

U. S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

MEETING

Friday, April 4, 1997

The Commission met in Room 540, YWCA
Building, 624 9th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
20425, at 9:30 a.m., MARY FRANCES BERRY, Chairperson, presiding.

PRESENT:

MARY FRANCES BERRY, CHAIRPERSON
CRUZ REYNOSO, VICE CHAIRPERSON
CARL A. ANDERSON, COMMISSIONER
ROBERT P. GEORGE, COMMISSIONER
CONSTANCE HORNER, COMMISSIONER
YVONNE Y. LEE, COMMISSIONER
RUSSELL G. REDENBAUGH, COMMISSIONER
(Via Telephone)

EDWARD HAILES, JR., DEPUTY STAFF DIRECTOR

STAFF PRESENT:

MARLISSA BRIGGETT
BARBARA BROOKS
SICILIA CHINN
KI-TAEK CHUN
JAMES S. CUNNINGHAM
BETTY EDMISTON
GEORGE M. HARBISON
CAROL-LEE HURLEY
FREDERICK ISLER



STAFF PRESENT: (Continued)

WILLIAM LEE
ERIC MANN
REGINALD MARTIN
STEPHANIE Y. MOORE, GENERAL COUNSEL AND
PARLIAMENTARIAN
LILLIAN MOYANO, YOB
VERONIQUE PLUVIOSE-FENTON
CHARLES RIVERA
MARCIA TYLER
AUDREY WRIGHT
NADJA ZALOKAR

COMMISSIONER ASSISTANTS PRESENT:

JOSEPH BROADUS
ADERSON FRANCOIS
CHARLOTTE PONTICELLI
WILLIAM LEE SAUNDERS, JR.
KRISHNA TOOLSIE
CYNTHIA VALENZUELA

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1		PROCEEDINGS
2		9:30 a.m.
3		CHAIRPERSON BERRY: The meeting will come to
4	order.	
5		VICE CHAIRPERSON REYNOSO: Redenbaugh is with
6	us on the	phone.
7		CHAIRPERSON BERRY: He's on the phone?
8		COMMISSIONER REDENBAUGH: Yes. Good morning,
9	Mary.	
10		CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Good morning to you,
11	Russell.	
12		I would like to have a motion to approve the
13	Agenda of	the meeting today, please.
14		COMMISSIONER HORNER: So move.
15		VICE CHAIRPERSON REYNOSO: Second.
16		CHAIRPERSON BERRY: All in favor, indicate by
17	saying aye.	
18		(Chorus of ayes.)
19		So ordered.
20		The minutes of the February 14th, 1997
21	meeting.	I need a motion.
22		COMMISSIONER HORNER: So move.
23		CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Do we have a second?
24		VICE CHAIRPERSON REYNOSO: Second.

CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Any discussion? Anybody

- 1 have anything that they see that they -- the only thing
- 2 I have that I see is, on the second page under Program
- 3 Planning, the sentence says that it was agreed that
- 4 Vice Chair -- in the middle of the second paragraph.
- 5 "Vice Chair Reynoso and Commissioners Horner and
- 6 Redenbaugh would read staff recommendations on proposed
- 7 participation and consultation, " et cetera.
- 8 The part at the end of that sentence should
- 9 say, "before the staff prepares final recommendations
- 10 for the Commissioners," which is what our understanding
- 11 was. And the statement isn't stated right.
- 12 So, if I could have that, with that
- 13 correction.
- 14 Anybody else have any other corrections?
- 15 (No response.)
- Okay. All in favor, indicate by saying aye.
- 17 (Chorus of ayes.)
- 18 Opposed?
- 19 (No response.)
- 20 Okay. So ordered.
- The next item on the agenda is Announcements.
- 22 First, does anyone else have any announcements? I have
- 23 some, somewhere.
- 24 Anybody want to announce anything or discuss
- 25 anything under Announcements?

- 1 The public service announcement has been
- 2 recorded by Phylicia Rashad, who is on the Cosby Show
- 3 and was on the Cosby Show -- she's the female lead in
- 4 the Cosby Show -- and Eric LaSalle, who plays a
- 5 physician on ER. Any of you who watch ER will know who
- 6 he is.
- 7 They've done the public service announcement
- 8 for us and there is a preliminary cassette copy. It's
- 9 called "Teach the Children," and it's available for
- 10 Commissioners to pick up today and you can take it
- 11 along. If you'd like somebody to tell you what it
- 12 says, I can do that now, but you can have a copy of it.
- 13 It's "Teaching the Children." And they also have
- 14 available for you a biographical sketch of the two
- 15 persons, if you don't watch ER and you don't know what
- 16 the Cosby show is.
- We're very much appreciative that they were
- 18 willing to do this public service announcement for us
- 19 and I think the Commissioners are all grateful.
- 20 The OPM audit. You received a copy of a
- 21 letter that I sent you from Carol Oken at OPM,
- 22 acknowledging our response and saying she found it
- 23 thorough and et cetera. So that matter is taken care
- 24 of.
- The Mississippi Delta hearing, as you know,

- 1 was held as scheduled. It was a very good dialogue and
- 2 some very good information was brought forward. And
- 3 the Chair of the Mississippi SAC asked me to convey to
- 4 the Commissioners that he was disappointed that not all
- 5 Commissioners were able to make it, because he looked
- 6 forward to welcoming them to the Delta. But he was
- 7 pleased that the hearing went as well as it did under
- 8 the circumstances. So now, I have conveyed that, as he
- 9 asked me to.
- 10 COMMISSIONER HORNER: Madam Chair?
- 11 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Yes.
- 12 COMMISSIONER HORNER: Is he aware of the
- 13 reasons for --
- 14 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Right. He was informed.
- 15 but he still just wanted us --
- 16 COMMISSIONER HORNER: I understand.
- 17 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: -- to know how
- 18 disappointed he was that not everyone could be there.
- 19 The Legal Services briefing will take place
- 20 in May. Some Commissioners have already suggested
- 21 names of participants. If any of you have any
- 22 participants you would like to suggest, could you
- 23 please ship those up to Eddie Hailes? Probably, you'll
- 24 need to do that in the next week or so, so that we can
- 25 finalize the panelists.

- 1 Commissioner Redenbaugh has asked for a
- 2 hearing on -- and I have a piece of paper here
- 3 somewhere -- regulatory barriers to minority entry
- 4 level entrepreneurship and economic opportunities. And
- 5 so he says that entrepreneurs are being blocked from
- 6 pursuing a productive livelihood by regulations and
- 7 regulators and the like, so he wants to talk about --
- 8 have a panel, a briefing on that subject, which we
- 9 would schedule after the Legal Services briefing.
- 10 So that if anyone has any participants that
- 11 they would like to recommend for that briefing, you
- 12 probably should do that in a month or so, in time to
- 13 schedule it for the next briefing.
- 14 And I assume that Commission Redenbaugh will
- 15 also have some participants to propose at that time.
- 16 COMMISSIONER REDENBAUGH: Yes, I will.
- 17 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Yes.
- 18 Commissioner Horner?
- 19 COMMISSIONER HORNER: Yes, Madam Chair. What
- 20 is the question that is being addressed in the Legal
- 21 Services briefing?
- 22 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: The Legal Services
- 23 briefing is to discuss -- it's the one the Vice Chair
- 24 asked for.
- Do you want to comment on that?

- 1 VICE CHAIRPERSON REYNOSO: Yes. The effect
- 2 of the cutbacks and restrictions on Legal Services, as
- 3 it affects civil rights; that you can't file class
- 4 actions. How does that affect or not affect their
- 5 ability to represent people in civil rights matters.
- 6 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: And people should be
- 7 present to discuss different perspectives on these
- 8 issues.
- 9 Commissioner George has already recommended
- 10 some people and the Vice Chair. I don't think anyone
- 11 else has recommended anyone to date.
- The other thing that I wanted to point out is
- 13 that the State Advisory Committees did ask us last
- 14 year, and we considered this, whether we wanted to
- 15 recommend to the President that he have a White House
- 16 conference on civil rights, I think, or race relations.
- 17 And recently, one of the chairs of one of the State
- 18 Advisory Committees sent us a letter again, and he sent
- 19 copies to everybody, reminding us that they had asked
- 20 for that and wondering if we were willing to
- 21 reconsider. Because at the time, we decided, if I
- 22 recall correctly, not to recommend anything at that
- 23 time.
- So, the query is do we want to take that up
- 25 again. I'm simply reminding you at this point that we

- were reminded by the chair of -- and I've forgotten
- 2 which Advisory Committee.
- 3 Anybody know? Kansas?
- 4 COMMISSIONER REDENBAUGH: Kansas.
- 5 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Kansas. Oh, you know.
- 6 Okay. The Kansas Advisory Committee -- of this subject
- 7 again.
- 8 Is there any interest in taking that up or
- 9 would you like to think about it, or --
- 10 Yes?
- 11 COMMISSIONER LEE: Madam Chair?
- 12 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Yes.
- 13 COMMISSIONER LEE: Since I wasn't here at
- 14 that time, can you tell me what was the reason that we
- 15 decided not to take up that matter?
- 16 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: I don't remember. I hate
- 17 to tell you that.
- 18 Commissioner Horner may remember.
- 19 COMMISSIONER HORNER: I think there was a
- 20 feeling that these kinds of events require massive
- 21 effort for relatively small positive outcome, given the
- 22 magnitude of the effort. That they become highly
- 23 politicized; that placing something within the context
- 24 of the White House forces what I would call thought
- 25 dislocations, based on politics, that make them less

- 1 productive than alternative uses of the same amount of
- 2 resources.
- Maybe I'm projecting my own jaundiced
- 4 feelings about White House conferences from having been
- 5 in the White House onto the discussion we held. So,
- 6 maybe that isn't what everyone else was thinking.
- 7 That's sort of what I was thinking at the time.
- 8 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Could I ask you, since
- 9 you've had experience with these White House
- 10 conferences from other there, as opposed to the
- 11 agencies, --
- 12 COMMISSIONER HORNER: Yes.
- 13 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: -- usually, as I recall,
- 14 they usually have staff from somewhere in the
- 15 government somewhere.
- 16 COMMISSIONER HORNER: Yes.
- 17 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Is that right?
- 18 COMMISSIONER HORNER: They usually get staff
- 19 detailed from issue associated agencies. For instance,
- 20 the White House Conference on Aging would have staff
- 21 detailed from HHS. And then there'd be special staff
- 22 hired for the event.
- 23 I remember the 1980 White House Conference on
- 24 Aging and it was not a fruitful or happy experience, in
- 25 my recollection. You may remember it.

- 1 What it does it polarize differences, give
- 2 everyone something to argue fiercely about in the run-
- 3 up year. And most of the arguments revolve around
- 4 who's going to speak; who's going to be invited.
- 5 And what happens is a cascading of argument
- 6 based on ego, vanity and self-promotion that goes on
- 7 not only at the federal level, but also at the state,
- 8 local and private, non-profit level. And I just -- it
- 9 just seems to me to be sound and fury, signifying
- 10 nothing helpful.
- And again, my own experience may be unduly
- 12 prejudiced. It seems to me that these kinds of things
- 13 work when there is a preexisting consensus, and the
- 14 White House conference calls attention to that
- 15 consensus. It doesn't wade into highly controversial
- 16 issues, but says the President's putting its imprimatur
- 17 on a direction the country really wants to go in and
- 18 giving it a strong push in that direction.
- 19 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Well, my only experience
- 20 was with the White House Conference on Families when I
- 21 was in the Carter Administration. And we spent weeks
- 22 and weeks in turmoil in the agency because we were
- 23 supposed to run the conference and the Secretary kept
- 24 naming these people as directors. And he named
- 25 somebody and it turned out that she didn't have the

- 1 particular family profile that some people thought you
- 2 ought to have to run such an agency. She was divorced
- 3 or something.
- And so there was a big argument about that.
- 5 And this just went on for weeks and weeks and weeks and
- 6 weeks. And I, quite frankly, don't remember in the end
- 7 what came out that was truly important.
- And I do remember, as a matter of history --
- 9 I wasn't there -- the White House Conference on Civil
- 10 Rights that Johnson had, Lyndon Johnson. And there was
- 11 a big fight there, just as you described, about who
- 12 would come, who couldn't come, who would be kept away.
- 13 And the biggest issue, I recall, was that Martin Luther
- 14 King -- they told him he couldn't speak or something,
- 15 which was sort of interesting.
- But maybe people who don't have that
- 17 experience, maybe those of us who've just been in
- 18 Washington, have a jaundiced view of such matters.
- 19 We're too cynical.
- 20 So if a President were about -- if the SAC's
- 21 wanted to recommend that a President do something,
- 22 based on the experience of people who have been in
- 23 Washington, instead of a White House conference, what
- 24 might they -- so that we could advise SAC. That it's
- 25 not just that we're just negative about anybody doing

- 1 anything. It's that we know Presidents are supposed to
- 2 be leaders and all that, but I don't know --
- 3 VICE CHAIRPERSON REYNOSO: Certainly nobody
- 4 who would read this exchange would be pessimistic about
- 5 the outcome of the conference.
- 6 My recollection is that this came out of the
- 7 last time that all of the representatives of the SACs
- 8 got together here in Washington. And I think there was
- 9 a feeling that we needed more leadership from the White
- 10 House and from the federal government in matters of
- 11 civil rights. Particularly from the White House, the
- 12 President, and people close to him. And that that
- 13 would be manifested, I think the feeling was, by a
- 14 White House conference.
- One of the reasons, my recollection is, they
- 16 did not make the recommendation at that time is that
- 17 elections were coming up and there was a feeling that
- 18 it would indeed be fractious instead of unifying. At
- 19 least those elections are out of the way, and so
- 20 there's a greater possibility now that a fruitful White
- 21 House conference could take place.
- I have no doubt that with all these certain
- 23 issues, it will come up again, but I think the sense
- 24 is, and I share that, that there hasn't been a coherent
- 25 voice coming from the White House providing leadership

- 1 in the area of civil rights. And I think that's what
- 2 the SACs were hoping for.
- 3 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: But maybe there isn't a
- 4 coherent voice in the country.
- 5 VICE CHAIRPERSON REYNOSO: Right. Right.
- 6 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: And that it's a
- 7 reflection of the lack of coherence.
- 8 COMMISSIONER HORNER: If I were to speak with
- 9 the SAC chair who sent the recommendation to us, my
- 10 suggestion for involving the White House and the
- 11 President in a leadership mode, given the variety of
- 12 opinion abroad in the land, would be for the President
- 13 to try to highlight and identify with things that work,
- 14 wherever he can find them: good community relations,
- 15 good forms of assistance and mediation and so on.
- 16 I know that's rather bland in a lot of
- 17 people's eyes and doesn't get at the big controversies.
- 18 But that would be one form of leadership I would
- 19 suggest.
- 20 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: So maybe we can, in
- 21 responding to the SAC chair, sort of lead him in that
- 22 direction. Or they can read the transcript and figure
- 23 out why we reached all these conclusions. That we're
- 24 not all hot about their idea.
- Okay.

- If there are no other announcements, we would
- 2 go to the Staff Report, which is Item Number 4. Anyone
- 3 have any questions on the Staff Report?
- 4 Yes?
- 5 COMMISSIONER HORNER: I have two questions.
- 6 One is I notice that there's no time frame associated
- 7 with the completion of the New York hearing report.
- 8 And I wonder if we have an end date.
- I see there are interns being put on the
- 10 documents work, which is probably pretty massive, but I
- 11 would like to know if we do have a projected end date.
- 12 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Okay.
- 13 I'll let you answer that, General Counsel.
- 14 But has this television show, this news spot on the New
- 15 York hearing materials, Wall Street, that CNBC came
- 16 over here to tape, has that been done yet or shown?
- 17 Charlie Rivera.
- 18 MR. RIVERA: We've been in touch. The answer
- 19 is no.
- 20 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: That's Charlie Rivera.
- 21 The answer is no.
- 22 COMMISSIONER HORNER: What is it?
- 23 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: The answer is no.
- 24 CNBC was doing a news story on Wall Street
- 25 and women and people of color on Wall Street or

- 1 something, and they knew about our New York hearing and
- 2 so they wanted to come over here and photograph a room
- 3 with the documents piled up that we got. Not look at
- 4 them, but just -- that we were hard at work and we had
- 5 all these documents.
- And I think they did that, didn't they?
- 7 Yes. They came over and did that. So they
- 8 apparently will have this on television at some time or
- 9 other.
- 10 MR. RIVERA: Yes. We've been advised -- our
- 11 company that does the sweep of the things that we asked
- 12 to take down on TV, will alert us immediately when it
- 13 comes on. And then we'll get it to you.
- 14 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: But hasn't been on yet.
- 15 Okay.
- 16 COMMISSIONER REDENBAUGH: Were they merely
- 17 reporting on what we were doing or did we do something
- 18 that we weren't doing?
- 19 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: No, no. They were
- 20 reporting that part of the story on their report on
- 21 Wall Street was that the U.S. Commission on Civil
- 22 Rights had held hearings on Wall Street and had
- 23 collected a variety of documents which the U.S.
- 24 Commission on Civil Rights was still assessing. And so
- 25 the picture was to see the United States Commission on

- 1 Civil Rights had these documents and was somehow
- 2 assessing them.
- 3 COMMISSIONER REDENBAUGH: Right. But -- so
- 4 did we do the assessment for their cameras or were we
- 5 doing it anyway while their cameras were there?
- 6 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: As I understand it, we
- 7 are doing the assessment every day. That's part of the
- 8 problem.
- 9 COMMISSIONER REDENBAUGH: I see. It had
- 10 escaped my attention.
- 11 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Right. This is in the
- 12 office where the persons work on the documents.
- 13 COMMISSIONER REDENBAUGH: Oh, I get it.
- 14 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: And they just came by and
- 15 took a picture of hard at work civil servants assessing
- 16 documents.
- 17 COMMISSIONER REDENBAUGH: I would suggest
- 18 that that is so rare as to be newsworthy.
- 19 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: No, no. Oh, come on,
- 20 Russell.
- 21 VICE CHAIRPERSON REYNOSO: Isn't this part of
- 22 the TV's visuals, they call it?
- 23 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Right. They wanted some
- 24 visuals.
- 25 VICE CHAIRPERSON REYNOSO: They write

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- 1 something and want to be showing something.
- 2 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Right. And so they just

Ι

- 3 knew we were doing this, so they figured it would make
- 4 a nice visual.
- 5 COMMISSIONER HORNER: Could we get a fax or
- 6 phone call if Charlie knows that it's going to appear
- 7 so we can watch it?
- 8 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Yes.
- 9 Charlie, when you find out, you know, tell
- 10 them to send -- fax us something so we can know.
- 11 VICE CHAIRPERSON REYNOSO: One of the nice
- 12 things about this job is to learn new terminology.
- 13 Sweeps? What are sweeps, Charlie?
- MR. RIVERA: All I meant to indicate is that
- 15 whenever we have a press conference, whenever we had an
- 16 event that focuses on the Commission and its
- 17 activities, we have a company that in fact looks at
- 18 everything that was shown.
- 19 VICE CHAIRPERSON REYNOSO: To see what --
- 20 MR. RIVERA: Right. So it's not the
- 21 equivalent of the annual or biannual sweeps.
- 22 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: I'll let you answer that
- 23 in a second, General Counsel, but I forgot to say
- 24 something about St. Petersburg.
- The story of St. Petersburg continues. Still

- 1 there are a lot of tensions in the community and the
- 2 problems really haven't been addressed. There's a
- 3 federal task force down there. There's some community
- 4 people, some state people, all involved in trying to
- 5 figure out what to do. And there is division in the
- 6 African-American community between people who are
- 7 characterized in the press as militants, quote/unquote,
- 8 and people who are characterized as not militants,
- 9 quote/unquote, or by various other kinds of terminology
- 10 about how to address the problems down there.
- 11 Rabbi Agin, who is our State Advisory
- 12 Committee chair and Bobby Doctor, who's our Regional
- 13 Director, have been very much involved. And they
- 14 released the Executive Summary of their forum and
- 15 answered questions for the press down there and tried
- 16 to encourage the warring parties to get together, and
- 17 are still trying to do that, along with the Community
- 18 Relations Service and some people from the churches and
- 19 -- I mean, everybody's involved.
- 20 But there really is nothing to report except
- 21 that we stay engaged. That is, staff is staying
- 22 engaged and the Rabbi is staying engaged, but we
- 23 haven't come to closure there. And the political
- 24 campaign is exacerbating the problem. The mayor's race
- 25 down there, which now -- I guess there was a first

- 1 round and now there will be a second round. And the
- 2 events surrounding the shooting and the riot are a
- 3 central issue in the campaign.
- So I think that after the campaign is over,
- 5 maybe there will be some forward movement.
- Anyway, to get back to Commissioner Horner's
- 7 guestion about the New York hearing.
- 8 General Counsel?
- 9 MS. MOORE: Commissioner Horner, we hope to
- 10 have a draft ready this year, late August. That is
- 11 still a very ambitious prediction on our part.
- 12 As you know, we've lost some staff and staff
- 13 is also burdened -- well, I'll say Fred -- with the
- 14 legal sufficiency reviews of all of the education.
- 15 projects. So just in terms of balancing all of those
- 16 competing projects, we are short-staffed in our efforts
- 17 to complete the New York report.
- And also, the interns will not start until
- 19 after May. And, of course, quality concerns will arise
- 20 around the interns. The interns are first-year and
- 21 second-year law students.
- 22 COMMISSIONER HORNER: I guess I might just
- 23 ask why the education reports would take precedence
- 24 over the New York hearing, since they were started
- 25 later.

- 1 MS. MOORE: Well, I'm merely following the
- 2 instructions that I'm given in terms of -- the legal
- 3 sufficiency reviews also have milestones from OCRE, so
- 4 when we receive the report, there's a date that is
- 5 attached to the report by which it has to be turned
- 6 back to OCRE.
- 7 COMMISSIONER HORNER: My other question has
- 8 to do with --
- 9 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Maybe I can get an answer
- 10 to that question, the one you just asked about why.
- 11 Which report is the statutory report this
- 12 year, the monitoring report, the one that we have to
- 13 turn in every year?
- 14 Because Fred has this statutory deadline,
- 15 which the Commission tries every year to finish at
- 16 least one report, he gets to have priority --
- 17 COMMISSIONER HORNER: I see.
- 18 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: -- over everybody else
- 19 because he says, well, I'm trying to meet this
- 20 deadline. So whatever you're doing -- that's my
- 21 understanding that that's the way it's gone, so far.
- 22 COMMISSIONER HORNER: I see.
- 23 My other question probably has the same set
- 24 of circumstances surrounding it, and that is, I didn't
- 25 see any work progressing on the crisis of African-

- 1 American males in the inner city. And that was, I know
- 2 for Leon and me, and really high priority. And I think
- 3 it was more broadly shared.
- 4 MS. MOORE: Well, no. There has been some
- 5 work that -- preliminary work that was produced on the
- 6 crisis of African-American males. Again, Miguel Sapp,
- 7 who was principally working on that, has left the
- 8 agency and we were gearing up for the Mississippi
- 9 hearing.
- We do have one position that is open that
- 11 we've recruited for and will be hiring shortly, and
- 12 we'll reconfigure the assignments in OGC at that time.
- 13 COMMISSIONER HORNER: Okay. Thank you.
- MS. MOORE: Sure.
- 15 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Anyone else have any
- 16 questions on the Staff Director's Report?
- 17 COMMISSIONER REDENBAUGH: Yes. I have a
- 18 question.
- 19 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Yes, Commissioner
- 20 Redenbaugh.
- 21 COMMISSIONER REDENBAUGH: The project
- 22 Commissioner Horner just asked about, the crisis, is
- 23 that a statutory report or --
- 24 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: I don't think it is.
- 25 COMMISSIONER HORNER: No.

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- 1 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: No, it's not.
- 2 COMMISSIONER HORNER: No.
- 3 COMMISSIONER REDENBAUGH: That's my question.
- 4 Thank you.
- 5 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Okay.
- 6 Anyone else have any questions on the Staff
- 7 Director's Report?
- 8 (No response.)
- 9 If not, then we go to the next item, which is
- 10 the State Advisory Committee Reports. And we have here
- 11 five consultations done by states.
- 12 Consultation, as we use the terminology,
- 13 means having opinion on both sides of issues, two
- 14 sides. It may be four or five different sides of a
- 15 particular issue. And as we use it here at the
- 16 Commission, we don't draw conclusions or make findings
- 17 from consultations. They're simply informative. And
- 18 we publish the information that we receive. So there
- 19 are one, two, three, four, five.
- 20 Could I have a motion so that we can discuss
- 21 these?
- 22 Shall we do them one at a time or shall we do
- 23 them -- all right. One at a time.
- 24 Could I have a motion on the Indiana
- 25 consultation?

- 1 COMMISSIONER LEE: So move.
- 2 VICE CHAIRPERSON REYNOSO: Second.
- 3 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: All right. We will have
- 4 discussion.
- 5 Any discussion on the Indiana -- yes,
- 6 Commissioner Horner?
- 7 COMMISSIONER HORNER: Madam Chair, I'm
- 8 prepared to vote yes on several of these, but not on
- 9 all of them; Indiana being one of the ones that I don't
- 10 want to vote yes on. And the reason is --
- 11 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Got a problem, Russ?
- 12 (Noise of fire siren.)
- 13 COMMISSIONER REDENBAUGH: That was just an
- 14 urban disturbance.
- 15 COMMISSIONER HORNER: As long as it's not
- 16 your house.
- 17 COMMISSIONER REDENBAUGH: Nothing I can do
- 18 about it. If it actually comes here, I will let you
- 19 know.
- 20 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Okay.
- 21 (Laughter.)
- 22 COMMISSIONER GEORGE: I was worried that it
- 23 was a new policy on "no" votes.
- 24 (Laughter.)
- 25 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Okay, Commissioner.

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- 1 COMMISSIONER HORNER: Two of the reports,
- 2 Ohio and Wisconsin, seem to me to have a balance across
- 3 a range of points of view on affirmative action and
- 4 meet our own requirements for balance. But my survey
- 5 of the other three suggest that they represent not the
- 6 same range of perspective.
- 7 So, I'm eager to vote yes on Ohio and
- 8 Wisconsin but don't feel that I can vote yes on the
- 9 other three.
- 10 I know that we're not allowed to ask the SACs
- 11 to do anything in particular or make any changes, so in
- 12 that context, I would just say that just describing my
- 13 own reaction, not asking them to do something, my own
- 14 reaction would be that they could make the -- the other
- 15 three could make their reports more useful if they
- 16 would open up the record again and maybe invite a few
- 17 other people to come by who don't share the perspective
- 18 already represented there.
- 19 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Okay. Any other --
- 20 COMMISSIONER REDENBAUGH: Yes. I have a
- 21 comment, if I may.
- 22 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Yes.
- 23 COMMISSIONER REDENBAUGH: I think that I have
- 24 a similar point of view with Connie, but I would also
- 25 add that I think -- and I don't mean this as a

- 1 complaint of the Acting Staff function, but the
- 2 procedure that we specified to be followed here is for
- 3 the Staff Director to bring us reports for acceptance
- 4 that are in compliance with the process we defined.
- 5 Now, I think in the uncertain and the
- 6 transition in the office, I think that hasn't been
- 7 followed here. But I think it's an oversight and an
- 8 unfamiliarity, not any dereliction. But I think these
- 9 three appear to me to have been brought before us
- 10 prematurely.
- 11 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Let me let -- before I
- 12 let Commissioner Lee and other speak, Carol-Lee, would
- 13 you like to comment on the process that the SACs used?
- 14 We need to have some comment on those.
- 15 Come on over here. Sit down.
- MS. HURLEY: The process that was followed by
- 17 each of these committees --
- 18 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Can you hear her,
- 19 Russell?
- 20 COMMISSIONER REDENBAUGH: Yes. Thank you.
- MS. HURLEY: -- was a project -- they voted
- 22 to do the project. A project proposal was developed
- 23 and they voted to accept the project proposal. The
- 24 project proposals were basically identical and each --
- 25 they called for each Advisory Committee to set up a

- 1 bipartisan subcommittee to select the individuals who
- 2 would present papers at these consultations.
- Now, an Advisory Committee only can ask
- 4 someone to appear. They can't require appearance. I
- 5 cannot tell you, because I do not know, whether all the
- 6 people who were invited agreed to appear. I do know
- 7 there was a conscientious effort made to present a
- 8 variety of points of view on the topics chosen. And
- 9 the reports were each individually voted on by the
- 10 Committee and sent forward here and followed the
- 11 procedures, as far as I can see.
- 12 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Could we -- you should
- 13 stay there until we finish this, please.
- 14 Commissioner Redenbaugh, could you tell
- 15 Carol-Lee more of what you had in mind?
- 16 COMMISSIONER REDENBAUGH: Yes. As I recall
- 17 the process that we specified, what we asked was that
- 18 the Staff Director only bring to us reports that had
- 19 not only been prepared in the way you just said, but
- 20 that which achieved balance. And I -- for whatever the
- 21 reason, it looks like that was not achieved in three of
- 22 the five cases.
- 23 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: What do you mean by
- 24 balanced? That there was an equal number of views
- 25 expressed --

- 1 COMMISSIONER REDENBAUGH: Well, no.
- 2 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: -- on every side, or
- 3 what?
- 4 COMMISSIONER REDENBAUGH: No. That we
- 5 acknowledge that there are different points of view on
- 6 many issues and that more than one point of view be
- 7 represented. But no, certainly not an equal number.
- 8 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Okay.
- 9 Carol-Lee, what is your -- do you have any
- 10 response to that?
- 11 MS. HURLEY: The only response I could make -
- 12 but I don't know that this is so -- is that every
- 13 state is different and it may be that some states have
- 14 more people expressing one viewpoint than another. I
- 15 don't really know the answer. I just can assure the
- 16 Commissioners there was a conscientious effort to meet
- 17 the requirement to hear different points of view on the
- 18 topic.
- 19 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: She's raised a very
- 20 interesting question. It's just an intellectual
- 21 question which, if I may be permitted to ask it, even
- 22 thought the weather is nice and we'd like to finish.
- You know how that is. Sometimes you get
- 24 those intellectual flits.
- What happens if you're in a place where most

- 1 of the opinion is on one side or the other? Then what
- 2 do you do?
- 3 I'm asking Commissioner George, because he's
- 4 a philosopher.
- 5 COMMISSIONER GEORGE: I think we have the
- 6 question of whether we practice affirmative action.
- 7 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Yes, Commissioner Horner.
- 8 And then I'll let Commissioner Lee speak, who asked to
- 9 speak.
- 10 COMMISSIONER HORNER: I think in this
- 11 particular case, there are national organizations with
- 12 local chapters whose views are known who could be
- 13 called upon. I think also, given the polling data on
- 14 this issue, it's pretty evident that there is a range
- 15 of opinion nationally.
- There may be one or two state that fall
- 17 outside the national parameters on this but I doubt if
- 18 they are the three that present the problem here.
- 19 And Carol-Lee, I sympathize with the notion
- 20 of appointing a bipartisan subcommittee of the SAC to
- 21 make the selections but there are no partisan -- pure
- 22 partisan identifications with points of view on this
- 23 issue.
- 24 There are people who are for and against or
- 25 somewhere in between in both the national parties, so

- 1 it's quite easy to have a bipartisan selection process
- 2 which is productive of only one point of view and I
- 3 really am skeptical that the SACs had a full aggressive
- 4 appreciation of how serious we are about getting a
- 5 range of perspectives.
- That doesn't mean that you have five on this
- 7 side and five on that side. You might have eight from
- 8 one side and two on another and they might be
- 9 addressing different aspects or angles of the problem.
- 10 But I really think for our dialogue for the country to
- 11 be useful, we really have to have credibility and we're
- 12 not going to have credibility if what might represent
- 13 40 percent of national sentiment isn't in any way
- 14 represented.
- 15 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Okay.
- 16 Commissioner Lee and then Commissioner
- 17 George.
- 18 COMMISSIONER LEE: I'm prepared to vote for
- 19 all five of the consultation reports because I do find
- 20 the balance of each of the reports. And the reason why
- 21 I feel this way is because each of the SACs mentioned
- 22 that each of the members of the SACs were asked to
- 23 invite presenters. Is that right?
- So each member, besides the ad hoc committees
- 25 that are formed, each SAC member has the opportunity to

- 1 bring in whoever expert to present a paper.
- Now, whether they presented, I don't know.
- 3 They did not mention how many of them had declined.
- 4 So, based on that, I do feel that the SACs tried their
- 5 best to find a balanced point of view. And based on
- 6 that, I just feel that the reports are balanced and I
- 7 am ready to support them.
- 8 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Did you still want to
- 9 speak?
- 10 COMMISSIONER HORNER: Well, --
- 11 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Just a minute. Just a
- 12 second. I think Commissioner George.
- Did you decide not to say anything?
- 14 COMMISSIONER GEORGE: No, no. I'd be happy
- 15 to say something. Although, if anyone wants to --
- 16 COMMISSIONER HORNER: Could I just make a
- 17 quite one?
- 18 COMMISSIONER GEORGE: Yes. Sure. I have a
- 19 general point.
- 20 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Okay.
- 21 COMMISSIONER HORNER: Yvonne, I think the
- 22 SACs have -- even if every member of the SAC agrees and
- 23 they all hold to a particular point of view and all go
- 24 out and look for speakers reflecting their point of
- 25 view, I don't think they've met their obligation to us

- 1 or to the country. I think they must, with the
- 2 assistance of our staff, seek out a range of opinion,
- 3 even if it doesn't reflect the opinion of the members
- 4 of the SAC.
- 5 So, it's not enough to say that the SAC
- 6 members had an opportunity to find people. They have
- 7 an obligation to find a range of opinion, not just
- 8 opinions reflecting their own and across the range
- 9 reflected on the SAC.
- 10 COMMISSIONER LEE: But aren't the SAC members
- 11 appointed to serve based on their standing in the
- 12 community and their experiences and the like?
- 13 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Supposedly. Yes.
- 14 COMMISSIONER LEE: Isn't that the reason why
- 15 they're on the committee to begin with?
- 16 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: We approve their
- 17 appointments. And you're correct. We are supposed to
- 18 take into account. And the papers that are presented
- 19 to us talk about their experience with these issues and
- 20 their standing in the community. That's correct.
- 21 Commissioner George?
- 22 COMMISSIONER GEORGE: Just on that narrow
- 23 point, and then I'll make my general point. It is
- 24 difficult to get -- to ensure balance of viewpoints,
- 25 even in the SAC appointment process. In part, because

- 1 we don't want to inquire too closely about people's
- 2 particular political views. We do ask about political
- 3 affiliation. We see that on the chart that we're given
- 4 each time, whether the person's a Republican or a
- 5 Democrat or an Independent.
- It's easy to surmise something about people's
- 7 beliefs sometimes on the basis of what organizations
- 8 they've been affiliated with, if those organizations
- 9 are themselves of a partisan nature. Not in the sense
- 10 of Republican as opposed to Democrat, but as liberal as
- 11 opposed to conservative on this or that issue.
- So I think it's a general problem.
- Happily, I think this is not an issue that
- 14 should be too controversial because there needn't be
- 15 even any hint in the air of any ill will or bad motive
- 16 because all of these consultations come from states
- 17 that are in the Midwest Regional Office and under the
- 18 Midwest Regional Director, I assume.
- 19 Two of them, I agree with Connie and Russell,
- 20 are balanced and indeed are exemplary in their balance.
- 21 I learned from reading the diversity of points of view
- 22 that were represented there. I think they're ideal. I
- 23 think they could be put forward as a model for the
- 24 other states.
- 25 So there's no question that anybody rigged --

- 1 or that the Regional Office rigged this to come up with
- 2 a one-sided consultation because two of them plainly
- 3 don't do that. So I think the failure to achieve
- 4 balance in the other three -- which I agree the failure
- 5 is not the result of any manipulation, certainly, on
- 6 the part of the Regional Office.
- 7 And then I would therefore simply propose
- 8 that if the three are not approved -- I suspect that
- 9 Ohio and Wisconsin will be -- but if the other three
- 10 are not, that the minutes of this meeting will be
- 11 available to the Regional Director and I hope that the
- 12 Regional Director would convey a sense that the kind of
- 13 balance achieved in Ohio and Wisconsin is that that
- 14 should be aimed for, and without too much effort, could
- 15 be achieved in the other three.
- 16 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Yes? Were you about to
- 17 say something, Vice Chair?
- 18 VICE CHAIRPERSON REYNOSO: I guess I'm
- 19 concerned about the independence that the Advisory
- 20 Committees are supposed to have and our relationship
- 21 with them in that regard. They don't have subpoena
- 22 power. They can invite people. I suppose that Robbie
- 23 might be right, that this may be reflective of how much
- 24 affirmative action went to get folk opposed to
- 25 affirmative action to come forward, there's somewhat of

- 1 a disconnect.
- 2 Even though there are four members of this
- 3 Commission on the Civil Rights Commission that are
- 4 opposed to affirmative action, most folk involved in
- 5 civil rights, in fact, are in favor of affirmative
- 6 action. And so, sometimes, those who are opposed to
- 7 it, are reluctant to go before a group like a State
- 8 Advisory Committee to express anti-affirmative action
- 9 views. I've seen that in many meetings that I've
- 10 attended.
- 11 And so, I think that Robbie is right that
- 12 sometimes, in given circumstances, it would take a
- 13 quite extraordinary affirmative action to get people to
- 14 come forward and be comfortable in expressing anti-
- 15 affirmative action views before a civil rights advisory
- 16 committee.
- 17 And so I don't know how much that influenced
- 18 the fact that some of these reports don't have as many
- 19 anti-affirmative action essays. But I'm sort of
- 20 reluctant to assume that there wasn't the sort of
- 21 effort that's been expressed in getting folk to come
- 22 forward. And I'm reluctant, out of a deference to the
- 23 role that the Advisory Committees have, to then say you
- 24 didn't do your job.
- 25 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Then let the games begin.

- 1 (Laughter.)
- 2 COMMISSIONER GEORGE: I just wanted to say
- 3 that while I ordinarily would be very happy to have
- 4 Cruz agreeing with me, and am glad to know that he
- 5 thinks he agrees with me, I want to say that however
- 6 much he may agree with me, I disagree with him.
- 7 If you guys will get the last comments.
- 8 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Why don't we -- yes,
- 9 Commissioner Horner?
- 10 COMMISSIONER HORNER: And I just need to say
- 11 that, for the record, that I believe it is too broad a
- 12 statement to make with respect to the opinion on
- 13 affirmative action. I think you said four members of
- 14 the Commission were, quote, against affirmative action?
- VICE CHAIRPERSON REYNOSO: That's just my
- 16 observation.
- 17 COMMISSIONER HORNER: I think that's not a
- 18 true statement because I think you need to disaggregate
- 19 the elements of what goes under the broad umbrella name
- 20 of affirmative action. And if you disaggregate that
- 21 and view it historically, you might find that that's
- 22 not an accurate statement.
- I understand what you're saying. It's a
- 24 broad impression you have. But we never have gone into
- 25 all the history, the whys and wherefores. And you might

- 1 discover that there are some Commissioners -- and I
- 2 think I would put myself among them -- who support
- 3 elements of affirmative action and don't support other
- 4 elements of affirmative action as it's historically
- 5 occurred.
- So, I don't want to engage this now but I
- 7 just wanted to just make that clear.
- 8 VICE CHAIRPERSON REYNOSO: No. But I'd like
- 9 to respond because I think that your statement is a
- 10 very important one. And one of the things that we
- 11 haven't done in this Commission, in response to
- 12 Robbie's concern that we not get too involved in issues
- 13 that would be divisive instead of uniting us, is talk
- 14 more about affirmative action.
- 15 My sense is, particularly based on what you
- 16 just stated, that if we start dividing affirmative
- 17 action and the different components of it, we may in
- 18 fact end up agreeing, for example, that recruitment,
- 19 affirmative recruitment -- even in these reports,
- 20 affirmative recruitment of people with different views,
- 21 and that's hardly affirmative action, quote/unquote, is
- 22 a good thing.
- 23 And probably, in my view, it would be an area
- 24 in which perhaps we could provide some leadership to
- 25 the country if we here, who have diverse views, would

- 1 say we disagree on these things, but on these things,
- 2 we're all agreed.
- 3 So, I think maybe that will evolve in the
- 4 future, but I very much appreciate your statement.
- 5 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: And again, he can speak
- 6 for himself, but I thought Commissioner George has been
- 7 all over the map on this question.
- 8 (Laughter.)
- 9 COMMISSIONER GEORGE: I've been a model, an
- 10 icon of consistently.
- 11 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Right.
- 12 COMMISSIONER GEORGE: Every Tuesday, Thursday
- 13 and Saturday, I believe that we should avoid divisive
- 14 issues. And every Monday, Wednesday, I believe that we
- 15 should engage the group --
- 16 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Let me suggest -- oh,
- 17 yes. Commissioner Anderson is going to help us out
- 18 here.
- 19 Go right ahead.
- 20 COMMISSIONER ANDERSON: I would say to the
- 21 Vice Chair that I feel, for a long time on this
- 22 Commission, that we would be more productive if we
- 23 sought to find those areas where we agreed.
- VICE CHAIRPERSON REYNOSO: I agree.
- 25 COMMISSIONER ANDERSON: And that, I believe,

- 1 has a lot to do with whether this Commission can be a
- 2 leader in the area of civil rights. We spend a lot of
- 3 time on disagreeing. And I would say often the
- 4 disagreement is on the fringe of the issues. But there
- 5 could very well be a core of agreement that we could
- 6 read and that consensus, I believe, is what's necessary
- 7 for leadership. And without that kind of consensus
- 8 that's clear, you have no vision, and leadership is
- 9 about vision.
- 10 It relates back to what we were talking
- 11 about, the White Conference on Civil Rights. But I
- 12 think that's a good point. And if we talk about
- 13 affirmative action, I think we ought to disaggregate it
- 14 and see where we cannot come to some agreement and
- 15 where we can come to agreement.
- Now, in terms of Advisory Committees and
- 17 what's involved in this process, I would not use the
- 18 term affirmative action in regard to Advisory
- 19 Committees because I think it's an entirely different
- 20 thing.
- 21 My understanding of the Federal Advisory
- 22 Committee Act, which doesn't necessarily govern this,
- 23 but it's a good legal precedent to look at and it's
- 24 been around for 30-40 years, when you're seeking advice
- 25 on an issue, you want a broad spectrum of views and

- opinions and expertise to advise you so you can make a
- 2 good decision. It doesn't have anything to do with
- 3 making sure that there are X numbers from this group or
- 4 from that group or from that group.
- 5 What it seems to me you're looking to is a
- 6 broad spectrum of advice. And so I would not talk
- 7 about it even jokingly in terms of affirmative action
- 8 because it's an entirely different kind of result
- 9 you're trying to achieve, which is not justice and
- 10 fairness to the various political groups that have an
- 11 opinion, but sound advice to the decisionmaker.
- Now, it has to be balanced. My understanding
- 13 of, say, the Michigan report, is that out of 20-21
- 14 papers, there's one that's critical of affirmative
- 15 action. I don't think that you necessarily satisfy the
- 16 Advisory Committee function by applying a numerical
- 17 standard every time there's a question of balance, but
- 18 I think probably balance is not achieved by 20 papers
- 19 on one side and one paper on the other side. So I
- 20 think that when you reach that point, you don't have
- 21 balance.
- 22 But whether that respond or not to what
- 23 you're saying, I don't know.
- 24 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Yes?
- VICE CHAIRPERSON REYNOSO: Two things. One,

- 1 my greatest disappointment in being on the Commission
- 2 has been that we have been incapable of providing, in
- 3 many areas, leadership for the country. Because it
- 4 seems to me that we have three roles. One is to advise
- 5 Congress; one is to advise the President; and one is to
- 6 provide leadership in the country. And I think we've
- 7 done the first two quite well since I've been on the
- 8 Commission. I don't think we've done the third. And
- 9 that's been a matter of disappointment to me.
- 10 So, the suggestions both of you have made, I
- 11 must say I find very encouraging.
- Secondly, just with respect to affirmative
- 13 action, among folks who are organized to speak to civil
- 14 rights issues, at least who have that as a goal, many
- 15 of them are prepared, based on years of history and
- 16 experience, to speak on the issue of affirmative action
- 17 and to speak in favor of it. And so those groups
- 18 quickly respond to an invitation by an advisory
- 19 committee.
- 20 I've found that particularly if you're
- 21 identified as a civil rights group that you really do
- 22 have to try very hard to try to assure those who don't
- 23 agree with that position to have a sense of comfort to
- 24 come forward and have that discussion. I'm reluctant
- 25 to assume that these Advisory Committees didn't do that

- 1 based on the reports that we've gotten and so on. And
- 2 so I'm reluctant to -- and then, out of respect for the
- 3 independence that they're supposed to have, I'm
- 4 reluctant to vote no on the reports that they've given
- 5 us.
- What has been indicated, and that is that
- 7 some reports have had quite a few opinions expressed,
- 8 expressing qualms about affirmative action. To me, it
- 9 indicates, as was indicated by one of the Commissions -
- 10 I forget who -- that there was no plan here to simply
- 11 get the opinions of one set of groups and not another
- 12 set of groups.
- And that sort of persuades me, if you will,
- 14 of the good faith of these advisory committees.
- 15 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: I want to suggest that we
- 16 approve the reports where there appears to be consensus
- 17 and that we defer consideration of the others until the
- 18 SAC is afforded an opportunity to read the transcript,
- 19 have Carol-Lee talk to the Regional Director about the
- 20 comments that have been made, and see whether they want
- 21 to resubmit them as they are, or whether they have some
- 22 other response, so that they have an opportunity to
- 23 know.
- I hesitate to -- and I'm very reluctant, and
- 25 hope that the Commission would not simply vote down the

- 1 reports. I think that out of respect for the fact that
- 2 they are people who serve because they serve, and we're
- 3 very grateful to them for serving, that they at least
- 4 need the opportunity to review our comments and to
- 5 think about it, and then have them submit it again, if
- 6 that's what they want to do, or to decide what they'd
- 7 like to do about it.
- 8 So if there's agreement that we could proceed
- 9 in that way, I would suggest that that's how we'd
- 10 proceed.
- 11 COMMISSIONER REDENBAUGH: I'd be happy to
- 12 second that.
- 13 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Okay.
- 14 Commissioner George?
- 15 COMMISSIONER GEORGE: I would just add the
- 16 request that the Ohio and Wisconsin consultations be
- 17 shared with those to whom Carol-Lee will be speaking,
- 18 with the indication that the Commissioners consider
- 19 these -- that there is a consensus on the Commission
- 20 that these are the kinds of -- represent the kinds of
- 21 balance in reports we'd like to see.
- 22 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: I agree that they should
- 23 be given the Ohio and Wisconsin reports. I do not
- 24 agree that they should be told specifically that
- 25 everyone would like them see them do exactly that.

- 1 They may have some other ideas about what they want to
- 2 do.
- 3 I think for guidance and for their
- 4 information, they should be told that the Commissioners
- 5 indeed approved the Ohio and Wisconsin reports. And
- 6 they're big people. They can read. And they can read
- 7 the transcript, which they will read. But I hesitate
- 8 to specifically instruct them that they should pattern
- 9 themselves exactly after Ohio and Wisconsin. That's my
- 10 only hesitation.
- 11 COMMISSIONER GEORGE: Well, it was only in
- 12 one respect that I was suggesting that, and that was in
- 13 respect of the achievement of balance. In other
- 14 respect, sure. There's a legitimate diversity of the
- 15 way consultations can be conducted and the way reports
- 16 can be written. But I think in respect of balance,
- 17 I'll just reiterate it on the record, so that when the
- 18 record gets to them, they'll know at least what one
- 19 Commissioner had to say.
- 20 I think Ohio and Wisconsin really are
- 21 exemplary and are therefore models to be emulated.
- 22 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Could we then withdraw
- 23 the motion that we approve the Indian consultations,
- 24 which was the motion that was on the floor. I've
- 25 forgotten who approved it, seconded it, or whatever.

- And then, instead, have a motion, substitute
- 2 motion, to approve the Wisconsin and Ohio consultations
- 3 with the other consultation reports referred back to
- 4 the SACs with the quidance that is indicated here on
- 5 the record, which they can see by reading the
- 6 transcript and having discussions with Carol-Lee.
- 7 COMMISSIONER HORNER: So move.
- 8 COMMISSIONER REDENBAUGH: Second.
- 9 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: All right. All in favor
- 10 of that motion, indicate by saying aye.
- 11 (Chorus of ayes.)
- 12 Opposed?
- 13 (No response.)
- 14 So ordered.
- Now we go to Number 6, which is the SAC --
- 16 COMMISSIONER REDENBAUGH: Before we do that -
- 17 -
- 18 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Yes?
- 19 COMMISSIONER REDENBAUGH: If I may for a
- 20 moment.
- 21 Cruz, I've very much agreed with what you
- 22 said about the disappointment on leadership for the
- 23 country.
- 24 VICE CHAIRPERSON REYNOSO: Yes.
- 25 COMMISSIONER REDENBAUGH: And I think our

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- 1 structure is very limiting in that I think these kinds
- 2 of conversations that we would all need to have to find
- 3 areas of agreement can best be had not in a group of
- 4 eight and not in a public forum. Maybe there's some
- 5 way we can think about having some of these
- 6 explorations in a way that's more fluid.
- 7 I think -- we could find that we have much
- 8 more agreement than appears, and then work on those
- 9 things.
- 10 VICE CHAIRPERSON REYNOSO: I agree with you.
- 11 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Do you mean on that
- 12 specific issue or just in general?
- 13 COMMISSIONER REDENBAUGH: Well, I meant on
- 14 civil rights in general.
- 15 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Okay.
- 16 COMMISSIONER REDENBAUGH: But -- well, why
- 17 not start with that, in particular, because I think
- 18 there is a subtle nuance of a multifaceted issue.
- 19 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Well, maybe what we could
- 20 do is get some kind of small paper -- I hate to say
- 21 this -- which -- I know whenever I say that, there's
- 22 work for people to do. Some kind of small paper which
- 23 dissects the affirmative action arguments and
- 24 procedures.
- We have a 1982 -- the last report the

- 1 Commission did was in 1982. It was a pretty good paper
- 2 in terms of --
- 3 COMMISSIONER REDENBAUGH: I think that the
- 4 work that's already been done is both excellent and
- 5 sufficient, you know, which was the history of
- 6 affirmative action.
- 7 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Oh, yes. That.
- 8 COMMISSIONER REDENBAUGH: And I'd like to re-
- 9 read that and have discussions with maybe up to four
- 10 of you at a time to sort out. Because I'm just not
- 11 sure where I stand on all these issues and I want to be
- 12 able to speak in kind of speculative exploratory way,
- 13 so I can hear how I sound.
- 14 But anyway, --
- 15 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Well, maybe what we'll do
- 16 then is -- I'll think about it, Russell, and maybe what
- 17 we'll do is try to schedule discussions among four of
- 18 us at a time.
- 19 COMMISSIONER REDENBAUGH: That would be very
- 20 productive.
- 21 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: And see what comes out of
- 22 it. We can do that without a problem, technically.
- 23 COMMISSIONER REDENBAUGH: Yes.
- 24 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: So why don't we try to do
- 25 that.

- 1 COMMISSIONER REDENBAUGH: Because I think I
- 2 would benefit a lot if Cruz and you and I sort of
- 3 swatted this around for an hour or two.
- 4 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Okay. And I'd benefit if
- 5 Connie and I and Robbie swatted it around for an hour
- 6 or two.
- 7 COMMISSIONER GEORGE: Well, I'm putting
- 8 Russell under house arrest, so neither of us will be
- 9 available.
- 10 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Okay. So we'll do that.
- 11 VICE CHAIRPERSON REYNOSO: Are you going to
- 12 hold these meetings on Monday, Wednesday and Friday,
- 13 or --
- 14 (Laughter.)
- 15 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Tuesday, Thursday and
- 16 Friday.
- 17 SAC appointments. Could I have a motion on
- 18 the SAC appointments? Shall we take them all together
- 19 or one by one? Anybody have any preference?
- 20 COMMISSIONER GEORGE: I'll move them
- 21 together.
- 22 COMMISSIONER HORNER: Second.
- 23 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: All right. Any
- 24 discussion of the appointments for Alabama, Colorado,
- 25 Connecticut, Idaho, Kansas, Kentucky, Massachusetts,

	50
1	Minnesota or New Jersey?
2	COMMISSIONER GEORGE: Madam Chairman?
3	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Yes.
4	COMMISSIONER GEORGE: As a point of personal
5	privilege, I would simply like to here say how pleased
6	I am that my colleague, Harry Frankfurt, from the
7	Department of Philosophy at Princeton has agreed to
8	serve on the New Jersey SAC.
9	Professor Frankfurt is one of the nation's
10	indeed, the world's truly outstanding philosopher.
11	He's a former chairman of the Departments of Philosophy
12	at both Yale University and the Rockefeller University,
13	a person with a deep commitment to civil rights, and a
14	very thoughtful commentator on the range of civil
15	rights issues.
16	He'll be joining a SAC which, as a resident
17	of New Jersey, I take pride in saying is already a very
18	strong one, and he will bring additional strength to
19	that SAC.

20 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Okay.

21 Are you ready for the question?

22 (No response.)

23 All in favor indicate by saying aye.

24 (Chorus of ayes.)

25 Opposed?

1	(No response.)
2	So ordered.
3	Now we go to the Miami Report. And I think
4	what we should do is, if you are in agreement with that
5	oh, let me first point out that I have just been
6	informed that I missed the decision in the St.
7	Petersburg election. They had it last week and Fisher
8	got reelected he was the mayor 53 percent to 47
9	percent. So maybe they will now, this week, begin to
10	address all of these problems.
11	Miami. We can either go through the report
12	page by page, as Arthur Fleming rises up from his
13	grave, or we can go over the findings and
14	recommendations, or we can do whatever you'd like. But
15	first, I would like a motion on the floor to approve
16	the report just for purposes of discussion. And then
17	we'll see where we go from there.
18	COMMISSIONER ANDERSON: So move.
19	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Could somebody move?
20	Yes.
21	COMMISSIONER ANDERSON: So move.
22	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: A second?
23	VICE CHAIRPERSON REYNOSO: Second.
24	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: All right. Discussion.
25	COMMISSIONER GEORGE: Madam Chairman?

- 1 . CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Yes, Commissioner George?
- 2 COMMISSIONER GEORGE: When is our next Civil
- 3 Rights Commission meeting? The date.
- 4 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: April --
- 5 COMMISSIONER ANDERSON: May 9th.
- 6 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: May 9th. Oh, that's
- 7 right. We're in April already.
- 8 COMMISSIONER GEORGE: May 9th. So just a
- 9 little over a month.
- I would like to suggest that we again employ
- 11 the method that has been used successfully now twice,
- 12 although I think we could probably improve it a little
- 13 bit this time, of having our assistants share with each
- 14 other the concerns of particular Commissioners and go
- 15 over the draft and make proposals for deletions or
- 16 additions or changes of any sort.
- 17 And that the one difference from past
- 18 practice I would suggest is that there be a definite
- 19 final meeting of the assistants where all concerned
- 20 consider that the matter has been closed among them. I
- 21 think there was a slight misunderstanding. It was
- 22 absolutely nobody's fault last time.
- 23 And then, they'd go back, of course, to the
- 24 Commissioners. And then at the next meeting, we'd vote
- 25 on the report, as revised.

- 1 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: The meeting is on the
- 2 9th; right? Is that what somebody just said?
- 3 VICE CHAIRPERSON REYNOSO: Yes.
- 4 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Which means that we would
- 5 have to have closure before the last meeting of the
- 6 assistants. Let's try to do that now, because
- 7 otherwise, we have problems trying to figure out when
- 8 the assistants are going to meet and this and that and
- 9 the other.
- 10 So, how much time would you, as
- 11 Commissioners, like to have between the last meeting,
- 12 just to assure that you've gotten in touch with your
- 13 assistant, if you have one, and all that, and talk to
- 14 them before the meeting and that there's not a problem
- 15 and so on.
- Yes, Commissioner Horner?
- 17 COMMISSIONER HORNER: I would suggest that we
- 18 would need Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday, three days
- 19 before the meeting. Meaning that the assistants would
- 20 conclude their conversations on the 5th.
- 21 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: All right. The 5th is --
- 22 what day of the week is that?
- 23 COMMISSIONER HORNER: Monday.
- 24 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: And should we, to be on
- 25 the safe side, have them do it the end of the week

- 1 before that?
- 2 COMMISSIONER HORNER: Yes.
- 3 COMMISSIONER GEORGE: So by Friday, the 2nd,
- 4 --
- 5 COMMISSIONER HORNER: So that they can type
- 6 up their notes to us and so on.
- 7 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Right.
- 8 COMMISSIONER GEORGE: Friday, the 2nd, would
- 9 --
- 10 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Friday the 2nd, by close
- 11 of business. Let's say Friday, the 2nd.
- 12 Krishna, is that day okay?
- 13 Friday the 2nd. Let's even pick a time for
- 14 them. After all, they're our assistants.
- 15 (Laughter.)
- 16 COMMISSIONER LEE: Some of us don't have one.
- 17 COMMISSIONER ANDERSON: I would suggest 9:00
- 18 a.m.
- 19 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: 9:00 a.m. Would they
- 20 like that? But we're not meeting with them, Carl.
- 21 They're meeting, not us.
- 22 COMMISSIONER GEORGE: What we're planning
- 23 here is the final meeting of the assistants?
- 24 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: I know that. They'll
- 25 have meetings before that. But, I mean, so that we all

- 1 know that they had a final meeting at X time and
- 2 there's no confusion in our minds about when that final
- 3 meeting is. That's the point.
- 4 So shall we say afternoon or morning?
- 5 Morning? Okay. Why don't we say 9:30 in the morning?
- 6 VICE CHAIRPERSON REYNOSO: Well, it depends.
- 7 If it's telephonic, it means 6:30 in California. If
- 8 it's personal and the folk are going to be here, and
- 9 those might be the most productive ones, then 9:30 is
- 10 okay.
- 11 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Why don't we say 9:30 in
- 12 the morning, because --
- 13 COMMISSIONER GEORGE: I don't know. Could we
- 14 really set the time? This seems --
- 15 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: All right. Then let's
- 16 say that -- we'll say that the Commissioners'
- 17 Assistants will have their final meeting on May the --
- VICE CHAIRPERSON REYNOSO: 2nd. Friday, May
- 19 2nd.
- 20 COMMISSIONER HORNER: And they will have
- 21 oatmeal for breakfast.
- 22 (Laughter.)
- 23 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: And sometime during the
- 24 day of May 2nd -- and I think Charlie is trying to say
- 25 something to you, Connie.

- 1 MS. PONTICELLI: I'm sorry. I can't be here
- 2 on May 2nd.
- 3 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Okay.
- 4 MS. PONTICELLI: Sorry, Russell. I'm
- 5 President of my school board back in Baltimore and
- 6 we're having an all-day retreat.
- 7 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: How about the day before
- 8 that?
- 9 COMMISSIONER REDENBAUGH: May what?
- 10 COMMISSIONER GEORGE: The first.
- 11 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: That's May Day, though.
- 12 COMMISSIONER REDENBAUGH: I'm sure it could
- 13 be observed in many different ways. We'll have a
- 14 diversity of services.
- 15 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Okay. So on May Day, the
- 16 Commissioners' Assistants will have their final meeting
- 17 and they will have lots of meetings before that, but
- 18 that will be their last one, by the end of that day.
- 19 COMMISSIONER LEE: Madam Chair?
- 20 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Yes.
- 21 COMMISSIONER LEE: Since I am probably the
- 22 only one who doesn't have a --
- 23 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: No. Commissioner Horner
- 24 doesn't have one, either.
- 25 COMMISSIONER LEE: Can you designate

- 1 someone's assistant so I could give them the notes so
- 2 they could represent me?
- 3 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Why don't we, for
- 4 purposes of this exercise -- Cruz, how about if we let
- 5 Cindy, since you guys are all in California --
- 6 VICE CHAIRPERSON REYNOSO: Oh, be happy to.
- 7 Sure.
- 8 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: -- you'll be on the same
- 9 time zone for purposes of this exercise.
- 10 And in your case, Commissioner Horner --
- 11 COMMISSIONER HORNER: I'll talk with Charlie
- 12 and Bill.
- 13 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Okay. So we're all set.
- 14 All right.
- 15 COMMISSIONER GEORGE: Now, if this goes
- 16 without a hitch, then we would vote on the -- at the
- 17 May 9th meeting?
- 18 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Oh, we plan to vote on
- 19 that at the next meeting.
- 20 COMMISSIONER GEORGE: Yes. Okay.
- 21 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Now does anyone want to
- 22 have any discussion at all of this here or would you
- 23 rather just leave it to the hashing it out among the --
- 24 COMMISSIONER HORNER: I think we should leave
- 25 it to hashing it out.

- 1 COMMISSIONER REDENBAUGH: I'd like to leave
- 2 it.
- 3 COMMISSIONER HORNER: Because that way we can
- 4 have a discussion at the meeting of the residue after
- 5 the hashing out.
- 6 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: After the hashing out
- 7 takes place.
- 8 COMMISSIONER HORNER: And not on the whole
- 9 shebang.
- 10 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Okay. I, for one, would
- 11 like to say that this process seems to have worked. I
- 12 mean, it seems to have worked. I don't know how you
- 13 feel about it. I was a little concerned at first about
- 14 whether it would work. And it's a lot of work for the
- 15 assistants. But after all, they're supposed to work,
- 16 so --
- 17 And it has been surprising to me about how
- 18 much consensus you really can have if you're willing to
- 19 negotiate and if you're willing to talk and if you're
- 20 willing to not absolutely quibble over something that
- 21 you can either do without, even though you love it very
- 22 much.
- 23 And so it has enabled us to get some reports
- 24 done, so I think that's a good thing. And let's see if
- 25 it works on this particular one.

- 1 All right. Now, is there anything else then
- 2 that -- so the motion is deferred until the next
- 3 meeting and we will proceed in the way that we've
- 4 suggested.
- 5 Let me make sure. It says Future Agenda
- 6 Items here.
- 7 Let me -- one announcement I didn't make. I
- 8 didn't say anything about the Staff Director position.
- 9 The White House is still vetting -- what does
- 10 that mean, Connie, when they tell you they're still
- 11 vetting?
- 12 COMMISSIONER HORNER: You don't want to know.
- 13 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Okay. They're still
- 14 vetting. And they do have a candidate who they expect
- 15 to propose to us if the vetting process turns out to be
- 16 okay. And then they will ask me to circulate a resume.
- 17 They still haven't asked me to do that so that's why I
- 18 haven't done it.
- And I don't understand why I can't so do it.
- 20 Well, I guess you have to wait for vetting. Is that --
- 21 COMMISSIONER HORNER: So far, we're using
- 22 Who's Who in America.
- 23 (Laughter.)
- 24 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Well, I think people know
- 25 who the candidate is anyway, so I don't understand why

- 1 I can't circulate a resume. But as soon as they finish
- 2 the vetting and ask me to do that, which I expect to
- 3 happen sometime in the next week or 10 days, I'm told.
- 4 Then I will send the resume out to you, those of you
- 5 who don't have it already, and then I will ask that you
- 6 -- when you get it, be receptive to a phone call from
- 7 the person so that you can meet with them, talk to them
- 8 or whatever you'd like to do. And then I would like to
- 9 schedule a vote.
- 10 If it happens in the next week and you are
- 11 able to meet with the person and satisfy yourself, we
- 12 might be able to do it by phone before the next
- 13 meeting. If you're not able to and it doesn't happen,
- 14 then obviously we wouldn't be able to. But there will
- 15 be plenty of opportunity for you to talk to the person,
- 16 meet with the person, do whatever you like, before any
- 17 kind of a vote is set.
- 18 Does anyone have any questions about the
- 19 Staff Director situation or anything else?
- 20 Do you have something about something else?
- 21 COMMISSIONER GEORGE: I might have missed
- 22 this earlier. I just wanted to know if we had any
- 23 briefings coming up in the next couple of months.
- 24 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Yes. You did miss it
- 25 earlier.

1	COMMISSIONER	GEORGE ·	Okay.
	COMMITORIONER	GEORGE.	Onay.

- 2 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: We have Legal Services in
- 3 May.
- 4 COMMISSIONER GEORGE: In May?
- 5 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: And you made a couple of
- 6 suggestions. And let's make sure your suggestions are
- 7 balanced, Commissioner George.
- 8 COMMISSIONER GEORGE: Okay. Will do.
- 9 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: And other Commissioners
- 10 may make suggestions.
- 11 And we have another briefing after that on
- 12 Russell's suggestion, which was about regulations as
- 13 they affect minority entrepreneurship.
- 14 COMMISSIONER GEORGE: Is that scheduled?
- 15 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: No. We'll probably have
- 16 it a month after the Legal Services one, if it can be
- 17 gotten together by that time.
- 18 COMMISSIONER GEORGE: So the May meeting is
- 19 the Legal Services briefing?
- 20 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Legal Services. Right.
- Okay. Any other items that anyone would like
- 22 to present?
- 23 (No response.)
- 24 If not, then we -- I'd like a motion to
- 25 adjourn.

1	COMMISSIONER HORNER: So move.
2	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Okay. It's non-
3	debatable. Seconded by somebody. Cruz seconded it;
4	right?
5	VICE CHAIRPERSON REYNOSO: I second it.
6	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: And enjoy your weekend.
7	(Whereupon, the proceedings were concluded.)
8	