's --19 MR. PEVAR: Exactly. That was one thing. is 20 COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: That discrimination. 21 MR. PEVAR: Right. That was one thing we 22 23 COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: I understand what 24 25 your concern is, but --**NEAL R. GROSS** COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS 1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W. (202) 234-4433 WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701 www.nealrgross.com

61 1 MR. PEVAR: Right. That was one thing 2 that happened. Another thing that happened -- and 3 this was part of the lawsuit -- is that -- and 95 4 percent of the victims of this were Indian -- they 5 brought the kid in. They refused to allow him or her 6 to contact their parents. And they kept him in that 7 room until he or she signed a confession, which then principal, conveniently 8 the who was а notary, 9 notarized. And they sent it to law enforcement. 10 The very first thing that happened after we filed the lawsuit and brought this to everyone's 11 12 attention is that they said, "Okay. We'll stop doing a Fifth Amendment claim under 13 that." That was self-incrimination. They forced these kids to write 14 15 statements. 16 And in the complaint, you will see that 17 the allegations were that they denied them even bathroom breaks and would keep them hours until they 18 19 "confessed." So that was another part of the process. But the end result -- and it's listed in 20 21 detail in the complaint -- is that we believe that the 22 conclusions, the disciplinary confessions, were 23 tainted from start to finish and that they were unreliable and that they were discriminatory. 24 25 follow-up COMMISSIONER TAYLOR: One **NEAL R. GROSS** COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS 1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W. (202) 234-4433 WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701 www.nealrgross.com

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| 1  | question.  |
| 2  | VICE CHAIR THERNSTROM: Yes? Yes, we                    |
| 3  | interrupted Commissioner Taylor here.                  |
| 4  | COMMISSIONER TAYLOR: Did you find that                 |
| 5  | the reaction of the school district was any different  |
| 6  | if the teacher or the principal was Indian?            |
| 7  | MR. PEVAR: Very good question. There's                 |
| 8  | only one Indian employed in the school district. And   |
| 9  | she I think it's a she is not a teacher. That          |
| 10 | was another aspect of our lawsuit. Even though         |
| 11 | there's such a high percentage of Indians in the       |
| 12 | community, they have never been actively recruited.    |
| 13 | We weren't able to get information as to               |
| 14 | who applied and if they were denied employment, but we |
| 15 | have been swamped with applications for the            |
| 16 | ombudsperson position.                                 |
| 17 | Now that the school district has had to                |
| 18 | advertise for a position filled by an Indian or Indian |
| 19 | preference, the outpouring has been enormous.          |
| 20 | COMMISSIONER TAYLOR: One more question.                |
| 21 | How have you described the "discrimination"? I'm       |
| 22 | presuming when you meet the school officials, they     |
| 23 | aren't foaming at the mouth and "racists" such that    |
| 24 | they are using racial slurs and et cetera. So I'm      |
| 25 | presuming that's the case.                             |
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| 1  | What do you characterize as the   |
| 2  | discrimination?   |
| 3  | MR. PEVAR: In the closed door sessions, I   |
| 4  | took somewhat of a leap. And I said, "I lived here 35   |
| 5  | years ago. And I wanted to file this lawsuit then.  |
| 6  | And I regret that I didn't.   |
| 7  | "I feel in my heart that you are  |
| 8  | discriminating against my clients. I don't want to  |
| 9  | have to prove it. And I don't think it's in anyone  |
| 10 | interest to go to court over this.  |
| 11 | "But one of two things must be true.  |
| 12 | Either Indian kids as a class are miscreants far more   |
| 13 | violent, far more likely to engage in trouble then  |
| 14 | non-Indians or there's race discrimination. It has to   |
| 15 | be one or the other. The statistics were so glaring.  |
| 16 | How could you explain having 20 percent of the  |
| 17 | population be Indian and 60 percent being expelled  |
| 18 | from school? They're either worse kids or there's   |
| 19 | subjective or intentional"  |
| 20 | COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: Or a little bit of   |
| 21 | both.   |
| 22 | MR. PEVAR: Or a little bit of both.   |
| 23 | Exactly. So I started out by saying, "Let's not try   |
| 24 | to figure that out. Let's make a commitment to doing  |
| 25 | the right thing in the future and to having people in   |
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64 1 place," such as Inter-West, who has had decades of 2 experience with this, "of having an ombudsperson, of having an open door policy and meeting with parents to 3 4 discuss particular concerns." And I think in the end, 5 everyone agreed that that is the right way to go. 6 VICE CHAIR THERNSTROM: You know, one 7 thing that is bothering me about this -- and I know that Commissioner Melendez wants to talk. And I 8 9 certainly am not going to hog the mike here. 10 But, I mean, in most schools, just leaving aside the question of the disparate impact, which 11 12 obviously is extremely important and at the heart of our concern here, just leaving aside that for a 13 second, I mean, making it more difficult for schools 14 15 to in general, whatever the ethnicity, color, race of 16 kid, for schools to remove kids the who were 17 disciplinary problems is not doing a service to the educational quality in the school. I mean, most urban 18 19 schools in America can't get rid of the 10 percent of 20 kids who make it impossible for the other 90 percent 21 to learn. That's not a good thing. MR. PEVAR: And nothing prevents that from 22 23 occurring in our case. VICE CHAIR THERNSTROM: Prevents what from 24 25 **NEAL R. GROSS** COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS 1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W. (202) 234-4433 WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701 www.nealrgross.com

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| 1  | MR. PEVAR: Getting rid of the bad   |
| 2  | student.  |
| 3  | VICE CHAIR THERNSTROM: I hope that that   |
| 4  | is the case because it  |
| 5  | MR. PEVAR: I think the school   |
| 6  | VICE CHAIR THERNSTROM: is a nationwide  |
| 7  | problem that schools can't do anything  |
| 8  | MR. PEVAR: I agree.   |
| 9  | VICE CHAIR THERNSTROM: with kids who  |
| 10 | are extremely disruptive in the school and are                                    |
| 11 | stopping learning for   |
| 12 | MR. PEVAR: And I'm sure that school   |
| 13 | officials wouldn't have agreed to this settlement if                              |
| 14 | they thought that their hands were tied.  |
| 15 | VICE CHAIR THERNSTROM: Commissioner   |
| 16 | Melendez, you have had your hand up for a while.                                  |
| 17 | COMMISSIONER MELENDEZ: Yes. The question  |
| 18 | I had was I think some of the disputes between                                    |
| 19 | students I thought that I had read that it did have                               |
| 20 | something to do with racial dialogue between the                                  |
| 21 | Native Americans and  |
| 22 | MR. PEVAR: In the Antoine case?   |
| 23 | COMMISSIONER MELENDEZ: I think that I had   |
| 24 | read that.  |
| 25 | MR. PEVAR: Yes.   |
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COMMISSIONER MELENDEZ: And some of that was there. It wasn't as if it wasn't present. And then also I had read also that I believe in the Winter's material that basically the Office of Civil Rights was basically the first investigative agency to look at this issue.

7 And they basically sounded like the ACLU was saying that they were kind of maybe not agreeing 8 9 there was a problem or there was that actually 10 agreement that they were trying to make sure the agreement was kept between some type of agreement to 11 12 make sure that all of these issues were met. But it sounds like when the ACLU came in basically on top of 13 them and said, well, they weren't really addressing 14 Is that correct? 15 the issues.

16 MR. PEVAR: You raise two issues. And let 17 me comment on both. First, it's true that part of our proof that we would have introduced at trial is that 18 19 school officials were iqnorinq discrimination, 20 peer-on-peer discrimination.

Indian kids were being called all kinds of racial epithets and were reporting that, both the students and the parents, to school administrators. And the allegations were that the administrators were not doing anything about it, "lazy Indian," "dirty

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1 Indian." A favorite, if you'll pardon the expression, was "prairie nigger." That is what seemed to be one of the worst things that white kids were often calling 3 Indian kids. So that was another aspect of our case.

5 To go into your question, yes, the parents 6 back about ten years ago filed a complaint with the 7 Office of Civil Rights with the Department of Education and came out and the school district entered 8 9 into a settlement in which the district essentially 10 acknowledged, although that is not required in these settlements, that they needed to do more to help 11 12 Indian kids.

The school district then sent in a host of 13 14 papers that the U.S. Commission agreed was sufficient. 15 We looked at the same papers and couldn't believe that 16 the commission was willing to sign off on the paltry 17 amount of information and to close the case.

We did a fresh analysis and decided that 18 19 things, if anything, were worse than before the U.S. 20 Commission had begun. And we filed our lawsuit.

21 VICE CHAIR THERNSTROM: We really need to move on to the next panel here. We are ignoring good 22 23 people who have been very patient in the wings.

24 MR. BIBEAU: I would just like to add 25 something because she has asked some very interesting

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questions. One of the cases I have is a tribal member who lives off reservation.

The state has made an agreement with the reservation governments to where even if you live off reservation in certain counties, that you can't use public services. And so everybody in Aitkin County is allowed to go in and use the MFIP, the Minnesota family stuff, in poverty but tribal members. And it's only some tribal members.

I like equal protection, too, but it doesn't work for us very often. When it doesn't work for us, they call it a political class or a political group when we call it racism. And so when you say these things, I think, "Well, sure, that sounds great out here, but it doesn't play very well out West."

16 COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: Well, Ι think 17 there are a lot of people trying to have it both ways, both on the part of the government and probably 18 19 sometimes with respect to tribe members. It's difficult, you know, the dual sovereignty. 20 And it 21 does sometimes create incentives for actors on both sides to try to have things both ways. But in my 22 23 view, that's always wrong.

24 VICE CHAIR THERNSTROM: Thank you very,25 very much for your participation this morning. And

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| 1  | please do feel free to supplement your record in any  |
| 2  | way that you think would be responsive to the   |
| 3  | questions this morning.   |
| 4  | COMMISSIONER TAYLOR: Particularly with  |
| 5  | information on the case.  |
| 6  | VICE CHAIR THERNSTROM: Yes, particularly  |
| 7  | with information on the case Commissioner Ashley just   |
| 8  | requested.  |
| 9  | COMMISSIONER TAYLOR: Yes.   |
| 10 | VICE CHAIR THERNSTROM: And I do second  |
| 11 | that request.   |
| 12 | So we move on at this point. I should   |
| 13 | have asked the Staff Director whether he had any  |
| 14 | questions. I actually had some questions myself, but  |
| 15 | in the interest of time, I do want to move on here.   |
| 16 | COMMISSIONER YAKI: Madam Chair?   |
| 17 | VICE CHAIR THERNSTROM: Yes?   |
| 18 | COMMISSIONER YAKI: Could I ask that the   |
| 19 | record be open for 60 days? Some of the panelists   |
| 20 | were only notified this week that they were to come.  |
| 21 | We can afford them a little more time to get their  |
| 22 | stuff together.   |
| 23 | VICE CHAIR THERNSTROM: Do we have any   |
| 24 | problem with that?  |
| 25 | STAFF DIRECTOR MARCUS: I don't see a  |
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70 1 problem with giving 60 days. We will have to look at whether we need to have a formal motion when we have a 2 3 business meeting, as opposed to that, but if there's a consensus here, well, assume that we're doing that and 4 5 see if we need further formalities. Just so that the record is 6 MR. PEVAR: 7 clear, please if I don't file anything, for example, about criminal prosecution --8 9 VICE CHAIR THERNSTROM: we'll Now, 10 understand that is not your area. 11 MR. PEVAR: Okay. Yes. I told the person 12 who invited me that I am just extremely busy and that I don't think I could even do a written statement. 13 So I apologize at the outside and don't --14 15 COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: No worries. Can 16 we take a vote right now to keep the record open? 17 VICE CHAIR THERNSTROM: If we have a 18 quorum. 19 STAFF DIRECTOR MARCUS: We don't have a 20 business meeting. We cannot. 21 VICE CHAIR THERNSTROM: No. 22 We do not have a business meeting. 23 COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: We do not have to 24 have a business meeting to take a vote. We just need 25 a quorum. **NEAL R. GROSS** COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS 1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.

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71 1 STAFF DIRECTOR MARCUS: You need a notice. 2 COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: But this was noticed. 3 4 VICE CHAIR THERNSTROM: Only as а 5 briefing. 6 COMMISSIONER YAKI: This is а 7 consequential --8 COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: That's absurd. 9 That's absurd. That can't be right because we used to do it all the time, have meetings and briefings in one 10 session. 11 12 VICE CHAIR THERNSTROM: I know we did, but we're not doing that today. 13 14 STAFF DIRECTOR MARCUS: If you want to take a break, then we can look at it, but I will tell 15 16 you that it was formerly the case that we would have 17 meetings and briefings in both sessions, that we would notify them as such. 18 19 COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: And this wasn't notified as such? 20 21 STAFF DIRECTOR MARCUS: Right. 22 COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: No. 23 STAFF DIRECTOR MARCUS: This was to be a briefing only. So it was noticed --24 25 COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: Ι huge am а **NEAL R. GROSS** COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS 1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W. (202) 234-4433 WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701 www.nealrgross.com

1 proponent of separating out the business meetings and 2 the briefings, but for the purposes of keeping our 3 options open, I think you should notice that it's both 4 so that if we want to vote on something, we can 5 because things arise in the course of hearings that we 6 may want to ask the staff to look into or what have 7 And it is absolutely absurd that we can't then you. take a vote and we have a quorum. Am I right? 8 9 VICE CHAIR THERNSTROM: That is to be 10 brought up at the next --11 COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: You have got to at 12 least agree with me on that one. COMMISSIONER YAKI: I am. 13 VICE CHAIR THERNSTROM: Jennifer, it seems 14 15 to me that is to be brought up at the next --16 COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: It's just my 17 parting advice. VICE CHAIR THERNSTROM: Ιt is to be 18 19 discussed, but it creates a bunch of problems to have So let us leave that for the time being and 20 both. 21 welcome the next panel. 22 Mr. Windy Boy, an enrolled member of the 23 Chippewa-Cree tribe. He serves on the Chippewa-Cree Tribal Council, served on numerous national boards, 24 25 the National Indian Health Board, the National Tribal **NEAL R. GROSS** COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS 1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W. (202) 234-4433 WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701 www.nealrgross.com

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| 1  | Self-Governance Advisory Committee among them. In   |
| 2  | addition, he has worked to convey concerns to   |
| 3  | congressmen, senators, congressional subcommittees  |
| 4  | that affect Indian country and federal government   |
| 5  | services. He has met with the President on numerous   |
| 6  | occasions as an advocate for Indian people.   |
| 7  | James Runnels, Chief Jim Runnels, has been  |
| 8  | with the Farmington, New Mexico Police Department for   |
| 9  | over 21 years. He was appointed chief in December   |
| 10 | 2006 after serving in a variety of other capacities.  |
| 11 | Prior to his time Commissioner Yaki?  |
| 12 | COMMISSIONER YAKI: What?  |
| 13 | VICE CHAIR THERNSTROM: Are we having a  |
| 14 | discussion in the wings here or are we part of this?  |
| 15 | Okay.   |
| 16 | Prior to his time with the Farmington   |
| 17 | Police Department, Chief Reynolds spent ten years with  |
| 18 | the Fort Worth, Texas Police Department. He has a   |
| 19 | B.S. in criminal justice, M.A. from the University of   |
| 20 | Colorado. He holds degrees as well from the FBI   |
| 21 | National Academy, the FBI Southwest Command College,  |
| 22 | and the Northwestern University Traffic Institute   |
| 23 | School of Police Staff and Command.   |
| 24 | Barry D. Simpson, currently Superintendent  |
| 25 | of Bishop Union Elementary School District in Bishop,   |
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California. He previously served as superintendent in
 two California school districts. Mr. Simpson received
 his Bachelor of Arts degree in economics from Whittier
 College, his Master's degree in education from Chapman
 University, and is currently a doctoral candidate at
 the University of LaVerne.

7 Duane Yazzie. Mr. Yazzie is а self-educated man who has technical training in 8 9 computer programming, has taken a variety of classes at the Navajo Community College. 10

He has been an activist since the 1960s. He's regarded as a leading Navajo advocate against civil rights abuses. He has been in public service for 32 years, mostly in service with the community of Shiprock Navajo Nation. He served on the New Mexico Human Rights Commission for six years.

Please swear and affirm that the
information you have provided is true and is accurate,
to the best of your knowledge.

20 (Whereupon, there was a chorus of 21 affirmative responses.)

VICE CHAIR THERNSTROM: Well, I welcome all of you on behalf of the Commission. And I call on you according to the order you begin for the record.

So, Mr. Windy Boy, please start. And,

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| 1  | again, you have ten minutes each. And we are watching  |
| 2  | the clock.   |
| 3  | MR. WINDY BOY: I was hoping to interject   |
| 4  | the last dialogue.   |
| 5  | (Native language spoken.)  |
| 6  | MR. WINDY BOY: Good morning. That would  |
| 7  | be my first language or the only language that I know.   |
| 8  | What I am going to be talking to you is  |
| 9  | from a second language. So if I misuse a word, it's  |
| 10 | not intentional. I don't have a Ph.D. I don't have   |
| 11 | an M.P.H. I don't have a B.A. or an A.A. But I am  |
| 12 | just plain old Al Windy Boy, Rocky Boy.  |
| 13 | Background that was not mentioned is law   |
| 14 | enforcement, trained at the Federal Law Enforcement  |
| 15 | Training Center, Marana, Arizona; served as a  |
| 16 | livestock inspector with the State of Montana; and a   |
| 17 | rancher; and, most importantly, a great grandfather, a   |
| 18 | grandfather, and a father, the oldest being 37 years   |
| 19 | old, and my youngest 10 months old, and all points in  |
| 20 | between.   |
| 21 | After saying that, before I begin this   |
| 22 | testimony, I want to start my reaffirmation of the   |
| 23 | Foundation of Sovereign Status of Tribes with a quote  |
| 24 | from a well-respected former tribal leader, a good   |
| 25 | friend of mine by the name of Joe DeLaCruz, where he   |
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said, "No right is more sacred to a nation, to a people than the right to freely determine the social, economic, political, and cultural future without external interference. The fullest expression of this right occurs when a nation freely governs itself," the late Joe DeLaCruz, former President of the Quinault Nation from '72 to '93.

8 The over-arching principle of tribal 9 sovereignty is that tribes are and always have been 10 sovereign nations. Tribes preexisted, the federal 11 union, and draw our right from our original status of 12 sovereigns before European arrival.

The provisions of health, education, and 13 welfare service as tribes is a direct result 14 of treaties, executive orders, and other acts of Congress 15 16 entered into between the United States government and 17 This federal trust responsibility forms the tribes. basis of providing health, education, and welfare 18 19 services to tribal people.

This relationship has been reaffirmed by 20 21 court decisions, proclamations, numerous and One area that -- and you heard 22 congressional laws. 23 from the previous panel those dealing with education. The situation today I want to talk a little bit about 24 25 is access to health care.

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You know, racism comes in many forms and is often a domino effect of racist attitudes and actions that negatively impact my tribal people. The result of these negative impacts could be defined by racial and ethnic disparity, American Indian, Alaska Native health disparities.

7 You American Indians have know, long experienced lower health status when compared with 8 9 other disproportionate Americans, poverty, discrimination in the delivery of health service, and 10 cultural differences. It has contributed to the lower 11 12 life expectancy and disproportionate disease burden suffered by American Indians. American Indians born 13 today have a life expectancy that is 2.4 years less 14 than U.S. all races. 15

16 American Indians die at higher rates than 17 any other American: from tuberculosis, 600 percent higher; alcoholism, 510 percent higher; motor vehicle 18 19 crashes, 229 percent higher; diabetes, 18 percent higher; unintentional injuries, 152 percent higher; 20 21 homicide, 61 percent higher. And these statistics I derive from many congressional testimonies done by 22 23 people in the health industry, tribal health industry. health disparities 24 Some of these are 25 historic. Alcoholism continues serious to be а

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challenge to American Indian health. Since introduction to tribal health people in this nation's history, alcohol has done more to destroy Indian families, individuals, and tribal communities than any other disease. Today in 2007, tribal people are dying at a rate of 510 percent higher than any other Americans from alcoholism.

The overall impact of these health 8 disparities made us, "at risk" communities, weakened 9 10 and vulnerable. In fact, as reported in the national news, Billings area tribes, which is within Montana, 11 12 Wyoming, a tribe was targeted by Mexican drug cartel because of their history with alcoholism. 13 The drug 14 dealers figure that the tribal community, already inundated in alcohol addiction, 15 would be easy to 16 infiltrate for drug distribution.

17 Their business plan included marrying into the tribe, give free samples to get people addicted, 18 19 and then get them to distribute to support their 20 addiction. This approach is being implemented 21 throughout Indian country. And this happened to be on a friend of mine's reservation on the Wind River. 22

As the federal government develops models or "best practices," that aim to reduce or eliminate racial and ethnic disparities, closing the gap, a

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1 balance seems to be made between the federal deficit 2 model in comparison to all U.S. races and a positive development model. Otherwise health policy and the 3 subsequent allocation of funding toward Indian health 5 care will be determined on the basis of tribes being a marginalized minority and not as sovereign nations 6 7 with distinct treaty rights, which been have negotiated with the "full faith and honor" of the 8 9 United States of America.

Indian health care funding, 10 qiven the significant health disparities that tribal people 11 12 suffer, funding for Indian health care should be given the highest priority within the federal government. 13 14 Many of the diseases that tribal people suffer are 15 completely preventable and/or treatable with adequate 16 resources, funding.

17 For some time now, the United States has not funded the true need of health services for 18 19 American Indian and Alaska Native people. The medical 20 inflation rate over the past 10 years has averaged 11 21 The average increase for the IHS, percent. [The 22 Indian] Health Services, over the same period has been 23 only four percent. This means that IHS tribal urban health programs are forced to absorb the mandatory 24 25 costs of inflation, population growth, and pay cost

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1 increases by cutting health care services. 2 There simply is no other way for the Indian tribes and urbans to observe these costs. 3 And the basis for calculating inflation used by government 4 5 agencies is not consistent with that used by the 6 private sector. 7 Office of Management and Budget, OMB, usually increases ranging from 2 to 4 percent each 8 9 year to compensate for inflation when the medical 10 inflation rates range from 7 to 13 percent, you know, the disparity and level of quality of care. 11 This 12 question has been investigated in never Havre, 13 Montana. 14 And the question always arose, do Indians different 15 receive care at local hospitals in 16 comparison with other patients? Indians Are 17 discriminated against by hospital staff? And is the 18 level of care provided to Indians different because of 19 financial factors? Indian Health Service and Tribal Health have reduced rate agreements with the hospitals 20 21 for lack of empathy. 22 You know, I can only speak from my own 23 experience, but I do know that my experience I shared by many other tribal people. You know, for the first 24 25 time in my life, I am covered by private insurance **NEAL R. GROSS** COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS 1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.

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| 1  | through my wife's employer, Montana State University.   |
| 2  | She's the bioenergy director.   |
| 3  | I never though that I would receive   |
| 4  | different health care from the hospital due to my   |
| 5  | status as a recipient of health care through our IHS  |
| 6  | compacted tribal health facility.   |
| 7  | This past spring, this past spring, we had  |
| 8  | an epidemic. And I am a rancher by choice, because I  |
| 9  | want to. We had an epidemic of trichomoniasis in our  |
| 10 | bulls. So then the ranching organization then rounded   |
| 11 | up all of these bulls and got them tested.  |
| 12 | I took mine in to the local vet in Havre,   |
| 13 | which is close to 40 miles away. And this particular  |
| 14 | vet place, there was only women working there. And  |
| 15 | they were trying to chase one of my bulls in. And   |
| 16 | they were getting him more heated up, getting him   |
| 17 | mean. So I told them, "Here. Let me do it."   |
| 18 | So I jumped over the fence. And when  |
| 19 | clearing the top rail, I slipped. The bull turned   |
| 20 | around and just beat the heck out of me. And I often  |
| 21 | wondered what Elvis Presley felt like, all those girls  |
| 22 | screaming.  |
| 23 | (Laughter.)   |
| 24 | MR. WINDY BOY: So, anyway, as a result of   |
| 25 | that, the bull stepped on me. I ended up in the   |
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82 1 hospital for about three and a half days. And the 2 doctor that I was assigned to was on call. When I first was admitted, my wife hadn't received her proof 3 4 of insurance card and although I was covered at the 5 time, the hospital emergency room billed my care to our tribal health facility in Rocky Boy. 6 And I was 7 run through the process of tests and X-rays. I was admitted for my injuries and then 8 9 released two or three days later. I was still in 10 pain. My mobility was limited to crutches and a cane 11 for the next several weeks. And part of my injuries 12 included a big abrasion from my knee down to my ankle, where the skin was taken off. 13 And although I followed up on care with 14 15 that same doctor who treated me during my initial 16 hospital stay, I developed an infection serious enough 17 for my wife to insist that I return to the emergency room, which ultimately was a staph infection. 18 And 19 this time --VICE CHAIR THERNSTROM: 20 I hate to tell 21 you, but you do need to wind this up because you are 22 way over time. 23 MR. WINDY BOY: Well, this time my private information had 24 insurance entered the hospital

database. So the second time I went through this, I

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83 1 went through a cadre of tests where they had four 2 blood pressure cuffs on my legs, determined the 3 circulation in my leg. And they also went through a CAT scan and found that I had a broken hip on my upper 4 5 So I guess, to make a long story short, that bones. was one of many incidents. 6

Do you know Paul Harvey, you know, the guy that says "the rest of the story"? You know, he said one time "If you want to get away with murder, do it in Hays, Montana," next reservation over, small town located. You know, that's synonymous with this country.

13 know, what Ι talked about, You the 14 disparities, the disparities is in a wide range. In 15 fact, you've got a team here. You've got a team we 16 call the Washington Redskins. You know, to me that's 17 deroqatory. The Atlanta Braves, where they sing some funky song, you've got a guy running around, parading 18 19 around in the gymnasium, Illinois, you know, that's guy paints his 20 Ιf а face, derogatory. that's 21 derogatory to me because we go through great measures 22 to get our face painted. And there is a process. And 23 somebody for to come by and mock that, that's discriminatory against me. 24

VICE CHAIR THERNSTROM: Why don't you come

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| 1  | back to these in the question and answer period, if   |
| 2  | you would, because it's just not fair to the rest of  |
| 3  | your panelists to keep talking when you are way over?   |
| 4  | MR. WINDY BOY: Well, I wish it would have   |
| 5  | been fair for me even for the previous panel to also  |
| 6  | look at the time that was spent.  |
| 7  | VICE CHAIR THERNSTROM: Well, wait a   |
| 8  | minute. They were under the ten minutes, both of  |
| 9  | them.   |
| 10 | Sir?  |
| 11 | MR. RUNNELS: Madam Chair, members of the  |
| 12 | Commission, I appreciate this opportunity to come   |
| 13 | here. I have been told to express my regrets that   |
| 14 | Mayor Standley couldn't be here. He's far more  |
| 15 | involved in the cause that we're going to talk about  |
| 16 | here today than I am, but I also appreciate the   |
| 17 | opportunity.  |
| 18 | The City of Farmington is no stranger to  |
| 19 | the Civil Rights Commission. You have been there  |
| 20 | twice since 1974. Regrettably, the incidents of 1974  |
| 21 | have left a stain on Farmington that I don't know will  |
| 22 | ever be erased, but we are making some efforts to do  |
| 23 | that.   |
| 24 | For those of you who aren't familiar with   |
| 25 | Farmington, Farmington is still, and not as much, an  |
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| 1  | oil and gas center in northwest New Mexico. Because   |
| 2  | of that, Farmington has traditionally been a boom and   |
| 3  | bust town. During the boom periods, for a while   |
| 4  | there, they average every 10 to 15 years.   |
| 5  | During these boom periods, you would  |
| 6  | experience population growth of 200 to 300 percent.   |
| 7  | The busts would come along. And these people would  |
| 8  | leave.  |
| 9  | Part of the problem with boom periods is  |
| 10 | the people that are coming in are often from out of   |
| 11 | state. Any time you have a huge influx of a   |
| 12 | population that is not from the area, is not aware of   |
| 13 | the cultural differences, and is not willing to take  |
| 14 | the time to learn what the issues are, this creates   |
| 15 | problems. And I feel that is probably part of the   |
| 16 | problems we have had in the past.   |
| 17 | There are definitely issues of racial   |
| 18 | discrimination in Farmington. There is no question  |
| 19 | about that. I am not an expert in very many areas,  |
| 20 | but I have seen it in my 20-something years I have  |
| 21 | been there.   |
| 22 | In the educational system, there is still   |
| 23 | a lack of a willingness, I believe, to incorporate  |
| 24 | cultural education into the current system. I say   |
| 25 | this because one of my other roles is I am an adjunct   |
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| 1  | faculty member for the local community college.   |
| 2  | You know, I have to grade the papers. And   |
| 3  | I feel like, you know, that there hasn't been an  |
| 4  | effort to incorporate the style of writing from the   |
| 5  | Native American into the current English system. And  |
| 6  | you see that in the papers that we have.  |
| 7  | You know, the opportunities in school are   |
| 8  | often dependent upon the home life. And I know for a  |
| 9  | fact that a lot of these students endure long, tenuous  |
| 10 | bus rides to get to and from class. And this doesn't  |
| 11 | make for the best opportunities.  |
| 12 | The business community has a very poor  |
| 13 | record with Native Americans in Farmington. We often  |
| 14 | in law enforcement deal with this on the other end of   |
| 15 | it as far as, you know, being called on so-called   |
| 16 | civil standbys.   |
| 17 | You know, we deal with a lot of the Native  |
| 18 | elders who are not fluent in the English language and   |
| 19 | don't understand the legal documents they have signed.  |
| 20 | When there is a question as to why, you know, these   |
| 21 | people are here to repossess whatever they're after,  |
| 22 | you know, we're caught in the middle of that often.   |
| 23 | And I think that is probably one of the bigger issues   |
| 24 | we have there.  |
| 25 | Customer service in the past has always   |
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been an issue in the Farmington area as far as the way Native American clients were treated. I will have to say that customer service in Farmington is poor regardless. I have been just as unhappy as some other people there, but that is part of what is going on in Farmington.

7 course, law enforcement Ι do know Of about. You know, I don't think there's any question 8 9 that the criminal justice system in New Mexico and in San Juan County is discriminatory against minorities. 10 11 Now, it's not much different than it is in other parts 12 of the state depending on the population, but we see a predominant number of the people that we arrest, you 13 know, often wind up in the hands of public defenders. 14

15 Now, you know, we have some good public 16 We have some not so good public defenders. defenders. 17 Personally I would like to make sure everyone gets the best legal services they can. It makes our 18 job 19 easier, believe it or not. Now, you don't really hear 20 law enforcement sayinq much complimentary about 21 attorneys, but it does make our job easier.

22 Misconceptions from law enforcement with 23 Native Americans. You know, I'll tell you a short 24 story that in my resume, I spent ten years in Fort 25 Worth. I was born and raised in Fort Worth. I come

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88 1 to New Mexico. I am suddenly working among Native 2 Americans, predominantly Navajos. had huge problem 3 We а with Native 4 Americans not having insurance on their vehicles. So 5 the prominent misconception amongst my fellow officers back then, who were predominantly white, was one of 6 7 two things. Either they couldn't afford it or they felt like they didn't have to have insurance. 8 Well, cultural awareness training was not 9 very common as far as law enforcement or any city 10 employees at that time. So after I had been there 11 12 probably three or four years, we have our first training. And it is finally explained to me that one 13 of the reasons Native Americans don't have insurance 14 15 is because some of them felt like by having insurance, 16 then you were creating your destiny that you were 17 going to have an accident. It was a superstitious And, you know, once these kinds of things were 18 act. 19 explained, you know, it made a lot more difference 20 there. 21 Another issue that we work with as far as law enforcement is recruiting Native Americans. 22 We have had a lot of success lately, but I will tell you 23 the standard around the country is a battery of five 24

psychological tests. I wish I could tell you the five

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names, but, you know, we are offering the MMPI and some of the other testings like that.

Luckily, we have a local psychologist who 3 4 does our psychological testing. And he calls whenever 5 he has a question. And he will go on the record 6 anywhere saying that he feels like a lot of these 7 psychological tests are not based on tribal cultures and they will tend to show up in the negative on these 8 9 tests, but we're willing to talk about these things. Now, are we the exception? I don't know. But that is 10 one of the issues that they deal with as far as the 11 12 legal system.

13 I am here to say that I think in the 14 20-some odd years I have been in Farmington, that we 15 are making some progress. You know, the City of 16 Farmington has an affirmative action plan. It's 17 updated every year. We're not under any type of court decree to do this. It's something that we believe in, 18 19 something that we have done for a number of years.

20 We strongly recruit Native Americans in 21 the police department. I can say within the last 22 probably three to four years, we have doubled the 23 number of Native Americans we have. Is it a lot? No. 24 I mean, I believe right now we have about 12 Native 25 American officers out of 135 sworn, but we are making

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some in roads on that.

You know, the city council and the mayor have done a lot in the past couple of years as far as dealing with the alcohol issue. You know, we have created what we call the Total Behavioral Health Unit, which has actually worked towards a treatment program, instead of a solely incarceration program.

8 In the business community, the city has 9 gone out with the Chamber of Commerce in creating a 10 cultural awareness program to get the business people. 11 All City of Farmington employees are required to go 12 through this. This has gone a long way.

13 The biggest thing the city is involved in 14 now which is a result of the report from 2004 from the 15 Civil Rights Commission is the creation of the 16 Community Relations Commission. The resolution was 17 introduced last Tuesday for this. And hopefully they will have that on board in the next month, as soon as 18 19 they get through all the legal work that they have to for the city commission. 20

I think the biggest thing that the City of Farmington and that Farmington as a community by and large has realized is that the Native American population is needed. They are an integral part of what we do.

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| 1  | You know, we're not an oil and gas town.  |
| 2  | We still have it, but we are a retail center. We need   |
| 3  | to work with everyone. You know, they are valued  |
| 4  | customers. We see that more and more. At least I do.  |
| 5  | So I think we have made some progress. We   |
| 6  | have worked successfully with a number of tribal  |
| 7  | members, including Mr. Yazzie. And hopefully we can   |
| 8  | continue to move forward with this.   |
| 9  | Thank you.  |
| 10 | VICE CHAIR THERNSTROM: Thank you very   |
| 11 | much. And thank you for keeping under the ten   |
| 12 | minutes. I very much appreciate it.   |
| 13 | Yes?  |
| 14 | MR. SIMPSON: First, I would like to thank   |
| 15 | the Commission for allowing me the opportunity to take  |
| 16 | part in this briefing. And I appreciate the chance to   |
| 17 | hear the other panelists' views on our topic today.   |
| 18 | My hope in attending was that I could find some ways  |
| 19 | to strengthen the ties with our Native American   |
| 20 | community within our community in Bishop.   |
| 21 | I will start by telling you a little bit  |
| 22 | about Bishop, California. We are located in beautiful   |
| 23 | Owens Valley on the eastern slope of the Sierra Nevada  |
| 24 | mountain range. We are a small community. Our school  |
| 25 | district services 1,300 students. Of those 1,300,   |
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approximately 20 percent are Native American, 28 percent are Latino, 48 percent white, and 4 percent representing other groups.

Our school district boundaries border the 4 5 Paiute-Shoshone Indian which Reservation, has approximately 2,000 members. Our school district is 6 7 currently identified as a program improvement school under the guidelines of No Child Left Behind. In 8 9 addition, our schools experiencing declining are 10 enrollment, having lost over 250 students in our 11 district over the past 5 years. The reasons for this 12 decline are due, in large part, to increased housing costs in our area. We're a resort-type area near the 13 Mammoth Mountain ski area. In addition, there are few 14 15 opportunities for employment.

16 Still, with the many difficult challenges 17 that face our district, I would probably say that we 18 have a strong teaching staff that is caring and 19 dedicated to providing a positive environment for all 20 of our kids.

You might be asking, what makes Little Bishop School District significant for this briefing? And the answer to that question is that my attendance today is a direct result of an incident that occurred on our middle school campus in October of 2005. The

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incident resulted in a complaint being filed with the American Civil Liberties Union.

Two years ago the conduct of our school 3 4 resource officer was called into question during an 5 incident that took place on our campus. Ιt was 6 alleged that the school resource officer acted in a 7 physical and threatening manner an attempt in to resolve an issue with a group of Native American 8 9 students.

In addition, a second complaint was filed, 10 alleging that our school district had engaged in a 11 12 pattern of discriminatory discipline. While I wasn't 13 the superintendent of the district at the time, nor 14 employed by the district, it's clear after my review 15 that many mistakes were made in resolving this issue. 16 It boiled down to a young man who was wearing a 17 That does violate our dress code, but it headband. escalated quickly. So obviously there is certainly 18 some concern there. 19

It's also true that after a review of our disciplinary data, disciplinary actions involving Native American students have occurred at higher rates compared to other student populations. These are facts that can't be denied.

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As the Superintendent of Bishop Union

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Elementary School District, it became my responsibility to work on these issues. And I believe that we have had some success in that area. In September, the district reached an agreement with the ACLU. This agreement includes several actions that I will believe will make a positive impact on the entire district.

agreement includes ongoing staff 8 Our 9 development on cultural awareness and diversity issues as well as the integration of conflict resolution and 10 cultural diversity awareness into the day-to-day lives 11 12 of our students. We have also agreed to discontinue the school resource officer program, although that can 13 be reinstated by a vote of our school board. 14

15 While this agreement has only recently 16 been signed, many changes have been taking place in 17 our district, which I am very proud of. Disciplinary actions have been reduced. And recent state testing 18 19 data shows that our Native American students at the middle school level have exceeded all proficiency 20 21 targets in mathematics and language arts. So I'm 22 proud to say that we're making some academic 23 improvement there.

I realize that these are just the first early steps in our path to improvement, but it's my

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1goal to see this continue. And, again, my hope here2was to learn about new ways to strengthen the ties3between our two communities.4I would like to take a few minutes to

5 briefly address the questions that are included in my 6 invitation to this meeting. I admit it's difficult 7 for me to comment on the forms of discrimination that 8 Native Americans face in our border towns. However, I 9 have taken some time this week to meet with our tribal 10 leaders in Bishop, ask for their input on any concerns 11 that they would like to express to me.

12 One statement I would share from our Indian Education Center director was he pointed out to 13 14 the parents that I work with want their me that 15 children to be treated as students, not Indian 16 students, "We do not want special treatment. We want 17 our students to behave. We want them to learn, to be successful." He stressed to me that his tribe is 18 19 diverse, that not all of those families act in the same way, that all children are individuals and should 20 21 be treated as individuals.

This resonated with me because I believe that we often spend too much time thinking about how to work with groups of children, rather than working directly with the individual student.

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To continue, I would like to comment on some of the current issues facing the public education system. It is impossible to discuss these issues with Native American students without discussing No Child Left Behind and its significant impact on our nation's schools, especially in our Native American communities.

Although the goals of the No Child Left 8 9 Behind Act are noble, I think we can agree that the 10 implementation has been less than perfect. Its desired result of 100 percent proficiency will 11 be 12 difficult, if not impossible, to attain. And this is probably a discussion for another meeting, but I felt 13 14 it was important.

15 In an environment where schools are facing 16 the demands of high stakes testing, it has become difficult to provide a 17 increasingly well-rounded curriculum. School administrators and teachers are 18 19 faced with mounting pressure to raise test scores, often sacrificing other important curricula, including 20 21 the arts, music, or cultural offerings. In fact, many 22 struggling students are now forced to take additional 23 courses in math and language arts and foreqo electives, where they may have significant ability. I 24 25 have seen firsthand where this has led to low teacher

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morale, student and parent frustration, as well as an increase in dropout rates.

It is my fear that many students, Native American students included, will become increasingly disengaged as many programs slowly become eliminated. Clearly this legislation has had some unintended negative consequences.

Finally, I would like to take highlight a 8 9 few steps that we have taken in our school district 10 and community to improve relations. Our school district employs three Native American liaisons, whose 11 12 responsibilities include providing а vital link between school and home. Our liaisons offer before 13 and after school academic support as well as bringing 14 in quest speakers and performers in an effort to share 15 16 the Native American culture with our students. We 17 also offer a Paiute language course.

Each year our school board holds a board 18 19 meeting on the reservation at the tribal council 20 This meeting in devoted to discussing the chambers. 21 Native American students. Our progress of our 22 regularly with administrators meet the Indian 23 Education Parent Committee.

24These efforts are producing positive25results. However, we feel there are many more ways to

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98 1 explore to help strengthen this tie. I understand 2 this will take time. We're not going to make this improvement quickly. 3 But we are dedicated to this 4 improvement effort. 5 Once again, I would like to thank the members of the Commission for this opportunity. 6 Ι 7 look forward to hearing more steps that we can take to improve our district. 8 9 VICE CHAIR THERNSTROM: Thank you so much 10 and again for your concise remarks. Mr. Yazzie? 11 12 MR. YAZZIE: Madam Chair, commissioners, Mr. Marcus, your staff, I will be reading from my 13 statement that was distributed by staff here after you 14 15 started your session. 16 Yeigo, Naas to Farmington, the Selma, 17 Alabama of the Southwest, declared Fred Johnson our leader 2,000 strong, Natives and non-Natives, 18 as 19 supporters, marched on a beautiful idyllic Saturday morning in the Summer of 1974. We marched to protest 20 21 the mistreatment of our people by the racist minority of the straggling border town across the river from 22 23 the Navajo Nation. The march boycott, one of seven that we 24 25 did on successive Saturday, was our answer to decades **NEAL R. GROSS** COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS 1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W. (202) 234-4433 WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701 www.nealrgross.com

of outright discrimination on the streets by regular folks and over the counter by conniving, greedy business people.

The breaking point, what brought us to the 4 5 Farmington with pounding streets of drums, our 6 medicine people, our elders, and young, was the murder of three of our Navajo brethren by three young Anglos 7 engaging in their sport of Indian rolling. This is 8 where, usually under the influence of booze, drugs, or 9 just raw hatred of people of colors, young white guys 10 would go cruising the late night streets in search of 11 12 the right prey, a stranded Indian in need of a ride or a coming-down-off-of-a-high Indian in need of a drink. 13 With promises of a ride or a drink, the unsuspecting 14 15 Native is whisked away to Chokecherry Canyon or other 16 similar isolated location where the young white guys 17 proceed to beat their victims.

In the case of the three murdered Navajos, 18 19 the separate scenes were described by the then Sheriff 20 The white boys after beating the victims Doug Brown. 21 proceeded to place firecrackers in the ears and anuses of the victims and exploded them. 22 They also burned 23 their genital areas over an open fire. They then took rocks the size of basketballs and slammed them down on 24 25 the heads of the desperate and pleading Indians to

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| 1  | make sure they would die. That was the Summer of  |
| 2  | 1974.   |
| 3  | I am sure the Commission is also  |
| 4  | interested to hear about our current condition. In  |
| 5  | June of 2006, William Blackie, a Navajo man hoping to   |
| 6  | get a ride out of town, ended up getting hauled out to  |
| 7  | Chokecherry Canyon by three young Anglo men. They   |
| 8  | proceeded to beat him up while barraging him with   |
| 9  | racial slurs, including, "you brown nigger."  |
| 10 | Mr. Blackie survived his ordeal. The  |
| 11 | three men received sentences averaging six years each.  |
| 12 | The sentences were enhanced by the New Mexico hate  |
| 13 | crime law. This is the first time the DA has ever   |
| 14 | filed hate crime charges, despite Farmington's history  |
| 15 | of crimes against Navajo people.  |
| 16 | One week after the Blackie beating, a   |
| 17 | young inebriated Navajo man was shot pointblank four  |
| 18 | times by a white police officer, Farmington police  |
| 19 | officer, three shots to the chest, one shot to the  |
| 20 | head.   |
| 21 | There remains an equally divided  |
| 22 | contention whether Clint John was armed with the  |
| 23 | police officer's baton. The Farmington Daily Times,   |
| 24 | the area newspaper, has declared that the unarmed   |
| 25 | Navajo man was shot by the white police officer.  |
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3 Department, the appointed investigating entity. The 4 police officer was an officer in the City of Aztec, 5 and the sheriff the county seat, is а former 6 Farmington city police officer. We tend to contend 7 that this might be one of those qood old boy situations. 8

The

by

wrongdoing

9 We do not deem the shooting of Clint John 10 a hate crime. We more question the standards that 11 dictate the use of lethal and excessive force by the 12 Farmington Police Department against Natives.

On September the 1st, 2006, we marched on 13 14 Farmington again. This time we termed it a walk for 15 peace and justice. We have made this an annual event. 16 This past September, we did the walk in Cortez, 17 Colorado, another border town where a consistent string of incidents that are termed "crimes of hate" 18 19 continue to be reported.

2006, 20 November also protested In we 21 Gallup, New Mexico, New Mexico's area history of discrimination against Native people. 22 The Navajo 23 Nation has 13 border towns. And every single one has a history of racial mistreatment of Native Americans. 24 25 In the month after the Clint John killing,

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other examples of police misconduct in Farmington occurred. And several separate attacks on Native Americans in Cortez were reported in November 2006.

As a result of these incidents as recent 4 5 as January 2007, there were incidents of harassment 6 and intimidation by armed Forest Service officers 7 Native individuals offering traditional aqainst religious prayers on the San Francisco peaks. The 8 9 spiritual leaders say that they were detained at the 10 base of the mountain by county sheriff deputies and 11 interrogated about what they were doing on the 12 mountain.

After the recent resurgence of these hate 13 situations, the Navajo Nation Council 14 crime took measures to document the incidence of hate crimes 15 16 against Navajo people in the border towns. The Navajo 17 Nation Council approved the Navajo Nation Human Rights Commission Act. 18

19 The act authorized the establishment of This office is to 20 the Navajo human rights office. 21 work proactively to document border town hate crime against tribal members and to work proactively with 22 23 town governments and civic the border groups to minimize such crimes, if not to prevent them. 24

DNA, the Navajo Branch of the People Legal

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Aid Service, produced a report called "Race Relations
 Report." And I have submitted a copy of the report
 for the record.

4 The report reviews statistical data from 5 the 13 border towns about the quality of life of 6 Navajos. Although we do know that most adult Navajos have either encountered such treatment firsthand or 7 have heard descriptions of such treatment directly 8 9 from family or community members, of the border towns 10 that provided information in response to the data requests, only two reported that they had received 11 12 reports of discrimination or mistreatment of Native Americans, either through hate crimes 13 or police 14 brutality.

15 Thus, we asked, is it possible that 16 Navajos are victimized in the border towns but they 17 simply do not report it? If so, why is that? То answer this question, the report cites the study of 18 19 Barbara Perry entitled "In the Name of Hate: Dr. Understanding Hate Crime" and "Crime by Any Other 20 21 Name, the Semantics of Hate."

The study provides a substantive and detailed analysis on hate crime summarized as follows. Hate crime against Native Americans is so widespread as to be considered normative by community members.

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1 In spite of the extensiveness of racial 2 victimization, fewer than five percent of victims report incidents to police. 3 The two main reasons 4 given for the unwillingness to report were: one, the 5 perception that police do not take Native American 6 victimization seriously and, thus, failed to respond 7 appropriately; and, two, the fear of secondary victimization, harassment, or violence at the hands of 8 9 police officers. The fear of secondary victimization arises from individual and collective experiences and 10 perceptions of police misconduct. 11

12 The forms of discrimination that our people continue to be subjected to include occasional 13 14 snide racist remarks and outward verbal abuse, treating less formally educated Navajos by charging 15 16 excessive interest rates and contracts for loans, 17 particularly with vehicles and mobile homes.

The graphic situations that I shared with you earlier are hopefully incidents far and between. However, we do have numbers of people who are missing who have been missing for years. And there has been speculation that some of these individuals may have fallen prey to those who would do us deliberate harm.

The common forms of discrimination we see today appear to be less aggravated and fewer in number

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| 1  | than what we experienced in the '60s, into the '70s.  |
| 2  | Even so, some have surmised that perhaps this is just   |
| 3  | that perpetrators have only become more adept and have  |
| 4  | more refined their culture of hate.   |
| 5  | Even as this appears to be the situation  |
| 6  | in the Four Corners region, the Federal Bureau of   |
| 7  | Investigation's 2005 statistics on hate crime reports   |
| 8  | that while Alaska Natives and American Indians  |
| 9  | represent only one percent of the United States   |
| 10 | population, they are victims of two percent of  |
| 11 | racially motivated crime.   |
| 12 | To their credit, the border town  |
| 13 | communities of Farmington, Gallup, and Cortez have  |
| 14 | taken definitive steps to attempt to address the  |
| 15 | scourge of hate crime. And we participate in these  |
| 16 | efforts.  |
| 17 | We accept that definitive and long-lasting  |
| 18 | results are dependent on attitude change of entire  |
| 19 | communities. And, as such, these efforts will take  |
| 20 | sustained and patient work. Much of the reason why  |
| 21 | opportunity arises for discrimination is economic.  |
| 22 | In that the Navajo Nation has a limited   |
| 23 | retail economy, this condition compels us to have to  |
| 24 | go to the border towns to shop. Another cause is that   |
| 25 | our reservation is dry. And those that need to drink  |
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106 1 are also forced to go where the booze is. This results in the situation where the 2 towns have with panhandling, 3 border to contend 4 inebriated street people, Native people. Thus, to a 5 certain extent, we do bring the problems of abuse 6 through discrimination and exploitation upon 7 ourselves. do, however, openly submit that 8 We we 9 recognize the vast majority of these of our non-Native neighbors are people with good hearts and that the 10 race problems are exacerbated by a small redneck 11 12 and/or white supremist minority. 13 diliqent scrutiny that U.S. The the 14 Commission Civil Rights maintains on on such situations certainly has a positive impact by bringing 15 16 border towns our tribal on the and pressure 17 governments to take these crimes against human rights dignity seriously and that it is 18 and human an 19 important issue enough to continue to address. 20 I am pleased to report that your colleague 21 Foster Dulles has been a true advocate for John 22 justice and equality such that we have accepted him as 23 a friend and brother. realize that, unfortunately, racial 24 We 25 hate crime is a phenomenon that has always been with **NEAL R. GROSS** COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS 1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W. WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-3701

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| 1  | humankind and will probably always be with humankind.   |
| 2  | But, as my dad once told me, just because you know a  |
| 3  | situation is going to be, don't just let it be. Do  |
| 4  | something.  |
| 5  | Thank you for this tremendous opportunity.  |
| 6  | VICE CHAIR THERNSTROM: And I thank you  |
| 7  | and all of the panelists. And we now go to questions.   |
| 8  | And we start with Commissioner Melendez.  |
| 9  | COMMISSIONER MELENDEZ: Yes. Thank you,  |
| 10 | all panelists, for coming.  |
| 11 | III. QUESTIONS BY COMMISSIONERS AND STAFF DIRECTOR  |
| 12 | COMMISSIONER MELENDEZ: I would like to  |
| 13 | know from Mr. Yazzie. You said that many people don't   |
| 14 | really report the crimes. It's probably   |
| 15 | under-reported. What do you think? And basically  |
| 16 | along with reporting, there are probably statistics   |
| 17 | that need to be gathered, either from federal agencies  |
| 18 | or state agencies, that really tell the true picture  |
| 19 | of what is actually happening out there.  |
| 20 | What do you think could be actually done  |
| 21 | to enhance that more because we want to have a clear  |
| 22 | picture of how serious are the things that are  |
| 23 | happening out there in Indian country as far as   |
| 24 | discrimination?   |
| 25 | MR. YAZZIE: Thank you, Commissioner   |
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Melendez.

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2 One of the efforts that the City of Farmington is making is to establish a process where 3 4 people can report these types of crimes. And the 5 observation and recommendation that Ι made to 6 Farmington is that you need to have people whom these people, whom these victims can relate to. 7

8 What I have seen is that they tend to have 9 people our version of the Uncle Tom, the successful 10 downtown Navajo business person, sit there expecting 11 to receive these complaints from the people from the 12 south side.

13 isn't going happen. Until That to 14 Farmington and other border develop towns the mechanism that truly works and that is available to 15 16 have our people volunteer to bring these issues forth, 17 that will not happen.

18 VICE CHAIR THERNSTROM: Other questions 19 from commissioners? Commissioner Heriot, you haven't 20 been heard from all morning. Do you have questions? 21 And are you still with us?

22 COMMISSIONER HERIOT: I'm sorry. I don't 23 have any questions right now, but I am still here.

24 COMMISSIONER MELENDEZ: I think some of 25 the panelists wanted to comment on my question

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| 1  | further.  |
| 2  | VICE CHAIR THERNSTROM: Sure. We would   |
| 3  | welcome that.   |
| 4  | MR. WINDY BOY: In reference to it, with   |
| 5  | the civil rights, the Commission on Civil Rights, when  |
| 6  | you step back and take a look globally, that is what  |
| 7  | is happening with people in Indian country now. The   |
| 8  | panel before me talked about victims.   |
| 9  | Maybe a recommendation from this  |
| 10 | organization to the powers that be would be   |
| 11 | recommendations of trying to address racism on border   |
| 12 | towns needs to be twofold from a tribal perspective   |
| 13 | and from whether it would be a city or a county   |
| 14 | government. They both have to work together.  |
| 15 | Two things that happen in my area, the  |
| 16 | University of Montana, there is a big report that came  |
| 17 | out that hit the newspaper airways. The reporters   |
| 18 | came from my neighbor's place. They asked if I wanted   |
| 19 | to do an interpretation of racism.  |
| 20 | Oh, he suggested, "You don't need to  |
| 21 | write. Go there and tell them. Ask them about   |
| 22 | Indians. They will write it for you." Sure enough.  |
| 23 | And that's where this report came out of.   |
| 24 | The second panel before me talked about   |
| 25 | the FBI and their inability to follow up on a number  |
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110 1 of cases because we have many of those in Rocky Boy. 2 But how can you as the Commission on Civil 3 Rights address these when the highest form of this 4 government doesn't even recognize the indigenous 5 indigenous people? Four countries, rights of the 6 United States being one of them, Canada being the 7 other, Australia and New Zealand, where there are indigenous people, won't sign onto this supposedly 8 9 treaty. 10 Rights of our people, the Ojibwa, Anishinabe, Na-Kah-Wi-No-Wuc, we have a treaty called 11 12 the J treaty. That's not even recognized yet. The 13 security bill in homeland came absent our 14 recommendations in Indian country. So this racism is a lot bigger, a lot 15 16 And whether your suggestion goes forward, you biqqer. 17 know, we need to address this. And it needs to be And we need to come up with some solutions 18 real. 19 because Washington Redskins are still going to be here in 20 years, Atlanta Braves are still going to be 20 21 Those things have to change. here. 22 VICE CHAIR THERNSTROM: Well, we would 23 welcome anything you would like to add to the record you submitted in the way of recommendations. 24 25 Do other people -- yes? NEAL R. GROSS COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS 1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.

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1 MR. RUNNELS: I would just like to add a 2 little to what Mr. Yazzie said to Commissioner Melendez. 3 For a number of years, Farmington has had 4 the Citizens Police Advisory Commission, which was 5 created basically to hear complaints against police officers. 6

7 And one of the issues that we have dealt with, like Mr. Yazzie talked about, is, how do we get 8 9 out there? And I say "we" because it falls under the 10 direction of the city manager's officer, not the 11 police department, but we are working on ways to get, 12 the Commission is working on ways to get out into the community, where people are more inclined to bring 13 forth issues like that. 14

15 One of the things, as I mentioned, is the 16 Community Relations Commission. And I don't know 17 where that is going to go. You know, it's out of my But one of the things we saw from CPAC 18 bailiwick. 19 meetings would have а number of Native was we 20 Americans that would come to these meetings, but their 21 complaints would be on predatory business practices. Of course, we have absolutely no control over that. 22 23 You know, we could give them some advice, but we're treading on legal ground there we don't want to go on. 24 25 And that's one of the things that the

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Community Relations Commission hopefully will provide is a point of contact for those types of complaints as well as, you know, if they're more comfortable, if they bring a complaint as far as, you know, police action, then that will be forwarded on to the CPAC Commission.

7 COMMISSIONER MELENDEZ: Let me ask you a What about within the police department question. 8 9 Do you think that there needs to be a public itself? 10 relations person that is actually a Navajo or somebody that actually could interact directly from 11 the 12 Farmington Police Department to the community?

I've seen that happen in some cities. 13 In they have tried reach the 14 Reno, Nevada, to 15 Afro-American community with an Afro-American person 16 that's part of the police force that kind of tries to bring relationships better, working relationships. 17

MR. RUNNELS: Actually -- and I'm glad you 18 19 mentioned it because now I know I have a contact, who 20 to go talk to. Yes, we're looking at that. You know, 21 Farmington Police Department, the the City of Farmington is probably unique in a lot of places in 22 that, really, we have a lot of money. You know, you 23 all buy gas. So you know where the money is going. 24

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And, you know, we have just now recently

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113 1 been able to staff at the levels we need to. And we 2 are looking at a number. We had talked about a public 3 relations-type position. 4 The City of Farmington just hired or 5 created a public relations position. to But, be 6 honest, I had never thought about one just gearing 7 specifically toward the Native Americans. But, you know, right now I can think of a couple of good 8 9 candidates for that. So I appreciate that comment. Ι 10 will certainly know how to get a hold of Reno. 11 COMMISSIONER MELENDEZ: Okay. 12 VICE CHAIR THERNSTROM: I thank you very much. 13 Yes, Mr. Yazzie? 14 Madam Chair, I just want to 15 MR. YAZZIE: 16 elaborate a little bit on Commissioner Melendez's question. I think one avenue to look at would be to 17 look at the model that the Navajo Nation is looking 18 19 at, you know, rather than having this Commission or any of your associates from the outside recommend how 20 21 we can generate that information that is needed. The Navajo effort is from the inside. 22 And 23 I would think that the process that the Navajo Nation place document border 24 is putting in to town 25 discrimination really takes into the consideration the **NEAL R. GROSS** COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS 1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.

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| 1  | experiences that we have all had in the problem of  |
| 2  | generating those statistics.  |
| 3  | So I think the Commission here might  |
| 4  | recognize the Navajo Nation's effort with this Navajo   |
| 5  | Nation Human Rights Commission and support that effort  |
| 6  | and see if we can't do a better job from the inside in  |
| 7  | generating the information.   |
| 8  | VICE CHAIR THERNSTROM: Commissioner Yaki  |
| 9  | has a question.   |
| 10 | COMMISSIONER YAKI: Oh, yes. I just  |
| 11 | wanted to say, one, thank you all for being here,   |
| 12 | especially Mr. Yazzie. It's always great to have  |
| 13 | someone whose name follows mine in the alphabet.  |
| 14 | A couple of points I wanted to make. One  |
| 15 | is this is obviously not an isolated issue. We have   |
| 16 | had similar reports in other states other than New  |
| 17 | Mexico regarding border town issues. At the same  |
| 18 | time, each of it is individually localized.   |
| 19 | One of the interesting things I heard   |
| 20 | and this just goes to my admitted ignorance of just   |
| 21 | how large some of the nations are is that Mr.   |
| 22 | Yazzie talked about 13 or so border towns around the  |
| 23 | reservation.  |
| 24 | The question I had for both Mr. Simpson   |
| 25 | and Mr. Runnels is, to what extent have you either  |
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1 networked or attempted to find common ground or common 2 lessons or common strategies with other jurisdictions 3 that also touch upon the same nation, the same 4 reservation, whether it's Chippewa-Cree or whether 5 it's Navajo? I mean, there is a commonality of a 6 people there.

7 And then, as you said, you are doing a community relations commission, which, quite frankly, 8 9 is something that is an offshoot of a lot of large 10 cities nowadays. My own hometown of San Francisco has something called the Human Rights Commission. 11 The 12 Human Rights Commission deals with the issues that would be brought up that you talked about that you 13 14 could not with the citizens advisory committee, which 15 we call the police commission in our town. But it 16 deals with economic development. It deals with issue 17 of human rights, civil rights, that type of stuff.

But I guess the question is, how have you worked with other communities that also border the Navajo Nation I guess for both of you?

21 MR. SIMPSON: For us I have to say very 22 little to be quite honest. Each of our school districts in our county, -- there are seven school 23 districts -- all have border reservations in some way 24 25 So we do do some connection that way. or another. We

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| 1  | have made some communications with other school        |
| 2  | districts in regards to starting a Native language     |
| 3  | class and those kinds of things.                       |
| 4  | But, quite honestly, part of my attendance             |
| 5  | here was to hear about these kinds of things and find  |
| 6  | a way to   |
| 7  | COMMISSIONER YAKI: Has the state taken                 |
| 8  | any proactive role in encouraging the school districts |
| 9  | to get together and trying to work on this issue       |
| 10 | together?  |
| 11 | MR. SIMPSON: Not that I am aware of.                   |
| 12 | COMMISSIONER YAKI: Okay.                               |
| 13 | MR. RUNNELS: Well, of course, one thing                |
| 14 | about, as Mr. Yazzie said, 13 border towns, you know,  |
| 15 | that is a huge reservation. And, of course, the towns  |
| 16 | closest to Farmington are Gallup in New Mexico and     |
| 17 | Cortez in Colorado.                                    |
| 18 | Now, we talk to Cortez, especially on a                |
| 19 | law enforcement stand, but not as much because, you    |
| 20 | know, Colorado laws are way different than New Mexico  |
| 21 | laws. But we do talk and compare notes and ask advice  |
| 22 | from Gallup a lot. As a matter of fact, this Monday,   |
| 23 | you know, my deputy chief, assistant city manager, and |
| 24 | a couple of officers are going to Gallup to meet with  |
| 25 | their mayor and the police chief on some issues that   |
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| 1  | we share together.                                     |
| 2  | So I know the mayor, Stanley, has been in              |
| 3  | constant contact with Gallup because we share a lot of |
| 4  | the same issues and they have tried to put their heads |
| 5  | together to come up with common solutions.             |
| 6  | VICE CHAIR THERNSTROM: Let me just see if              |
| 7  | anybody else, people have already asked questions.     |
| 8  | You're okay. Has Jennifer left? Okay. All right.       |
| 9  | Well, Mr. Melendez, you're on.                         |
| 10 | COMMISSIONER MELENDEZ: One of the                      |
| 11 | questions, my understanding, it really gets down to    |
| 12 | this is a broad issue, you know, as was stated at the  |
| 13 | beginning. But at one point, we were in the Rocky      |
| 14 | Mountain region, we were trying to basically work on a |
| 15 | project back in 2003. Basically it was designed to     |
| 16 | find common things that were happening within the      |
| 17 | Rocky Mountain region because basically they had some  |
| 18 | of the same problems.                                  |
| 19 | So my understanding in 2003 under John                 |
| 20 | Dulles, he was trying to organize like a project where |
| 21 | all these different border towns within the different  |
| 22 | states could actually come together and basically      |
| 23 | dialogue to find out what are the top issues because   |
| 24 | there's a number of them out there, everything from    |
| 25 | all the things that were mentioned here.               |
|    |  |

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118 But you can see the issue on the importance of SACs and how they should have been allowed to complete that project, which had been ideal coming into this hearing today. If that would have gone forward and we could have had some great answers, we would have narrowed it down to some real specific areas here. Now we're still broad. So I'm just saying when we have those things on the table back from 2003, we should have kept that going. And we would have had at least the Rocky Mountain region really having some specific dialoque between each other. And it would have been clear today.

So that's my point, that we need to put more funding into the SACs to help us basically deal with these regional areas so that we can bring them all together. And I think that is very important to do in the future, even though we kind of missed the boat on it.

20 MR. WINDY BOY: So is that initiative 21 still on the table or --

22 COMMISSIONER MELENDEZ: I don't know. It 23 was basically a funding issue or something.

24 STAFF DIRECTOR MARCUS: I really don't 25 think so. And, frankly, I'm a little puzzled by the

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119 1 way you're describing it. There were a number of SACs 2 that were chartered and that were looking into border Within that region, at this point, 3 town issues. 4 unfortunately, we have, as I recall, one chartered 5 SAC. And it's in the State of Utah. encouraged them to continue in this 6 Ι 7 And, in fact, they did meet since they were project. rechartered. I believe it was approximately last 8 9 year, might have been earlier this year. And they 10 looked at the project. 11 Of course, the Utah State Advisory 12 Committee has their own discretion as to whether they want to continue on that subject or to look at another 13 subject. They do have a meeting coming up. And they 14 will have to make that decision. 15 16 We are trying to get the other states 17 chartered as quickly as we can. As they do get chartered, of course, they will be able to decide 18 19 whether they want to look at this topic or some other topics at their discretion. 20 21 COMMISSIONER MELENDEZ: My point was at 22 the time before we started rechartering all of these 23 SACs, I think there was interest in doing that through John Dulles at the time. Now he is gone also as a 24 25 regional director. **NEAL R. GROSS** 

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| 1  | So at the time that the SACs were in  |
| 2  | place, we could have. We were moving in that  |
| 3  | direction. And, all of a sudden, now, really, what  |
| 4  | we're saying is because of rechartering, we're going  |
| 5  | to have to start all over and start the whole idea  |
| 6  | again if that's what we want to do.   |
| 7  | STAFF DIRECTOR MARCUS: The one thing I  |
| 8  | would add is that, even while some of these have not  |
| 9  | been chartered, I did provide funding so that regional  |
| 10 | staff could continue doing research on this topic   |
| 11 | without the SAC so that they wouldn't have to get   |
| 12 | started again.  |
| 13 | Now, again, whether these SACs will want  |
| 14 | to address this issue or another issue is up to the   |
| 15 | SACs when they are rechartered.   |
| 16 | MR. WINDY BOY: That brings us to a point.   |
| 17 | You know, the three, four reservations in north   |
| 18 | central Montana that border the Canadian border as a  |
| 19 | result of this University of Montana report, in other   |
| 20 | words, not only the Commission on Civil Rights but the  |
| 21 | Department of Justice came in on four, five occasions   |
| 22 | to hold these city commission, Hill County commission,  |
| 23 | and Rocky wanted Fort Belknap to come up with a plan.   |
| 24 | Whatever that plan was that was   |
| 25 | implemented a year and a half ago, we hadn't heard in   |
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Indian country what it was or even what the report looked like. Even me prior to coming wanted to take a look at, what was the end result? That one is still unbeknownst.

5 that would be So yes, а qood 6 recommendation or suggestion to reinstitute or reenact 7 those projects to enjoin, embody those people in governments, city commissions, authority, tribal 8 9 county commissions. This isn't going to go away.

10 COMMISSIONER MELENDEZ: Just one more had talked about 11 question Ι had. We business 12 practices against Native Americans. It is almost like discrimination through economic suppression 13 or whatever we call that. 14

I know that Mr. Reynolds had commented a 15 16 little bit about business practices. Could you 17 comment, or anybody that wants to weigh in, on the discriminatory practices against 18 kind of Native 19 Americans, whether it is interest rates or gouging them because there's a language barrier also? 20

21 MR. RUNNELS: Well, in New Mexico, predatory lending has always been an issue, 22 not 23 necessarily specifically against Native Americans but, you know, a lot of people in New Mexico and, you know, 24 25 the whole payday loan thing. And, of course, the

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122 1 State of New Mexico just last legislative session 2 finally passed law requlating payday loan а businesses, but it still doesn't have a lot of teeth 3 4 to it. 5 I know, again, just what I have been told in the research that I have done that that is an issue 6 7 and, you know, if you are familiar with the whole process, the interest rates that are charged and 8 9 things like that. I do know that from personal experience, 10 you know, from being on the law enforcement side as 11 12 you know, reading contracts, far as, you know, specifically in the area of automobile purchases and 13 14 mobile home purchases, that oftentimes depending on 15 the person that's buying them, they may not understand 16 the contract. And there's always the little caveats 17 put in there that really, you know, open the buyer up to legal action. 18 19 Vehicle purchases, you know, for a long 20 time there, there was, you know, an issue in 21 Farmington as far as them selling vehicles, basically "Here are the keys. You drive away with it. 22 And 23 we'll take your credit and let you know later if the loan is approved." 24 25 Well, then two or three days later, they NEAL R. GROSS COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS 1323 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.

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come back and say, "I'm sorry. Your loan hasn't been approved. You know, you need to return the car. But we're going to charge you a usage fee" or whatever kind of language they wanted to make up to justify it. That's not as predominant as it used to be I have been told.

You know, I think some of the business
practices have bettered themselves. You know, Mr.
Yaki asked, what are we doing with other -- you know,
the City of Gallup is probably a third the size of the
City of Farmington. But that's one of the major
retail centers for the Navajo Nation.

And, you know, everything revolves around 13 14 And so the city council and the business dollars. 15 members in Farmington went to Gallup and wanted to 16 know, "Why are you getting this business and we can't 17 because we have so much more to offer?" Well, it was the way they treated their customers. And so there 18 19 has been a huge push, you know, in Farmington to 20 improve customer service.

Part of the reason I think, you know, that some of the business practices have improved is the fact that, again, it revolves around dollars. And, you know, New Mexico is a gross receipts tax state, you know, very little property tax.

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| 1  | So if you want money for your community,  |
| 2  | it comes from sales. So you have seen people finally  |
| 3  | realizing that everyone is a valued customer. You   |
| 4  | know, you treat them right, your profit is better.  |
| 5  | And so the city grows.  |
| 6  | VICE CHAIR THERNSTROM: I would like to  |
| 7  | try to wrap this up. It's past noon, and it's been a  |
| 8  | long morning, as valuable as this is, unless people   |
| 9  | have important questions that are still on the table.   |
| 10 | MR. WINDY BOY: I don't know. I would  |
| 11 | like to leave a copy of the commission  |
| 12 | VICE CHAIR THERNSTROM: Absolutely.  |
| 13 | MR. WINDY BOY: several documents  |
| 14 | VICE CHAIR THERNSTROM: And please   |
| 15 | supplement your testimony in any way that you would   |
| 16 | like.   |
| 17 | MR. WINDY BOY: that deal with the   |
| 18 | former Governor Stan Stephens' initiative with  |
| 19 | VICE CHAIR THERNSTROM: Absolutely. And  |
| 20 | if you don't have enough copies, we will copy for you.  |
| 21 | But it will also become part of the record.   |
| 22 | Commissioner Yaki, you don't want us to   |
| 23 | wrap it up. You want to say something further.  |
| 24 | COMMISSIONER YAKI: I will just say  |
| 25 | something really briefly. And that is through the   |
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1 years, there's a lot of institutional memory out there amongst current and former SAC members about reports previously done, reports in progress, ideas, other kinds of things. I think that we ought to take full 5 advantage of that.

I don't believe that this is a topic that 6 7 lends itself easily to a simple briefing and report. I think it lends itself more to a hearing. I think 8 9 that we should consider perhaps using the slot that I have in June that I said that I might not want to use 10 for that particular hearing to go out to the field and 11 12 do a full-blown hearing and hear from people from many 13 different jurisdictions, hear from state and local 14 and explore this in governments, greater detail 15 because this is obviously an issue for a discrete 16 segment of our population, that the problems repeat itself over and over again, notwithstanding a change 17 in jurisdiction, whether it's this state or that 18 19 state.

20 So I would just put that on the table and 21 again thank you all for coming and thank you, Madam 22 Chair.

23 VICE CHAIR THERNSTROM: Thank you. Obviously at a business meeting, we can raise that 24 25 question of having an actual hearing.

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| 1  | COMMISSIONER HERIOT: Can I say something?   |
| 2  | VICE CHAIR THERNSTROM: Absolutely. We   |
| 3  | are delighted to hear your voice.   |
| 4  | COMMISSIONER HERIOT: I am in favor of   |
| 5  | that motion. I agree that this is such a  |
| 6  | broad-ranging topic that I don't know that it makes a   |
| 7  | very good subject for a briefing report. There's just   |
| 8  | so much that we have covered.   |
| 9  | I really appreciate everything that the   |
| 10 | witnesses have brought to the table here, but there   |
| 11 | are a lot of different issues within this. And it may   |
| 12 | be that we should break one of them off and do a  |
| 13 | hearing on that particular topic so that we can draw  |
| 14 | conclusions.  |
| 15 | I think we have bitten off an awful lot   |
| 16 | here for a briefing report. And even a hearing is an  |
| 17 | awful lot. And we need to think about ways that we  |
| 18 | can focus this discussion and make something  |
| 19 | productive out of it. And a hearing may be the way to   |
| 20 | go.   |
| 21 | VICE CHAIR THERNSTROM: Well, we need to   |
| 22 | discuss this at a business meeting, which this is not.  |
| 23 | So let us bring it up at the next business meeting. I   |
| 24 | will count on Commissioners Yaki, Heriot, and Melendez  |
| 25 | to raise the issue. But let us not discuss it now   |
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| 1  | since this is not a business meeting.   |
| 2  | COMMISSIONER MELENDEZ: Just wanted to say                                     |
| 3  | thank you to all of you for being here, the tribal                            |
| 4  | leaders and also all of our panel. I think you did a                          |
| 5  | great job here. So we really appreciate you being                             |
| 6  | here and coming a long distance to be with us.                                |
| 7  | VICE CHAIR THERNSTROM: And I thank you as                                     |
| 8  | well. It's been two very, very good panels. And so                            |
| 9  | we have begun the process of going down a road of                             |
| 10 | looking at what everybody agrees is an enormously                             |
| 11 | broad topic.  |
| 12 | And, with that, without objection, I bring                                    |
| 13 | the briefing to a close.  |
| 14 | (Whereupon, the foregoing matter was  |
| 15 | concluded at 12:18 p.m.)  |
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