

1 UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

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Oregon Advisory Committee

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August 12, 1991

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Red Lion Hotel

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Lloyd Center

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Portland, Oregon

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CHAIRMAN HAMILTON: This is the time and the place for the meeting of the Oregon Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights. The meeting now is in order. The purpose of this meeting is to obtain information and views relating to hate group activities in Oregon and its impact on minorities and others.

Among those invited to address the meeting are federal, state and local officials and people from the private sector and community organizations, as well as private individuals. Based upon the information collected at this meeting, a report will be prepared for the United States Commission on Civil Rights. My name is Belton Hamilton, and I'm the chairperson of the Oregon Advisory Committee.

The Advisory Committee receives information and makes recommendations to the Commission in areas in which the Committee or any of its subcommittees is authorized to study. Other members of the Committee in attendance at this meeting will be George Azumano; Vaughn Bornet; Richard Brownstein; Thomas Faller; Jerry Higgins was supposed to be here today, but I understand he's in the hospital; James Huffman, he's not here; Mary Wendy

1 Roberts is not here yet; Marilyn Shannon is not here;
2 Tom Sloan; and I understand Linda Workman is back east,
3 back in New York.

4 Also with us today is staff member Arthur
5 Palacios and John Dellus. They're here from the western
6 region office in Los Angeles. And also present is the
7 director of that office Philip Montez. This is a
8 fact-finding meeting and it's being held pursuant to
9 federal rules applicable to state advisory committees and
10 regulations promulgated by the U.S. Commission on Civil
11 Rights.

12 All inquiries regarding these provisions should
13 be directed to the chair or to the staff as I have
14 indicated. The Commission on Civil Rights is an
15 independent agency of the United States government. It
16 was established by Congress in 1957 and directed to, one,
17 investigate complaints alleging that citizens are being
18 deprived of their rights to vote by reason of their race,
19 color, religion, sex, age, handicap or national origin or
20 by reason of fraudulent practice.

21 Two, study and collect information concerning
22 legal developments constituting discrimination or denial
23 of equal protection of the law under the Constitution
24 because of race, color, religion, sex, age, handicap or
25 national origin or in the administration of justice.

1 Three, appraise federal laws and policies with
2 respect to discrimination or denial of equal protection
3 under the law.

4 Four, serve as a national clearing house for
5 information about discrimination.

6 And five, submit reports, findings and
7 recommendations to the President and to the Congress.

8 Now I would like to emphasize that this is a
9 fact-finding meeting and not an adversary proceeding.
10 Individuals have been invited to come and to share with
11 the Committee information relevant to the subject of
12 today's inquiry. Each person who will participate has
13 volunteered and agreed with the Committee.

14 Since this is a public meeting, the press and
15 the radio and television stations, as well as
16 individuals, are welcome. Persons meeting with the
17 Committee, however, may specifically request that they
18 not be televised. In this case, we will comply with
19 their wishes.

20 We are concerned that no defamatory material be
21 presented at the meeting. In the unlikely event that
22 this situation should develop, it will be necessary for
23 me to call this to the attention of the person making
24 these statements and to request that they desist in their
25 action. Such information will be stricken from the

1 record if necessary. Every effort has been made to
2 invite persons who are knowledgeable in the area to be
3 dealt with here today.

4 In addition, we have allocated time at the
5 conclusion of the formal agenda to hear from anyone who
6 wishes to share information with the Committee about the
7 specific issues under consideration today. At this time
8 each person or organization will be afforded a brief
9 opportunity to address the Committee and may submit
10 additional information in writing. Those wishing to
11 participate in the open session should contact the
12 commission staff before four p.m. this afternoon.

13 In addition, the record of this meeting will
14 remain open for a period of ten days following the
15 conclusion. The Committee welcomes additional written
16 statements and exhibits for inclusion in the record.
17 Those should be submitted to the Western Regional
18 Division, United States Commission on Civil Rights. That
19 address is 3660 Wilshire Boulevard, Suite 810, Los
20 Angeles, California ZIP 90010. And if you don't remember
21 that, our staff is there to make themselves known to you
22 and certainly they'll be able to tell you what the
23 address is.

24 Will you turn to your notes, I'll ask the
25 members of the Committee. Our agenda calls for the first

1 presenter today is Mr. Eldon M. Rosenthal. Is
2 Mr. Rosenthal present?

3 MR. ROSENTHAL: Yes.

4 CHAIRMAN HAMILTON: Would Mr. Rosenthal make
5 his presentation at this time.

6 MR. ROSENTHAL: Thank you. It was an honor to
7 have been asked to present some information before the
8 Commission on the subject of hate crimes generally, and
9 specifically the lawsuit that I was involved with as a
10 plaintiff's lawyer involving John and Tom Metzger. I
11 don't know whether the Commission members can see or not,
12 but John Metzger is the son of Tom Metzger, and this
13 particular trial exhibit shows the front page of the
14 White Aryan Resistance newspaper before we had our
15 lawsuit here in Portland, with the father and son
16 congratulating and showing brotherhood in support of Ken
17 Meske and Kyle Brewster, who were two skinheads who
18 brutally murdered an Ethiopian resident of the United
19 States, Mulegeta Seraw, here in Portland and who pled
20 guilty for their crimes.

21 What I'd like to share with you for a few
22 moments is a little bit about the case itself and then my
23 own perspective on what the impact of the case was and
24 perhaps what we as a civilization should be doing about
25 this type of problem. I think the first thing that's

1 important for this Commission to be aware of -- and I'm
2 probably treading over old ground for most of you because
3 of all the publicity the lawsuit had -- but the murder of
4 Mulegeta Seraw, although it in a sense was an accident in
5 that he was an unfortunate black man who showed up at the
6 wrong place at the wrong time, there was no conspiracy to
7 murder Mulegeta Seraw. The conspiracy, in fact, was a
8 conspiracy to form into an organized political and action
9 group local Skinheads. That's what the conspiracy was.

10 And there is no question but that in this
11 particular instance, this conspiracy was an intentional
12 action formed by what, I think, can clearly be labeled as
13 and what the jury labeled as provocateurs.

14 Exhibit No. 1 in the lawsuit was a letter
15 written to Ken Meske as the leader of the Eastside White
16 Pride by John Metzger, who is the leader of the Aryan
17 Youth Movement, which was a subsidiary organization to
18 his father's White Aryan Resistance. I'd like to read to
19 you Plaintiff's Exhibit 1. It reads as follows:

20 "Eastside White Pride: Wanted to
21 drop you a line and let you know we
22 would like to open up communications
23 with your group. You'll get a feel
24 of how we work when you meet Dave
25 Mazella and Mike Gagnon soon.

1

2

"The Aryan Youth Movement has been

3

around for almost ten years. We

4

changed our name from White Student

5

Union a few years back to the more

6

militant AYM. Rolling Stone will

7

be featuring an interview with AYM

8

Skinheads WAR in their October issue.

9

Also, reporters will be doing an

10

interview with us soon, and a French

11

TV crew will be doing an interview with

12

us in a week.

13

14

"We have about a seven hundred list

15

of supporters, members, et cetera.

16

And we have ten chapters around the

17

U.S. We work with any pro-white

18

anti-drug white group as long as

19

they do not talk.

20

21

"Racial regards,

22

John Metzger"

23

24

Now this letter was dated October 6th, 1988,

25

and within days of receipt of this letter by the

1 leadership of Eastside White Pride, Dave Mazella, who was
2 the designated recruiting agent of the White Aryan
3 Resistance in the area of the youth movement, showed up
4 in Portland. And when he got in Portland, the first
5 thing he did, as any good lieutenant would do, is he
6 checked in with his commander and he called Tom Metzger
7 down in Fallbrook, California, reported that he was in
8 town and began to set up operations.

9 What he did was he took a group of disaffected
10 young men and their girlfriends. And these kids were all
11 in their late teens or early twenties. And they had
12 already formed an informal group calling themselves
13 Eastside White Pride. But from the information that
14 Morris Dees of the Southern Poverty Law Center, the
15 Anti-Defamation League, and our office was able to
16 accumulate during the trial preparation, this group was
17 not politically active until Dave Mazella showed up.

18 When Dave Mazella showed up, he taught them two
19 things. He taught them first how a little organized
20 violence can go a long way towards recruiting membership,
21 and, B, he taught them about the political philosophy of
22 the White Aryan Resistance.

23 Now the White Aryan Resistance is just another
24 group in a long sad litany of pseudo-Nazi or true Nazi
25 organizations that have emerged around the country. In

1 the 1980s with the waning of the Klu Klux Klan as a
2 result of concerted governmental and private litigations,
3 there has been the waxing of organized pseudo-Nazi
4 organizations to fill the right wing organizational gap.

5 Let me read to you an excerpt from a Tom
6 Metzger speech to 1985.

7 "Learn a few things about this."

8 (He's holding a pistol in his hand.)

9 "And don't worship like the conservatives,
10 a piece of paper. A piece of paper
11 won't save you, but this can." (He
12 raises the pistol.) "It can convince
13 a lot of your enemies to do right too.
14 Let them conform to our law."

15

16 Or this quotation from a White Aryan Resistance
17 1986 publication.

18 "I'm white, strong and broke and I
19 ain't no goddamned conservative.

20 The old ways are over. It's open season
21 on niggers, kikes, cops and capitalists.
22 Kill them all and let the devil sort
23 them out."

24

25 Or this rather promising note from an editorial

1 in the same newspaper:

2 "Those that are joining with us now
3 and who are joining are the white, mean
4 machines we have really needed for
5 years. I do not hear the usual crying
6 in the beer halls, only honest casualty
7 reports."

8

9 Or from the Aryan Youth Movement's newspaper:

10 "We feel that the most important
11 project in America today is to create
12 a new wave of predatory leaders among
13 Aryan youths. Our enemies understand
14 only one message: that of the knife,
15 the gun, and the club, on the campus
16 or in the streets. We shall continue
17 to encourage sporadic incidents on
18 school campuses and neighborhoods
19 across America while simultaneously
20 rebuilding the hunter-killer instincts
21 in our youth."

22

23 Tom Metzger's genius in the neo-Nazi movement
24 was to recruit an army. There were other neo-Nazis and
25 there are other neo-Nazis floating around the western

1 United States, but Metzger's genius was to take
2 disaffected Skinheads that he knew to exist in
3 metropolitan areas around the west coast and make them
4 his soldiers. And that's what Dave Mazella was doing in
5 Portland.

6 They utilized Metzger's journalistic flair to
7 assist them in spreading their message of hate. This
8 poster was found in either Meske's or Brewster's
9 apartment -- I can't remember which it was. As was this
10 (indicating). As was this (indicating). And his
11 newspapers were filled with violent pictures. This one
12 says, "How's this for a new slogan for the U.S. Border
13 Patrol? If it ain't white, waste it. Remember, stop the
14 mud slide or drown."

15 Or this cartoon showing the anatomy of a black
16 man's brain with large sections for criminal behavior,
17 craving for watermelon, small dots for abilities for
18 logic and proportion and skills. And this particularly
19 violent cartoon showing a black man being skinned alive
20 by a model of White Aryan youth.

21 These incredibly infammatory messages, when put
22 together with organizational skill, did not unexpectedly
23 result in tragedy. The tragedy was Mulegeta Seraw. The
24 tragedy could have been anyone. Mulegeta Seraw was
25 returning from the party he had been to that evening. He

1 was out in front of his apartment. Brewster and Meske,
2 whose pictures I previously showed you, and a third
3 person by the name of John Strasser were drunk. They had
4 been out partying. They had been out handing out this
5 kind of literature. They had been drawing this kind of
6 cartoon within an hour of the murder.

7 They saw him up the street. These three young
8 men armed with baseball bats went up the street in their
9 car, blocked the car of Mulegeta's friends who had just
10 let him off in front of the apartment. They got nose to
11 nose. Then they got out of their car with their baseball
12 bats and assaulted the car. Mulegeta Seraw was outside
13 of the car; they assaulted him and crushed his skull with
14 blows actually from the back, that Meske administered.

15 This was right in line with the philosophy of
16 the White Aryan Resistance. Prior to the judgment and
17 the collection efforts against the Metzgers, they had
18 telephone hot lines all around the country, including one
19 here in Portland. Here's a transcript from an Orange
20 County hot line, December of '88, one month after the
21 murder. Tom Metzger is interviewing his son John
22 Metzger.

23 "Question: They're saying if someone
24 attacks white youth in general first,
25 that we have every obligation, every will,

1 every right to attack back with everything
2 we've got."

3
4 John Metzger responds: "Not only
5 every right, every obligation, but
6 you can go ten times further. We
7 are like our forefathers, our
8 ancestors. We are like Vikings,
9 berserkers. If someone attacks you,
10 they are trying to kill you. They're
11 trying to hurt you. You're not doing
12 anything and then someone attacks
13 you, go for it. Go for the gusto.
14 Destroy them. Anything you have to
15 do. Poke their eyeballs out. Beat
16 the hell out of them. Who cares what
17 you have to do. Defeat. I'd rather
18 be tried by twelve than carried by six."

19
20 Or this unrepentant comment by Tom Metzger in
21 June of 1989 on his San Diego hot line. This is a
22 transcript.

23 "Attention operators: This line takes
24 no collect calls. You have reached
25 Aryan Update, a production of WAR,

1 White Aryan Resistance, P.O. 65,
2 Fallbrook, California 92028. One
3 young fighter, Ken Meske, received life
4 for winning a fight with an Ethiopian
5 recently. If your rotten government
6 was not letting in all this mud, young
7 white men would not have been doing this
8 time. Never forgive. Don't get mad;
9 just get even. Your time will come.
10 And don't fight for their silly wars.
11 Don't fight for the corporation. Tell
12 them to get their Ethiopian ass out of
13 this country."

14
15 Morris Dees and I, working with the support of
16 the Southern Poverty Law Center and the Anti-Defamation
17 League, successfully brought Tom and John Metzger before
18 a civil jury here in Portland, and the charge basically
19 was conspiracy to commit assault. We proved through Dave
20 Mazella, the agent that came up to Portland after that
21 letter that I read to you earlier, was sent here with a
22 mission. The mission was to organize Skinheads to
23 perform acts of racial violence.

24 We proved this to a jury in Multnomah County,
25 and we were very pleased with the result of the case,

1 which resulted in a large monetary verdict, twelve and a
2 half million dollars. What we've been doing since then
3 is collection efforts. In fact, Mr. Metzger's personal
4 home is supposed to be sold at auction on August 28th in
5 Fallbrook.

6 When Mr. Palacios asked me to come and speak
7 today, he wanted me to share with you my thoughts on what
8 impact, if any, this case or similar cases might have.
9 In a way I'm rather pessimistic about it. This lawsuit
10 was a unique lawsuit. This was a situation where we were
11 able to turn critical evidence from inside an
12 organization and were able to receive a large verdict.
13 But I am not so naive as to think that with Tom Metzger
14 temporarily occupied with legal problems -- which he is,
15 fortunately -- there isn't going to be another Nazi or
16 neo-Nazi leader to arise.

17 This thing has been going on ever since World
18 War II, and there is no reason to believe that one
19 lawsuit in Portland, Oregon is going to put a stop to it.
20 There is going to be someone else; there's going to be
21 other people that are going to have their own illusions
22 of power and of grandeur, who are going to have their own
23 twisted philosophy, who are going to have their own
24 hatred within them that is large enough to be magnified
25 and broadcast to disaffected youth. It's a reality. It

1 will continue to happen.

2 Hopefully Tom Metzger isn't going to be in a
3 position to be able to do it again, or John Metzger. But
4 that is not to say that someone else will not crawl out
5 from under a rock and start down the same path.

6 I've been flattered by being asked to speak
7 several times around the west coast about this case, and
8 every time I speak and I think about the problem a little
9 bit more, I become more and more convinced that it's not
10 a matter of what laws are on the books. We've got the
11 laws on the books. The laws are there for enforcement.
12 In my mind there is no need for any additional statutes.

13 It's a little bit too bad that this case wasn't
14 prosecuted as a criminal case, but the politics of
15 prosecuting a case of this difficulty and expense aren't
16 going to change either. There is nothing that this
17 Commission can do about it, I don't think.

18 I know that several criminal investigation
19 agencies have looked into Metzger over the past, but
20 nothing has ever been done. The conclusion that I've
21 come to is that really vigilance is the answer and
22 education. We must remain vigilant against the rise of
23 people like the Metzgers because these people are
24 particularly dangerous.

25 I was speaking with Commissioner Sloan here for

1 a few minutes before we started this morning, and he was
2 telling me that he's been advised by some psychologists
3 that much of the racial violence that we see in our
4 cities is sporadic acting out by disaffected youth. And
5 I guess that's probably true. But the ability of an
6 organizer, the ability of a front man, of a face man like
7 Tom Metzger to make these children more dangerous should
8 not be overlooked. And the civil rights laws that are on
9 the books should be enforced by both governmental
10 agencies and private lawyers to try to control the rise
11 of singular leaders.

12 But, of course, more important is education at
13 the primary levels. You know, how does someone who's
14 seventeen or eighteen years old, whose parents were of an
15 age to have either fought in World War II or at least
16 live through that time period, how can children, no
17 matter how disaffected they are, conceive that the
18 solution to contemporary problems is violence against
19 minorities?

20 I think there needs to be a concerted effort to
21 teach the history of violence and the history of the
22 Holocaust into the grade levels. A child that learns in
23 fourth or fifth or sixth or seventh grade the history of
24 this ugliness and these twisted philosophies is much less
25 likely, in my view, to become captive by them when

1 they're in their eighteen, nineteen, twenty year old age.

2 We all know from our own upbringing and from
3 raising our own children that it's those lessons that are
4 learned earliest and those lessons that are taught with
5 the most fervor that tend to stick the best. So I would
6 urge this Commission when it reports back to Washington,
7 D.C. to urge the setting up of organized curricula for
8 teaching, not just in the high school levels, but even at
9 earlier ages, graphic teaching, holding no punches with
10 our children in the later primary grade levels, fourth,
11 fifth and sixth grade level, about the terrible legacy
12 that hatred and racism and violence have brought to our
13 country and to the world.

14 I think that education is the only solution in
15 the long run, and I would hope that this Commission could
16 help us increase the early teaching of these subjects. I
17 don't think it's too harsh for children. I think that it
18 is necessary for children. Any questions?

19 CHAIRMAN HAMILTON: Does anyone on the panel
20 have a question?

21 COMMISSIONER BORNET: There seems to be three
22 things involved here, as I understand it. One is
23 offensive language. I assume that's permitted.

24 MR. ROSENTHAL: I'm sorry.

25 COMMISSIONER BORNET: The first thing is

1 offensive language is permitted, offensive ideas.
2 Secondly, there's advocacy of violence, I suppose, and
3 then there's advocacy that results in violence. Would
4 you speak to these three things.

5 MR. ROSENTHAL: Sure. You're talking in terms
6 of what is permissible for someone like Metzger to do.
7 It is permissible for Metzger to publish these cartoons.
8 It is permissible for him to publish these fliers under
9 the First Amendment, and it is permissible under a long
10 line of United States Supreme Court cases to advocate
11 violence as long as the violence is not imminent.

12 So, for example, Tom Metzger can say, "Death to
13 the Jews." And the NAACP can say, "Boycott to the point
14 of economic ruin businesses that discriminate." Those
15 are flip sides of the same coin. What is illegal, and
16 the reason we were able to successfully bring this
17 lawsuit, is because Metzger went a step further, and not
18 only did he abstractly advocate violence, but he put into
19 operation a program to educate and teach violence and to
20 have his cohorts perform violence. He, therefore,
21 crossed over the line from abstract philosophical
22 speaking to action.

23 You have the right in this country to hate.
24 You don't have the right in our country to hurt. When
25 you cross that line, that's when you get into trouble,

1 legally when you can be brought to justice either
2 criminally or civily.

3 COMMISSIONER FALLER: You mentioned several
4 times that Metzger's group was politically active. Would
5 you elaborate on that.

6 MR. ROSENTHAL: Yeah. I probably overstated
7 that a bit. Specifically what they were doing was that
8 they were recruiting and they were recruiting with these
9 newspapers that were full of their racial hatreds. And
10 their goal was to enlarge themselves, to enlarge their
11 group, and that's what I meant by politically active.

12 CHAIRMAIN HAMILTON: Any other questions?

13 (No response)

14 MR. ROSENTHAL: Thank you very much.

15 CHAIRMAN HAMILTON: Thank you very much. Our
16 second presenter was to be Mr. Robert Hughes, but I see
17 that our presenter has gone to Washington D.C.
18 apparently, so I'll move down to the next presenter and
19 find out if he happens to be here and see if he's willing
20 to go early. Lloyd Smith, are you prepared to go early
21 and make your presentation now?

22 MR. SMITH: Sure.

23 CHAIRMAN HAMILTON: Would you please.

24 MR. SMITH: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. My name
25 is Lloyd Smith. I'm manager of the Oregon Law

1 Enforcement Data System, which is a unit within the
2 state's Criminal Justice Services Division in the
3 Executive Department. One of our charges is to collect
4 crime statistics. We collect and report on the uniform
5 crime statistics in the state of Oregon.

6 In 1989 the Oregon Legislature passed a law,
7 Senate Bill 606, requiring police agencies to report
8 crimes motivated by prejudice was the term used in the
9 Oregon law. That law went into effect in late 1989. We
10 began collecting statistics on hate crimes or crimes
11 motivated by prejudice in October of '89. And I have
12 some information I'd like to hand out to you.

13 I'd like to introduce Steve Kincaid. He is the
14 supervisor of our crime statistics unit. Steve is the
15 person who personally handles the hate crime reports that
16 we receive. And I'll probably rely on him to handle some
17 questions later on, if there are any.

18 This report that Steve is handing out is a
19 summary of reports that we have received since January of
20 1990. We did not include the reports received for the
21 third quarter in 1989 because the program had just begun
22 and we were just getting off the ground with it. We felt
23 that beginning with January of 1990 would give us a
24 little more representative information.

25 But what this does for us is to summarize for

1 you in six-month blocks the hate crimes that were
2 reported to us for the three six-month periods: January
3 through June 1990, July through December 1990, and
4 January through June 1991. And as you can see, the
5 summary total down at the bottom of the first table
6 there, in January through June 1990 there were a hundred
7 seventy reports received. The second six months of that
8 year there were a hundred seventy-three, and so far for
9 the first six months of 1991 we have received two hundred
10 forty-nine reports.

11 CHAIRMAN HAMILTON: We're going to interrupt
12 this presentation. We have Congressman Wyden, who is
13 supposed to make a ten- to fifteen-minute presentation,
14 and he's waiting outside. So we are going to interrupt
15 and let him come in and make his presentation, and then
16 we will resume with the previous presentation. If you
17 will bring in the Congressman, please.

18 CONGRESSMAN WYDEN: Good morning.

19 CHAIRMAN HAMILTON: You may proceed.

20 CONGRESSMAN WYDEN: Thank you very much for the
21 chance to be with you and particularly for this important
22 occasion. I can't think of anything that matters to our
23 community more than the fight against hate crimes. We
24 have a reputation, as many of you know, in terms of
25 protecting our environment, but our community has been

1 polluted by hatred and violence as expressed in these
2 hate crimes. And as far as I'm concerned we've got to
3 have a zero tolerance for this kind of moral pollution.

4 Incidents of intimidation, harassment and
5 violence motivated by bigotry and hatred continue to
6 increase like threats to our physical environment. These
7 kinds of appalling crimes have to be eliminated or they
8 destroy the very fabric of our communities. And I'm very
9 pleased that now we have the latest information on the
10 extent of this scourge, and I wanted to comment today and
11 really propose four areas in which I felt that the
12 Commission could take strong steps to help us in this
13 fight.

14 The first is violence against women. Women in
15 Portland are twice as likely to be raped as women in San
16 Francisco or Los Angeles. This appalling fact points out
17 the importance of recognizing rape for what it is, and
18 that is simply a hate crime. I'm a cosponsor of
19 legislation that has been introduced in Congress, the
20 Violence Against Women Act. This legislation would make
21 it clear that rape and other gender motivated crimes are
22 hate crimes. They're hate crimes that deprive the
23 victims of their civil rights, and this legislation would
24 permit those who have been raped and victims of all
25 felonies motivated by gender to bring civil rights suits

1 against their assailants.

2 It also would allocate much needed funds, five
3 hundred million dollars, for a variety of important
4 preventive kinds of needs: basic education, better
5 prosecutions. And I would just recommend the
6 Commission's strongest possible support for this
7 legislation. The Congress will be considering crime
8 legislation when the Congress reconvenes in September,
9 and I think it is terribly important that this
10 legislation move forward.

11 As some of you were in town yesterday, you saw
12 on the front pages of our paper the extent of the scourge
13 that is the pattern of rape offenses that we've seen in
14 our community, and the Violence Against Women Legislation
15 would take strong steps against it.

16 The second area that I would like to see the
17 Commission push, and push aggressively, is a stronger
18 federal presence against threats that come about through
19 the use of fire and fire by intimidation. I think that
20 in many instances we see across this country, whether
21 it's the burning of buildings or crosses, that fire is
22 used as a weapon to intimidate. And a stronger federal
23 presence against intimidation by fire, I think, is an
24 especially important area.

25 A third area that I'd like to see the

1 Commission emphasize in its works is diversity in law
2 enforcement and the judiciary. At all levels, federal,
3 state and local, there is a need for increased awareness
4 and sensitivity to bias on crimes. And one of the best
5 ways to send that message is through an active
6 recruitment program for minority law enforcement officers
7 and minorities represented in the judicial system. For
8 example, I strongly support the concept of a proposed FBI
9 internship program that would bring minority young people
10 into the bureau as interns and encourage them to begin a
11 career in law enforcement. I think the federal
12 government can do a lot more by using the mentorship
13 concept, bringing young people into the law enforcement
14 field.

15 And I can tell you that last week I spoke at a
16 special conference dealing with the problems of southeast
17 Asian gangs. And many of those who were on the front
18 lines in dealing with these programs spoke specifically
19 about the problems that come about as a result of there
20 being a great lack of minorities that have a rapport with
21 the southeast Asian community. They told me that there
22 were virtually no law enforcement officials of Asian
23 descent who had the kind of trust and rapport with these
24 organizations in the community. And I can't stress
25 enough the need for diversity in law enforcement and the

1 judiciary that can come through a strong recruitment
2 program.

3 The fourth area that I would like to see the
4 Commission emphasize is better community education
5 programs. I think when it's all said and done we know
6 that the roots of this problem can only be attacked
7 through education. And if we're going to get this
8 message out and to make it sink in, we're going to have
9 to take more innovative steps than we have in the past.
10 As I mentioned, the use of role models, and particularly
11 that mentor concept, could also help in terms of
12 community education. But I think we also ought to look
13 to some of the good approaches and steps that have been
14 taken thus far.

15 In Portland we have what's known as Fifty Ways
16 to Save the Earth, and a lot of people had incorporated
17 that into their lives. Well, Southeast Uplift, an
18 organization in our community, has produced an
19 anti-bigotry booklet which could be called Fourteen Ways
20 to Save Your Community. And I would very much like to
21 see our citizens incorporate those kinds of basic steps
22 into our daily lives. And a stronger approach of
23 neighborhood and personal vigilance through community
24 education is one of the best ways to halt the spread of
25 hate crimes that lies in our community.

1 So we are very pleased that you are here. In
2 particular I think that the federal government has got to
3 be a better partner with local organizations, community
4 organizations and law enforcement officials in this
5 fight. The government has begun to take these steps with
6 such initiatives as the Hate Crimes Statistics Act, but
7 there is much more that needs to be done. And at the
8 bare minimum, I would ask that the Commission move on
9 four fronts: The Violence Against Women Legislation, a
10 bolder presence in the fight against intimidation by
11 fire, aggressive recruitment efforts to bring more
12 minority young people into law enforcement, and then
13 finally, a community education program that's built
14 around the use of role models and programs that work,
15 such as that offered by Southeast Uplift.

16 So we're very honored to have your presence
17 here today. As a member of Congress from the district in
18 which this meeting is held, I want to welcome you in
19 particular. If there are any questions that any of you
20 may have, I'd be happy to answer them, but I thank you
21 very much for the opportunity to be with you.

22 CHAIRMAN HAMILTON: Thank you. Any questions?

23 COMMISSIONER BORNET: Yes, I do have a
24 question. Congressman, a Commission like this, Advisory
25 Committee like this, bearing the title Oregon has to be

1 served by a staff. Our staff is located in Los Angeles.
2 A few years ago it was located in Seattle until Congress
3 cut the budget. Would you say that it might be helpful
4 in this crusade for this staff, for this Commission to
5 have a staff in Portland or Seattle or in this vicinity?

6 CONGRESSMAN WYDEN: I think that is a
7 particularly important point, and I would be very
8 interested in working with all of you to increase
9 staffing for the Commission in our region. And there has
10 been some difficulty in getting the message to the
11 federal government in a number of these critical areas.
12 We are short in terms of the Immigration and
13 Naturalization Service. We have seen that linked to some
14 of the problems with black tar heroin. We have had
15 difficulty getting the assistance that we need in a
16 number of these agencies, and I do think that we need
17 full funding for the Commission.

18 We need to get that staffing presence back in
19 our region, and that's something that I support strongly
20 and will be anxious to work with all of you on the Oregon
21 arm of this effort to put in place, because it is another
22 indication that the federal government thinks that here
23 in the Pacific Northwest everything is green and nice,
24 and crime is something that happens somewhere else. But
25 we saw just yesterday that we still, unfortunately, have

1 the dubious honor of being awfully high up the list -- I
2 think it was eighteenth overall -- and given the increase
3 in hate crimes, we do need that presence back, and I'm
4 going to support that funding.

5 CHAIRMAN HAMILTON: Any other questions from
6 the Committee?

7 (No response)

8 CONGRESSMAN WYDEN: Thank you for having me.

9 CHAIRMAN HAMILTON: We will now return to your
10 presentation, Mr. Smith, and I'm going to give you the
11 full time as if you were just starting it.

12 MR. SMITH: I've also taken the opportunity
13 here to ask Steve to hand out, at least to the Commission
14 members or Advisory Committee Members, a copy of our 1990
15 annual report. I think many of you in the audience may
16 already have that. If not, I don't believe I have enough
17 for everybody, but we'll certainly take your name, if
18 you're not from Salem, and get you a copy if you haven't
19 seen it.

20 Our goal in beginning this program was to try
21 to keep it as simple as possible for the people who had
22 to report, particularly the police officers who have to
23 determine whether an offense is one that qualifies to be
24 classified as a crime motivated by prejudice, and by the
25 other units and police agencies, records people that have

1 to send that information in. So the decision we made
2 about how to ask people to report was simply to send us a
3 simple cover sheet with an actual copy of the police
4 officer's report. And I think this has been one of the
5 better decisions that we've made.

6 Particularly because there aren't that many
7 volume-wise in Oregon, we do get a chance to review each
8 of the reports. Steve Kincaid reviews each of them
9 personally. If he has any questions about the
10 information on the report, he will call back and talk to
11 the police agency or the police officer involved and make
12 sure that we understand exactly what it was that
13 happened.

14 From that, in addition to just the statistics,
15 we also in the six-month and the annual report include a
16 two- or three-sentence excerpt of each incident. So
17 those of you who have the report, who have seen it or who
18 would like to have a copy, you can actually go through
19 and it identifies the date, the county in which the
20 incident occurred, and you can see the main elements:
21 who the victims were, who the perpetrators were, a little
22 bit about the incident. And we think that has been
23 probably as helpful, it not more helpful, at least to us
24 in understanding what's going on and to the people who
25 read it than the raw numbers would be. Because looking

1 at raw numbers doesn't tell you a lot.

2 It does look like things are increasing, just
3 from at least the visibility that we see in the press and
4 the reports that we're getting. The numbers are going
5 up. We don't know for sure whether that's because there
6 has been an increased emphasis, because people are
7 becoming more sensitive, or whether that's because the
8 increase is actually there. And it'll probably be a
9 while before we know that for sure and can know how much
10 of which is which.

11 There are essentially three tables in this
12 white colored report, stapled report, that I've handed
13 out. The first one classifies the offenses by, you might
14 say, the target victim; the second table on the first
15 page classifies the offenses by the type of crime that
16 was involved. One important thing to understand is that
17 unless there was a crime reported, then we don't get the
18 report. So there are certain incidents or events that
19 might occur that conceivably could even come to the
20 police attention that might not get reported. But I
21 think by and large, by the time an incident does get
22 reported to the police, it at least gets classified as a
23 crime as the initial classification, and these are the
24 different types of crime classifications that are coming
25 in.

1 The table on the second page is a table by
2 county. It shows the reports received from each county
3 for each of those three six-month periods. And if you
4 look at Lane and Multnomah and Washington Counties, those
5 add up to two hundred five out of the two hundred
6 forty-nine reports. Now, obviously, those are the most
7 populated counties of our state, but it also may say
8 something about the sensitivity; that folks in the
9 metropolitan areas may be a little more sensitive to some
10 of these things that are going on. I believe you do have
11 Sheriff Smith from Jackson County and some other folks
12 from outside the metropolitan on your agenda later, and
13 they may be able to give you a sense of what they feel
14 about what's happening in the less metropolitan type
15 areas.

16 I believe that's really all that I have to say.
17 I believe we are one of the few states, one of the only
18 states in the west that does have a reporting system, and
19 I think it can over the years provide some good
20 information and provide some leads on places we might
21 want to go to find out a little more about what's going
22 on. So I'll stop at this point and ask if anyone has any
23 questions?

24 CHAIRMAN HAMILTON: Any questions from the
25 panel?

1 COMMISSIONER BROWNSTEIN: I have a couple
2 questions. In the category of robbery and theft and
3 burglary, how do those become prejudicial crimes? What
4 distinguishes a prejudicial and non-prejudicial robbery
5 or theft or burglary?

6 MR. SMITH: In robbery generally, I think, that
7 would be pretty easy. It has to do with maybe what is
8 said. It could be a robbery where there could also be a
9 gay bashing or some element of White Supremacist
10 comments. It essentially takes into consideration the
11 victim's perception. In fact, that's the way the law
12 reads. Basically it deals with the victim's perception
13 of the motivation of the crime.

14 In a burglary that could be a case where some
15 hate literature or some spray paint on the wall or
16 something was done in the burglary or the larceny to
17 indicate that it was more than just the property involved
18 in the case.

19 COMMISSIONER BROWNSTEIN: Do you have any sense
20 or is there any statistical evidence as to the percentage
21 of crimes unreported?

22 MR. SMITH: No, we don't have that at this
23 point. One of the things that has been done in the past
24 in Oregon by another unit, the Crime Analysis Center,
25 which is now going to be part of our responsibility, is a

1 victim survey, a random household survey of
2 victimization. And we'll be looking at that this next
3 time around to try to include some questions on bias
4 crimes as well as the questions on other type crimes.

5 But some of the other agencies, I think, the
6 public and some of the private non-profit agencies, and
7 perhaps Jeannette Pai can speak to that later on -- she
8 has a lot of experience in that area. The agencies
9 outside the governmental system may have some information
10 on that or be able to provide a counterpoint at least.

11 COMMISSIONER FALLER: Is it actually believed
12 that the number of crimes of this nature are increasing
13 this year according to the first six months of reporting
14 or is the process of reporting increased? Is there any
15 feeling?

16 MR. SMITH: I think our belief is that the
17 crimes are on the increase. Now I'll back up again and
18 qualify that in that there has been lots more publicity
19 about these types of crimes. So you have the media
20 making them more visible. I'm assuming that when they
21 become more visible, then the victims may tend to report
22 crimes that they weren't reporting before. So I guess
23 that's the long way to say, "I'm not sure."

24 COMMISSIONER BORNET: That was essentially my
25 question, and your answer is something of a concern

1 because the statistics would lead to alarm. But when you
2 have a new law and people get better at reporting crimes,
3 it casts the entire survey into great doubt in my
4 opinion. I wonder if you would comment on that.

5 MR. SMITH: I think your observation is correct
6 and that's of a concern to us too, particularly no longer
7 than the law has been in effect, and particularly since
8 we saw the same level of reporting for the first two
9 six-month periods and then what appears to be a large
10 increase for the third six-month period. I think the
11 only way we can address that is to kind of wait and see
12 whether it levels out or whether it goes up and try to
13 compare with some other people that are in the business.
14 It'll take some time to do that to answer that question.

15 COMMISSIONER BORNET: If you were a reporter,
16 would you dare to make a headline on the basis of your
17 statistics that crime is up in Oregon?

18 MR. SMITH: That bias crime is up in Oregon?

19 COMMISSIONER BORNET: Yes.

20 MR. SMITH: I'm not sure what I would if I were
21 a reporter, but several have and I'm sure several will.

22 COMMISSIONER BORNET: But, in fact, this may
23 not be true. You have already said that the basis of the
24 reporting is up; people are more aware of the law people,
25 are making better reports. I'd be hesitant.

1 MR. SMITH: I'm saying that that's a
2 possibility. I'm not a social scientist. I'm not sure
3 what all the dynamics are here, but I'm sure it's a
4 mixture of them. I don't know that there's, you know, a
5 lot more people, you know, doing purposeful hate crime.
6 There may or there may not be. I don't know the answer.

7 COMMISSIONER BORNET: One final observation. I
8 notice that Josephine County shows zero, yet as a
9 neighbor of Josephine County, it would occur to me that
10 this kind of thing is rather common. Are you doing
11 anything to stimulate better reporting perhaps from some
12 of the outlying counties?

13 MR. SMITH: No. We'd like to. Let me qualify
14 that. I say we aren't doing anything. One thing that we
15 do have going, and perhaps Jeannette will speak to this,
16 is a group in the Oregon, Washington, Idaho areas called
17 the Northwest Law Enforcement Bias Crimes Steering
18 Committee. That's a group of law enforcement officers
19 and other people in government who are concerned with
20 just some of those things. And one of the primary things
21 on our agenda for the next couple years is going to be
22 training in sensitivity to the issue itself.

23 We did about a year and a half ago hold here in
24 Portland what we called an executive seminar for law
25 enforcement executives from the three states and had

1 folks from all over the nation come in and make
2 presentations in an attempt to get executives familiar
3 with just the issue itself.

4 We want to follow that up and coordinate that
5 as much as we can through the police standards and
6 training agencies in the three states to develop a
7 curriculum for law enforcement officers both at the entry
8 level and ongoing, so that we can do just that kind of
9 thing you're talking about and get it out to the folks in
10 the briefing rooms for, you know, ten- or fifteen-minute
11 videos. To primarily get that sensitization out there to
12 the first-line supervisory level and just keep it visible
13 there.

14 CHAIRMAN HAMILTON: Mr. Sloan.

15 COMMISSIONER SLOAN: You've got a large number
16 of law enforcement agencies in the state, local, county
17 and so on. What's your assessment of the level of
18 cooperation that you're getting from those in places like
19 Josephine County, for example?

20 MR. SMITH: In other areas I think our
21 cooperation is good. We as an agency have a good
22 long-standing relationship with those agencies for crime
23 reporting and other purposes. And I think if there is a
24 problem, that it may be a training problem. One that
25 there just needs to be more emphasis put in those areas.

1 MR. KINCAID: If I might, before the beginning
2 of this program to give us some idea of what was
3 happening beyond what we might know as individuals, we
4 subscribed to a clipping service. And it was actually a
5 little broader than the state, so that we would get good
6 coverage. The idea being to help us to prepare for what
7 might be coming in, as well as to, as the program began,
8 give us ideas of what we should be receiving, because
9 these things often were reported or identified as being
10 something a little different or more special, and so they
11 were reported locally in the press if there was any hint
12 of this.

13 And my point in coming around to Josephine
14 County, there has never been one article that I have seen
15 in all the clipping service that related to anything in
16 Josephine County; whereas, there were other things about
17 the state where these things were reported: Jackson,
18 Douglas, wherever. And my relationship, particularly in
19 the uniform crime reporting responsibilities for the
20 state of Oregon, Josephine County, Grants Pass Police
21 Department, the sheriff's department, the state police
22 and the county have always been superb in getting
23 information in. I have no hint or clue that something is
24 being missed there. I'm not saying that it isn't. I
25 haven't seen anything of it.

1 CHAIRMAN HAMILTON: Any other questions?

2 COMMISSIONER AZUMANO: I'm just wondering how
3 many of these race, color incidents have been repeated
4 against the same victims? Just one occurrence?

5 MR. SMITH: I don't know the answer to that for
6 sure. I know when you go through the list of incidents
7 that you will find cases where a report was made one day,
8 and then you may see a couple of days later the same --
9 what definitely is the same victim reporting back again.
10 But not very many.

11 COMMISSIONER BORNET: Mr. Chairman, I should
12 reply to the comment made from the audience since he was
13 looking at me.

14 CHAIRMAN HAMILTON: And since you're from
15 Jackson County.

16 COMMISSIONER BORNET: Justice Brandise once
17 said, "What we know as men, we should not forget as
18 judges." It doesn't take a lot of brains to know that
19 Josephine County is full of prejudicial conduct. I think
20 that is so evident it doesn't require reading the
21 newspapers to find out about it. I'll let it go at that.

22 CHAIRMAN HAMILTON: All right. Thank you very
23 much. Our next presenter is a representative for Danny
24 Coulson, special agent for the FBI. Is the
25 representative here? Well, since he's not here yet,

1 we'll take a short recess.

2 (Brief recess.)

3 CHAIRMAN HAMILTON: The meeting is back in
4 session after a coffee break. I am informed that we will
5 be having some more coffee -- that was an emergency
6 service -- and in about ten or fifteen minutes, when it
7 comes in, we will not take another break, but we will
8 just have the coffee as we continue with the meeting.

9 Our next presenter is the special agent from
10 the FBI office here representing Danny Coulson, and I
11 think the representative is Tom Durham. Will you come
12 forward please and make the presentation for the FBI
13 office.

14 MR. DURHAM: Thank you. I appreciate this
15 group asking me or asking my boss to speak. He,
16 unfortunately, was unable to attend and asked me if I
17 would give a little presentation about what the FBI does
18 in civil rights violations. I was asked because I am
19 pretty much one of the investigators of civil rights
20 violations. I also investigate domestic terrorism
21 investigations which occur in the Portland division, and
22 I also work bank robbery.

23 Before I came over here I took a look and
24 counted the investigations that we have ongoing right
25 now. There are approximately fourteen or fifteen civil

1 rights investigations. As you probably may know, civil
2 rights investigations involve either police brutality or
3 some sort of discrimination in housing or some racially
4 motivated assault.

5 The majority of these investigations that we
6 have open right now are racially motivated assaults,
7 usually by the Skinhead groups that we see in and around
8 the Portland area right now. We work very closely with
9 the Portland police. When an investigation is opened, we
10 obtain copies of the police reports and make sure that
11 the case is prosecuted either federally or locally.

12 In most cases, the investigations are
13 prosecuted locally due to the fact that the Portland
14 Police, Multnomah, Clackamas and Washington County, do
15 such a good job. There is a prohibition against
16 prosecuting these people federally if they're prosecuted
17 locally.

18 Basically I don't have twenty minutes' worth of
19 material to tell you about the FBI. I can't comment on
20 the ongoing investigations. We do in terms of the
21 domestic terrorism angle, have an ongoing investigation,
22 as you might guess, with the Aryan Nations which are
23 located over in Hayden Lake, Idaho. And I think a lot of
24 the Skinhead-related assaults that we see over here stem
25 out of the hatred that arises over there in Idaho.

1 Are there any questions that people want to ask
2 me about what the FBI is doing in certain fields?

3 CHAIRMAN HAMILTON: We'll have some questions,
4 I'm sure, when you finish your presentation.

5 MR. DURHAM: I'm ready.

6 CHAIRMAN HAMILTON: Let's turn to my favorite
7 questioner from Jackson County.

8 COMMISSIONER BORNET: I'm curious. You say you
9 have fourteen civil rights investigations going on at the
10 present time. What is the origin of each of these
11 investigations, generally speaking? How does it happen
12 that you investigate something?

13 MR. DURHAM: Many of the cases arise out of
14 incidents that occur, say for example, a group of
15 Skinheads beat up a black or a racially mixed couple.
16 We'll receive information regarding this assault from the
17 close working relationship that we have with the Portland
18 Police or other police agencies, and on the basis of
19 this, we can open up a civil rights investigation.

20 CHAIRMAN HAMILTON: Any other questions from
21 the panel?

22 COMMISSIONER BROWNSTEIN: How is it determined
23 who takes the lead as between yourselves and the local
24 agencies?

25 MR. DURHAM: Well, we open up the

1 investigation. Generally the Portland Police -- I use
2 the Portland Police because that's where most of these
3 Skinhead-related assaults have taken place, here in
4 Portland -- we follow the investigation; we collect the
5 police reports, and we wait and make sure that this
6 person is prosecuted locally. And if he is prosecuted
7 locally, then he won't be prosecuted federally. Those
8 are the guidelines that we operate under.

9 COMMISSIONER BROWNSTEIN: Just in terms of,
10 say, the actual interrogation of witnesses and that kind
11 of thing, who does that as between you the local
12 authorities?

13 MR. DURHAM: The Portland Police or the local
14 investigative agency would do that.

15 COMMISSIONER BROWNSTEIN: You gather up the
16 information, retain it until it has been concluded one
17 way or another -- they either prosecute or don't
18 prosecute -- and then the determination is made for
19 federal prosecution if there hasn't been state or local?

20 MR. DURHAM: Correct. We don't conduct
21 concurrent investigations. If there is some reason the
22 case is not prosecuted locally, then we would conduct
23 what we would call a full-field investigation.

24 CHAIRMAN HAMILTON: You indicated earlier that
25 of the kinds of cases that you investigate, one would be

1 police brutality as one form of civil rights violation,
2 and there have been a lot in the media in recent times of
3 a combination of police brutality and at the same time
4 violating civil rights. And I'm thinking of the Los
5 Angeles situation. I wanted to ask you, do we have that
6 type of a situation in Portland, because so many people
7 are now saying that this exists everywhere, this kind of
8 thing that we saw on television from Los Angeles? I want
9 your assessment of what you're finding in Portland or in
10 Oregon.

11 MR. DURHAM: Well, what I've seen in Oregon is
12 very few civil rights cases that have to do with police
13 brutality. These cases are, believe it or not, few and
14 far between. I think I mentioned we have fourteen or
15 fifteen cases, and only three or four of these have to do
16 with police brutality. And I believe most of those are a
17 case that occurred while an individual was incarcerated
18 in prison.

19 CHAIRMAN HAMILTON: When I was in the State
20 Attorney General's office a long, long time ago, and at
21 that time I was advising the Labor Commissioner who was
22 responsible for civil rights, there were a number of
23 cases that came through my office and were also sometimes
24 referred to your office through Lezak, who at that time
25 was U.S. Attorney. And some of these cases involved

1 Mexican-American or Mexican Nationals out of Woodburn, or
2 involved an Indian out of the Kaiser area where there was
3 a complaint of how the police or sheriff had handled
4 either an arrest or the way that they were treated during
5 an encounter. How long have you been with the office
6 here?

7 MR. DURHAM: I've been an agent here in
8 Portland approximately nineteen years.

9 CHAIRMAN HAMILTON: Well, it was before your
10 time, I guess, but I want you to comment on it anyway.

11 MR. DURHAM: As I mentioned, I haven't worked
12 civil rights investigation my whole career, but as I look
13 back, I think we've seen very few cases of police
14 brutality in this state. I think the Portland Police and
15 the law enforcement agencies in this area are very
16 educated, and I think they represent a good portion of
17 the minority population. And believe it or not, these
18 guys aren't goons. They are very good police officers,
19 and when there are cases where someone has been beat up,
20 it's generally because they have resisted arrest and a
21 fight ensued. And I'm very impressed with the local law
22 enforcement around here, and I think the community should
23 be too.

24 COMMISSIONER SLOAN: Several of our speakers
25 have discussed the idea that education and training is

1 one of the principle remedies that can be applied and
2 have urged our support for increased funding for
3 educational activities in public schools and for law
4 enforcement agencies. Do you have any way to compare the
5 kinds of training activities that occur for Oregon law
6 enforcement agencies in comparison to other law
7 enforcement agencies in other parts of the country?

8 MR. DURHAM: Well, I'm really not in a position
9 to compare. I've been in Oregon so long and I haven't
10 seen other states.

11 COMMISSIONER SLOAN: Los Angeles in particular.

12 MR. DURHAM: I know at the police academy, I
13 know we teach down there, the FBI teaches various
14 courses, and we do have an agent who does a civil rights
15 presentation to these law enforcement officers and tells
16 them of the federal violations that govern civil rights.
17 And just talking to the Portland police officers that I
18 deal with, they are constantly in some sort of in-service
19 training regarding that aspect.

20 I think there's a lot of training, and maybe
21 there is room for more. I know our academy in Quantico,
22 Virginia teaches a large number of police officers. In
23 fact, the place is so full that we have to have our
24 in-service training at other places. But there is a lot
25 of training going on.

1 CHAIRMAN HAMILTON: I appreciate what you have
2 just indicated, talking principally about the Portland
3 police, and I was concerned about outlying areas, smaller
4 departments, throughout the state of Oregon. Places like
5 maybe Roseburg or Glide, Oregon.

6 MR. DURHAM: That's a good question. I don't
7 know how the FBI enters into training for some of those
8 law enforcement agencies. I know they receive a lot of
9 their training at Monmouth, Oregon, which is the Oregon
10 State Police Academy, and the FBI does do training there.
11 But I can't specifically state. I'd have to let the
12 Roseburg police speak for themselves on that.

13 CHAIRMAN HAMILTON: I just used the name
14 Roseburg.

15 COMMISSIONER BORNET: I'm still very concerned
16 about the trend on crimes of various kinds involving
17 civil rights, and you have seen this sheet that was
18 handed out which purports to show that in one six-month
19 period, January to June 1990 there were a hundred
20 seventy, and the same period in 1991 there were two
21 hundred forty-nine. And I raised the question with the
22 persons preparing this as to whether or not this was, in
23 fact, improved reporting or whether we were, in fact,
24 facing a crime wave in this area. It seems to me that
25 after nineteen years you should have a very good idea

1 whether or not on a per capita basis, bearing that in
2 mind certainly, that we were, in fact, having a lot of
3 race and other kinds of crime, or whether this is
4 interest by the newspapers.

5 MR. DURHAM: I think it is definitely improved
6 reporting. I think a law just went into affect where
7 racially motivated crimes have to be reported as such.
8 In the past I think when there was an assault, an
9 actually racially motivated assault, the way it was
10 written up was an assault, and now all of a sudden we've
11 got these laws that govern the reporting of this. So
12 you're definitely going to see an increase in this type
13 of crime.

14 I think it's going to take a few years before
15 we have a data base to work with to compare, but there is
16 an awful lot of hatred out there and I don't think it's
17 going to go away. I think the situation with the Aryan
18 Nations and these type of people is going to be around
19 for a long time. They planted the seed in these
20 Skinheads. Some of these Skinheads will outgrow this.
21 Some of them will probably grow up to be White
22 Supremacists for their life, unfortunately. I don't
23 think it's going to get better. That is my personal
24 opinion.

25 COMMISSIONER BROWNSTEIN: Do you have any

1 feeling that there is a difference in the intensity of
2 law enforcement that is racially motivated? I'm thinking
3 in terms of, for example and just as an example, it's my
4 feeling that the police get more actively involved, say,
5 in traffic stops of young persons than they do of the
6 older population, general population. And I have that
7 same feeling that's all it is with respect to race as
8 well, that what would be overlooked in terms of an
9 infraction for an adult, for a white adult, is
10 conceivably going to be looked at a little more closely
11 for someone of color. Do you have any feeling about that
12 or any impression?

13 MR. DURHAM: I think the police, of course,
14 they have to work within the framework of the law, but I
15 think where there are groups and organizations that they
16 think or they know are troublemakers, I think you're
17 going to see that the police actively investigate these
18 people. So in traffic stops that may be routinely
19 overlooked, they're going to go after these people.

20 COMMISSIONER BROWNSTEIN: I'm talking more
21 broadly than that. Let's say I'm talking about just
22 whether you have any impression that there are a greater
23 proportion of traffic stops, say, along Martin Luther
24 King Boulevard of the general black population, just as
25 an example, than there would be on Barbur Boulevard of

1 the general white population? Do you have any concept of
2 that?

3 MR. DURHAM: It would only be my guess, since
4 the FBI isn't involved in traffic stops, but I think the
5 high crime areas, I think probably parts of Martin Luther
6 King Boulevard is a high crime area and you're going to
7 see more police activity, and they're going to be more
8 aggressive in those areas.

9 COMMISSIONER BROWNSTEIN: Based on the fact
10 it's a high crime area?

11 MR. DURHAM: That's what I believe.

12 CHAIRMAN HAMILTON: Thank you very much for the
13 presentation and also the responses to our questions.

14 MR. DURHAM: Thank you, sir.

15 CHAIRMAN HAMILTON: Our next presenter is from
16 the U.S. Attorney's Office, Mr. Stephen Peifer.

17 MR. PEIFER: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I am
18 Stephen Peifer, an Assistant United States Attorney. I'm
19 here representing Charles Turner, the U.S. Attorney, and
20 the Department of Justice of which we are a part. I'm
21 sort of the Tom Durham in the U.S. Attorney's office. My
22 job is to coordinate civil rights investigations and to
23 carry out actual prosecutions.

24 We have one civil right case now. We're
25 prosecuting The United States versus Broussard. It's

1 not a race-related case per se; it's an involuntary
2 servitude case involving the charges of enslavement of
3 roughly thirty children in which death resulted to one
4 child. I'm sure the members of the Committee are
5 familiar with that case. That case is the largest child
6 slavery prosecution ever brought in this country, and the
7 largest child abuse case brought in the history of
8 Oregon. Other than that, we certainly keep busy with
9 other civil rights investigations.

10 We deal specifically, at least I do, with
11 criminal civil rights investigation, as does the FBI.
12 And I distinguish that from many of the civil aspects of
13 the Civil Rights Law which we are not involved in. We
14 are simply concerned with whether or not criminal
15 violations have occurred. We deal in particular under
16 the Civil Rights Conspiracy Statute that's found in the
17 Federal Criminal Code under Section 241. This is the
18 same civil rights statute that was enacted after the
19 Civil War in order to effectuate the rights granted by
20 the amendments freeing the slaves and granting rights to
21 freed slaves.

22 That section was recently broadened to include
23 non-citizen's. Up to a couple years ago it only applied
24 to citizens of the United States; now it applies to all
25 inhabitants of the United States. So if a non-citizen

1 happens to be living here and is the victim of a civil
2 rights conspiracy, then that person is protected.

3 It requires at least two persons for a
4 conspiracy. A single individual cannot be prosecuted
5 under this crime, unless that individual conspired with
6 another person to violate civil rights. And it protects
7 this free exercise of any right secured by the
8 Constitution and laws of the United States. That's a
9 pretty tricky legal question in some cases as to what the
10 rights are. But generally speaking, the rights to
11 property, the rights to vote, the rights that we
12 generally associate with the U.S. Constitutional rights.
13 The right to housing, for^s example.

14 The United States Attorney can and does
15 initiate investigation of federal civil rights
16 violations, but the charging decision, the decision
17 whether or not to bring the charge of a criminal civil
18 rights violation or the decision to decline to bring the
19 charge rests strictly with the Civil Rights Division in
20 Washington.

21 That is a regulation within the department
22 that's been in existence for thirty years. I think it
23 arose when Robert Kennedy was the Attorney General. The
24 purpose was very salutary at the time, and I think still
25 is, and that is to ensure a national policy on civil

1 rights and to ensure that local control is not total.
2 There is no excessive local control over the enforcement
3 of the civil rights.

4 The typical hate crime investigation and civil
5 rights investigation now -- and I speak about cross
6 burnings; I speak about racially motivated assaults and
7 arsons and things of that nature -- is picked up in a
8 number of ways. Agent Durham mentioned cooperation
9 between the local police and the FBI; and that's a
10 typical way in which the case is brought to the attention
11 of federal authorities. But I think even more common is
12 reliance upon the press.

13 When a racially motivated assault, for example,
14 is reported in the press, that is reviewed usually in
15 Washington or here locally, and a request goes out to the
16 Civil Rights Division and to the FBI to initiate an
17 investigation. The Civil Rights Division relies heavily
18 upon a publication known as Klan Watch, put out by the
19 Southern Poverty Law Center, Morris Dees' organization,
20 which regularly reports in capsulized form on individual
21 cases involving civil rights violations: cross burnings
22 and what have you. And many times that will cause the
23 spark that will initiate the investigation by the Civil
24 Rights Division and the FBI.

25 As Agent Durham mentioned, the FBI does the

1 actual investigation. They rely heavily upon the reports
2 generated by the local police, but they carry on their
3 investigation independently. They certainly are not
4 synonymous with the local police when it comes to civil
5 rights investigations. Our office, the U.S. Attorney's
6 Office, becomes involved. We are consulted; we give
7 advice. For example, if a grand jury subpoena is
8 necessary, we make sure that is obtained, to obtain the
9 evidence that is necessary for the investigation. And
10 ultimately we are asked to make recommendations and asked
11 either by the FBI or by the Civil Rights Division on
12 prosecution.

13 The end product of the investigation is
14 forwarded to the Civil Rights Division, the criminal
15 section in Washington, which makes the final decision.
16 Now by and large most cases in Oregon are adequately
17 dealt with through local prosecution. I speak again of
18 assault cases, arson cases, racial intimidation cases.
19 We have a broad statute now in the state of Oregon on
20 racial intimidation, which I think is the envy of many
21 other states, and is effectively used to prosecute
22 racially motivated crimes in this state.

23 Agent Durham mentioned the policy which
24 prohibits federal prosecution if a crime is adequately
25 dealt with and prosecuted on the local level. That's

1 what known in our department as the Dual Prosecution
2 Rule. There are exceptions to that. If local
3 prosecution is not deemed to be adequate, if the sentence
4 is not deemed to be sufficient, if the local prosecution
5 could not be brought against an adequate number of
6 individuals who are guilty of the crime, then, obviously,
7 there are exceptions to the rule. But by and large, if a
8 person is sentenced in Oregon and other states for a
9 racially motivated crime, then chances are that that will
10 be an adequate way of dealing with it, and it would not
11 provide an exception to the Dual Prosecution Rule.

12 I do want to compliment the local police and
13 local district attorneys. I think they are very serious
14 in their pursuit against the racially motivated crimes in
15 this state. I think they have done a very adequate job,
16 more than adequate, and deserve our compliments. I'd be
17 happy to answer any questions you might have.

18 CHAIRMAN HAMILTON: Any questions for the U.S.
19 Attorney.

20 COMMISSIONER SLOAN: One brief question. You
21 say that the decision to charge is made in Washington,
22 D.C. in the U.S. Attorney's office and has been since the
23 Kennedy years.

24 MR. PEIFER: I think it goes back that far, at
25 least thirty years.

1 COMMISSIONER SLOAN: Any discernible change in
2 that policy through the various administrations?

3 MR. PEIFER: No, the policy has remained the
4 same. The focuses may change with the various
5 administrations; I'm not an expert on that. I've only
6 been in the U.S. Attorney's office for the last four
7 years; I was a state prosecutor prior to that time. So I
8 can't really reflect on prior administrations, but I know
9 that the rule hasn't changed in substance since the
10 Kennedy days.

11 COMMISSIONER SLOAN: Thank you.

12 COMMISSIONER AZUMANO: With a situation like
13 this can you do anything? For example, if I'm walking
14 down the streets of Portland and someone says, "Jap, go
15 on home," which means go back to Japan -- I was born in
16 Portland by the way -- can I do anything about that?

17 MR. PEIFER: It's unlikely that that alone
18 would be sufficient to bring a federal charge. You would
19 have to show some actual loss of federal civil rights.
20 Now if you were assaulted in the process or if someone
21 prevented you from going to your home or took some
22 retaliatory measure against you, then that would probably
23 rise to the level of a federal civil rights violation if
24 it involved more than one person. But the derogatory
25 remark itself is not prosecutable, and I don't think it

1 would be in Oregon either under state law. It has to go
2 beyond that. It has to be an element of harassment.
3 Words alone generally don't make a crime. There is the
4 First Amendment that protects even the most heinous forms
5 of speech I'm afraid.

6 COMMISSIONER BORNET: The gentleman from the
7 FBI said there were fourteen ongoing investigations at
8 this time. We all know that investigations that are
9 ongoing do not necessary result in anything that we would
10 know anything more about. You have stated there are no
11 charges being brought by your office at this time other
12 than one that isn't, strictly speaking, civil rights. I
13 think that's right, you do have one?

14 MR. PEIFER: It's civil rights, but it involves
15 involuntary servitude not race relations.

16 COMMISSIONER BORNET: In any case you do have
17 these fourteen behind the scenes and then we have no
18 civil rights activity by your office. You also stated
19 that you rely on things like Klan Watch and other
20 agitational pamphleteering or revealing publications to
21 decide what to do, and that this decision is made in
22 Washington, three thousand miles from Oregon. This
23 leaves me very discontented. I wonder if you could say
24 anything to reassure me that your office is, in fact, on
25 the ball as regard to Oregon and that you are, in fact,

1 likely to help enforce the laws in the state of Oregon.

2 MR. PEIFER: Well, I think you may have
3 misunderstood what I said.

4 COMMISSIONER BORNET: I hope so.

5 MR. PEIFER: It is true that the department in
6 Washington relies upon Klan Watch. They subscribe to
7 it and they read it. They also read the national press.
8 But we here in Oregon read the local press, and it's been
9 my practice when I find an article in The Oregonian
10 relating to a race related crime to send that to
11 individuals in the Civil Rights Divison.

12 COMMISSIONER BORNET: Thank you, that's a
13 valuable addition.

14 MR. PEIFER: And I might say, regarding the
15 case that we do have, one direct consequence of having
16 that case prosecuted is that we now have a very good
17 working relationship with the Civil Rights Divison. I
18 personally have worked with the Deputy Chief in charge of
19 this region on that particular case for the last two and
20 a half years, and she, of course, has oversight authority
21 in a broad range of civil rights violations, including
22 the ones we have discussed. So we have a much better
23 working relationship than we ever had with the Civil
24 Rights Division.

25 COMMISSIONER BORNET: Thank you.

1 MR. PEIFER: Thank you.

2 CHAIRMAN HAMILTON: Thank you very much. The
3 next presenter is from the Portland Police Department,
4 Mr. Loren Christensen.

5 MR. CHRISTENSEN: My name is Loren Christensen.
6 I'm a Portland Police Officer and have been for about
7 nineteen years. The last three and a half years I've
8 been concentrating a hundred percent of my efforts on
9 Skinheads and the closely tied White Supremacists in the
10 Portland city limits.

11 What I thought I'd do is I've broken down the
12 last couple three years into six time periods,
13 significant time periods, that will bring us up to the
14 present, so that might give us a little better picture of
15 where we are at the present time.

16 The first major incident we had in Portland
17 involving Skinheads as far as committing a racially
18 motivated attack was against a Chinese man in early 1988.
19 The Chinese man was married to a Caucasian woman which
20 infuriated three Skinheads walking downtown, and they
21 attacked him and beat him severely.

22 Officers made arrests minutes later, and those
23 three suspects were incarcerated. In fact, I think one
24 is still in. Although the Skinheads had been around for
25 a couple years, they had not committed any racial acts up

1 to that point. So we had been kind of watching them and
2 trying to figure out what exactly they were all about.
3 So from that point we upscaled our observation of them.

4 At that time I was a crime analyst officer down
5 in central precinct, in the downtown precinct. So I
6 started counting and keeping track of incidents involving
7 racial Skinheads in the downtown Portland area. And
8 after the Chin incident, which was in early 1988, there
9 were about six incidents a month to November of '88, at
10 which time Mulegeta Seraw was murdered.

11 The six incidents were assaults and vandalism,
12 harassing phone calls against a variety of minority
13 people. On November 13th when Mulegeta Seraw was
14 murdered, Portland was literally shaken by its heels.
15 There were massive rallies, marches on City Hall. There
16 were meetings in north Portland. Everyone was shocked
17 that such thing could happen in Portland. "Who are these
18 Skinheads? What are they all about?"

19 The Portland Police made three arrests of three
20 Skinheads about five days later after the murder, and
21 those three individuals are now serving nine to twenty in
22 Oregon's prisons. Unique to Portland was the fact that
23 incidents increased after this murder. Normally across
24 the nation incidents dropped off or Skinheads even moved
25 out of the area in question. In Portland we went from

1 six incidents to forty incidents a month after the
2 homicide.

3 This could be due to a number of different
4 reasons: press coverage; the number of Skinheads that
5 were in place in Portland already; the fact that Oregon
6 is part of the Northwest Imperative, the five states that
7 had been chosen by White Supremacists as being an all
8 white part of the country; the fact that in young
9 peoples' eyes this was a happening, this was really
10 something. If you're a Skinhead you're something.
11 You're feared. You can walk down the street and people
12 will get out of your way.

13 This activity increased at this high level
14 until mid 1989 and then tapered off to about twenty-five
15 incidents a month. It remained that way up until the
16 spring of 1990. Around April or so a new entity formed
17 in Portland called SHARPs. It's an acronym for Skinheads
18 Against Racial Prejudice. These were Skinheads; they
19 looked just like the racial Skinheads, except they had a
20 certain insignia that indicated they were against racism.
21 For example, a swastika with a diagonal line through it,
22 that sort of thing.

23 They came on the scene. They held press
24 conferences and talked with a lot of media people and
25 said that they were here to save Portland from racism and

1 in particular racist Skinheads. Having been around for a
2 while, I looked at this with some caution, and my
3 skepticism proved to be right. Within a month or two
4 they were committing more violent acts than the racist
5 Skinheads. They were not committing any racial assaults,
6 but they were committing assaults against people who they
7 perceived to be racist.

8 This continued. Extreme violent situations,
9 twenty to thirty SHARPs versus twenty to thirty racist
10 Skinheads, massive brawls in the streets, drive-by
11 shootings, knifings, et cetera, for several months. It
12 eventually tapered off around October when Tom Metzger
13 had his trial here in Portland.

14 The SHARPs are no longer of any great concern
15 to us. There is just a handful in the Portland area.
16 The leader is doing sixteen months in prison for hitting
17 a girl over the head with a hammer, who he perceived to
18 be a racist Skinhead.

19 The next significant date was October of last
20 year when Tom Metzger had his trial. I had the dubious
21 honor of being his bodyguard for two weeks, and a long
22 two weeks I might add. And as we all know, Metzger lost
23 that lawsuit. The result of that loss quieted the
24 Skinheads down for several months. We had very little
25 activity, certainly no racial activity, even very little

1 sightings of the Skinheads in the Portland area. That
2 continued until about five months ago.

3 At this time three groups emerged -- actually
4 two groups. One had been here for a while, that being
5 the American Front Skinheads, which is probably the
6 largest and the most organized. The reason they became
7 even more prominent five months ago, even though they had
8 been here a little over a year, is that both leaders, the
9 president and the national secretary, moved here from San
10 Francisco and took up Portland as their home base and set
11 up their families and continue their Skinhead activity in
12 the Portland area.

13 Two other groups, the Southern Justice Skins
14 and the Southeast Boot Boys, have grown in size.
15 Southern Justice at this point is rather small and not
16 doing a heck of a lot. The Southeast Boot Boys are
17 probably the dregs of the three groups, the most violent.
18 Their White Supremacy philosophy is probably secondary to
19 the fact they want to get out there and drink and fight
20 and carry on.

21 Although the number of Skinheads have increased
22 once again in the last few months, groups have grown,
23 they're more organized, the racial activity, racial
24 assaults is way down. It's nothing like it was two years
25 ago. Most of their activity is inner gang activity.

1 They're just acting like typical gangsters, fighting
2 amongst themselves, fighting between the gangs, an
3 occasional assault of someone who isn't a Skinhead. But
4 as far as racial activity goes, it's just not happening
5 right now.

6 Where is it all going? Having watched this for
7 three and a half years, I believe it is going to continue
8 the way it is now. Tom Metzger has lost his umph in
9 Portland. Most of the Skinheads look down on him, if not
10 all of them. They were quite concerned. One thing that
11 was brought out in the trial was that he was pocketing a
12 lot of the money that was given to him. That was a real
13 turnoff to the Skinheads.

14 Their focus now is on Richard Butler in Idaho.
15 Pastor Butler they think is the best thing since
16 whatever. They go over there to at least two of his
17 Aryan Congresses every year. Some actually live on the
18 compound or visit at other times throughout the year.

19 The potential for another injury or death is
20 quite great. Whether that will be a minority person, I
21 don't know. My guess is if there is another serious
22 injury and if there is another death, it will be an
23 accident. They will have gone too far in their violent
24 act. It won't be anything that's well planned out or
25 part of some big action on their part.

1 An interesting thing that's come about in the
2 last few weeks -- I'm hearing this all over Portland and
3 I just talked to a couple of officers, one in Olympia and
4 one elsewhere in another state, I believe -- but there is
5 a real strong feeling among the Skinheads that there is
6 definitely going to be a race war. We've heard that
7 forever. The common denominator was that it was going to
8 be sometime in 1995. What we keep hearing now is next
9 year. How that's going to come about, we don't know. I
10 arrested a Skinhead last week on a situation, and I asked
11 him about it. And his closest guess is he thought it was
12 going to start in Chicago. That the white working class
13 was going to rise and have a big clash with ZOG, the
14 Zionist Occupational Government, the people who are
15 running the government.

16 We do hear information from time to time about
17 caches of weapons. We hear that all the time in the gang
18 business. In the Gang Enforcement Team where I work we
19 deal with Bloods, Crips, southeast Asians, Hispanics and
20 Skinheads. Hearing about large caches of weapons is
21 something we hear about all the time.

22 Here recently it's coming from good sources,
23 good inside sources, and it's definitely of concern to us
24 and it something that we're looking into. In my unit we
25 do not deal with hate crimes in general. That's in a

1 unit that's been formed downtown in the detective
2 division. They have been on board about two months. I
3 haven't met with them because we haven't had any hate
4 crimes committed by Skinheads during that time.

5 Recently in the last month we have gotten four
6 detectives in our unit, and they will be working crimes
7 involving Skinheads assaulting other Skinhead types of
8 things, so we have that source, that expertise, right at
9 our fingertips now. The Gang Enforcement Team is based
10 not in any of the precincts. It's actually based not too
11 far from here. I won't give you the address, but it
12 consists of X number of officers -- I don't want to give
13 that number either -- who are committed to working gangs.
14 That's all we do: gang violence and gang drug use.
15 That's all I have.

16 COMMISSIONER SLOAN: You have interviewed a
17 number of these folks and have studied their psychology.
18 Could you comment on the psychodynamics' of a typical
19 Skinhead? Why does a kid go that way and drop in or drop
20 out of a Skinhead group?

21 MR. CHRISTENSEN: Well typically, and there are
22 exceptions, but typically they're of low intelligence,
23 have low self-esteem. Whether or not they got their
24 racial beliefs from home, I have yet to be able to
25 determine. The few parents that I have talked to all

1 say, "No, that's not taught in our home."

2 Most of them tell me they got their racial
3 beliefs from their experiences on the street. A lot of
4 them come from the street and were brought into the
5 Skinhead movement through people that they met on the
6 street. Some come from some middle class families, some
7 upper class families. It's real hard to get a real
8 typical one, other than it's been my experience they're
9 not very bright; they kind of parrot what they've been
10 told, what they've been taught. There's all kinds of
11 levels to their philosophy. Some believe in that White
12 Supremacy philosophy a hundred percent; they'll die
13 behind that. They don't care; they'll be martyred after
14 that; they'll be taken into sainthood. Others, it's just
15 very superficial. They use that as just a tool to get in
16 with a gang so that they can drink and party and act out
17 violently.

18 That's kind of the thing with the SHARPs. Now
19 that the SHARPs have kind of collapsed, some of them are
20 moving over to the White Supremacy philosophy. I've
21 busted a racial Skinhead one day and the next he's
22 converted to the SHARPs, so it's very superficial. The
23 frightening part is that there are some individuals who
24 are just totally entrenched in their mind with this
25 philosophy and they believe in it a hundred percent.

1 And those that are intelligent -- maybe
2 intelligent is the wrong word to use -- knowledgeable is
3 a better word. They're very knowledgeable on the whole
4 scale of racism, Nazism. They're very up on who's who in
5 World War II and Hitler's people. That's where they have
6 devoted their energies for quite some time is dedicating
7 themselves in that way.

8 CHAIRMAN HAMILTON: If I understand you
9 correctly, you're saying there are no real differences
10 between the SHARPs and the racial Skinheads except
11 attitude on race? They're all coming from the same type
12 of background and they're all basically committed to
13 violence as a way of dealing with the problem as they see
14 it?

15 MR. CHRISTENSEN: All is maybe a strong word.
16 Many of them are. At least the SHARPs that I knew --
17 like I say most of them have gone on elsewhere or at
18 least aren't doing anything -- were a little more from the
19 street than the racist Skins. That's one primary
20 difference there.

21 The other is that the SHARPs during their
22 heyday, during the several months that they kind of ruled
23 downtown and they took over Pioneer Square -- that's
24 where they hung out -- did not commit any racial acts.
25 They were very strict on that. They had a pretty strict

1 code requirement on getting into their group.

2 There were a lot of people that hung out with
3 the SHARPs, but they weren't SHARPs; they hadn't been
4 accepted into the fold yet. They didn't have the SHARP
5 patch. But they were very active with other groups, some
6 of the other anti-racist type groups, some of the gay
7 organizations. They're very active with them protesting
8 around town at various things.

9 But there were also times when they acted out
10 very violently against racist Skinheads or people that
11 they perceived to be racist, and there were some cases
12 where these people were not racist at all; they were
13 innocent victims of their assault.

14 COMMISSIONER BORNET: Is your office the source
15 of the figure a hundred sixty-five in the Oregon Crimes
16 Motivated by Prejudice Document that we have before us?

17 MR. CHRISTENSEN: In Multnomah County?

18 COMMISSIONER BORNET: Yes.

19 MR. CHRISTENSEN: No. The uniformed officers
20 are primarily responsible for that number in Portland and
21 Multnomah County. When an officer on the street takes a
22 crime report and it looks like it's a racially motivated
23 incident or there is some racism involved, they'll flag
24 the top of that report and write bias across the top or
25 hate crime. That draws the crime record clerk's

1 attention to that report and that report is sent on to
2 the LEADS people in Salem.

3 COMMISSIONER BARNETT: This figure is a county
4 figure, apparently, and would not in any case be a
5 Portland police figure; is that correct?

6 MR. CHRISTENSEN: It's part of Portland.

7 COMMISSIONER BARNETT: Inclusive, correct.
8 Would your office or would some other office be capable
9 of breaking this hundred sixty-five down into categories
10 of prejudice and crime?

11 MR. CHRISTENSEN: I don't keep any stats on
12 that. One thing I do want to mention, since I'm up here,
13 is that during the last eight or nine months Portland
14 Police have had extensive training on recognizing and
15 investigating bias crimes. That's not to say that
16 they're not on the rise, but I certainly guess that
17 that's part of the reason for the increase in that
18 number. We're not keeping any statistics. We kind of
19 rely on LEADS for that.

20 COMMISSIONER BARNETT: It would occur to me as a
21 reader of The Oregonian that you are, in fact,
22 absolutely correct in saying that there is an increase in
23 Skinhead activity and related crimes motivated by
24 prejudice. There's just no doubt about it. I don't need
25 these figures. Am I correct in that?

1 MR. CHRISTENSEN: Yeah, right now the Skinheads
2 as far as their racial crimes is down. That's not to say
3 it's not going to shoot back up.

4 COMMISSIONER BORNET: One of the things we read
5 in The Oregonian is that this is spreading throughout
6 the state from your county southward; is that correct?

7 MR. CHRISTENSEN: Yeah, I get calls from police
8 departments all over the state, actually all over the
9 country, but I get them from all over the state. Yeah,
10 they're seeing Skinheads all over the state: Eugene,
11 Salem, Albany, Corvallis.

12 COMMISSIONER BORNET: Thank you.

13 CHAIRMAN HAMILTON: Any other questions?

14 MR. BROWNSTEIN: This may be the most naive
15 question that's going to be asked here today, but do you
16 think that there would be, if the resources were devoted
17 to it, some way to rehabilitate these people as against
18 prosecuting them? In terms of their psyche, are they so
19 engrained that they're beyond the help of being brought
20 back into something of mainstream society?

21 MR. CHRISTENSEN: Well, there are all kinds of
22 programs in the system that work with what we call
23 gangsters, gang affected youth in all the gangs, and they
24 have had some success. Their success with Skinheads, I
25 have not heard. My guess is it has not been very good.

1 Again, it depends on the level where they're at as I
2 mentioned before. If they're just superficial, you're
3 going to have greater success. They give them a valuable
4 purpose in life rather than hanging out and committing
5 violence.

6 I have not seen very many Skinheads leave. I
7 have been fooled. Earlier in the year I thought several
8 of them, some big names, prominent names, had left and,
9 in fact, they came back with great guns. They came back
10 as leaders and more experience and more knowledgeable. I
11 do have some information on certain Skins that I have not
12 seen or heard from them for a while. That's not to mean
13 they have dropped out; but it could mean they've dropped
14 out. I don't know.

15 As far as rehabilitation goes, actually I never
16 hear that. I hear more anger when I go to various
17 committee meetings and talk about Skinheads. I have
18 fellow officers talking about Bloods and Crips and
19 getting them back into the community as members. The
20 Skinheads they want to run out of town. So I don't know
21 how much effort is really being put into that.

22 CHAIRMAN HAMILTON: I have a question. I am
23 concerned about where do these people get their resources
24 from? I'm talking about Skinheads now. How are they
25 living? They're not robbing banks, are they?

1 MR. CHRISTENSEN: No.

2 CHAIRMAN HAMILTON: Is there a network out
3 there that's supportive, which is not Skinheads, but
4 which sympathize with what they're trying to do and
5 therefore funds them money to survive on?

6 MR. CHRISTENSEN: The Skinheads don't have a
7 lot of money. They do have a real strong work ethic.
8 That's a general statement; there are probably some of
9 them that are probably very lazy. But that's part of the
10 white working class; that's what they're all about. They
11 don't want to go on welfare, although Tom Metzger didn't
12 seem to have any problem with going on welfare and
13 neither did the two top leaders of the American Front
14 that I said had moved here recently. Both of them are on
15 welfare and food stamps. They're taking that money from
16 the very system that they're so angry about.

17 Most of them have some kind of minor job. They
18 don't spend that money on fancy clothes or fancy houses.
19 They spend it on efforts to increase their cause. And if
20 our information is true on the guns, they possibly are
21 spending that on weapons. It's very possible that some
22 higher organization is supplying some of these things.
23 That wouldn't surprise me.

24 We've heard all kinds of rumors over the years
25 that Hells Angles are behind the Skinhead movement or

1 supportive of the Skinhead movement, and then Tom
2 Metzger's WAR and Richard Butler's Christian Identity
3 Church are certainly behind it. But whether or not they
4 are actually supplying money or getting them money to buy
5 equipment, I don't know yet.

6 COMMISSIONER BORNET: Are there internal
7 documents of the kind that might be introduced into our
8 hearing? Do you have internal documents describing
9 Skinhead motivation, conduct, origin, size, whatever? Is
10 there anything you could introduce into our record that
11 would be constructive for us?

12 MR. CHRISTENSEN: Some kind of descriptive
13 literature?

14 COMMISSIONER BORNET: I was hoping analytical.

15 MR. CHRISTENSEN: No, nothing formal.

16 CHAIRMAN HAMILTON: Any other questions?

17 (No response)

18 CHAIRMAN HAMILTON: Thank you very much. All
19 right. We're a little bit ahead of schedule, but if
20 Sheriff Smith is ready to go forward with his
21 presentation. Sheriff Smith is from Jackson County.

22 SHERIFF SMITH: I'm Sheriff C.W. Smith; I'm the
23 Sheriff in Jackson County. I apologize for being late to
24 your meeting this morning; I drove from Medford this
25 morning. Within the last two years Jackson County has

1 seen a number of incidents either involving sexual
2 orientation or racial incidents, but primarily what we
3 have seen have been increasingly violent incidents
4 involving Skinheads.

5 We have a group called the Southern Oregon
6 Skins. They're fairly small in number, but what we had
7 about a year ago is we had a spate of a number of these
8 young people coming in from other areas of the country
9 for a while. And last summer particularly we had a lot
10 of Skinhead or neo-Nazi type graffiti showing up in
11 Jackson County.

12 We had a number of incidents involving
13 harassments of either people of racial orientation or
14 sexual orientation. We had one incident where a young
15 man was robbed at knife point and then forced to go into
16 a lake in the spring -- very cold water at that time of
17 year. And that was fairly notorious at that time for our
18 community.

19 And then we had another incident where a young
20 man who was gay was attacked by a supposed Skinhead. And
21 we did have a little bit of a manhunt for that young man.
22 I knew his family personally. I grew up with his mother.
23 He came from a broken home. I knew his father and mother
24 fairly well. And he turned himself in at about two
25 o'clock in the morning to the county jail. In trying to

1 identify where his particular problem came from, he
2 didn't get any type of racial attitudes at home I know.
3 His mother is a teacher and his father works in a grocery
4 store. I've known both of them for years.

5 He became a street kid, basically
6 uncontrollable, acting out throughout his school years,
7 basically not particularly intelligent, and just found
8 something that he could identify with. And I have heard
9 since then that he has moved back into the normal frame
10 of life and away from that type of thing, but he did do a
11 little time in the jail and did receive some counseling.
12 But from what I hear he has been fairly well
13 rehabilitated to get back into our society as a
14 productive member and had not returned to his activities
15 involved there.

16 We had a recent incident at the veterans'
17 domiciliary that was racially motivated, where a black
18 man was attacked by a white man with a cue stick, causing
19 a severe injury to the arm. The black man died of a
20 heart attack. That trial has just culminated. There was
21 quite a bit of legal discussion about the fact that the
22 gentleman should at least be brought up on either
23 manslaughter or murder charges. And there was some legal
24 wrangling, and he was eventually convicted of second
25 degree assault. The gentleman is now in the Oregon State

1 Penitentiary.

2 The thing that is probably the most concerning
3 to us is that while these numbers of people are
4 relatively small, they do have a tendency to create a lot
5 of havoc in a community because they are so rabid in
6 their beliefs. We had this last spring young Skinheads
7 recruiting on our high school campuses, actually going on
8 campus or, when they were caught on campus, they were
9 removed, but just being at the edge of the campuses.
10 Most recently they have been found outside a theater
11 complex in our area, which is in what we would term as
12 one of our higher crime areas in our county, attempting
13 to recruit young white members for that group.

14 We recently had a lot of notoriety about
15 Mr. Floyd Cochran, who was recruiting for the Aryan
16 Nations or the neo-Nazi movement in Jackson County. I'm
17 glad to say that he did not have any luck. If he got any
18 recruits, we don't know about them because he was pretty
19 well shunned and ignored, treated with a fair amount of
20 derision and humor everywhere he went.

21 He was attempting to recruit at our sawmills.
22 As you know, there is a tremendous concern and a problem
23 with a lot of our lumber workers being put out of work,
24 and they thought that would be real ripe pickings for
25 them to come down and recruit the unemployed and

1 disenfranchised, and it didn't work very well at all.
2 The gentleman had no money when he got to town, and he
3 had no money when he left and he had no recruits.

4 Generally speaking my biggest concern has been
5 and will continue to be with those organizations that
6 come from the religious frame work. We have an Identity
7 Church in Medford that causes me a great deal of concern,
8 because of the motivation for a lot of the activities.
9 The people within this organization are religious.
10 They're extremely anti-Semitic, very racial in their
11 espousing that whites are the seed of Christ and Jews are
12 the seed of the devil. That kind of garbage. And those
13 kinds of organizations give me a great deal of concern,
14 less so than the Skinheads who are mostly kids, young
15 people who are acting out, finding something to hang
16 onto. They do find support in various organizations:
17 motorcycle gangs such as the Hells Angels who espouse
18 racism and facist neo-Nazi kinds of teachings in a
19 roundabout way.

20 But we have had organizations such as the Posse
21 Comitatus in southern Oregon, which was very active for a
22 short period of time. But our community has done very
23 well in rallying, and I liken it to just lifting a rock
24 and all the little bugs scurry for cover. Generally when
25 they get a lot of notoriety and public fanfare, they're

1 pretty well held up to ridicule, and they don't have the
2 cultural base on which to create a place where they can
3 get resources and money. So it's been very difficult for
4 them. Although they're relatively very small in number,
5 they do create some substantial problems for us.

6 We have had and will continue to have for a
7 small law enforcement agency, we have an intelligence
8 unit, and they have maintained fairly accurate records on
9 the comings and goings of these people. And then we do
10 network quite extensively with Multnomah County and the
11 Portland Police as well as other agencies to the south of
12 us in California.

13 But I am concerned because the numbers do seem
14 to be increasing. Whether or not that may be because of
15 the reporting criteria, it's much more specific and
16 identifiable. But I do believe there are more incidents
17 like this on the rise. And I can't portend to look into
18 the future as to what we may be seeing, but I do know
19 I've been encouraged by the lack of involvement or
20 wanting to get involved with this Mr. Floyd Cochran. It
21 was very encouraging.

22 I didn't come with a prepared text, but I came
23 here to offer you some information or answer questions
24 you may have about what we have seen. I have been
25 involved with various reports from my early law

1 enforcement career, so I've been able to track a lot of
2 these people as they have literally grown up in the
3 process, and I've seen where they've come and gone.

4 CHAIRMAN HAMILTON: I'm interested in your
5 statement about people having a religious base. You said
6 the Identity Church. Are we talking about an established
7 church with a building and that type of thing?

8 SHERIFF SMITH: Yes, an established church.
9 They have a building and a small congregation, and they
10 espouse a religious doctrine that is racially and
11 religiously prejudiced.

12 CHAIRMAN HAMILTON: How do you compare them
13 with the Aryan Nation?

14 SHERIFF SMITH: Very comparable, if not almost
15 the same. A lot of these organizations have many of the
16 same type of beliefs, and it's almost like a smorgasbord
17 of what extreme you want to go to. We have another
18 organization called the Citizen's Bar Association, whose
19 primary goal and function is to be opposed to the tax
20 system or the IRS primarily. But whenever we receive
21 their publications, they are interspersed with a lot of
22 anti-Semitic material.

23 And a lot of the people that are involved with
24 that organization are involved with the Identity Church
25 that is there in the community. A lot of the people in

1 that organization are also involved with the Posse
2 Comitatus. Some of the people involved with that
3 organization were also involved with the Aryan Nations
4 out of Idaho and were actually a party to some of their
5 gatherings.

6 There are a number of those people that have
7 been since arrested. There is a Skinhead now that's in
8 my jail for assault. We have been fairly diligent in
9 taking whatever action we can as soon as we can to try to
10 eliminate those people from the community through the
11 court process, and the district attorney has made that
12 one of his priorities.

13 CHAIRMAN HAMILTON: When you're talking about
14 this Identity Church, do you see it mostly as a church
15 that just happens to have these anti-Semitic attitudes
16 and maybe the Christ killer idea, or do you see the
17 church as being a front and that they're really more
18 racist than they are religious?

19 SHERIFF SMITH: I can't answer that question
20 precisely. Some people join that church because they
21 have these beliefs probably, and it just reinforces those
22 beliefs and myths. I would think for the most part, most
23 of those people have had those beliefs and are looking
24 for some place to reinforce those beliefs and to possibly
25 give them support for those beliefs, and that

1 organization does a fairly good job of that. But I don't
2 think it's a front; I don't think it's a front.

3 They have various causes within that frame work
4 that they give money to, I'm sure, but I don't think it's
5 a front for a larger organization. I think they're an
6 Identity Church. We do know there has been some
7 organization in Montana to set up a church in Montana,
8 somewhere in Montanta by our local church being of
9 assistance there.

10 COMMISSIONER BORNET: Sheriff Smith, there is
11 the perception in many parts of Portland no doubt that
12 Southern Oregon has very few black members of the
13 community, and that it may have a very large number of
14 Hispanics, but they are probably "held down." You're in
15 a unique position to discuss black and Hispanic relations
16 with whites in southern Oregon, and maybe you're about
17 the only person testifying who isn't from this area or
18 from the federal government. Would you like to ruminate
19 just a little bit about relations between these elements
20 in southern Oregon? What are the trends?

21 SHERIFF SMITH: I think the trends are very
22 positive. I was born and raised in southern Oregon and
23 for five years in L.A. I remember when I saw my first
24 black person I asked my mom, I says, "What's the matter
25 with that person?" And my mom and dad were both deaf, so

1 mom explained that they just had different colored skin.
2 That's the way we lived. But it's changed substantially
3 in the last ten or fifteen years.

4 I remember a number of students coming in to
5 Crater High School. They did very well in school. They
6 were elected to student body offices. The acceptance in
7 the community has been fairly good. The Hispanic
8 community, I think, is thriving and doing fairly well
9 there. There is a lot of integration; there is outreach
10 going on with various community groups. I'm chairman of
11 SODA, Southern Oregon Drug Awareness, and we have as our
12 focus more outreach to the Hispanics for drug prevention.

13 I'm very encouraged by what I see in our
14 community. I see a great deal of acceptance, and I see a
15 great deal of public uproar and disgust and general
16 repugnance for any type of racial incidents that occur or
17 any kind of sexual orientation incidents that occur.

18 I think the general public attitude is very,
19 very strong against these kinds of incidents, and I'm
20 pleased to say that our community has been very helpful.
21 Whenever we have an incident like this, we get a lot of
22 public support coming forward. I have to say we don't
23 have a lot of policemen in southern Oregon per capita.
24 Our budgets are fairly limited. And I think the thing
25 that makes our organization so effective -- and we are a

1 very effective law enforcement agency -- is the level of
2 public support we get.

3 But I'm encouraged about our future. There is
4 a substantial black community in southern Oregon, and
5 it's growing. The opportunities are there for
6 communities and families to come. And I know that the
7 black families that I've had a chance to visit with and
8 see have been very pleased with the acceptance that they
9 have gotten in the community. That's not to say we are
10 spotless in having a racial slur comment. Those do
11 occur. But I've been pleased to see there has been a
12 great deal more acceptance.

13 CHAIRMAN HAMILTON: I was thinking of Grants
14 Pass -- and I'm probably thinking before your time
15 again -- when the Job Corp was first brought in there and
16 it brought in a number of blacks. And I know there was a
17 considerable protest from some citizens who were there
18 whom I know and who were objecting to their presence on
19 one basis or another. How was this ever resolved? How
20 did this ever work out? What was the experience of
21 having the Job Crop down there?

22 SHERIFF SMITH: I think a lot of it has to do
23 with education and changing attitudes in time. Things
24 have changed substantially. For instance, the Medford
25 A's, there are a number of black members on the team, and

1 they are integrated fairly well into the community. They
2 stay with people in the community. I have not heard of
3 any incidents involving anything outwardly opposing any
4 of those people being in the community, anything like
5 what we had in the sixties and fifties.

6 I remember coming to college here at Mt. Hood
7 Community College and receiving some comments about
8 southern Oregon and about sundown laws and all of that
9 thing. And, frankly, I didn't see it when I was growing
10 up at all, but I do know that that existed for a long
11 time.

12 Ashland at the turn of this century was a real
13 strong place for the Klu Klux Klan. And I think right
14 now it's probably one of the more open communities we
15 have on the west coast. And those things have changed;
16 attitudes have changed. I don't think racism is
17 tolerated for the most part at all.

18 COMMISSIONER SLOAN: You've had some good
19 positive leadership by the Medford Mail Tribune too, I
20 believe.

21 SHERIFF SMITH: Yes, we have. Both our
22 newspapers in Ashland and Medford have been very
23 positive, not to say there isn't a lot of work that has
24 to be done. There's a lot of community involvement in
25 Cinco de Mayo Day. We get very involved there. Our

1 department is constantly striving to recruit more
2 Hispanic officers. I've been to Texas twice to recruit
3 Spanish speaking officers, but the problem with that is
4 that we have found that when we get somebody who is
5 bilingual and has the educational background to qualify
6 as a police officer, he can qualify most generally for a
7 much higher and well-paying job than working as a street
8 police officer. So they tend to move on real quickly so
9 we don't get to keep them for very long. But we're doing
10 everything we can to try to diversify and it's a
11 difficult task.

12 COMMISSIONER BORNET: As a reader of the
13 newspapers of southern Oregon, the Medford Mail Tribune
14 particularly, it seems to me there is an awful lot of
15 violence in the Hispanic community in that area. Every
16 time I pick up the paper it seems that somebody has been
17 knifed in a local bar or in the area where the farm
18 workers are and so on. Is this an isolated activity that
19 has nothing to do with the general resident population of
20 Jackson County, or is the violence likely to spill over,
21 or is it in any way related to the white population? I
22 call it the white population, the non-Hispanic
23 population?

24 SHERIFF SMITH: No, it isn't and I have had a
25 number of discussions with a number of our Hispanic

1 leaders, and we've been able to identify the primary crux
2 of the problem. We have a tremendous amount of migrant
3 workeres who come in from Mexico who are young men.
4 They're alone; they're lonely, and the only outlets that
5 they have for their activities is one day off a week, so
6 they'll sit down with a group and get to drinking and
7 carrying on, and these incidents generally arise out of
8 those kinds of things.

9 The cases that we have investigated have been
10 just that. They're away from their families; they're
11 away from their support groups; they're up and drinking
12 and carrying on, and words are said and then maybe there
13 might be a knifing or occasionally a shooting. I don't
14 think that's any unlike when our American GIs go overseas
15 and they're away from home and they get to drinking and
16 carrying on. And I guarantee you you'll see much the
17 same kind of activity in some instances. And it's not
18 our general Hispanic community. They're generally very
19 law-abiding, and they're very appreciative and very
20 helpful to us wherever we're involved with them.

21 We've had a number of incidents where we have
22 had shootings involving Hispanics, and we have had the
23 Hispanic community come forward to help us locate the
24 suspects, whether they returned to Mexico or wherever.

25 COMMISSIONER BORNET: Sheriff, may I ask that a

1 slight correction be made in your testimony. You
2 mentioned Ashland in connection with the Klu Klux Klan.
3 That was not a major part of your testimony. I have
4 researched that, and it's really Jackson County, and the
5 fact that Ashland was involved was because that's where
6 the parades were held on the 4th of July. And it's quite
7 noticeable that the Klan marched in those parades in the
8 middle 1920s, but they were not Ashland residents
9 primarily, they were Medford residents.

10 SHERIFF SMITH: I apologize.

11 CHAIRMAN HAMILTON: Thank you, sheriff. We
12 have about five minutes here and we're ahead of time, and
13 I understand we have coffee that's just been delivered
14 outside. So I'm going to take a break to permit you to
15 go out and get your coffee and bring it back in so you
16 can continue to drink your coffee, and we will resume the
17 meeting.

18 (Brief recess.)

19 CHAIRMAN HAMILTON: The meeting will come to
20 order. Our next presenter is from Sheriff Skipper's
21 office, and the presenter is Dan Thompson.

22 MR. THOMPSON: Thank you. I'm Dan Thompson,
23 Deputy Sheriff for Multnomah County. My assignment is
24 with the Community Policing Division of the Safety Action
25 Team. My responsibilities include keeping track of

1 gangs, gang members and hate crimes.

2 Just about everybody I run into on the streets
3 hates someone else for some reason or some thing. Hate
4 is such a powerful emotion, it's so hard to deal with in
5 law enforcement. How do you legislate against someone's
6 hate towards someone else? It's difficult. We have had
7 numerous cases in east Multnomah County of late. We seem
8 to find that most of our assaults are occurring on the
9 MAX platforms. These are white kids claiming to be
10 Skinheads, claiming to be SHARPs, Skinheads Against
11 Racial Prejudice. And Skinheads Against Racial Prejudice
12 I call an equal opportunity hate group, because they'll
13 hate you for any reason. They're probably the most
14 violent bunch.

15 We try to target the leaders of these
16 organizations and send them to federal institutions to
17 make the point that it's not a very fun thing to do to
18 get into a hate group in high school. We find that most
19 of our recruiting is done at the high schools. The
20 fliers that we pick up are concerning such as "Stop White
21 Bashing." Other fliers that we have found going to
22 Centennial, Reynolds, David Douglas, are from the
23 National Aryan Front based out of Gresham, Oregon, such
24 as "Smash."

25 The types of crimes that we're looking at are

1 such as 136th and Powell there was a white party going
2 on. These black kids showed up thinking it was just a
3 regular party. It turned out they just arrived at a
4 Skinhead party, so they got literally beat up in the
5 streets, very seriously.

6 The other type of crime we're looking at is a
7 black man simply standing on the platform for MAX at
8 188th and Burnside, and this Skinhead group led by
9 Randall Krueger of the National Aryan Front, comes up
10 behind him with a baseball bat. They don't even have the
11 courage to have a frontal assault, and without him even
12 looking he is hit over the head with a baseball bat and
13 seriously injured.

14 Back on Martin Luther King's birthday we had a
15 young man who is a Skinhead, National Aryan Front, who
16 thought that on Martin Luther King's birthday he would go
17 out into the middle of Alder Elementary School at night
18 and light a cross. One of the only cross lightings we've
19 had in Multnomah County and the city of Portland. He
20 enjoyed that so much, he went back and did it the next
21 week. Totally terrorized the neighborhood and community
22 around it. They were very, very concerned. In fact the
23 school children were frightened to go to school. I and
24 other deputies went into the school and assured the
25 children that this was no threat to them, and that was

1 very difficult.

2 The other thing that really is concerning me,
3 and we talk about the church down in Jackson County, and
4 also with the SHARP organization, is that the SHARP kids
5 are getting into the satanic. And the reason why I sit
6 down with these children -- what we try to do with our
7 unit is not only arrest these kids and get them off the
8 streets, but then we'll do follow-up. We'll go back and
9 try to plug them into agencies that can counsel and help
10 and maybe get some of these kids out of this type of
11 thinking and back into the community.

12 What concerns me is with this one SHARP
13 individual -- she was a seventeen-year-old girl who
14 joined the SHARP organization -- not only did she hate
15 Skinheads, but she justified her hate, she justified her
16 drug use, she justified her assaults, she justified her
17 whole lifestyle because "Satan says it's good." Because
18 we as parents, we as schools, we as administrators say
19 stealing, robbing, doing things is bad; you can't do
20 that. But there's another person they see on the other
21 side of the world saying, "This is good. When you go out
22 and hurt somebody, you become closer to me."

23 And these kids keep a diary and they start
24 talking about death because they want to join Satan. So
25 that's a justifiable hate, and it's just as strong as a

1 justifiable good. That's what we're finding out there,
2 and we're seeing more and more of that type of hate.

3 What's also interesting is that Skinheads are
4 becoming -- what we do is we find the Skinhead literature
5 and then I write the organization and say, "Hey, I want
6 to belong to you guys. I agree with everything." So
7 they send me their literature; I become a member. I just
8 got this the other day. Well, this is Skinhead
9 literature against the SHARPs. And basically it says,
10 "The bottom line, SHARPs are not to be trusted and they
11 should not be allowed to grow any further. If anything,
12 they should be ostracized for their immoral and
13 anti-American beliefs. SHARPs represent a gray threat to
14 American democracy." This is coming from the Skinhead
15 organization directed towards the SHARPs.

16 Another very interesting letter we got, which I
17 thought was great, is that we wrote the National Youth of
18 Socialist Georgia asking to become a member. Of course
19 they write back saying, "Hey, sure, we're really happy to
20 have you as a member." But we have the National Aryan
21 Front in Gresham begun by Randall Krueger, who is a part
22 of the National Youth of Socialist Georgia. Well, they
23 wrote back and they put a P.S. in there. "P.S. I wrote a
24 letter to the National Aryan Front in Gresham, and it was
25 returned to me. Do you know if they are still together?"

1 If so, then please tell them to write me and let me know
2 what's going on."

3 That, ladies and gentlemen, is our biggest
4 defense against bias crimes. They cannot get themselves
5 organized well enough to really have an effect, a great
6 effect on our society. And as long as we can keep them
7 divided, the easier it's going to be to stop this.

8 I just want to add one more thing and that's
9 going back to the cross burning. I spent a lot of time
10 with that young man. He was seventeen years old. He
11 worshiped what he referred to as "Uncle Hitler." His
12 facts were a little bit wrong, but generally his history
13 was somewhat correct. What we have been able to learn,
14 he came from a middle class family that was not racist.
15 We have been able to intervene with strict, strict
16 programs -- meaning you're going to go sit in JDH for
17 thirty days, and then you're going to go out and get a
18 job, and you're going to keep that job and you're going
19 to be put on probation.

20 Well, I check with him on almost a daily basis.
21 Joshua is doing very well. He's out of the Skinhead type
22 of thinking now, and he's going to work, and he has
23 completed all his community service in a very short
24 period of time, which is highly unusual for most of these
25 kids.

1 Thank you for the opportunity to be here.

2 CHAIRMAN HAMILTON: Any questions of the Deputy
3 Sheriff?

4 COMMISSIONER BORNET: I'm still interested in
5 putting flesh and blood on this figure for Multnomah
6 County as to what it really is. And I assume your office
7 is the source of this hundred and sixty-five Oregon
8 crimes motivated by prejudice. Do you have in your files
9 something you could submit to this Committee as to what
10 that is really?

11 MR. THOMPSON: Well, the problem is that this
12 is so new to us, and I think the whole organization.
13 Like I think I said, we network with the Portland Gang
14 Unit. In fact, our statistics go to them and they're the
15 ones that compile the total figures. Now I can go back
16 to my office and I can compile what's going on in east
17 county in Gresham and get it to you at a later date. I
18 do have those facts and figures.

19 As far as the population, what the Skinheads
20 are, it changes so much. These are at-risk kids; they're
21 gang affiliated kids; they're in one gang and then
22 they're out and in another gang. So it's very difficult
23 to track them that way.

24 COMMISSIONER BORNET: Could I have your opinion
25 as to whether or not -- I'm getting a little confused.

1 Skinhead violence and gang violence, is it directed
2 against rival organizations and the people somewhat
3 similar to those being violent, or is it against the
4 general public, strangers, the aging, people just
5 wandering about?

6 MR. THOMPSON: What we're running into is we
7 have a group of Skins that does a random attack. If
8 you're riding the MAX and you happen to be what they
9 refer to as the mud race -- you don't have to be black or
10 Jewish, anything but pure white -- you run the
11 possibility of getting assaulted and very seriously so.
12 They hate anybody that's not pure white.

13 And on the other hand we have another gang
14 that's just a white gang. They're not racially
15 motivated, but they will go out and beat people up for
16 fun. Like on the east coast you hear of wildings; they
17 call them beatings here, and it's a very serious thing.
18 They call them the '91 Possee and the Rebels '93. And
19 it's becoming very serious in our county where these kids
20 just roll down the street, bail out of a car, beat the
21 bejesus out of somebody, and then leave. No motivation
22 as far as race.

23 COMMISSIONER BORNET: Something else I have not
24 been hearing at all in these hearings, and I'm surprised,
25 is violence against Asian-Americans. It's my impression

1 that while this is not common, it's at least not unheard
2 of in your county. Could you comment on the safety of
3 Vietnamese and Cambodians and other recent immigrants in
4 your county?

5 MR. THOMPSON: You're correct, there is
6 violence, and fortunately for the Caucasians, this
7 violence is directed just strictly into the southeast
8 Asian community: the Laotians against the Vietnamese and
9 the Vietnamese against the Cambodians.

10 We do run into incidents, but we don't hear
11 about it until a couple weeks later. The reason for that
12 is these guys are so violent, they tell their victims
13 that "If you tell the police, we're going to come back
14 and kill your family." The same thing with extortions.
15 We have numerous southeast Asian restaurants up and down
16 east county. We know that these restaurants are probably
17 being extorted by Vietnamese and Laotian gangs, but they
18 will not contact the police because they don't trust us
19 yet.

20 COMMISSIONER BORNET: This would seem to bring
21 us full circle and this figure may be an
22 underenumeration. You might have hate crimes by the
23 bucketful that aren't in these figures.

24 MR. THOMPSON: I'm not an expert to comment on
25 that; I don't want to stick my foot in my mouth. A

1 personal opinion, I'll give you that. Yes, I don't think
2 we even have a grasp of the hate crimes out there.

3 CHAIRMAN HAMILTON: All right. It seems to me
4 it's about time for us to take a lunch break, and we will
5 resume here at 1:30.

6 (Lunch recess.)

7 CHAIRMAN HAMILTON: The meeting will now be
8 back in session. Our next speaker-presenter is Jeannette
9 Pai, and she is from the Governor's office. She is the
10 Director of the State Department of Affirmative Action.

11 MS. PAI: Thank you. Let me say my perspective
12 is probably significantly different from the people who
13 testified this morning. I want to give you just a little
14 bit of background about myself because, I think, based on
15 my title you would have no idea why I would be asked to
16 come here and speak with you. I have been working in the
17 area of human civil rights for the state of Oregon for
18 about six years. I started with the city of Salem as
19 their Human Rights Liaison, and I was the Executive
20 Director of the Metropolitan Human Relations Commission,
21 which serves Multnomah County, for two years, and then
22 went in January to work for Governor Roberts as Director
23 of Affirmative Action and also Policy Advisor on Human
24 Rights. So my direct experience with bias crimes comes
25 somewhat before this position, so I'll be using all of

1 that.

2 Because my information is going to be a little
3 bit different, I wanted to start by saying that I have
4 worked very broadly with law enforcement, both at the
5 street level and in the judicial system. I have also
6 worked with community based organizations, government,
7 elected officials, government employees, as well as grass
8 roots organizations. I say community based organizations
9 when I'm talking about organizations such as neighborhood
10 associations, grass roots organizations, which would be
11 probably, I would define, as without paid staff and
12 separate from any bureaucratic structure.

13 I guess my first comments after being here this
14 morning are two. One would be that we remember that as
15 we talk about bias crimes, we are not only talking about
16 crimes motivated based on race, but national origin,
17 sexual orientation, and to point out that a significant
18 number of victims are white. As was said earlier by a
19 person from the Multnomah County Sheriff's office, while
20 people of color are mud people, white people who choose
21 to associate with mud people are lower than mud people.

22 I think oftentimes we begin to believe that
23 only people of color and gay and lesbian individuals or
24 Jewish individuals are victims, and that's not at all
25 true. I think we have got to start talking about the

1 source of the problem and not the symptom. And I say
2 that because I think that while we focus a great deal of
3 attention on Skinheads and White Supremacist
4 organizations, which is certainly necessary because that
5 is the most extreme and perhaps the most overtly
6 threatening way that these kinds of things are
7 manifested, the real problem, as I perceive it and as
8 many perceive it, is our intergroup relations are not
9 very good. We have somewhere along the line either not
10 learned or become unable to deal with each other in a way
11 that is humane and respectful.

12 We still have a great deal of racism and sexism
13 and homophobia, and all of those kinds of things are the
14 source for the bias crimes that we see. I'm going to go
15 ahead and stick my foot in my mouth and answer that
16 question that no one has been willing to answer about
17 what gets reported and what doesn't. And based on my
18 information -- and I will tell you what that is after I
19 give the figure -- my estimate conservatively would be
20 that one in ten bias crimes get reported. So for every
21 one that you see out of that two hundred forty-nine,
22 there are nine somewhere out that are not getting
23 reported. In my heart I want to say twenty, but I think
24 ten is probably a reasonable estimate.

25 I use as my basis for that contacts that I have

1 in the community at all various different levels
2 including law enforcement. I use my own experiences, and
3 let me give you just in the last two-week period of time
4 what has happened to me personally or to people close to
5 me. I was recently at Lincoln City for the weekend with
6 my family, and a couple Skinheads, in this instance,
7 walked by the table, stopped for a moment, turned and
8 looked at us, and one said to the other, "Oh, don't waste
9 your energy. Save it for the weekend when we go to
10 Portland to go bashing." That's one.

11 The second was yesterday at Portland
12 International Raceway as I was out there to look at hot
13 rods. We were sitting in the bleachers, and a group of
14 two men and two women came and sat behind us, myself and
15 a Mexican man I was with. And they began saying things
16 that are rather low level about Japan and Mexico and, you
17 know, these kinds of things.

18 Shortly after that, two African-American men
19 with an Anglo woman came and sat a couple rows in front
20 of us, and the discussion escalated to name calling and
21 those kinds of things, at which point we left. As I was
22 leaving, I noticed that three of the booths that were
23 there at the raceway were flying confederate flags. So
24 those are all the kinds of messages that we got.

25 In addition to that, I was Thursday and Friday

1 in Ashland in Jackson County. On my drive down there, I
2 was passed by about five cars that had bumperstickers
3 that said "White Pride" on the back of them, two pickup
4 trucks, two small sedans and a Mercedes. In addition to
5 that, I have noticed an increase in what I would term
6 Japan bashing. I'm not Japanese. But they're things
7 like Mr. Azumano said, "Go home. We don't want you here.
8 You're taking all our jobs. You're buying all our
9 property." Those kinds of things that happen on a
10 frequent basis.

11 In addition to that, Annie Nelson, my assistant
12 who is sitting in the audience, her son two weekends ago,
13 who is African-American, was with a Mexican boy and a
14 white boy. They were attacked by a group of Skinheads in
15 Salem. And that's in the last two weeks just in my own
16 life. That's just a little bit of background to tell why
17 I think one out of ten is not at all an outrageous number
18 to be talking about.

19 People always ask "Why?" The question
20 inevitably comes up "Why here? Why Oregon?" We seem to
21 have at least, if not in reality, a reputation of having
22 a very serious problem. I think if you were to talk to
23 people at the grass roots level and people who work in
24 community based organizations, they would tell you that
25 if we are not already in, we are facing a crisis in terms

1 of intergroup relations that borders on fear of race
2 riots and all kinds of things that, I think, many people
3 think are a part of the past.

4 Why? Part of it, I think, in Oregon is our
5 history. And a number of people have talked about
6 different parts of the history of the state of Oregon
7 that reflect certainly a great deal of racism. I think
8 also some of the things that are feeding into that fear
9 that already exist are the changing demographics as we
10 see them in the state of Oregon.

11 The state of Oregon is still 92.2 percent
12 white, but in the last ten years the Hispanic population
13 has increased by 71.2 percent, Asians by 99.2 percent,
14 Native American by 40 percent, African-American by 24.9
15 percent, while the mainstream increases by 5.9 percent.

16 So if you have some fear, if you have some
17 insecurity, you have a lack of information, these kinds
18 of figures, even though they represent a minority of
19 individuals in the state, is going to feed into that
20 fear. And what we see in terms of bias crimes is the
21 backlash of that fear as people react to what they are
22 afraid of.

23 I think the other very important component that
24 we have yet to talk about today is that bias crimes occur
25 in a larger environment. We always talk about the

1 crimes; we talk about the Skinheads; we don't talk about
2 the larger environment in the community that in some way,
3 however benignly or overtly, allows these things to
4 continue. I mean such things as the Martin Luther King
5 Boulevard move to change the name back; what we have
6 today in the Oregon Citizens' Alliance efforts. I am
7 talking about instances in our own lives in which we
8 don't interrupt racist jokes if they're by our
9 colleagues, someone in our church, someone in a
10 restaurant. Those kinds of things that, however subtly,
11 support an environment in which this kind of acting out
12 is somewhat accepted.

13 It's a complex issue. I think that sometimes
14 we simplify it by finding scapegoats and blaming it on
15 them. It is not a matter of kids acting out. It's about
16 how we treat and relate to each other. That's really the
17 level, I think, we need to address the problem. I'm not
18 saying that every kind of enforcement program and effort
19 that we have in place is not important. It is important
20 because how we treat those people who do violate the
21 rights of other people sends a message to others. But I
22 think there are lots of other things at the root of the
23 problem that we can do.

24 In terms of problems, as we look at bias crimes
25 we've talked a lot about reporting today, and there have

1 been a lot of questions about reporting. There are a lot
2 of reasons why the number of crimes reported are low.
3 One would be if you look at the victim categories, the
4 ethnic minority communities, there is a lot of history
5 between law enforcement agencies and these groups and
6 individuals that stops them from feeling comfortable
7 about being able to report to law enforcement agencies.
8 That's where community based organizations -- churches,
9 chambers of commerce, all those kinds of
10 organizations -- can help.

11 Let me give you an example. When I was with
12 the Metropolitan Human Relations Commission there was a
13 period of time in which there were a number of gay
14 bashings in a park on the east side. I was contacted by
15 the captain of the east precinct who said, "We have X
16 number of reports, but we're guessing that you have
17 more." And in fact at that time we did have
18 significantly more reports of incidents.

19 At some point later on I was contacted again,
20 and I was told, "You know we think we know who did it.
21 We think we can bring someone in, but our evidence is a
22 little bit shaky. Can you help us? Can you talk to
23 those people who feel comfortable talking to you but not
24 to us and see if they will come forward and report?" And
25 in fact that is what happened. We met with these

1 individuals knowing there was a possibility that there
2 would be some action taken. They were willing to report
3 and that information was added together. So that's how
4 community based organizations and law enforcement can
5 work together. It doesn't work that well everywhere, but
6 I believe it can work with some effort on our part.

7 Another barrier to reporting could be cultural
8 values. Someone asked a question earlier about Asian
9 people and do they report? I think if we look at
10 communities where there are traditional values that are
11 different than the norm of mainstream society, we see,
12 for example, as a child of a second generation Korean, I
13 was taught very much that the problems we had, whatever
14 they were, were to be solved and kept within the family.
15 A very strong value, very strong group orientation. And
16 so that would, in fact, be a barrier for some communities
17 in terms of reporting.

18 The other is just a lack of information: that
19 they can report, that it is a crime, that they have in
20 some way been violated. I think particularly people of
21 color and gay and lesbian individuals in this society
22 have at some level begun to accept a certain level of
23 harassment and intimidation as part of their normal life,
24 which is our issue to deal with, but I think that how we
25 can help them is to put the information out there on the

1 table about how you can report bias crimes.

2 Training of law enforcement officers. While
3 the legislation did mandate training, it did not provide
4 any resources for training. So here we are placing a
5 requirement and not helping in terms of access. I think
6 that certainly the Portland Police Bureau has done a good
7 job of teaching the basics of how to identify, but I
8 think the piece we're missing that also feeds into, "Can
9 we diversify our law enforcements agencies?" is training
10 that focuses on sensitivity or issues of difference. And
11 I think that's an area that we need to be focusing on,
12 and that will, in fact, help the efforts of tagging
13 crimes as bias crimes.

14 There may be crimes that are reported to law
15 enforcement agencies that don't show up in the figures
16 because they have not been tagged as bias crimes. No one
17 has written bias across the top, so we need to be
18 providing training there.

19 Media coverage. I think it's gotten better
20 more recently, but it always appears to me that
21 information about L.A. style gangs or black gangs is
22 always on the front page. Maybe not the front page of
23 the front page, but the front page of the Metro Section.
24 Information about those gangs and southeast Asian gangs
25 always seems to be at the front. Yet information about

1 Skinhead activities is buried somewhere in the middle to
2 the back of the Metro Section. I think that sends a
3 message about what we're talking about.

4 I know that oftentimes the Skinheads are lumped
5 together with the Bloods and the Crips. I would take
6 exception to that. Not because they are not gangs,
7 because they are -- they all are most certainly gangs --
8 but because I think the phenomenon, the reasons why
9 people join and the kinds of activities they become
10 involved in are different between those kinds of groups.

11 I'm almost done. Treatment of juveniles.
12 Treatment of juveniles. Something that became an issue,
13 that can become an issue, from my understanding if a
14 juveniles commits an offense in a different county from
15 his or her residence, the D.A. in that county can make
16 the decision of whether or not to prosecute that juvenile
17 within the county where the incident occurred, or in the
18 county in which that person resides. Now, for example,
19 if someone comes in from Coos County or Lincoln County
20 and commits a bias crime as a juvenile in Multnomah
21 County, and that person is taken back to their county of
22 residence to be dealt with, my guess is that because the
23 relationships and the mechanisms in Multnomah County are
24 at a different level and a different place, they will
25 perhaps not be treated the same way if they are shipped

1 back to their county of residence. So there would be a
2 concern about that.

3 I think the biggest problem, without a doubt,
4 is denial. As I travel around both the state and
5 Multnomah County, I see an incredible amount of denial
6 from citizens, from elected officials, from everyone that
7 we have a problem, that there is a problem with bias
8 crimes. Even when presented with information about the
9 numbers and kinds of bias crimes, I am repeatedly told,
10 "These are people acting out. These are very rare
11 instances." And there is just an unwillingness to accept
12 responsibility for the part we all play in solving that
13 problem. And as long as we continue to deny it, we don't
14 have to put our efforts into addressing the problem.

15 The impact of all this is fear and the
16 destruction of relationships between communities, between
17 individuals that have differences. I have a number of
18 friends who have recently purchased handguns for fear
19 that they need to protect themselves. And to be quite
20 honest, given what I have been doing in my position and
21 that I travel quite a bit now around the state, I have
22 also considered it. I think that's very serious. I
23 think that's very frightening, because I have always been
24 one who pledged never, never -- I have a young
25 daughter -- to have a handgun or any kind of weapon in my

1 home, and yet I find now there are more incidents
2 happening to me in my own life that cause me to think
3 ahead about how I would defend myself.

4 So I guess I would leave you, that we all have
5 to accept our piece of this problem and solve it. It's
6 not my problem; it's not the African-American community's
7 problem; it's all of our problem. And I can speak out
8 until I'm blue in the face, and people will look at me
9 and say, "It's your job. You're supposed to do this.
10 You're a person of color; you're a woman." So we need
11 these broader coalitions of people who don't look like
12 me, who people may perceive as not being a potential
13 victim, to stand up and say this is a problem.

14 In terms of what you can do, it would sure be
15 nice if you could help get us a Civil Rights Bill. Small
16 request. I think that we need to really focus on
17 education, doing some research, providing some community
18 based education. I would hope that you would not in your
19 efforts attempt to become another enforcement agency,
20 because I think that we have all that we need there, if
21 we can begin working effectively.

22 In terms of the state direction, we are
23 discussing at the current time what kind of strategy we
24 can kind of coordinate at the statewide level to kind of
25 address this whole issue of bias crimes. And while

1 Multnomah County, undoubtedly at least, shows the highest
2 number of bias crimes, I am sure there are equal numbers
3 relative to population in all other parts of the state.

4 When I was in Ashland I asked the question, "Do
5 you perceive there are bias crimes in your area?" And
6 while the people who lived in Ashland did not perceive
7 that to be an issue, the people who lived in Medford and
8 commuted to Ashland did perceive it to be an issue.

9 The people of color that I meet with in Klamath
10 County definitely feel like it's a problem. So our
11 strategy focus is on developing a county-by-county
12 community response team, so that we can give the tools
13 for local organizations and the local communities to
14 address these problems before and when they come up.
15 Thank you. Questions?

16 COMMISSIONER FALLER: Just a point. You were
17 stressing the fact of the need for a Civil Rights Bill,
18 and that you feel that what is not needed is another
19 enforcement group. This morning Mr. Rosenthal happened
20 to bring up the fact that he felt that all the laws and
21 bills were already in place, and that really what was
22 needed was more enforcement. There seems to be a
23 difference of opinion.

24 MS. PAI: I'm not saying we don't need more
25 enforcement. I'm saying we don't need another agency.

1 All the pieces are there if we can just pull them all
2 together and be consistent about how we address the
3 issues. I agree with him, I think we have the
4 legislation, and Oregon has one of the best in terms of
5 bias crimes, but, unfortunately, we can't legislate
6 morality and what's right.

7 COMMISSIONER BROWNSTEIN: You mentioned the
8 media and the concern that, I guess, the drug related
9 gangs made the front pages and the bias related gangs
10 were in the middle. Just in terms of the media the
11 itself, what effect do you think the bare publicity of
12 racial and prejudicial activity has, if you had nothing
13 you could control the press with? If you had your way,
14 would you publicize? Would you publicize the statistics
15 and the specific events, or would you tend to try to
16 depublicize them?

17 MS. PAI: Well, I think if we were not at the
18 place where we are in terms of what I perceive to be a
19 crisis, I would say we need to be careful about not
20 giving them more publicity than they deserve. But I
21 think certainly in the state of Oregon we passed that
22 point a long time ago, and to not publicize it well is to
23 not give people the information they need in order to
24 accept it as a problem. A lot of people say, "I don't
25 see it." If they don't see it and don't hear it on a

1 continual basis, then it's not real to them.

2 For example, during the Tom Metzger trial, that
3 was a period of time in which I was with the Metropolitan
4 Human Relations Commission, and I agree with Loren, it
5 was a very long month. Two weeks before that trial to
6 about two days after the trial, which was a little longer
7 than a month, our office received three thousand phone
8 calls. Three thousand asking for information. Just
9 multitudes of requests for us to come and speak about
10 what's a bias crime, what's a hate crime, what do I do?
11 So at that point with that kind of media coverage, with
12 rallies and marches, having thousands of people there,
13 everybody wanted to know about it. After the trial, no
14 one called any more. It was gone.

15 It was very much in the minds of people at that
16 time, but it wasn't a concern that people kind of
17 incorporated into their everyday life, so the interest
18 was gone. I think we need to keep people informed about
19 what's going on.

20 COMMISSIONER BORNET: Somewhere in our record,
21 I think, there needs to be consideration of the special
22 problems of the aged and the feeble, and I don't believe
23 that has come up particularly, but it was hinted at by
24 some of your remarks. We think of bias and prejudice
25 sometimes only, as you said, in terms of minorities.

1 Aged people perhaps are a minority, although there's an
2 awful lot of them. It seems to me there is a lot of
3 fear. Would you comment about the special needs of the
4 aging population of Oregon in terms of safety on the
5 streets and safety as against another generation that is
6 young, aggressive people, et cetera?

7 MS. PAI: Sure. In fact I just spoke at a
8 conference of the Portland, Multnomah County Commission
9 on the Aging. Part of what I heard coming from them as I
10 listened to them and as I talked with them was not only
11 frustration about their own sense of personal fear about
12 going out into the community, whether it's taking the bus
13 downtown, whether it's, you know, very basic things such
14 as taking the bus to the library, going to the grocery
15 store, all those kinds of things that they didn't feel
16 safe. And not only didn't they feel safe, but they
17 didn't have very good information about why they didn't
18 feel safe.

19 Many of them communicated to me stories based
20 not only on language barriers, but because of changes in
21 their vision that they see couldn't read the newspaper to
22 find out what was wrong, and they couldn't afford to have
23 a TV. So all those kinds of things, as they described
24 them to me, led them to feel isolated and trapped. And
25 part of the purpose of that conference was to talk about

1 how to outreach to the community to inform them about not
2 only what their rights are, but what kinds of services
3 they can have to stem that fear.

4 Another comment that came from them was from a
5 woman who was eighty-nine. She said, "Well, you know,
6 I'd like to sit down and have a conversation with some of
7 them because they remind me of my grandson." I think we
8 at some point have lost sight of our senior citizens as a
9 resource, not only at that level but in primary school.
10 That's a place where we can break down the differences
11 too.

12 COMMISSION BROWNSTEIN: If there are no further
13 questions, on behalf of the chairman I would like to
14 thank you.

15 MS. PAI: Thank you.

16 COMMISSIONER BROWNSTEIN: Mr. Wassmuth, who is
17 the Executive Director of the Northwest Coalition Against
18 Malicious Harassment.

19 MR. WASSMUTH: Thank you, Commission members.
20 It's good to be here. I guess I'm the only one from out
21 of state, but the coalition that I represent covers the
22 area of Washington, Oregon, Idaho, Montana and Wyoming.
23 And I also am a new member of the Washington Advisory
24 Committee, so I'm a part of the group that's your
25 counterpart in Washington. And Sharon and I are here to

1 learn a little bit more about how you're doing this
2 hearing, and hopefully we can put one on in Washington
3 state as well.

4 The Northwest Coalition Against Malicious
5 Harassment was formed in 1987 as a unified way to address
6 the issue of malicious harassment and bigotry and
7 violence in the five northwestern states. One of the
8 things that we do is keep statistics on incidents. We
9 started that process in 1989. It's an incomplete
10 process, to say the least. We too speculate, as
11 Jeannette just did, that perhaps we see only one out of
12 ten actual incidents out there.

13 Our statistics over the last three years have
14 shown a constant increase, consistent with the statistics
15 that come from national sources as well. The
16 Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith, for example,
17 has been keeping statistics on anti-Semitic incidents for
18 a lot of years. Based on the highest number of
19 anti-Semitic incidents in 1990 of any year that they have
20 been keeping track, there was a thirteen percent increase
21 in 1990 over 1989. So I think the statistics, whether
22 gathered by our group or gathered by the state agency
23 here in Oregon, which in my mind does an excellent job --
24 if we had similar legislation and a similar system in all
25 five states that we cover, we would get out of the

1 statistic gathering business because I think that Oregon
2 state law and the Oregon implementation through LEDS of
3 that information is very good -- or whether it's national
4 statistics, all of them show increases.

5 At any rate, the numbers that we see are
6 abominably high. I think they are increasing, but I
7 think it's alarming that they are what they are already.
8 And if that's really only a portion of the actual total,
9 then I think it's something to cause us even more
10 concern. Especially when we look beyond the numbers and
11 realize these are real people being injured and seriously
12 hurt by these incidents. It's not just a statistic by
13 any means.

14 Talk to Jeannette's assistant during the break
15 if you want to get some kind of a picture of what an
16 actual incident can do to an individual and do to a
17 family. And further, I would speculate that this
18 situation is not going to improve in the immediate
19 future; if any, it will deteriorate.

20 I think the societal conditions are in place
21 and the political conditions are in place that will
22 exasperate these crimes and this penchant in our society
23 in the years to come. Over the long haul, maybe we'll
24 get a grip on it again, but I think in the immediate
25 years, we're going to see more tensions and more

1 incidents rather than less.

2 One of the messages I would like to leave with
3 you commissioners is to reaffirm what Jeannette said just
4 a few minutes ago. That relationships between social
5 groups in our society, between racial groups and between
6 other communities in our society are deteriorating.
7 They're very fragile at best these days. And I think we
8 need to acknowledge this situation to get past the
9 minimalizing and get past the denying and to start to
10 work to heal these situations rather than exasperate
11 them.

12 That's the point I try to make in local
13 communities when I go to local communities to assist them
14 in facing malicious harassment or supremacist problems.
15 I tell them when the problem begins that they can either
16 address the issue now or they continue to deny or
17 continue to minimalize until the problem escalates far
18 enough to where they'll have to address it. In Portland
19 that turned out to be a murder before people actually
20 started addressing the problems that existed with
21 malicious harassment incidents.

22 The same message goes to state level or to
23 national level. If we deny this problem now, if we
24 minimalize it now, if we somehow think that it can be
25 explained away or that it will go away, it will continue

1 to grow until it slaps all of us in the face to the same
2 degree that it now slaps some.

3 I would like to spend just a little bit of time
4 on White Supremacists in our region and talk about them
5 briefly, but I want to put a couple cautions at the front
6 part of this. My first caution is to remind us that not
7 all bias crimes are committed by Supremacists, and
8 sometimes we tend to make that assumption because they're
9 more easily identified somehow.

10 In our statistics gathering we roughly estimate
11 that about fifty percent of our statistics of bias crimes
12 are committed by Supremacists, and about fifty percent
13 are by people who are not in such organized groups. And
14 the second caution I would say is that we need to remind
15 ourselves too that Supremacists are not the real problem.
16 Even the focus of this meeting today, this hearing, bias
17 crimes, are not the real problem. Rather, they're the
18 extreme expressions of the problem of prejudice and
19 bigotry that still runs deep within our society. And,
20 yes, we must address the Supremacist issue, and, yes, we
21 must address bias crime, but ultimately we must address
22 as well the prejudicial attitudes of our society. We
23 will not eliminate racism by somehow eliminating
24 Supremacists or even by controlling bias crimes. Rather,
25 when we as a society eliminate the institutionalized

1 racism and the prejudicial attitudes, then we'll get rid
2 of the fuel that feeds the fire of these racists
3 Supremacists and that break out into these kinds of
4 incidents.

5 The third caution I would have us remember is
6 that we should be concerned about what is seen to be a
7 growing conflict between ethnic groups, between minority
8 groups, and that some attention needs to be paid there as
9 well. More and more it is not simply a white on black or
10 black on white or white on Jewish, whatever. More and
11 more it's a problem between blacks and Koreans, between
12 all kinds of different groups as well.

13 Supremacists in our region, just a short
14 summary. Some of the supremacists are simply neo-Nazi.
15 Their White Supremacy stems from political, economic,
16 sociological kinds of perceptions and ideologies. They
17 want a structure that provides rights and justice only to
18 the Caucasians, and only to them be granted primary
19 citizenship.

20 Added into that neo-Nazi perspective is for
21 some what can be identified as Christian Patriotism. For
22 Christian Patriots, the Constitution of the United States
23 as originally written, without any of its amendments, was
24 designed for Aryans and designed to grant them primary
25 citizenship, and that all others had secondary

1 citizenship. They could live here as long as they
2 recognized their true spot.

3 According to Christian Patriots, the current
4 government of the United States is invalid; it's
5 controlled by the Jews, the Zionist Occupied Government.
6 That's the basis for their anti-tax stand. You don't
7 have to pay taxes to an invalid government. And often
8 what you see from these groups is simply an anti-national
9 government sort of posture.

10 The Citizens' Bar Association that was referred
11 to earlier that puts out this publication (indicating),
12 if you read this you see a lot of anit-Semitism; you see
13 a lot of anti-government stuff; you see a lot of don't
14 pay your taxes and here's how not to pay your taxes.

15 Underneath the surface you see racism; you see
16 support for racist kinds of groups as well. The Posse
17 Comitatus, started in Oregon in the sixties, is another
18 example of Christian Patriotism. The Spotlight is the
19 national journal that pulls a lot of these groups
20 together. This is a weekly publication that goes around
21 the country to 110,000 copies. If you read this, you
22 will see the same sort of thing: anti-big government,
23 anti-Jewish, and just a veiled reference to being
24 anti-black, anti-people of color as well.

25 The Institute of Historical Review provides the

1 intellectual basis for a lot of this racism and a lot of
2 this Christian Patriotism. They tend to rewrite history
3 to exclude the Holocaust, for example. They tend to try
4 to establish scientific theories about physical
5 differences between the races that make one superior to
6 another. They talk to each other calling each other
7 doctor this and doctor that, frequently referring to just
8 one source or several sources as being the accurate
9 expert opinion on these issues.

10 Added to this Christian Patriot neo-Nazi stuff
11 comes the theological religious dimension that was
12 referred to earlier called Christian Identity Theology.
13 It comes from British Israelism in the 1800s. It's built
14 on the lost tribes of Israel theory that say that the
15 lost tribes of Israel migrated into northern Europe
16 particularly, and that the descendants of the lost tribes
17 the Israel are the inhabitants of those countries.

18 So the people in Denmark, for example, are the
19 descendants of the tribe of Dan. They, therefore, are
20 the true Israelites. They see Jesus as being one of
21 these true Israelites, and the commands in the gospel to
22 build a kingdom being a command to build the White Aryan
23 Kingdom, which they interpreted to be the United States
24 of America.

25 When this Christian Identity gets blended in

1 with Christian Patriotism, then they see Jesus as
2 commanding the United States with some kind of devine
3 right being given to White Aryans in this land.

4 There are a large number of Christian Identity
5 groups. This is a national directory of such put out by
6 one of the Christian Identity groups themselves
7 (indicating). Ironically so, it's published in
8 Whiteland, Indiana.

9 This has three hundred forty-two different
10 locations. Two hundred seventy-three of those are in the
11 United States. Seventeen of those are in the state of
12 Oregon. California has the most with twenty-seven, and
13 Oregon is second with -- excuse me -- nineteen. I have a
14 list of those different places for you that I will give
15 you as we conclude, if you would like. It's copied off
16 of this list.

17 What's distrubing about this list is that it
18 includes groups like the Citizens' Bar Association in
19 Medford. It also includes groups like Richard Butler in
20 Hayden Lake. Now the tactics of those groups are a bit
21 different. Richard Butler certainly preaches more
22 terrorism than the Citizens' Bar Association does, but
23 the fact that they're in this directory together, put
24 into this directly by a Christian Identity study group,
25 means there is enough of a common bond there that they

1 see some ties between these various groups.

2 Richard Butler is the best known preacher of
3 Christian Identity Theology in our region partially
4 because he adds in one more dimension. He talks about
5 the territorial imperative. What that means is that
6 indeed the whole United States was meant to be a White
7 Aryan homeland, but it has been lost to ZOG, the
8 government, and lost to the mud peoples.

9 And so to carry out this command of Jesus, as
10 they read it, they are willing to confine themselves to
11 the five northwestern states or a major portion of this
12 area. And they are calling for the return of this land,
13 they say, to its true promise of being a White Aryan
14 homeland.

15 And to accomplish that, Richard Butler started
16 gathering together in the early 1980s the leaders of all
17 the different hate groups in the country to his annual
18 congresses each July. It was from those congresses that
19 the order sprung in 1983, and they got involved in the
20 crime spree that included the murder of Jewish talk show
21 host Allen Burg in Denver.

22 It was from those congresses that the order
23 sprung in 1986 that included the bombing of my house when
24 I lived in Coeur D'alene and some other bombings in
25 downtown Coeur D'alene as well. It's from these

1 congresses that orders sprang in 1989 -- not specifically
2 identified as such -- that three men came to Seattle to
3 bomb a gay disco and some Korean businesses as well.

4 I guess the point why I mentioned those is that
5 violence follows the Aryan Nation's people around.
6 Violence tends to follow that expression of Christian
7 Identity around. We have no reason to expect that
8 anything less than that will continue to happen.

9 If you want to see how some of these different
10 neo-Nazi, Christian Patriot, Christian Identity groups
11 are expressed in Oregon, I would refer you to Organized
12 White Supremacists in Oregon, a report by the Coalition
13 on Human Dignity, the best report to date in terms of how
14 these groups are placed here in the state of Oregon.

15 We have three areas of major concern in our
16 region. While separate, they are also tied together.
17 One of them is Kitsap County on the Olympic Peninsula up
18 in the Puget Sound area where an increasing number of
19 White Supremacists and Supremacist leaders are settling.

20 Vincent Dwyer lives there. He's the Washington
21 representative for the Aryan Nations. Karl Hoeler lives
22 there. He's the a long-term racist who was a bodyguard
23 for Metzger down at his trial here last October. A
24 number of other youthful racists-supremacists living
25 there as well.

1 Our second area of concern is eastern
2 Washington, western Montana, northern Idaho, that whole
3 section. Northern Idaho, Hayden Lake, the population
4 there went down during the eighties to where there was
5 only a few people there in 1989-1990. This year we're
6 starting to see some new people showing up, and some
7 people of great concern.

8 We're seeing increased Constitutionlists in
9 western Montana. We're seeing increased Christian
10 Patriots in eastern Washington. The third area is here
11 in Portland. Portland, because of the continuing
12 Skinhead presence; Portland now especially because of the
13 leadership from the American Front that has moved in here
14 from California and from another part of the country.
15 But these three all tie together.

16 The recent logging recruitment run on the part
17 of the Aryan Nations is such an example. Floyd Cochran
18 came from the Aryan Nations to Portland. He teamed up
19 with the American Front here. He went down to Eugene and
20 teamed up there as much as possible with the Christian
21 Identity Church and with the Citizens' Bar Association.
22 He went up to Washington and tied up with Vincent Dwyer
23 on the Kitsap Peninsula and with Mr. Hoeler. Vincent
24 Dwyer, as I mentioned, is the Washington leader of the
25 Aryan Nations. It makes a full circle all the way

1 around.

2 Now Floyd Cochran got very little response, as
3 the sheriff said, down in Medford and Ashland. I spent
4 three days down there shortly after his visit just to
5 talk with people and get something of a feel of what the
6 response was, and it was very minimal. He was not very
7 organized; he didn't have any money. He pledged to come
8 back down there, though, and set up an office in Medford.

9 Since that time he's been thrown out of the
10 Aryan Nations and he's persona non grata in the Aryan
11 Nations. Whether or not Richard Butler is going to send
12 someone else to take up that role or not, we're being
13 very watchful. I'm not so concerned about whether the
14 loggers respond to that outreach. I frankly think that
15 the logging community is intelligent enough to figure out
16 that the Aryans will not provide solutions to their
17 problems, but rather will add problem onto problem.

18 My concern is the tie with the American Front
19 and the tie with the youthful people that they are
20 recruiting in this new effort. As they try to establish
21 new recruits, and as they try to establish a political
22 base, when they run into frustration and failure there,
23 these young people, energized by the rhetoric, are going
24 to find no places to ventilate, find no place to exercise
25 this energy that they have accumulated, and I suspect

1 that we might well find them into some violence again.

2 Talk of a race war, talk of wanting to have
3 political impact, when that doesn't happen, then violence
4 might well be their outcome once more. My point, I
5 guess, briefly is to point out that the Supremacists are
6 here. They have been around for some time in our area.
7 They will be here in the future, and when they are
8 around, there will periodically be outbreaks of violence
9 that will distress us all.

10 We need to understand them. We need to keep
11 track. We need to support our law enforcement as best as
12 we possibly can. Law enforcement needs to work more
13 closely together to share information. That includes
14 from the FBI through the local and city police forces,
15 state and county as well.

16 In terms of our own understanding of what these
17 groups are about, someone asked for a more analytical
18 kind of background. I would really recommend this; it's
19 called the Politics of Righteousness, Idaho Christian
20 Patriotism, by James Aho. Mr. Aho is a sociologist at
21 the university in Pocatello, Idaho State University.
22 He spent five years researching the Supremacists in
23 Idaho. All you have to do is change a few names and
24 locations and it applies anywhere. He met either over
25 the phone or in person with over two hundred of over five

1 hundred people that he had contact with. This is a
2 result of his five years of research. It's heavy
3 reading; it's hard reading, but it's worth it to get a
4 better handle with what's going on in these people's
5 minds and their ideologies.

6 If you want to have a more once-over-lightly
7 how these Supremacist groups fit together across the
8 country, I'd recommend Blood in the Face, by James
9 Ridgeway. This doesn't go into things terribly deeply,
10 and it is from his particular perspective, but it does
11 give a good picture of how the different groups tie
12 together.

13 And as I gave one of the Commissioners earlier,
14 the Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith puts out
15 an annual report on Skinheads, and I gave him a copy of
16 last year's report. If you want to see a little bit more
17 an analytical understanding of the Skinhead presence in
18 the country these days.

19 Again I want to stress that the Supremacists
20 are not the whole of the problem; they're the worst
21 expression of the problem. And that there are incidents
22 committed by people other than these Supremacists, and
23 that they feed on the prejudice in our country and in the
24 state of Oregon and in our communities.

25 We do need strong law enforcement, and law

1 enforcement needs the support of the community, and they
2 need to be communicating with each other on a constantly
3 improving basis. I think the Tri-State Bias Crime Group
4 that was referred to earlier on law enforcement is one
5 step in the right direction for that.

6 But nationally, and maybe this is something
7 that you as a Committee can do, is we need to refocus our
8 attention as a society. We need to refocus attention on
9 our relationships between the diverse communities and our
10 diversity in our diverse society. We need to put the
11 social justice issue back on the public agenda. We need
12 to develop something of a national vision that will
13 provide some leadership, otherwise the problem will just
14 continue to grow and grow and grow until we can no longer
15 deny its existence. Thank you.

16 CHAIRMAN HAMILTON: Thank you very much. We
17 can take two questions. We're a little bit behind. Who
18 has a burning question?

19 COMMISSIONER BORNET: I'd like to have you talk
20 about youth in the sense of people perhaps sixteen to
21 twenty-five. They seem to be -- am I correct in
22 saying -- that they are the followers at least in the
23 hate groups. They may not be the leaders. The leaders
24 seem to be adults from what you've said. But I'd like to
25 ask you, these people are focusing on youth for converts,

1 but they're also focusing on youth as kind of the enemy
2 if they don't go along with these ideas.

3 This focus on youth is interesting because our
4 educational system focuses on youth too, and everybody is
5 focusing on youth in a sense. Can you ruminate about
6 this a little bit?

7 CHAIRMAN HAMILTON: Don't ruminate too long.

8 MR. WASSMUTH: I'll ruminate briefly. One of
9 the things that's happening is that the adults in the
10 hate movement use the youth as their soldiers. The
11 adults stay far enough away to stay out of the way of law
12 enforcement. That's how Tom Metzger got by with what he
13 did until he got nailed with a civil suit. But in terms
14 of the criminal case, the young people went to jail; he
15 didn't. Butler has been doing this for years. He gets
16 the young people stirred up with their more idealistic,
17 radical kinds of procedures, activities, and then he sits
18 back and let's them take the shots for it.

19 We did a study in Idaho several years ago, a
20 professionally done study through Boise State University,
21 and one of the distressing things we found out there is
22 that younger generation is less tolerant than their
23 parents. We are not automatically winning this battle.
24 I think that's reflecting itself in the increased
25 incidents of bigotry and racism on campuses, and in a way

1 why should we be surprised? What kind of leadership have
2 the young people who are in their twenties now seen in
3 the way of civil rights in the last ten years?

4 CHAIRMAN HAMILTON: We have time for another
5 question.

6 COMMISSIONER BROWNSTEIN: I'll ask a question
7 and maybe get into a little dialogue with Mr. Wassmuth.
8 It seems to me that traditionally we've had two concerns
9 with respect to racism. One is the overviolence. I do
10 not want to by any means underestimate the concerns of
11 the individuals involved, families and, I guess,
12 certainly society as a whole have. The other has been
13 probably from the end of World War II forward a concern
14 that racism would somehow become politicized and become
15 part of the political and governmental fabric of the
16 country.

17 It's my impression, and I'd like to get your
18 reaction, I think we can probably both agree the latter
19 has not occurred in any kind of significant way.
20 Isolated elections here and there, but that there doesn't
21 seem to be the intellectual talent to put together any
22 concerted political impact in this country, or even in
23 individual sections of the country. And I wonder if you
24 see that as a condition that continues, or whether there
25 is more in the way of a strong intellectual kind of

1 thrust to the thing? I'm saying that I don't see -- this
2 may not be a terribly bright analogy, but in terms of the
3 people we're talking about, there is nobody that has the
4 kind of intellect plus dedication that existed in Germany
5 in the early thirties, late twenties and early thirties.
6 These don't appear to be terribly bright people, terribly
7 politically astute people. What's your feeling about
8 that?

9 MR. WASSMUTH: I think generally I would agree
10 with you. There are exceptions, though, and I think
11 David Duke in Louisiana is one of those exceptions, and
12 we're many of us are watching that very closely. And I
13 think, frankly, there are some Supremacists who are
14 trying to imitate his success. David Duke simply said,
15 "I am no longer a racist," and somehow got by with that
16 statement in Louisiana when he's obviously very much a
17 racist. He still distributes material from his campaign
18 office that's racist material. He shows up at racist
19 gatherings. By simply saying he wasn't, the Louisiana
20 people said that was good enough for them evidently,
21 and forty percent cast votes for him for the U.S. Senate.
22 He's a past member of an organized group.

23 When you start mellowing that a bit and start
24 talking about people like Jesse Helms, Jesse Helms is
25 very much in the political regime of our country. And I

1 think many would see him as having some very racist,
2 bigoted kinds of approaches to things.

3 In our more immediate region, in Montana two
4 people ran for a school office there, who were Christian
5 Identity believers and preachers, racists. And only when
6 they were exposed, were they defeated in their election.
7 If they had not been exposed for belonging to Christian
8 Identity, they perhaps would have won those seats.

9 My own concern would be that people might be
10 getting elected onto county level offices because that's
11 where many of these groups feel the real power is anyway,
12 and that's where they would have more of a chance of
13 winning an election, to take over enough population in a
14 county to be able to win an election. Sanders County in
15 Montana is perhaps close to that right now.

16 To organize a massive political campaign, as
17 Floyd Cochran has threatened to do in Oregon, no, there
18 is no one in the Aryan movement on the west coast now
19 that can handle that at this stage.

20 CHAIRMAN HAMILTON: Do you have any printed
21 material that you would like to leave with the Committee
22 so that we may make it a part of our exhibits.

23 MR. WASSMUTH: Yes, I do. This top sheet is a
24 list of the Identity groups and the rest is a little
25 about our Coalition and how we see the problem and how

1 we've been addressing the problem in our region.

2 COMMISSIONER BORNET: Mr. Chairman, this
3 comment should not perhaps be part of the official
4 record, but I would like to commend the speaker on the
5 the eloquence of his presentation. I thought it was very
6 moving.

7 MR. WASSMUTH: Thank you.

8 CHAIRMAN HAMILTON: I will associate myself
9 with that comment. I will now introduce Ms. Annie
10 Nelson.

11 MS. NELSON: Good afternoon. My name is Annie
12 Nelson, and I'm surprised that I'm up here. I didn't
13 come to testify, but since I've been asked, I will share
14 with you something that happened to my son, Kevin, who is
15 nineteen. This happened approximately two weeks ago in
16 Salem on a Saturday night as he and a friend were
17 escorting their girlfriends home.

18 These two young ladies are both anglo, and his
19 friend was white, and of course my son is
20 African-American. As they passed by a grade school in
21 Salem on Saturday night they encountered a White
22 Supremacist group, who were dressed in the combat boots
23 and fatigues, had the shaved heads, tatoos. They began
24 to insult my son and his friend. He was called all kinds
25 of racial slurs and his friend was also called some very

1 ugly names as being a lover the you know who.

2 My son and his friend and the girls ran and
3 were able to avoid any kind of conflict Saturday night.
4 Sunday night, same thing. By the way, these girls live
5 only about two blocks from the school, and to get to
6 their home you have to go by the school unless you want
7 to detour several blocks out of your way. And as young
8 men who are walking, they chose not to do that. But
9 instead of going behind the school where they had been
10 attacked the first time, they decided they would go in
11 front of the school, hoping to avoid running into this
12 group again. And again this is about twelve o'clock when
13 they were walking the girls home.

14 This time the group was in front of the school,
15 and it really escalated into a brawl with one of them
16 recognizing my son. He said, "Yeah, I remember you from
17 last night, you so and so." And they began to physically
18 attack my son and his friends. There was two of them
19 this them: a Hispanic friend by the name of Ricardo and
20 my son's white friend Vernon and the two girls. This got
21 into a real physical brawl.

22 My son, who has a genetic bone disease,
23 suffered several breaks. And I don't really want to get
24 into that except to say that he's not in a very healthy
25 position as far as running or anything of that sort. His

1 friends helped as much as they could. They were really
2 outnumbered. So everybody eventually broke and ran.
3 Well, not everyone, but the two friends who were with my
4 son finally had to give up the battle and get out, and
5 that left my son there.

6 He managed to get a block or so down the street
7 from where this fight was going on by that time, through
8 the grace of his friends staying there and doing battle.
9 My son was then by himself, and had it not been for a
10 neighbor, he could have been very seriously injured, if
11 not killed. The White Supremacists were running behind
12 him, and there was an Indian lady who took my son and put
13 him in the cab of her truck and escorted him away from
14 the scene.

15 She had him get down onto the floor because she
16 was afraid that if they saw her helping him, members of
17 her family -- I believe it was actually her husband who
18 took him home -- that they would have been assaulted
19 themselves or their property would have been damaged
20 later on for helping.

21 So my son called me Sunday night. I didn't
22 know about the Saturday night incident until sometime
23 that next day, Sunday morning, when he told me about
24 this. And I told him at that time that, "If this happens
25 to you again, first of all get away as soon as you can."

1 I said, "Call the police or if you're not comfortable
2 doing that, call me no matter what time it is and I'll
3 come." So he did; he called me that Sunday night. I got
4 a call about one o'clock. I was in bed.

5 I immediately got up and got dressed and I went
6 to where my son and his friend Vernon were. I took them
7 to the police station and we reported this incident. By
8 that time other people in the neighborhood who heard all
9 this fighting and commotion had also called the police,
10 and the police were actually on the scene talking to the
11 Skinheads by the time I got my son and Vernon down to the
12 police station.

13 We were told then we could either wait there in
14 the lobby for the police to finish their report with the
15 other side, or we could go back to the apartment and the
16 police would contact us there. So we chose to go back,
17 because in Salem the police station is not open at night,
18 and I didn't realize that when I took them down there.
19 There are people there, but basically it's closed to the
20 public, so you would be speaking over a phone there in
21 the lobby, to a dispatcher.

22 Anyway, we went back to the apartment, and the
23 police did come and meet us there. And they listened to
24 what my son and his friend had to say, and then the
25 police said -- I asked them what would happen. And they

1 said, "Well, we'll gather the information and then we'll
2 give it to the district attorney. It's up to him if he
3 wants to prosecute or not. And in the meantime, the only
4 advice that we can give you, Kevin, is to avoid Hoover
5 School."

6 And I said, "Well, that's not acceptable. I
7 think that Kevin has enough sense to realize that Hoover
8 School is not a place for him to be in, especially at
9 night. But what about the next person of color who
10 happens to be walking past school at night and who does
11 not realize there is a group of Skinheads who hang out
12 there?" Since this reporting, it's been, I tell you, a
13 nightmare. And I feel my son has been a victim twice in
14 that he's been interrogated numerous times about this
15 incident.

16 There has been talk of having him take a lie
17 detector test about this incident because the law
18 enforcement said that they're hearing another story from
19 the Skinheads. It's an ongoing thing? It's still under
20 investigation, and I tell you, it's takes a lot of
21 courage to speak up and when you see something like this
22 happen to report it. I can see why some people don't,
23 because the response we have received so far have made us
24 a victim -- not myself, but my son. I feel that he's
25 become a victim twice.

1 So it's very important to have the support when
2 this type of thing happens to you of the police and also
3 of the community, because otherwise people are afraid and
4 they don't want to come forward with these things because
5 it is so very difficult, and it affects your life for a
6 long time. It's not just that you report this and then
7 you go about your merry way. At least that has not been
8 the case for me and my son. Thank you.

9 CHAIRMAN HAMILTON: Thank you very much for
10 that dissertation. Our next presenter is Elliot
11 Bernadel-Huey.

12 MR. BERNADEL-HUEY: Thank you for inviting me
13 as a member of the Asian Pacific American Alliance to
14 address a matter of deep concern to this distinguished
15 Oregon Advisory Community of the U.S. Commission on Civil
16 Rights.

17 Our Asian Pacific American communities in
18 Oregon are quite diverse, as richly diverse as there are
19 countries, peoples and various ethnic groups throughout
20 the region of our world known as Asia and the Pacific
21 Islands. An Asian Pacific person in the United States
22 can be defined as any person whose ancestry or place of
23 birth is from the culturally and ethnically diverse
24 region of Asia or the Pacific Islands. Our titles
25 includes Chinese, Japanese, Taiwanese, Filipinos,

1 Laotians, Cambodians, East Indians, Samoans, Tongans,
2 Koreans, Vietnamese, Hmong, Minh, Burmese, Thai, Malasian
3 Hawaiian and many, many more. Each Asian country or
4 Pacific Island has its own cultural traditions, languages
5 and perceptions of themselves in relationship to
6 themselves and the rest of the world.

7 But for sociopolitical reasons in the United
8 States, we may collectively be referred to as Asian or
9 Pacific Islanders. In Oregon according to the US Census,
10 our population has doubled in the last ten years from
11 thirty-four thousand seven hundred seventy-five to
12 sixty-nine thousand two hundred sixty-nine. Roughly two
13 point four percent of our state's population.

14 We are the fastest growing minority group in
15 Oregon. Yet to most non-Asian or Pacific Islanders in
16 Oregon, we all look alike. I'm a Presbyterian
17 clergyperson, and in the Presybyteria of the Cascades I
18 and a few other Asian-American clergypersons are
19 repeatedly mistaken for one another even though one of
20 my twins is in his mid fifties, Japanese-American, thrity
21 to forty pounds heavier than myself, wears glasses and is
22 about six inches taller than I, we often continue to be
23 mistaken for each other. I don't quite see how or why.

24 I do believe that these seemingly harmless
25 incidences of mistaken identity are among the root causes

1 of more serious acts of anti-Asian violence.
2 Unfortunately, our state has a long, long history and
3 precedence for encouraging discrimination, racism and
4 racially motivated hate crimes and activities towards
5 Asians and Pacific Islanders. As far back as 1866, the
6 Oregon State Legislature prohibited intermarriage between
7 whites and anyone with more than one fourth or more
8 Negro, Chinese or Hawaiian blood, or any person having
9 more than one-half Indian blood. This law was passed
10 with little debate and not repealed until 1951.

11 In 1870 the population of Portland was
12 twenty-five percent Chinese. In 1880 fifty percent of
13 the population of Portland was Chinese. Portland had the
14 second largest Chinese population in the nation at that
15 time, roughly about nine thousand five hundred fifteen in
16 Portland. In 1890 there were four thousand seven hundred
17 forty Chinese, twenty Japanese, and five hundred nineteen
18 African-Americans living in Portland.

19 According to accounts in A Peculiar Paradise,
20 A History of Blacks in Oregon between 1788 to 1940, by
21 Elizabeth McLaggen, the most racial incidents in this
22 period were directed toward Chinese, the largest
23 community of color living in the city at that time.
24 Racial antagonism toward the Chinese population was
25 common as a modern Portland historian observed. The year

1 of 1886 was rough for Portland's Chinese, especially in
2 in March 1886. Rapes, beatings and arson fires were
3 common. Labor was the main culprit. Sounds familiar.
4 Public animosity was inflamed by politicians such as
5 Sylvester Conoyer, who ran for governor and won on an
6 anti-Asian Chinese plan.

7 Oregon U.S. Senator John H. Mitchell gave
8 demagogic speeches on the Senate floor. The Oregon State
9 Constitution of 1857, ratified by the U.S. Congress in
10 1859, provided that no Negro, mulatto or Chinese could
11 vote, and that no Chinese immigrating to Oregon after the
12 adoption of the Constitution could hold a land or a
13 mining claim or even work on a mining claim. The Oregon
14 Constitution of 1887 also denied the right of citizenship
15 to both Chinese and African-Americans.

16 African-Americans became eligible for U.S.
17 citizenship in 1927; the Chinese in 1943. I could go on
18 and on about the feelings of hostility, fear, anger and
19 resentment which led to blatant discrimination, systemic
20 exclusion and acts of physical, emotional and spiritual
21 violence upon our early Asian and Pacific Island settlers
22 in Oregon. Some might say that this is history. But
23 what about now?

24 Some would say that Asian-Americans have made
25 it in the United States. Stereotyping Asian-Americans as

1 the model minority has been the breeding ground for
2 anti-Asian sentiment, discrimination and racism in our
3 society. Those who have studied our state and country's
4 history and are sensitive and alert to the subtle and
5 overt manifestations that the evils of bigotry,
6 discrimination and systemic racism take on would paint a
7 very different picture of the success and acceptance
8 Asians and Pacific Islanders experience in our society
9 today.

10 The fear, hostility and resentment towards
11 Asians or Pacific Islanders, not unlike what our earliest
12 Asian immigrants experienced in Oregon, can be seen
13 today. Asians are seen as an economic threat in the
14 United States, whether they were back here in the Gold
15 Rush or if they're recent immigrants and refugees coming
16 in today.

17 Someone pointed out to me that when Japan
18 bought Rockefeller Center, the media made a big deal out
19 of it and everyone knew about it. Yet a few weeks later
20 when the Holiday Inn was purchased by the United Kingdom,
21 not a peep was heard. Japan bashing is rampant in our
22 state and country.

23 In education many colleges are suspected of
24 setting quotas on the number of Asian students that are
25 admitted. A 1982 survey showed that Asian and white

1 applicants to Harvard had similar test scores, but of
2 those admitted, the Asian scores were more than one
3 hundred points higher than the average for whites.

4 A 1987 study found that an average Asian with a
5 three point seven two grade point average applying to UC
6 Berkeley was less likely to be admitted than the average
7 white with a three point six two GPA. What's going on
8 here? Why must Asian-Americans work harder for the same
9 opportunities and privileges as their white classmates?

10 Recently I discovered that here in Oregon, the
11 Oregon State System of Higher Education Minority
12 Assistance Scholarship program does not allow any
13 Asian-American students to apply. Given our number and
14 history, I was shocked and indignant to realize my
15 younger Asian-American sisters and brothers were no
16 longer minorities in Oregon.

17 And in the workplace it is a known fact that
18 many Asians often hit a glass ceiling which prevents them
19 from reaching middle or top management positions. The
20 glass ceiling is an invisible obstacle, and
21 Asian-Americans don't see it until we press our noses
22 against it and can't get ahead, as Lt. Glen Yamoto
23 experienced recently. Even though he had the highest
24 overall scores, he was not promoted for a police
25 captainship position in the Portland Police Department

1 that he was undoubtedly qualified for filling.

2 Our growing Asian, immigrant, refugee and
3 native-born populations have been blamed for our
4 country's economic ills. We are often blamed for taking
5 people's jobs away and reminded time and time again that
6 we really aren't Americans. Anti-Asian violence, hate
7 crimes and hate activity are not new to Asians and
8 Pacific Islanders. According to the statistical data
9 that's collected here in Oregon, in 1990 there were
10 twenty reported cases in Oregon of Asians being victims
11 of hate crimes and hate activity.

12 During the first quarter of 1991, seven, as
13 opposed to five the previous year, were reported. The
14 reporting of hate crimes and hate activity, I know from
15 personal experience, is something that is not very often
16 reported by Asian peoples in the state of Oregon. There
17 are language barriers and cultural barriers; there is
18 distrust of law enforcement from the experience of
19 people's own home countries, and also just a fear of
20 being retaliated against, of people coming back and going
21 after them.

22 I recently was talking with a man who told me
23 that a few years back some Skinheads had poured some
24 kerosene on his home and set fire to it while he and his
25 wife were shopping at the mall, and his three young

1 children were sitting at home unaware of what was going
2 on until a neighbor came by and helped douse the flames.

3 And also that same man recently while he was
4 driving in his car was followed by some Skinheads, and
5 they continued to tail him and tail him and followed him
6 along. And when he stopped at a stop light they actually
7 got out of their car and came to him and started pounding
8 on his window. This man is authorized to carry a
9 concealed weapon, and he had told me that if they had
10 broken his window, he might have shot this young man who
11 was pounding on his window. He had so much rage from the
12 previous experience of being victimized where his
13 children's lives were threatened a few years back that I
14 wouldn't have put it past him to have shot back in
15 retaliation.

16 There are other incidents that have happened in
17 my own experience working as a pastor and a codirector of
18 the Chinese Social Center at the Chinese Presbyterian
19 Church. We have had break-ins by Skinhead types, who
20 have said they were being recruited by them, who have
21 broken in and burglarized our church. We have had
22 vandalism, swastikas written on our newspaper box. And
23 one Sunday morning as I was coming into the church to
24 teach class and Sunday school, I saw written in permanent
25 ink on the glass window coming into the foyer, "Go home,

1 gooks, go home." It was very embarrassing for me to be
2 bringing some people into the church and have them see
3 that this is the American experience that you have come
4 to.

5 Asians have been targeted by Skinheads and
6 neo-Nazi groups and more subtly by the racist attitudes
7 and behaviors of non-Asian-American Oregonians and the
8 way our institutions do business as usual. I believe
9 racially motivated hate crimes and hate activity directed
10 at Asian-Americans and Pacific Islanders are just the tip
11 of the iceberg of a deep-seated hostility, resentment and
12 anger many Oregonians have passed on from one generation
13 to the next.

14 As I thought about giving this presentation and
15 talk, it very much saddened me. I was shocked and angry
16 and then very sad about the situation in our country and
17 in our state. I thought about my seven-month-old child
18 growing up here in Oregon and wondering what kind of
19 first experience he'll come up against as he steps out in
20 the world and is confronted with bigotry and racism and
21 discrimination. And I thought to myself, what is it that
22 we can do? What can we do as individuals? What can we
23 do as communities? What can we do as Asian-Americans and
24 Pacific Islanders?

25 And I was a little bit baffled, a little bit

1 troubled, because just a month ago someone who I respect
2 greatly in the Presbyterian Church, a pastor who is an
3 African-American and a leader of the denomination for
4 many years, had expressed his own sense of dismay at how
5 it seems that our country has gone backwards in the last
6 ten or fifteen years, particularly in the last ten years.
7 And he was baffled to figure out what needed to be done.
8 He felt like time and time again it seemed to fall on the
9 shoulders of people of color, that it was their
10 responsibility to remind our society as a whole that
11 discrimination and racism was a problem that needed to be
12 addressed and dealt with and confronted and eradicated
13 from our society.

14 But in tears he said, "You know it's really not
15 our responsibility. We have been the victims of it for
16 generations and generations." But again I ask the
17 question, what must we do? And what comes to mind again
18 and again is clear legislation and public policy that
19 says any the form of racism and discrimination is not to
20 be tolerated in our state and in our country.

21 And again, too, we must begin with ourselves
22 and check our own attitudes and behaviors towards one
23 another in our human family. As we walk across the
24 street and see another person of color, we must ask
25 ourselves what thoughts go through our mind at that time.

1 Are there feelings of anger and hostility and rage? And
2 if so, where does that come from and what do we need to
3 do to let go of those fears and hostilities and move
4 beyond them?

5 I think, too, once we begin with ourselves, we
6 must ask ourselves what we pass on to our children. It's
7 been said that the sins of the father's -- and I'd say
8 the mother's to be inclusive -- are passed on from one
9 generation to the next.

10 And as I look at how my wife and I raise my
11 seven-month-old son, I ask myself what am I passing on to
12 him intentionally or unintentionally as I raise him and
13 nurture this life so that he can be a fully participating
14 American citizen in our society and enable him to have
15 courage and have a sense of self-worth and have an
16 appreciation for his heritage and have a sense of himself
17 and respect for his community and the world in which he
18 lives and to value that his life is a gift to be
19 cherished? And the diminishment of that is wrong in any
20 shape or form, whether it be hate crimes or whether it be
21 the simple depersonalizing that happens as we easily say
22 an off-the-cuff racist remark.

23 I'd like to close with a story. Originally I
24 titled my talk "Americans, Which Boat Did You Get Off
25 Of?" And that struck me because just a month ago I was

1 at the First Interstate Bank on 27th and East Burnside, a
2 Sunday afternoon coming home from worship with my son and
3 going to make a few deposits into the bank machine. And
4 I waited and I got my turn, and I put money into the bank
5 machine and I drew a little bit out. And then there was
6 an older man, who was white, and a middle aged woman, who
7 was white, who were standing there waiting at the bank
8 teller machine, waiting for me to finish. And I was
9 trying to rush as fast as I could and finish up.

10 And so then this man said, "Well, don't take
11 all the money out of the machine." And I said, "Well,
12 I'm not. I'm just putting a little bit in and I'm taking
13 a little bit out." And just as I was walking away I was
14 shocked. He said to me, "Why don't you go back, get back
15 on the boat from where you came."

16 And my first response was, "What did he say?
17 Did he say that?" And my first response was -- well, I
18 was really angry. Part of me said, "Well, I'm going to
19 get this guy." But I held my breath and I said, "Well,
20 how do I respect this man's humanity even though he can't
21 respect mine?"

22 And so I held me breath and I turned and I
23 faced him and I looked at him from where I was standing
24 at my car -- it was about fifteen feet away -- and first
25 of all I said, "Well, I'm from San Francisco originally."

1 And then secondly I said to him, "I found your remarks
2 and behavior really disrespectful. I don't know how your
3 mother raised you, but I hope she didn't raise you like
4 that." And then I said to him, "I would hope you would
5 ask yourself which boat your grandparents or great
6 grantparents might have come off of that enabled you to
7 be here today." Thank you.

8 CHAIRMAN HAMILTON: Thank you. Before you
9 leave maybe someone has a question for you. Does anyone
10 here have a question?

11 (No response)

12 CHAIRMAN HAMILTON: Thank you. It's about time
13 for a break. Do we have our coffee ready? We'll take a
14 ten-minute break.

15 (Brief recess.)

16 CHAIRMAN HAMILTON: We're going to resume the
17 hearing, so those of you who are still having your
18 coffee, you can just bring your coffee in here. We want
19 to move right along so that we can get out on schedule.
20 We are just a little bit behind. Our first presenter
21 after the break is Commissioner Mike Lindberg.

22 COMMISSIONER LINDBERG: Thank you very much. I
23 appreciate you having this hearing in the city of
24 Portland, and I appreciate very much the opportunity to
25 share with you some thoughts. To be frank, I feel that

1 our nation is still far from achieving the goals we set
2 for ourselves in the middle part of this century. There
3 has been progress, but the bottom-line truth is that our
4 nation actively endorsed racism for over two centuries,
5 had laws really that allowed racism. And the kind of
6 hatred and mistrust that accumulates over two hundred
7 years is not wiped away with the passage of a law.

8 About thirty years ago many in this nation
9 began an earnest struggle to make racism unacceptable, to
10 make it un-American, and for a brief period it seemed
11 like it was working. But in my opinion, the last ten
12 years has seen that struggle wane and much ground has
13 been lost. We find ourselves in an era of resurgent,
14 overt racism. Every day we see open organizing efforts
15 and hate groups and we see race baiting by political
16 candidates.

17 We see even in some parts of the country the
18 election of active racists to public office, and we see
19 court decisions that undermine efforts to level out the
20 playing field. We in the Pacific Northwest are being
21 subjected to fallout from this reemerging racism. We
22 have been targeted as a homeland for White Supremacists.
23 We have had one of our citizens murdered. The number of
24 avowed racist organizers continues to grow dramatically
25 along with the number of hate crimes that are perpetrated

1 against people because of race, religion, color or sexual
2 preference.

3 And I'm sure that many of the people here are
4 familiar with the statistics in terms of the growing
5 number of hate crimes in our area. The hate mongers have
6 even attempted to target people in depressed areas of
7 industries or areas of the economy in the state of
8 Oregon, particularly in the timber and fishing industry
9 for recruitment to White Supremacist groups.

10 While we may not have made as much progress as
11 we should in the last ten years, we have not been passive
12 in the city of Portland and the state of Oregon in terms
13 of trying to deal with this onslaught. A number of
14 community based organizations, religious groups and
15 governments have all pitched in in the city of Portland
16 to counter the efforts of these would-be Nazis and right
17 wing revolutionaries. And many people that are involved
18 in these organizing efforts to fight this, you will hear
19 from today.

20 We have conducted press conferences, passed
21 state laws; we have had hate crime summits; we have had
22 anti-hate crime education efforts. We are involved in a
23 fairly massive effort at the government level now through
24 neighborhood groups to teach unlearning racism workshops
25 throughout our community, but we do need your help.

1 We would like more technical and financial
2 support for our anti-hate crime and unlearning racism
3 efforts. We would like a more visible and strident Civil
4 Rights Commission. We want a Commission which is
5 actively agitating for the elimination of racism and hate
6 crimes from the American psyche. We would like to see
7 anti-hate crime public service announcements from the
8 Civil Rights Commission. We can advertise for joining
9 the army, why not for ending bigotry? As I said when I
10 began, this country has been at this racism thing for a
11 couple of hundred years. We're far, far from a time when
12 we need to worry about having done too much to correct
13 the damage that's been done.

14 We need to stay focused on the job at hand, the
15 elimination from racism and other forms of bigotry from
16 the heart of this nation. I want to thank you again for
17 your time and for allowing me to testify before you.
18 It's been an honor to feel that I can have some kind of
19 input and impact on the future of our country.

20 CHAIRMAN HAMILTON: Thank you, Commissioner
21 Lindberg. The next presenter will be from the Urban
22 League, Darrell Tutufu.

23 MR. TUTUFU: I'd also like to thank you for the
24 opportunity to testify before you. Commission Members,
25 when I first received word that this hearing body was

1 going to meet and that we at the Urban league were
2 invited to testify as to our official or personal
3 experiences with hate groups and any additional concerns
4 or remarks about this issue we would want to address, I
5 had some misgivings.

6 First, I felt that with all the published
7 accounts of the so-called Northwest Territorial
8 Imperative, the idea to claim Oregon, Idaho, Montana,
9 Wyoming and Colorado as the white homeland, the murder of
10 Mulegeta Seraw and the subsequent Metzger trial, the
11 ongoing attacks by Nazi Skinheads on innocent people of
12 color, homosexuals and whites, what else was needed to
13 convey to our government entities or to the general
14 population regarding this problem and the need for action
15 rather than discussion?

16 Secondly, I asked myself what would this
17 Committee do with the information? Would it just become
18 part of another report that would gather dust in
19 someone's office, or would something really come from
20 this to alleviate the problem that we have here in
21 Oregon?

22 Well, I hope that something worthwhile will
23 come out of this hearing because of the involvement of
24 people such as you and those who have testified earlier
25 today. I will make my brief comments in two areas. One,

1 the Urban League of Portland's concern and preparations
2 because of the presence of these groups, and my personal
3 concerns of hate groups under the broader term of racism.

4 Approximately two years ago, correspondence
5 went out to NAACP chapters and Urban League affiliates to
6 become more security conscious after letter bombs killed
7 two people in the south. Last fall prior to the Metzger
8 trial, there was a bombing in San Diego, and the message
9 released afterwards mentioned that those that were going
10 to try Metzger should be aware.

11 Although they we were not a part of the suit,
12 we at the Urban League of Portland particularly took the
13 latter event to heart and began to check our mail and to
14 initiate renovations to limit access to various areas of
15 our building. We realized that when demented
16 personalities, such as those of Nazis, Skinheads,
17 apprentices of any kind, are not able to reach those they
18 may target, they go after those who are available to make
19 their point.

20 We had to do that with our building in total
21 and also taking precautions to protect our individual
22 lives, because we had also been part of different letters
23 that we received periodically from racists. We don't
24 think all of them are part of organizations or groups,
25 however; they're just there. We also felt that our

1 action was necessary because of these monthly and
2 sometimes weekly letters.

3 My second concern I wanted to address a little
4 further. That relates to racism period. Racism is
5 looked at as being overt and covert, direct and indirect,
6 individual and institutional. In its broadest sense it
7 is a societal phenomenon, an ideology operating within
8 organizations and institutions of society. Therefore,
9 it's systemic, and thus tied to those who occupy or
10 possess key positions in society. Though we seem to be
11 here today because of the numerous hate crimes that occur
12 in this area, I don't want us to lose sight of what I
13 think is more of a concern, particularly to me,
14 institutional racism.

15 It is easy for people to express concerns for
16 individual acts by groups such as the Nazis, Skins, Klu
17 Klux Klan and others. However, we can see by remarks
18 that have been made recently here in Portland by the vice
19 president of a prestigious financial institution directed
20 against an African-American woman who was a reporter for
21 The Oregonian, comments made by one of our district
22 attorneys at a private party, other comments that have
23 been made in regards to affirmative action,
24 discrimination, et cetera, that we feel that
25 institutional racism still has to be dealt with. Because

1 even after some of the individual acts take place, we
2 still have institutions that have to overcome the racism
3 and sexism and other things that go along with that.

4 I would hope that at subsequent meetings of
5 this Advisory Committee -- and I'm glad that you are
6 meeting here -- but I would hope in the future you would
7 be available to receive comments, not from invited
8 individuals or organizations such as ours, but from the
9 general public. We would do what we can to get people
10 here to testify concerning the numerous obstacles they
11 encounter daily, particularly in the employment arena in
12 Portland and throughout the state. Thank you.

13 CHAIRMAN HAMILTON: Before you leave, does
14 anyone have a question of Dr. Tutufu?

15 (No response)

16 CHAIRMAN HAMILTON: Thank you very much. Our
17 next presenter is Donna Redwing, and Donna is here
18 representing the Gay and Lesbian Coalition.

19 MS. WALKER: Actually my name is Floreid
20 Walker. I'm the chair of the Lesbian Community Project
21 and I'm sitting in for Donna Redwing who had to go back
22 to Boston for an emergency. Coincidentally, I'm also
23 from Boston. It's been about sixteen or seventeen years
24 since I've been away, but I still have a little bit of an
25 accent, so if I don't say something that sounds familiar,

1 either add an R or take it away.

2 What I'm going to be talking about during my
3 presentation is specific examples of some of the
4 incidents that have occurred against gays and lesbians in
5 Oregon, and more specifically within the Portland area.
6 I know you have heard a lot of discussion about
7 discrimination for the population in general, but what
8 I'd like to do is focus my remarks on the specific
9 community.

10 Violence against the lesbian and gay community
11 runs a continuum from harassment to homicide and
12 discrimination to overt hostility. According to the
13 United States Department of Justice, lesbian and gay men
14 are the most frequent victims of hate and bias crimes.
15 The National Gay and Lesbian Task Force in its midyear
16 report in 1990 indicated that ninety percent of the
17 reported hate crimes against lesbian and gay men occurred
18 here in Oregon.

19 Clearly, the Hate Crime Legislation of 1989,
20 mandating the documentation of those crimes, is partially
21 responsible for this high percentage. Still, the numbers
22 are a terrifying indication of the violence perpetrated
23 against our community in Oregon.

24 Oregon has a national reputation for its
25 neo-Nazi White Supremacist activities. The lesbian and

1 gay community is a targeted community. In 1990 we
2 received reports that indicated an escalation of the
3 numbers and the intensity of violent crimes against
4 lesbians. An example of some of those incidents -- I'll
5 read to you several examples. A college student
6 experienced two incidents of brutal harassment by
7 neo-Nazi Skinheads. The first was an ongoing planned
8 attack including death threats, letters, phone calls and
9 visits to her home. The town police treated the incident
10 as a prank, and it was only when the women contacted the
11 state authorities did the police begin to respond in an
12 appropriate manner.

13 The second incident was spontaneous and it was
14 in another town. The police had not heard of the
15 legislation of 1989 and felt that she was overreacting.
16 In another incident two women were attacked in a public
17 park by young men brandishing knives. They were
18 threatened with rape and were called dykes. The women
19 were able to run to a more populated area. They chose
20 not to report the incident to the police.

21 In another situation a women received a series
22 of threatening phone calls, and a number of the calls had
23 pieces from the music of "Sugar Plum Fairies," along with
24 a funeral dirge. She didn't report that incident to the
25 police either because she did not want to be identified

1 as a lesbian.

2 Another woman discovered a bomb on her front
3 lawn. Police responded immediately and they were very
4 respectful. A woman and her daughters were continuously
5 harassed by a neighbor man. They were given verbal
6 harassment, racial slurs were painted on the door, death
7 threats and constant observation of her activities.
8 Police said that they did not have enough evidence to
9 even question the offender. The woman finally armed
10 herself and moved to the metropolitan area.

11 In another situation a woman returned from a
12 weekend away to find a flare had been fired in her mail
13 box. She immediately contacted the police, but she too
14 did not identify herself as being a lesbian. A young
15 woman was pulled from her bike and was beaten by a group
16 of Nazi Skinheads. They called her a stupid dyke and
17 other bias racial slurs and referred to the woman's
18 symbol painted on her helmet.

19 In another situation a couple was harassed at
20 their home by a neighbor man. They were called names and
21 threatened. One woman confronted the young man and was
22 again threatened, and again the couple chose not to
23 notify the police. In another situation a couple tried
24 to purchase a home in southeast Portland, and the
25 neighbors screamed racial slurs as well as words against

1 their sexual orientation. And he threatened, and I
2 quote, "I'll burn the place down with you in it," if they
3 moved in.

4 The Lesbian Community Project receives threats
5 and phone calls on a continual basis as well as letters
6 and audiotapes. Our director has received more than a
7 dozen death threats in the last year, both at her office
8 and at her home. There was an attempt to break into her
9 home in November of 1990, and the LCP office has been
10 broken into earlier this year.

11 In short, it's not safe to be a lesbian or to
12 be perceived as a lesbian in the Pacific Northwest. In
13 response to the escalating number of violent incidents
14 against members of the gay and lesbian community, the
15 Lesbian Community Project has, with other community
16 groups, initiated a homophobic reporting line. It's a
17 telephone line.

18 These are the stickers that are up in various
19 places around Portland, and it indicates that "If you
20 have been harassed, threatened, hurt, intimidated,
21 discriminated against because of your sexual
22 orientation," what you would do is call this number
23 796-1703, and you have an opportunity to report the bias
24 crime that was perpetuated against you, and a person will
25 call you back.

1 We are coordinating this with the Coalition for
2 Human Dignity. Incidents will be documented and data, as
3 well as anecdotal information, will be released to law
4 enforcement every six months. Callers will receive
5 advocacy, referrals and resources for assistance.

6 In the first two weeks of the reporting hot
7 line, we received a dozen calls about homophobic
8 violence. This is what we feel is a way that people who
9 don't want to identify themselves as belonging to a
10 specific group can call and report the incidents. The
11 major problem in the Portland, Oregon area has been that
12 people just don't want to be identified, so they do not
13 call to report it, and so the data is a little bit
14 skewed.

15 In conclusion, the Lesbian Community Project
16 through its anti-violence project hopes to proactively
17 impact the prevention of bias and hate violence. While
18 we anticipate working in coalition with other communities
19 affected by hate crimes and malicious harassment, we must
20 consider the distinct needs and vulnerabilities of our
21 community. Thank you.

22 CHAIRMAN HAMILTON: Thank you, but don't go
23 yet. Any questions from the Committee?

24 COMMISSIONER BORNET: Yes, I have a question.
25 Is there anything different about prejudice and hate

1 crimes against the various groups we have heard about
2 already -- Asians, Blacks, whatever, on the one hand --
3 and the lesbian, gay group on the other? Is there
4 anything different about this in any respect that you can
5 think of, or is this one of a kind? This is all one
6 piece?

7 MS. WALKER: It's a little bit more specific
8 against gays and lesbians, and there is a gentleman here,
9 Scott Nakagawa, from the Coalition for Human Dignity, to
10 respond a little bit further to that question. What
11 happens is that a lot of gays and lesbians do not
12 identify themselves as such, so they don't report, or
13 when it's reported, it's not reported specifically
14 targeted to that group.

15 There is a lot of incidents against gays and
16 lesbians. The one I told you about was the couple who
17 had moved in and the neighbor did not want dykes in their
18 area. There was a lot of painting of signs.

19 COMMISSIONER BORNET: I guess what I was
20 thinking about was it's inescapable, I suppose, that a
21 person looks Asian or looks Black, but it perhaps isn't
22 inescapable that a person be identified because of sexual
23 preference. And I wonder how this has anything to do
24 with anything?

25 MS. WALKER: Well, I guess people could hide

1 behind whether or not they're gay or lesbian. I think
2 you could hide. When I walk into a room people don't
3 say, "There's a lesbian." Hopefully they'll say, "There
4 is a woman." But they don't identify me as a black
5 lesbian woman. I can't respond any further than that.
6 It's just that we don't have our cards that we hold up
7 and say that.

8 COMMISSIONER BORNET: Can I go back to a
9 statistic that you gave at the very beginning which I
10 didn't get. Something about ninety percent of certain
11 kinds of crimes, maybe in the whole country, were taking
12 place in Oregon or something. What was the source of
13 that and what was the statistic?

14 MS. WALKER: The National Gay and Lesbian Task
15 Force had a midyear report that was issued in 1990, and
16 they reported that ninety percent of the reported hate
17 crimes were against lesbian and gay men. Ninety percent
18 of those that occurred, occurred here in Oregon.

19 COMMISSIONER BORNET: In the country?

20 MS. WALKER: Yes, nationwide.

21 CHAIRMAN HAMILTON: Is that because Oregon is
22 the only state that really required that these crimes be
23 reported as such?

24 MS. WALKER: Yes, it made it a little bit
25 easier because it is required.

1 COMMISSIONER BORNET: Where did that statistic
2 come from?

3 MS. PAI: I think part of that figure came from
4 the Metropolitan Human Relations Commission if it was a
5 midyear report. The Commission at that time was tracking
6 crimes against the gay and lesbian community in
7 conjunction with LCP and The Cascades Project, and the
8 MHRC pulled all those figures together, and then
9 forwarded it to the national office.

10 CHAIRMAN HAMILTON: I have a question I'd like
11 to ask. Of the information that you've gained, do you
12 find that it's gay men or would it be lesbians more
13 likely to be a target?

14 MS. WALKER: It's pretty hard to determine. I
15 would say, because I'm more familiar with what's going on
16 in the lesbian community, that it's more prevalent
17 against women. And it has to do a lot with economic
18 factors. Women oftentimes are in the lower paying jobs,
19 and they usually are receiving jobs such as labor jobs.
20 A lot of men you will find are in white collar positions
21 and positions of great power, and so their very
22 visibility is a little bit less than what you may find in
23 the lesbian community. But this is my perspective and,
24 Scott, I'd like you to respond to that.

25 CHAIRMAN HAMILTON: So it's basically a gender

1 discrimination taking place?

2 MS. WALKER: That's what I've found.

3 COMMISSIONER BORNET: I don't want too much
4 time to take place before we get back to that statistic.
5 You're saying that ninety percent of the crimes against
6 gays and lesbians in this whole country take place in
7 Oregon?

8 CHAIRMAN HAMILTON: Reported.

9 MS. WALKER: Yes, reported crimes.

10 CHAIRMAN HAMILTON: No one else required it to
11 be reported except Oregon.

12 COMMISSIONER BORNET: Well, then it's a
13 meaningless statistic, isn't it?

14 CHAIRMAN HAMILTON: No, it shows what's
15 happening in Oregon.

16 COMMISSIONER BORNET: No, it shows what's being
17 reported in Oregon.

18 CHAIRMAN HAMILTON: But it shows you that at
19 least that number is happening, and she's saying that's
20 enough to be disturbed about. Even if it's happening in
21 other states more so than here, she's saying that's
22 something to be disturbed by. So to that extent the
23 statistic has value. Did I clearly state what you said?

24 MS. WALKER: Yes, that is correct.

25 CHAIRMAN HAMILTON: Are there any further

1 questions of the witness?

2 (No response)

3 CHAIRMAN HAMILTON: Thank you.

4 MS. WALKER: Thank you for allowing me to share
5 some time with you.

6 CHAIRMAN HAMILTON: The next presenter is Omar
7 Barbarosa.

8 MR. BARBAROSA: Buenos tardes. Esta aqui.
9 Buenos tardes. Some of you understood what I said and
10 some of you didn't, obviously. For many people in
11 Oregon, that's a circumstance they find themselves in
12 when they try to make a living and as they try to deal
13 with various segments of our society, whether they be
14 simple things like getting a driver's license, buying
15 groceries, or filling a pharmaceutical need. These
16 activities may seem mundane, but they also are the
17 livelihood of all of us.

18 As citizens there are things we need to do and
19 have to do to survive. Color is one barrier issue of
20 discrimination. Class is another one, socioeconomic.
21 Language also is a barrier. I guess that, you know, I'm
22 reminded of a story that I read one time. It was an
23 individual writing to the president saying,
24 "Mr. President, we are being inundated by foreigners who
25 speak strange tongues, loudish, rude manners. Please

1 send troops. I need help. Yours truly, General Alfredo
2 Viejos. He was writing to the president of Mexico, and
3 he was in upper northern California when he wrote the
4 letter.

5 So history also has its roots as evolution
6 occurs. I will cite some examples of the specific task
7 that is before you today, and I will make a point, but
8 before I do that I think that I need perhaps to digress a
9 little bit to make the point.

10 If you are as a commission or a body of people
11 looking at the issues of discrimination or violations of
12 civil rights, they're embedded with history that many of
13 us were not a party to. So in a way a lot of us in all
14 our communities, but particularly today, I am going to
15 speak more so about the Hispanic community. Hopefully
16 you will understand why.

17 In 1973 I was National Student Body president,
18 and I was at a conference in Dallas where we were having
19 the national conference. I read in the newspaper on the
20 front page the proclamation by Richard Nixon making
21 Thanksgiving a national holiday. And in the proclamation
22 the president said, "Let us remember the Kennedy family
23 on the tenth anniversary," because it happened to
24 coincide with Kennedy's death there in Dallas. So I
25 said, "Gee, even for Nixon, that's pretty laudatory."

1 And as I'm reading this and thinking, I see
2 another smaller article, very miniscule, saying, "Dallas
3 police officer on trial." So that caught my attention.
4 It was a Dallas police officer who was on trial for
5 shooting a twelve-year-old Hispanic, Santiago Rodriquez.
6 Some of you may have heard the story.

7 The police officer got a one and a half year
8 suspended sentence for self-defense for shooting a twelve
9 years old who sat handcuffed in his car. The police
10 officer was playing Russian roulette with his gun. It
11 was an accident.

12 I ask you, I wonder if the situation had been
13 reversed, what would have happened? That was when I was
14 in college and I witnessed and saw incidents of this
15 kind. I was very active when I was in college, as most
16 of us were, with regard to the Civil Rights Movement, if
17 you will, in the early seventies and late sixties. The
18 reason we were taking a stand and the reason we got
19 involved is because we believed, and I firmly believed,
20 that change was possible. I was sadly mistaken.

21 Twenty years later I come to the state of
22 Oregon where I began my college education. Not only do I
23 feel that we have regressed, but things have escalated.
24 I see manifestations, not just in institutions that
25 Brother Tutufu talked about earlier, but in the way

1 institutional racism is very incidious, very subtle, very
2 lasting, but I also see a lot of overt, overt
3 discrimination or incidencts regarding the community that
4 I am a part of, Mexican-American Hispanic.

5 Incidentally, up until last Tuesday I worked as
6 a business service manager for the city of Portland.
7 Three or four months ago I was on the way to work, and it
8 was about five to eight, whatever. I was at a traffic
9 light and I saw a pickup crossing in front of me, and I
10 saw a policeman waving the two individuals in the pickup
11 over to the side. And as I looked I realized and
12 recognized that they Mexicans, and by looking at them
13 probably farm workers or obviously working individuals.

14 And, anyway, he pulled them over. And because
15 it was on the way to my office, which was about two
16 blocks away, I decided I would just kind of linger around
17 and see what's going on. I wasn't going to interfere,
18 but at least let's see what's going on here. The police
19 officer walked up, put his hand on his gun, and yanked
20 the door open. And I don't know what transpired, but the
21 next thing I knew, he had the individual who was driving
22 pinned against the truck with his arm and his elbow in
23 what I would call a very severe disproportionate
24 position. And obviously, he was being very less than
25 professional in his conduct, okay. When you see

1 meanness, you don't need words, okay.

2 Therefore, I made a note of the license plate,
3 went to my office, and I called the local Hispanic
4 organization called the Oregon Council for Hispanic
5 Advancement. I called the director there because I
6 happen to know her. I told her exactly what I saw,
7 didn't color it in any way, and I said, "Would you look
8 into the situation?"

9 Meanwhile, I called one of the captains of the
10 police department. Let me preface a couple things here
11 real quick. I think the chief of this city, I think most
12 of us are aware, is a progressive individual. A lot of
13 us have a lot of respect for him, and probably the high
14 echelons of the police department, I feel, have the best
15 interests of the community and do their jobs as
16 judicially as required. My problem is with the ranks, as
17 I will explain in a minute here.

18 Ms. Saragosa, the director for OCHA, called the
19 police department and was referred to a lieutenant. The
20 lieutenant began making fun of her and mimicking her,
21 "Coma esta uste. So you have a complainto to mako
22 todayo," and that kind of malarkey. She was stunned,
23 called me back, and I said, "I want you to put in writing
24 exactly what happened." And I said, "I want a copy of
25 the letter."

1 I then pursued with the police department, and
2 I will say, to their credit, to their credit, they made a
3 serious effort to deal with the matter, okay. And
4 subsequent to that, the police department now has a
5 citizen's review; it's called the Chief's Forum for which
6 I have recommended a couple Hispanics. One of them has
7 been named to that group, okay.

8 The point being here is that you can talk about
9 institutional racism; you can talk about attitude; you
10 can talk about making changes, but I don't know where the
11 responsibility of community or institutions or bodies
12 such as yourself, where do we begin the process of
13 impacting those kinds of attitudes? Because not only was
14 the officer wrong -- and by the way, later on, as it
15 turned out, one of the people in the pickup truck had
16 been drinking. How did he know that?

17 But at any rate, the point is that I had heard
18 when I arrived here in Portland in the community a lot of
19 talk about the situation with the police. I was trying
20 to discount it because, as I said, we have, I think, a
21 pretty good relationship with the chief, and we've been
22 trying to work, you know, to create with the community
23 and the police department a dialogue, if you will. So I
24 didn't want to believe this.

25 Well, shortly again thereafter, I went to an

1 event at the Heathman Hotel, and I drive a little
2 three-year-old red BMW. Unless you know BMWs, you don't
3 know it's three years old. But I'm in a red BMW and I
4 drive up to the Heathman Hotel. I see a police car
5 parked about a half a block down, and I saw him when I
6 got out of the car. The doorman at the hotel said, "If
7 you leave your keys in the car" -- which is what they'll
8 normally do -- "I'll park it for you." They knew me
9 because I went to a lot of functions there on behalf of
10 the city. So he says, "Mr. Barbarosa, don't worry, we'll
11 take care of it."

12 When my guests and I left the hotel, we came
13 out and the doorman came to me and said, "Mr. Barbarosa,
14 I'm sorry to tell you, but you got a ticket." I said,
15 "For what?" He says, "Well, I don't really know, but
16 it's there on your window, and the policeman was
17 insistant. And we tried explaining what was going on,
18 but he said, 'No.' And he said to his partner that the
19 reason he was giving you a ticket was because he was sick
20 and tired of big shot millionaires throwing their weight
21 around."

22 And the other police officer said, "Well, what
23 do you mean by that?" And he says, "Well, I cited this
24 guy, you know, sometime ago and he told me he was a
25 millionaire, and he could care less how many tickets he

1 got."

2 Well, a few days went by because it was like a
3 Friday night. Monday I called the hotel and they were
4 nice enough to say, "We'll take care of the ticket." And
5 I said, "No, that's not the issue. We have got to deal
6 with the issue here."

7 So I called one of the captains again, good
8 man, and he found out exactly that, yes, there was a
9 ticket, because they record all those things. It's no
10 mystery to anyone. He tracked it down. And I said,
11 "Roger, you know me, right?" And he says, "Yeah." I
12 said, "I tell it like it is?" And he said, "Yeah, you
13 probably do."

14 I said, "Let me tell you something. Since I
15 have set foot in the state of Oregon, I have never been
16 talked to or stopped by a police enforcement agency of
17 any kind anywhere in the state of Oregon under any
18 circumstances." I said, "I object to this kind of
19 action. I want something done about it."

20 Well, he then had some sergeant look into the
21 situation. The guy comes back to me and says, "Yeah, the
22 guy says he remembers you because he gave you a ticket on
23 St. Patrick's Day." Well, one lie leads to another lie,
24 right. Guess what? St. Patrick's Day I happened to be
25 in a Mexican restaurant with about twelve other people.

1 If he had picked any other day, I wouldn't have
2 remembered. But most of you will probably remember where
3 you were on St. Patrick's Day. I do because I was
4 celebrating.

5 At any rate, the point being is that that
6 individual, that policeman, is on the reserve training
7 program, I found out. Now one day, because of the way
8 they transition them here, he will go into the regular
9 police department as a regular. That individual, that
10 young man, is going to be a police officer. Now, I ask
11 you, do you think that he's going to play fair, and do
12 you think he's going to do his duty according to the law,
13 the letter and the spirit of the law?

14 Sometime ago on my way home to my house I was
15 accosted by two Anglo young individuals who had followed
16 me and were making faces, and they rammed my car at one
17 point -- not seriously but enough to get my Mexican
18 temper up. And so probably I shouldn't have, but I
19 pulled over into a parking lot of a bank, and naturally
20 we got into a confrontation. I wound up, this finger I
21 cannot bend. It's got to be operated on because it was
22 broken and two broken ribs.

23 Some of the people in the audience know about
24 that situation. I was asked repeatedly why I would not
25 make this as issue. One, they wanted me to go to the

1 media, and two, they wanted me to go to the police
2 department. The incident happened in Washington County.
3 I used to live in Washington County. I guess, sad to
4 say, but one of the reasons that I did not pursue that
5 situation was because I felt that the experiences that
6 people our color or ethnic origin have with the police
7 agencies in that community. That's the first thing I
8 wanted to say.

9 The second thing is that I felt that because of
10 what had happened, and because I did work in a public
11 capacity, it would probably become some kind of a media
12 event. I did not want to do that either to myself. I am
13 the father of four children. So I weighed that heavily
14 for a long time and finally decided that I did not want
15 to bring this about in this way.

16 I feel that as a Hispanic -- and by the way,
17 I'm the chairman of the Northwest Community Development
18 Corporation, which is a community development corporation
19 statewide in the state of Oregon to deal with economic
20 development and community issues for the state of Oregon,
21 okay. So I feel that I will fight that fight on another
22 arena, in another playing field, because the issues
23 remain the same.

24 Let me just quickly say that I guess twenty
25 years has not changed a lot. And I have four children,

1 as I said, and I have a button here that says, "It's a
2 boy." And the reason I'm wearing that is yesterday I
3 became a grandfather, a little boy. And what tears me up
4 is that when we all began this process over twenty years
5 ago on the streets of Albuquerque, New Mexico, on the
6 streets of LA and Phoenix and San Antonio, today this
7 community in Oregon, the number one ethnic community is
8 the most invisible community. It's the least represented
9 community. It's the most unresponded to by all entities,
10 whether it's city, state, federal, or private corporate
11 interests. It's the most underrepresented, okay. And
12 it's the fastest growing and the largest growing.

13 Our needs, as I said, stem from class and color
14 and language. I had said to my children as they are
15 growing up, because there are very astute individuals and
16 they grew up knowing the issues; they understand the
17 issues; I say to them, "Mia," because they're daughters,
18 "Mia, it's not going to happen in your lifetime, this
19 change that we need, that we want. It's not going to
20 happen in your lifetime, sad to say."

21 I only hope and pray that for my grandson, he
22 doesn't have to stand in a place like this thirty or
23 forty years from now talking about what we're talking
24 about today. You're here to talk about violence. There
25 is all kinds of violence, sirs. All kinds. It's not

1 just physical; it's also mental, and it's also economic
2 and it's material. Deprivation is violence.

3 Wherever you go, whatever you do, you find this
4 today. I hope someone is in a place to read and take
5 action of some kind. And remember when we talk about
6 ethnic minorities, we're just not talking about any one
7 group. Thank you.

8 CHAIRMAN HAMILTON: Thank you very much. The
9 final presenter is Scott Nakagawa.

10 MR. NAKAGAWA: I represent a group called the
11 Coalition for Human Dignity. We've been active in
12 studying the problem of hate crime and White Supremacy in
13 Oregon for about three years now. On August 1st of this
14 year a group of young white teenagers were walking along
15 a busy street in southeast Portland when they were
16 approached by a group of eight racist Skinheads, who
17 hailed them with a white power salute and chased them
18 with two pit bull dogs as well as baseball bats and
19 chains.

20 These three young people were lucky. They were
21 given refuge in a home nearby. The racist Skinheads,
22 angered that a Portland citizen would even entertain the
23 thought of intervening to halt their street terror,
24 promptly made death threats to the woman providing refuge
25 to the young people under assault, and then attempted to

1 break windows and destroy a nearby vehicle. One racist
2 Skinhead was subsequently arrested for attempted assault.
3 The woman who opened her doors to the victims of the
4 violent bigotry of these particular racist Skinheads was
5 given a hero's award by the local neighborhood
6 association.

7 Citizens of that neighborhood are beginning to
8 take action to resolve a situation in which many have
9 expressed fear at walking down the street. One
10 individual claims he has had to learn alternative routes
11 to the neighborhood store to avoid racist attacks, and he
12 fears for the safety of his children.

13 The specter of bigoted violence has become very
14 common in our communities throughout Oregon.
15 African-Americans, who constitute roughly six percent of
16 the population of the Portland metropolitan area, have
17 been the victims of a minimum eighty-one hate crimes
18 during the past two years. That's forty-two percent of
19 the total. The state police report that
20 African-Americans were the victim of one hundred
21 twenty-five hate crimes throughout Oregon during 1990, or
22 thirty-six percent of the total for Oregon.

23 Other minority communities, such as Latinos,
24 Asian-Americans, and lesbians and gay men have also been
25 the target of a disproportionate number of hate crimes. The

1 overt representation of these groups among hate crime
2 statistics indicate a problem which is much broader than
3 law enforcement is currently empowered to confront, and
4 will require citizen action against a much broader base
5 than the deeply rooted array of social, political and
6 economic problems which exist at all levels of society.

7 A significant portion of hate crimes in Oregon
8 are committed by organized White Supremacists who belong
9 to the approximately fifty organized White Supremacist
10 Groups operating in Oregon. In Portland almost fifty
11 percent of hate crimes reported in the latest reporting
12 period, were committed by organized White Supremacists.

13 The White Supremacist movement contains a broad
14 array of organizations, publishing houses, major
15 financial donors, pseudo-scientists and other individuals
16 for whom race and the struggle between racial groups is
17 the motivating factor of civilization.

18 White Supremacist violence, or most of what we
19 refer to as hate crimes, swallow up the rational in large
20 part, and do have an important logic. This logic is a
21 conspiratorial, yet coherent ideology of White Supremacy
22 which advocates genocide as a biological solution to
23 today's social ills, real and perceived. The importance
24 of this genocidal role view comes into play when we
25 examine the revolutionary aims of the White Supremacist

1 movement, which places it at odds with the status quo and
2 the conservative white wing.

3 For the bigoted Christian right wing, white
4 racial domination is primarily a function of economics
5 and politics. The anti-establishment goals and strategies
6 of the organized White Supremacist movement allow it to
7 position itself as the champion of disenfranchised and
8 exploited whites.

9 An excellent example of this is the so-called
10 Christian Patriots in Oregon. These bigots believe in
11 the divinely appointed destiny of the white race and are
12 often centered in small rural churches drawing their
13 membership from organizations such as the John Birch
14 Society, from fundamentalist churches and from
15 disaffected rural workers. Many trace their political
16 involvement to the Wallace campaign of 1968, and the
17 reaction to the Civil Rights Movement. Others trace
18 their organizational philosophy back to the Posse
19 Comitatus, an anti-Semitic Libertarian splinter group
20 founded by Henry L. Beech here in Portland, Oregon in
21 1969.

22 A number of these groups share in common with
23 the Aryan Nations, Christian Identity Christianity, the
24 racist theology that has united so many neo-fascist
25 groups throughout the United States. These Christian

1 Patriots and Identity believers share in common with the
2 religious right, the theme of a Christian America, but
3 they carry this theme further than the religious right,
4 extending the theme of the republic past individual
5 sovereignty into the area of a racial nation and a racial
6 destiny.

7 Most of the movement specific theories of the
8 tax rebellion, common law, the role of courts and juries
9 and the role of the county sheriff have been developed
10 within the context of the Posse Comitatus. Identity
11 Christianity serves a dual purpose for White
12 Supremacists, giving divergent groups such as the Posse
13 Comitatus, the Aryan Nations and the Klu Klux Klan
14 religious unity under the umbrella of Identity
15 Christianity and providing a soft entry point for
16 religious people while providing contact with White
17 Supremacist movement through Christian Identity churches.

18 Another critical facet of the White Supremacist
19 movement is many youth based organizations, in particular
20 racist Skinhead groups. Across the country reports of
21 racial tension in high schools, music clubs and
22 neighborhoods have increased. Young people affiliated
23 with White Supremacist groups are responsible for some of
24 the most shocking incidents of bigoted violence.

25 Racist Skinheads play the role of street

1 terrorists for their older mentors like Richard Butler of
2 the Aryan Nations Church in Idaho, and Rick Cooper of the
3 National Socialist Vanguard here in Oregon. Themes of
4 racist hatred, homophobia and religious bigotry
5 promulgated by the far right political activists, such as
6 David Duke and Tom Metzger, together with the
7 professionally quoted forms of racism, resonate strongly
8 among young whites.

9 The argument that the 1990 and 1991 Civil
10 Rights Bill, for example, the argument that they
11 establish quotas for racial minorities lends credence to
12 the propaganda of the far right that minorities pose a
13 threat to white males. In a similar fashion legislative
14 bills against "special rights" for lesbians and gay men
15 legitimate gay bashing. The scope of the problem is
16 evident when observing the hate crimes committed in New
17 York City during 1990. The study noted that seventy
18 percent of those arrested for hate crimes are younger
19 than nineteen, and forty percent were under sixteen.

20 Locally Portland has endured three years of
21 neo-Nazi Skinhead groups composed largely of young
22 people. Similar cities such as Salem, Eugene, Medford,
23 Astoria, Pendleton and Corvallis have also contended with
24 racist Skinhead groups.

25 We would like to stress two related points

1 concerning racist Skinhead organizations and bigoted
2 violence they perpetrate. First, an understanding of
3 these groups as largely the same social phenomena as
4 African-American, Latino and Asian-American based gangs
5 is faulty and dangerous. Minority based gangs arise out
6 of historically rooted conditions of inequality,
7 discrimination and lack of economic opportunity within
8 those communities. They are primarily economically
9 driven, that is they compete for control and distribution
10 and sale of commodities, in this case drugs that are
11 illegal.

12 Racist Skinhead groups, while they may on
13 occasion participate in the drug trade, are organized as
14 an extension of the White Supremacist movement. Their
15 function is not primarily economic, but political, which
16 is why they form political discussion groups, distribute
17 leaflets, hold conferences and frequently engage in
18 street terror. Unlike minority gangs, the violence of
19 organized bigoted youth has a political motive. That
20 motive is fomenting a race war in which they feel whites
21 will be the victors.

22 The second related point we would like to make
23 is that while racist Skinhead groups may be thugs and fit
24 some gang criteria, too often resistance to their street
25 terror is criminalized as gang activity and lumped into

1 youthful expressions of rebellion. This analysis is
2 politically motivated and serves to distort and minimize
3 the role that White Supremacy, racism and other forms of
4 bigotry play in the life of racist Skinheads.

5 Those who are involved in fighting back and
6 turning the tide against racism and Nazism understand
7 that the first step in doing so is to defy fear and make
8 a commitment not to capitulate to bigoted terrorists.
9 To criminalize the resistance of young people to White
10 Supremacists' attempts to take over youth gathering
11 places and turn them into recruiting grounds in the name
12 of keeping peace is a strategy which is morally and
13 politically bankrupt.

14 This leads us to another reason for the problem
15 of escalating hate crime, the lack of response to
16 organized White Supremacy on the part of city, state and
17 federal governments throughout the U.S. The current
18 insurgency of organized bigotry is only the latest wave
19 in the long history of vigilante White Supremacy in the
20 United States. White Supremacy has terrorized
21 communities of color in the U.S. since whites first
22 organized the KKK as a racist group to uphold the
23 abolition of slavery and reassert White Supremacy.

24 Only recently have federal law enforcement
25 officials begun to take the problem seriously because of

1 the revolutionary posture that a large portion of the
2 White Supremacist movement adopted in the early 1980s.
3 In other words, they began to take it seriously when they
4 themselves were targetd.

5 As Portland author Elenore Langer states in an
6 article published in the July 16 issue of The Nation,
7 "The period of passive accommodation that have
8 characterized relations between the federal government
9 and the Klan throughout the 1970s drew to a close. It
10 was followed by a period of greater governmental
11 aggressiveness, which rested primarily on the realization
12 that, unlike the Klan, the new movement was directed in
13 part against the government itself and was hence more
14 dangerous. A fact that its repeated declarations of war
15 on the Zionist Occupational Government, its term for
16 federal authority, as well as the deaths of several law
17 officers made hard to miss.

18 "The awakening of the Reagan administration to
19 these developments appears to roughly have followed the
20 trajectory of the movement itself from underground to
21 above ground only a little behind. By the mid 1980s
22 there is a definitive new policy. Patriotic bigotry is
23 one thing and sedition is something else."

24 While organized White Supremacists have played
25 a critical role in popularizing and promoting hate

1 violence, other factors must be considered as well. The
2 less acknowledged problem of violence against women
3 contributes to the hate crimes experienced by other
4 targeted groups, gay men and lesbians in particular. We
5 still live in a society of rigid gender roles and
6 stereotypes which justify violence against women and gay
7 bashing.

8 The growing problem of violence against women
9 makes women the most likely target of hate violence in
10 our society. Unlike other victims of bigotry, women are
11 most frequently attacked in their homes and by people
12 they know, and often their attackers are people on whom
13 women depend for economic support. For these reasons,
14 women are among the least likely to report the violence
15 and malicious harassment they face to public authorities.
16 The most recent statistics concerning violence against
17 women indicate that women are safer outdoors than in
18 their own homes.

19 Male supremacy and violence against women also
20 leads to the targeting of gay men and lesbians for
21 homophobic violence. Over and over again those who are
22 victimized by vigilante homophobes are targeted because
23 their attackers feel they have violated social codes
24 circumscribing gender specific behavior. Gay men are
25 called girls; they are taunted and harassed for being

1 womanlike, for not being real mean.

2 Homophobic attacks are often directed against
3 men who are not gay, but who are perceived to be so
4 because their behavior is believed to be effeminate.
5 Lesbians find themselves subjected to homophobic attacks
6 by bigots who are motivated to attack them because they
7 fail to comply with standards of femininity and because
8 they're not under the sexual, physical and emotional
9 domination of men. It is no surprise, therefore, that
10 women are subjected to homophobic violence by people they
11 know far more often than are men.

12 As people concerned with the problem of hate
13 crimes, we must deal with violence directed against women
14 motivated by woman-hating bigotry. If we fail to do so,
15 we will be weakened in our efforts to combat hate crimes
16 against groups currently targeted, and we will have
17 failed in our larger mission to create a society which
18 values the rights of all citizens to live free of
19 bigotry.

20 Another critical factor involved in hate crimes
21 is the New Christian Right. The New Christian Right is
22 at the leadership of the mainstream attack against civil
23 rights and civil liberties, and the arguments they have
24 been making to justify these assaults against equality
25 have given legitimacy to the latent bigotry prevalent

1 among so many in our society.

2 Here in Oregon, the most successful Christian
3 right wing group is the Oregon Citizens' Alliance. The
4 OCA has been active in Oregon since 1987. Over the
5 course of this time they have led an all-out assault
6 against freedom of speech for women and gays, women's
7 reproductive freedom, the right of gay men and lesbians
8 to live free of discrimination, state supported
9 prekindergarten child care and parental leave, state
10 divestment from corporations active in South Africa,
11 organized labor, and programs which serve the poor,
12 people of color and children.

13 This year the Oregon Citizens' Alliance is
14 involved in a campaign to further institutionalize
15 anti-gay bigotry by putting forward a ballot measure
16 which equates homosexuality with criminal acts such as
17 bestiality, necrophilia, and child molestation. The
18 OCA, under the ideological leadership of the Heritage
19 Foundation, Concerned Women for American, the Eagle
20 Forum, and the American Coalition of Traditional Values
21 Nationally has developed a broader political agenda,
22 which is intended to diminish the separation of church
23 and state and to defy the authority of the Bill of Rights
24 by returning constitutional law to "The original
25 construction and intent of the founding fathers." That

1 group -- by that I mean the founding fathers -- I remind
2 you included slave holders.

3 The problem of hate crimes in Oregon must not
4 be understood in a social and historical vacuum.
5 Incidents of race hatred, anti-Semitism, religious
6 intolerance, violence against women and gay and lesbian
7 bashing clearly occur within the context of declining
8 federal support for social and economic justice. A
9 religious right wing that is mobilizing through the
10 ballot box and White Supremacist movement that seeks to
11 terrorize people of good will into submission.

12 CHAIRMAN HAMILTON: Could you leave a copy or
13 do you have an extra copy of your presentation that you
14 can leave with the Committee?

15 MR. NAKAGAWA: Yes, I can leave this one.

16 CHAIRMAN HAMILTON: The record will continue to
17 be open for ten days, so you would have an opportunity to
18 make a copy if that's your last copy, and you may send it
19 to our staff person whose address you can gain. Now
20 before you sit down are there any questions?

21 COMMISSIONER BORNET: Yes. The Coalition for
22 Human Dignity, can you put a little flesh and blood on
23 that? Coalitions are sometimes coalitions of
24 organizations. Could you explain the title a little bit?

25 MR. NAKAGAWA: The group was founded nearly

1 three years ago as a coalition. It involved numbers of
2 grass roots organizations and city officials. After a
3 few months, however, the grass roots part of the
4 coalition broke away and reconstituted itself as a
5 committee, because we felt that our affiliation with city
6 government was getting in the way of our doing our job
7 basically.

8 COMMISSIONER BORNET: So it's really not a
9 coalition of organizations but of concerned individuals
10 who came together with a common agenda. Is that a fair
11 statement?

12 MR. NAKAGAWA: Yes, that's correct.

13 COMMISSIONER BORNET: Thank you.

14 CHAIRMAN HAMILTON: Any other questions of this
15 witness.

16 (No response)

17 CHAIRMAN HAMILTON: Thank you very much. We
18 are at the stage now for the open meeting for people who
19 signed up. I'd call Tammy Walker.

20 MS. WALKER: Good afternoon. Thank you. My
21 name is Tammy Jo Walker, and I attended today mostly just
22 to gather information and to listen to the other
23 presentations. But after this morning's session I was
24 left with some concerns about the picture painted with
25 respect to law enforcement and its relationship to ethnic

1 communities in this state, and the amount of work it has
2 taken to get law enforcement agencies to take bias crimes
3 and hate crimes seriously, and intimidation and
4 harassment issues seriously.

5 Let me give you a little bit of background
6 about myself. I was born and raised in Portland and up
7 and down the I-5 corridor. I have lived from Eugene to
8 Portland, sort of on that span of the highway, and I have
9 had various numbers of incidents in my life. And I sat
10 here trying to think about one that I had reported to the
11 police and sort of got ready to take some action on, and
12 it was very difficult for me to think of one time that I
13 turned to the police or to police officials for
14 assistance.

15 I work in community kind of advocacy roles. I
16 worked for Women's Domestic Violence Shelter for a while.
17 I worked for the Eugene Human Rights Commission. I am
18 now a staff person for the Salem Human Rights Commission.
19 I'm on the state's Fair Housing Board. I was the
20 executive director for the Urban Commission on Black
21 Affairs, so I've been in a lot of sort of advocacy roles.

22 And I understand the need to bring attention and enforce
23 the laws to prohibit intimidation and harassment.

24 So when I'm subjected to it, one would expect
25 that I would follow the steps, right. And when I get a

1 call in my office, I always encourage people to follow
2 the steps. We have to call the police and we have to
3 follow up. Then I wondered why it was I didn't turn to
4 the police very much. And a partial explanation, I
5 think, is my background in this state.

6 I grew up and got my self-portrait and a
7 portrait of black America in Portland public schools. My
8 first contact with the police was when I was in the third
9 grade. I was eight years old. And I was playing on the
10 playground equipment after school outside of Irvington,
11 which is not too far from here, just a few blocks. And
12 one of the neighbors across the street called the police
13 because they didn't think I should be there. School was
14 out; they had allowed me as a black person to attend
15 their public school, but now I should go home. And
16 that's just what she told me when she called the police.

17 The police officer came out and tried to talk
18 me into going home without getting it too escalated, you
19 know, to sort of appease the neighbor and to keep me
20 quiet and to not really have to deal with my parents. I
21 think they believed in the stereotypical African-American
22 parent and if they took me home they were not going to
23 get any support and my parents were going to yell and
24 scream at them. What they didn't understand was that I
25 was the child of a school teacher and a truck driver who

1 worked for the railroad who were very law-abiding, and
2 who would have taken my head off just for the fact that I
3 had the audacity to stand up to an adult and say no for
4 any reason. Whether or not I was right or whether or not
5 it was just, what they were telling me, I was a child and
6 was not supposed to talk back to an adult. I have a
7 problem with the way we teach our children to do that
8 blind obedience that way. But for him the solution was
9 that I should go home and I really shouldn't be at the
10 playground. I was eight years old, so that must have
11 been 1970. That was my first interaction with the
12 police.

13 Next was in sixth grade. Now I'm eleven years
14 old and I'm very seasoned in starting trouble in public
15 school. And we moved from Portland to Tualatin, and as
16 far as I know, my sister and I were the first black
17 students at Tualatin Elementary School and the teachers
18 were not accustomed to dealing with us. And with the
19 sixth grade girls there was like a feud brewing. It
20 wasn't a race issue because I was the only person of
21 color in the whole student body besides my kindergarten
22 sister. I don't really know what the issue was, but a
23 big fight broke out. And the principal pulled these
24 groups of young women together. There was this group of
25 us who were considered the bad girls, and there was a

1 group who were considered good girls.

2 They interviewed us and wanted to know who the
3 leaders were. And it wasn't organized that way, but we
4 couldn't convince them. So they pulled me into the
5 office and one woman that is really a good friend of mine
6 into the office as the leaders of the bad girls and as
7 the instigators of the entire incident. And I was
8 suspended from school for trying to incite a riot. These
9 are eleven-year-old girls in elementary school, and I was
10 inciting a riot and was suspended from school.

11 And my history sort of went on that way.
12 Between school teachers and police officers, authority
13 figures were starting to really get a bad reputation in
14 my head. I remember I was told in school how the police
15 are supposed to help you, and how the authority structure
16 was there to provide and teach you in a sound, safe
17 environment, but that hadn't been my experience.

18 Then I went to college down in Eugene. And
19 that was a scary, a scary circumstance. I think that the
20 amount of violence that is perpetrated on college
21 campuses in this state is clearly underestimated,
22 violence against women and violence against people of
23 color and gay bashings. I'm very concerned.

24 I was the president of the Black Student Union
25 there at the university, and we went to the

1 administration over and over and over again, because if
2 we called the police about an intimidation or harassment,
3 the police would say, "It's on campus so campus security
4 should handle it."

5 And if we called campus security, most often
6 you got a student who wasn't interested in
7 getting involved, and security said, "Well, it's more
8 than we can handle, call the police." So we'd go to
9 administration and say, "You need a policy. You need to
10 deal with this. It needs to be clear to students that
11 it's inappropriate behavior and this kind of climate
12 cannot continue." And we didn't get a response from the
13 administration.

14 And people got tired of me in the BSU talking
15 about calling the police and call this person and let's
16 go to this office and let's make a complaint. They got
17 very tired of my mouth. They wanted to take care of it
18 themselves because no one else was going to defend their
19 rights for them. They wanted to take it to the people
20 who were bringing it to them, and in the same language,
21 and in the same behaviors. And standing there trying to
22 convince them that that's not the appropriate way was
23 sometimes difficult, and oftentimes I felt a little
24 hypocritical, you know, because I stood there and was
25 just as angry. And if I didn't feel like this

1 responsibility to be the president of the Black Student
2 Union, I would have wanted to go toe to toe with some of
3 the people myself.

4 Right after I graduated from school I bought
5 myself a graduation present, a little red car. And I was
6 attending a women's conference out in Molalla. It was a
7 conference of the Oregon Coalition Against Domestic and
8 Sexual Violence, and it was held at a campground outside
9 of Molalla. And you had to drive through Molalla to get
10 to it.

11 I don't know how many of you can identify with
12 a situation like that, but you sit there and you see
13 Molalla, and you think, okay. You have to do it during a
14 certain time of day. It would be better if someone was
15 with you, not to do it by yourself. And this is really a
16 dangerous thing to do, but I didn't have a choice; I had
17 to go. And I had to do it for a couple reasons. One, I
18 represented the shelter that I worked for, and two, I had
19 to do it for my own peace of mind. I cannot let my life
20 be limited that way, so I'm going to do it.

21 My car was about two or three weeks old, and it
22 didn't have the license plates yet. And I'm driving
23 through Molalla. I don't know if you've ever experienced
24 this, but you're looking at the speedometer; you're
25 looking to the side; don't speed; don't do this; make

1 sure you're doing everything. And a little ways down I
2 saw a police car pull up to a stop light.

3 And I thought, "Oh, my God, he's going to stop
4 me." That's when the Portland Police were really getting
5 geared up about this gang thing too, and I had to buy a
6 red car. Of all colors it had to be red. And this
7 police officer sat through a light and waited for me to
8 get to where he was. So I mean it was a given I was
9 going to get pulled over. There was no question in my
10 mind about that.

11 So I'm thinking." Where's my driver's license?
12 Where's the registration? And I'm going camping, so I
13 don't have a purse. I think, "Oh, my God. My wallet is
14 in my glove box. Oh, my God. They are going to shoot
15 me." So I pulled over because, yes, he did come out
16 behind me and pulled me over. And I sat there. I had
17 been taught by my father that whenever you get stopped by
18 a police officer, you don't move a muscle. Do not move a
19 muscle. So my hands were on the steering wheel until
20 that police officer got out of his car and got to the
21 side of my car.

22 There were two in the car. One got out of the
23 driver's side, unsnapped his holster, his gun, and pulled
24 it out, and the other one got out, unsnapped his and
25 stood on the sidewalk and he approached me. And I'm

1 sitting there and I'm really nervous now. I've been
2 pulled over a lot of times but no one has ever pulled a
3 gun out of their holster before.

4 When he got to the car, I rolled down the
5 window, and he said, "Can I see your driver's license and
6 your registration?" Now by all rights I have the right
7 to say, "Is there a problem, officer?" But I'm not
8 stupid. I didn't say it. I said to him, "It's in the
9 glove box. I'm going to reach to get it."

10 And I reached over, pulled open the glove
11 compartment, and it was empty. And my heart fell into my
12 shoes. And I thought, "My God, I don't know where it
13 is." The other thing my father taught me was that you
14 know every relevant number that this society assigns to
15 you so you don't have to reach into your pocket.

16 So I said to him, "I know my driver's license
17 number." And I rattled it off and told him the
18 expiration date. I knew that information. And I said,
19 "You can feel free to call. I'm going to look in my
20 duffel bag in the back of my hatchback car while you do
21 that." He said, "Okay."

22 I said, "If you don't mind, would you explain
23 to your partner what I'm doing?" He said, "Okay." So I
24 get out and got the duffel bag out, opened it really
25 wide, sat it on the sidewalk right in front of his

1 partner, and I was shaking because I didn't know for sure
2 that the ID would be in there. And I didn't know what he
3 would find. I knew he wouldn't find anything criminal
4 when he called, but I didn't know what to expect.

5 I find my driver's license; I take it out like
6 this (indicating), and I sat it on the hood of the police
7 car and I get back in the car. I don't do anything. I
8 just got back in the car and sat my hands back on the
9 steering wheel. The police officer comes back from
10 calling in to check me out, says, "Okay. Well, be
11 careful. You girls be careful out there."

12 He knew where I was headed. He knew that I
13 didn't belong in town because it's Molalla, I guess. I
14 don't have any idea what justification he was going to
15 use for stopping me if I had asked. I don't have any
16 idea what would have happened if I had an outstanding
17 ticket or something. I don't know. But that kind of
18 fear all the way through and dreading going home back
19 through Molalla again is not just a one-time thing, and
20 it's not really just Molalla. It's every town in
21 Portland, probably with the exception of, you know, right
22 inside Portland when it's daytime and there's lots of
23 people around I don't feel that way.

24 But, you know, there are things you know.
25 There are things you know that whether or not the law

1 says it's okay, whether or not society would back you up,
2 you don't do. Sitting in the hairdreser and you listen
3 to the men talk, black men don't go in southeast Portland
4 by themselves at night. That's what they talk about.
5 Whether or not there is a real problem, there's a
6 perceived problem serious enough for them to limit the
7 way that they live their lives.

8 And for a police officer to stand up before you
9 today and in my mind minimize the difficulty in reporting
10 those kinds of crimes, made in part by their own
11 officers' treatment of people of color, frightened me and
12 really worried me. We have a difficult time in Salem
13 convincing people that they should go to the police,
14 because when and if they do, if they aren't interrogated
15 and treated like a criminal, then they see very little
16 action taken.

17 People of color in Salem, particularly
18 African-American and Hispanic men, are as afraid of the
19 police as they are any potential attackers on the street.
20 And when Ms. Nelson called me about Kevin, one of the
21 things that happened when the police approached him was
22 that the policeman had his hand on his baton. The police
23 officer didn't have any idea -- at that time he didn't
24 have any idea what was really going on, but Kevin was
25 just as afraid of him as he was the people he had just

1 gotten away from. That says something about the culture
2 of our police department.

3 There was a statement made earlier today that
4 the police were well representative of people of color in
5 this state. That is not true. I work in the city of
6 Salem. They have a three-hundred member police
7 department. We have one person of color. No bilingual
8 people. That to me is a sad statement about the Salem
9 Police Department.

10 It isn't much better in Eugene, but it is some
11 better. And when you talk to them, they give you lots of
12 reasons how they have justified it to themselves. And I
13 think that they're hoping that they're justifying it to
14 me as well. They're not. They cannot communicate with
15 the citizens they are supposed to protect. And then they
16 don't understand why they don't hear from the black
17 community when something happens. They don't understand
18 that the fact that black people know that they're going
19 to get stopped by a police officer in south Salem has an
20 impact on whether or not black people trust the police
21 enough to become a victim all over again and relive their
22 victimization, because that's what you have to do. It
23 takes a great deal of courage for anybody to report that
24 kind of victimization. And without a support system for
25 them from the authorities and from the community, it's

1 very unlikely that we're going to hear from them on a
2 regular basis.

3 CHAIRMAN HAMILTON: Thank you. Does anyone
4 have a question they would like to ask this witness?

5 COMMISSIONER BROWNSTEIN: Let me ask a
6 question. Did you say that your occupation was with the
7 Salem Human Rights organization.

8 MS. WALKER: Let me clarify. I'm an
9 administrative analyst for the city of Salem. The city
10 of Salem allocated three-tenths of a percent of a staff
11 person to human rights.

12 COMMISSIONER BROWNSTEIN: That's you?

13 MS. WALKER: That's three-tenths of my job,
14 yes.

15 COMMISSIONER BROWNSTEIN: You think that in
16 Portland, at least it was, maybe it isn't any more, but
17 it would seem to me that maybe part of your duties in
18 Salem would be to be an advocate for a more racially
19 integrated police force.

20 MS. WALKER: It is and I've been there two
21 years almost, and they recruit for police officers once
22 every two years. So the one recruitment that they've had
23 since I've been there, before they started recruiting I
24 talked to the chief; I talked to the captain; I talked to
25 the PNT staff; I went on recruit trips with them; I

1 talked to people that I knew and I worked really hard
2 with them on recruitment and hiring people of color.
3 That's when we got the one ethnic officer; that was last
4 September.

5 They extended an offer to one other gentleman
6 and then put a hiring freeze on until after we found out
7 whether or not Measure 5 passed, and it did pass, so they
8 didn't hire the additional person. They suspended the
9 position and they didn't hire him. And we were really
10 nervous that they were going to lay off the one person
11 that they did hire.

12 And they have made some steps; they have made
13 some policy changes. Now you don't need to have a
14 bachelor's degree any more to be a police officer in
15 Salem. I convinced them that that didn't mean they
16 weren't going to be qualified, that you had to hire
17 unqualified people just because they got rid of that
18 requirement.

19 And I talked to them about their recruiting
20 style. If you go to Monmouth, Oregon, the number of
21 people of color you contact is going to be relatively
22 small, and then if you go in your uniform and then stand
23 in your police bearing -- I said, "Do they teach you to
24 stand that way in the academy?" And they said, "Yes,
25 because it shows that you're in control of the

1 situation."

2 And I said, "Well, you're not in control. The
3 potential applicants are in control. You need to relax
4 and you need to talk with them." Anyway, we worked a lot
5 on some of their recruitment stuff, and I hope it makes a
6 difference in the long run. The next policy we're trying
7 to change is the biannual recruitment, because they lose
8 people off the top of the list really quickly.

9 COMMISSIONER BROWNSTEIN: Did you think that
10 one experience was a fair one, the one recruiting
11 experience, you speaking or your input, their reaction to
12 it, and even though you had limited results, that they
13 gave it a legitimate try?

14 MS. WALKER: Well, they were responsive in some
15 ways, but it's like they went on ten recruiting trips and
16 they only wanted me to go on two. And I had to really
17 beg them to let me go on those two. And that they were
18 willing to do, and they felt like they had done their
19 duty by letting me go on those two. But to talk about
20 the kinds of materials, the kinds of information they had
21 about the ethnic community in Salem, so they could
22 provide that information to potential candidates, they
23 were not responsive to that at all. And the people who
24 were on that particular recruit team were not sure that
25 it was an issue, didn't understand why they needed

1 officers of color in Salem. And we had pretty heated
2 discussions about it.

3 CHAIRMAN HAMILTON: Thank you. Wayne Basecker.

4 MR. BASECKER: Thank you very much. My name is
5 Wayne Basecker. I'm what is classified as an equity
6 specialist with a company called Interface. I work for
7 the Desegregation Assistance Center. Our home base is in
8 Beaverton and our area of coverage is Oregon, Washington,
9 Idaho, Alaska and all the Pacific Islands.

10 My background is twenty years in broadcast
11 communications, and I've also spent the last four years
12 as a college professor at Oregon State University in that
13 area, and now as an equity specialist. I've been
14 listening to a lot of the testimony today, and if I may
15 sum up some of them, they term, they keep coming back to,
16 at least in my mind, to a form of reeducation.

17 I think that that's imperative when you talk
18 about the issues of race, equity, if you talk about sex
19 equity, if you talk about what we know versus what we
20 don't know, what we say versus what we do. I don't think
21 many people can argue with the fact that in this country,
22 the Constitution says, "In liberty and justice for all."
23 But I think we can find some concerns in that regard that
24 that is not the case. A case of what we say versus what
25 we do.

1 I think that in regard to where does this whole
2 thing, this beast, which I classify called racism, where
3 does it begin? It begins at the beginning. And I think
4 oftentimes when we deal with the issues of concern, we
5 start in chapter 7 of a ten-chapter book, and we don't
6 deal with the first chapters.

7 I think that when you go back and you study the
8 racism in this country, you will go back to the
9 Elizabethan period and so forth and come forward. I
10 think there is a lot of things that we don't do in this
11 society, and I think one of them is to educate. I think
12 that one of the problems that we have has to do with all
13 of us being products of our environment. That is, I was
14 born and raised in Portland, Oregon; I went to Jefferson
15 High School; I graduated from Jefferson High School and
16 went to Oregon State University and then went down to the
17 University of Oregon and have been up and down this I-5
18 corridor hundreds of thousands of times.

19 But then my experience is different than a
20 person from Chicago or a person from New York or a person
21 from Tupelo, Mississippi or Dallas, Texas. And the point
22 here is that those are the kinds of beginnings that we
23 start with, and for the most part what we do not do is
24 factor in when we encounter someone different. Most of
25 us live in what has been classified sociologically as a

1 specific area or reference area or reference group. And
2 if you are a person who has grown up and not interacted
3 with anyone else outside of your individual community,
4 that is beginning with your parents and then going from
5 there to your schools and so forth, you have not
6 encountered anyone of color, then you have an innate
7 prejudice already of which we all have.

8 But in regard to as we talk about the
9 demagogues and demagoguery that has happened in this
10 society, it is preyed upon people who do not have
11 education. It is preyed on people who do not have any
12 money. But those kinds of things are not looked at. I
13 think that we need to look at the psychology of these
14 things that involve us.

15 I think that anyone who believes they can
16 escape from this monster is on a false premise, because
17 as George Washington Carver said, "It is impossible to
18 put your foot on somebody else's neck and hold somebody
19 else down without staying down with them." So in terms
20 of racism, we are all in this together.

21 I am a person who tends to look at the overall
22 big picture. We have heard a lot today about the
23 individualism of the issue, and that all of those things
24 should be taken into account. But we should not lose the
25 fact that everybody is involved here.

1 There are a lot of studies that have been taken
2 in regard to studies on psychology that have been done on
3 people of color, but very few have been done on white
4 people. But there is an effect there as well. Not too
5 many people are aware of the fact, and they should be,
6 that it has been diagnosed some twenty or thirty years
7 ago as a form of paranoid schizophrenia, racism. And we
8 need to address these.

9 As a competitive athlete for a number of years,
10 when I look at someone like a Metzger or somebody like
11 that, I'm going after what they're going after. They are
12 going after the mindsets of young people. So am I. And
13 I'm also going after what they use. You know your
14 opponents. You must know your opponent. You must know
15 who you're up against. If you don't know who you're up
16 against or what's coming at you, then you stand a chance
17 of losing. We are all going to lose, each and every one
18 of us. Whether you make fifty thousand a year, two
19 hundred fifty thousand a year or you're working at
20 minimum wage, you will lose in the end. You will lose
21 the battle.

22 What we do is we have a conspiracy of silence
23 in this country. As long as a problem is not sleeping
24 with me, then I don't do anything about it. But when it
25 does, then I become concerned about it. And there's the

1 other aspect, is it in my best interest? And there have
2 been some sociological studies that have indicated that
3 ninety-five percent of the time we are thinking about
4 ourselves as individuals and only five percent of the
5 time about our brothers. So as a result what are we
6 going to do with that?

7 So I think that if we're going to address the
8 problem, Commission and all those representatives who
9 have spoken today, I think you need to go back to the
10 beginning. I think you need to take a look at the
11 systemic aspects. I think you need to take a hard look
12 at institutional racism. I think you need to look at the
13 oppressor and not blame the victim, as so many times is
14 the case.

15 And I think that we need to look at who's
16 winning, who's really winning. Because when I see a
17 Skinhead -- and I may be out of pocket, as my brother
18 would say in this particular case, but I'm going to quote
19 something that my mother said that hopefully isn't too
20 graphic for some. But in looking at people who have less
21 than you, as my mother says, "You know they don't have a
22 pot to piss in or a window to throw it out of." They
23 don't have anything. And there's a fear that you have
24 more than them. That's symbolic racism that we have to
25 deal with too. That is, yes, they have affirmative

1 action; yes, they have all of these things; however, they
2 have too much now. They have gotten too much, and I
3 don't have anything.

4 See these are all weapons that can be utilized
5 by the mind of a Metzger or anyone else who rises to such
6 occasion. I will give you an incident that happened to
7 me -- well, two that happened to me in the last week.
8 And one is, I don't know how many of you have seen the
9 movie "Dances with Wolves." That's a movie, if you have
10 not seen it, I would recommend that you see it. My wife
11 and I were sitting in front of a white couple that was
12 sitting in the back. And about three quarters of the way
13 through the movie, the white woman indicated to her
14 husband that "Oh, no, here comes those damned white
15 people again messing it up for everybody else."

16 And she was speaking rather loudly on the
17 subject, and her husband, as most husbands might do, he's
18 trying to duck his head saying, "Honey, I know. I
19 understand." But she was speaking her mind. Yesterday
20 as I am renting some movies there was a little kid about
21 three years old that was with her father, and the young
22 lady said, "That's a white woman, daddy." She was
23 looking at the cover of one of the movies, "The Perfect
24 10."

25 And she says, "That's a white woman but she has

1 black hair." Talking about the braids of the hairstyle
2 of this particular person. He was feeling very
3 uncomfortable for the three year old, approximately. But
4 I will say this in that regard. Children start to
5 distinguish color by the time that they are two years
6 old, and differences. So to think that we can make some
7 differences, and we can, with teenagers, they have
8 already got a fifteen-year head start. So we have to go
9 back to the beginning and work it through.

10 We at Interface work with K through twelve is
11 what we do. And largely what we also do is understand
12 the situation. And the situation is that in the top
13 twenty-five school districts in this country, they have a
14 population of over fifty percent minority students.
15 White teacher - minority students. In New York City, for
16 example, and in the state of California, the majority is
17 no longer white in those two states.

18 What we have is we have a situation where
19 people have to be educated and sensitized to people
20 different from them, who have different customs, who have
21 different ways of thinking and doing, and coming into a
22 situation where there may be a family orientation versus
23 a single orientation. These are the kinds of things
24 that, at least in my opinion, need to be addressed not
25 only by the Committee, but by the country and government

1 and institutions at large. I am going to conclude with
2 that, but I hope that you take this information from all
3 of us and do well with it. Thank you very much.

4 CHAIRMAN HAMILTON: Thank you. This has been a
5 long day and we have taken in much information. We are
6 on time and unless somebody at this table has a burning
7 need to make an observation, I'm going to call this
8 meeting to an end.

9 COMMISSIONER BORNET: I have an observation.

10 CHAIRMAN HAMILTON: Oh, no.

11 COMMISSIONER BORNET: Yes. I believe that the
12 input that we have had that was personal and that was
13 individualized, specific from these folks toward the end,
14 has been one of the more valuable parts of the hearing,
15 and that was just an opinion that I expressed.

16 CHAIRMAN HAMILTON: Thank you. Anybody else
17 have a burning need to express an opinion?

18 (No response)

19 CHAIRMAN HAMILTON: Seeing that there is no
20 further burning need, thank you very much for coming and
21 for providing the Committee with this information. We
22 are now going to digest all of this; we're going to come
23 up with some recommendations and send those to our parent
24 organization back to the Commission, to our staff, and
25 maybe someday it will come out in a published volume and

1 we will all benefit from it. Thank you.

2 (Hearing adjourned at 4:48 p.m.)

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1 STATE OR OREGON)
2 COUNTY OF MULTNOMAH) ss.

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I, PAMELA L. SPENCER, a Certified Shorthand Reporter for the state of Oregon, hereby certify that at said time and place I reported in stenotype all testimony adduced and other oral proceedings had in the foregoing proceedings; that thereafter my notes were reduced to typewriting under my direction; and that the foregoing transcript, pages 1 to 215, both inclusive, contains the full, true, and correct record of all such testimony adduced and oral proceedings had and of the whole thereof.

Witness my hand at Portland, Oregon, this ____ day of August, 1991.

Certified Shorthand Reporter
CSR #90-0076