U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

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COMMISSION MEETING

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FRIDAY,

JANUARY 9, 2004

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WASHINGTON, D.C.

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The Commission meeting was held in the Conference Room of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, Room 540, 624 Ninth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., at 9:30 a.m., Chairperson Mary Frances Berry, presiding.

PRESENT:

U.S. COMMISSION ON BIVIL RIGHTS

MARY FRANCES BERRY, Chairperson
CRUZ REYNOSO, Vice Chairperson
JENNIFER C. BRACERAS, Commissioner
CHRISTOPHER EDLEY, JR., Commissioner
PETER N. KIRSANOW, Commissioner
ELSIE M. MEEKS, Commissioner
RUSSELL G. REDENBAUGH, Commissioner
ABIGAIL THERNSTROM, Commissioner

LESLIE R. JIN, Staff Director

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STAFF PRESENT:

DEBRA CARR, ESQ., Deputy General Counsel, OGC IVY DAVIS, Chief, Regional Programs Coordination Unit TERRI DICKERSON, Assistant Staff Director, OCRE PAMELA A. DUNSTON, Chief, ASCD GEORGE M. HARBISON, Chief, BFD TINALOUISE MARTIN, Director, HRD MARC PENTINO KWANA ROYAL JOYCE SMITH, Parliamentarian AONGHAS ST. HILAIRE ALEXANDER SUN DEBORAH VAGINS AUDREY WRIGHT TIFFANY WRIGHT MIREILLE ZIESENISS

COMMISSIONER ASSISTANTS PRESENT:

KRISTINA ARRIAGA
LAURA BATIE
PATRICK DUFFY
JOY FREEMAN
CHRISTOPHER JENNINGS
KIMBERLY SCHULD
MELISSA SHARP
KRISHNA TOOLSIE

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CHAIRPERSON BERRY: So ordered.

III. Announcements

CHAIRPERSON BERRY: The next item on the agenda is announcements. I would like to announce that Phil Montez, who has been Regional Director in the Western Region of the Commission and has been with the Commission since 1967, has retired. He announced his retirement after all of these years of service.

VICE CHAIRPERSON REYNOSO: And he's just a kid.

CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Right. He's just a kid, and Phil did a wonderful job all of these years out there in the West, and we will miss him, but I certainly hope he will have a wonderful retirement, and I certainly believe he will knowing Phil.

Also, Marc Pentino, who worked in the Eastern Regional Office for the past nine years and who also worked on the West Virginia SAC report that we will be considering today, is leaving to go to the Department of Transportation, and we wish him all the best.

The other announcement, Prince Holliday, who is a Michigan staff member from Detroit, died in his sleep on December 19th, 2003. He was at Blue

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Cross/Blue Shield in a variety of management roles, including corporate vice president, and agreed to be on a number of civic boards in Detroit, including Detroit Downtown, and served on our SAC for which we were very grateful.

Since we last met, the California law that would have allowed undocumented persons to get driver's licenses has been repealed, and this has been, of course, a source of some consternation to some people and pleasure to some people in California and has raised a lot of issues.

January 20th, 2004, is the anniversary of the birth of Martin Luther King, Jr., and we will commemorate the 75th anniversary of his birth this year, and we will, of course, honor the ideals for which he fought and celebrate how far we have come as well as recognizing how far we have to go on these issues.

Thanks to his leadership, our nation has made extraordinary progress in eradicating discrimination, invidious discrimination, in the last few years we have created the Martin Luther King, Jr. holiday, which still exists, and Dr. King's legacy will be honored as we move the nation closest to its highest ideals.

January 1st, 1863, was the day on which 1 2 President Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation 3 Proclamation during the beginning of the third year of the Civil War, and which freed some slaves, although 4 in class, one always debates how many slaves were 5 freed and were they freed and whatever, and was 6 7 Lincoln the emancipator, but the people at the time 8 thought he was, and some slaves were freed. It was 9 followed, of course, by the passage of the 13th 10 Amendment. 11 The Supreme Court ruled in Lau v. Nichols 12 13

on January 21st, 1974, 30 years ago, that having children arrive at school with little or no English speaking ability, and providing sink or swim instruction was a violation of their civil rights.

Lau, of course, is grounded in Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and the Commission has done a lot of work on limited English proficiency and continues to do that.

Does anyone else have any announcements they wish on any subject whatsoever?

(No response.)

CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Hearing none, the next item on the agenda is the Staff Director's report.

Does anyone have any questions to raise or comments or

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mean.

COMMISSIONER REDENBAUGH: At the moment, yes.

CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Okay, but if there is anything, make sure, and if any issue is raised or there is anything you need, let's make sure you get it. Okay?

COMMISSIONER REDENBAUGH: Is there something that prompted this concern?

CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Only my waking up in the middle of the night as I always do thinking about

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1	Commissioner Redebaugh.
2	(Laughter.)
3	CHAIRPERSON REYNOSO: I don't know if you
4	want to go down that road.
5	COMMISSIONER REDENBAUGH: Perhaps we
6	should consider this at another moment.
7	(Laughter.)
8	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: No, no, no, no. On my
9	"to do" list and thinking at the beginning of the
10	year. You were one of my 12 items on my list. So I
11	just thought I would make sure.
12	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: And why aren't the
13	rest of us thought of?
14	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Because you don't have
15	a disability, to my knowledge.
16	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: How do you know?
17	(Laughter.)
18	VICE CHAIRPERSON REYNOSO: I think what
19	Mary is telling us is she's reached the age where
20	she's beginning to think about these things.
21	(Laughter.)
22	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Anyway, okay. Good.
23	Now, does anybody have anything for the Staff Director
24	that they'd like to raise?
25	COMMISSIONER REDENBAUGH: Yes. The issue
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1	that I wrote about regarding the home town meetings,
2	is the Staff Director's report the place for that
3	discussion?
4	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Yes; absolutely.
5	COMMISSIONER REDENBAUGH: Oh, good. Then
6	if this would be the appropriate time, I'd like to
7	discuss the logic of our holding a meeting in Seattle.
8	The communication announcing that location didn't
9	include any of the reasoning behind that.
10	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: And you'd like to know
11	from the Staff Director why I the procedure says
12	that I decide where we meet base on consultation with
13	the Staff Director.
14	COMMISSIONER REDENBAUGH: Okay, but
15	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: But in the
16	consultation
17	COMMISSIONER REDENBAUGH: Perhaps I should
18	direct the question be
19	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Yeah, please do. He
20	can speak to it, but I
21	COMMISSIONER REDENBAUGH: Well, no. I
22	COMMISSIONER REDENBAUGH: Well, no. I would think that it would be better if he did.
22	would think that it would be better if he did.
22 23	would think that it would be better if he did. CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Okay. Upon the Staff

Region, although we have been to various other regions to meet, and that he thought that it was time that we did that, and he recommended that we go to some place in the Western Region so that those SAC chairs can all come to tell the Commission about what's going on in their regions, and that he had gotten some inquiries from them as to why we didn't want to come out and meet with them. It occurred to me that we could briefed from then on what's going on there, and that the Staff Director said he would also identify issues that could be discussed while we were there and get a perspective from the West Coast on some of important issues as well as there were a couple of site visits that he had in mind.

But his primary concern, as he explained it to me, was that there were a lot of things that they wished to discussion, and we have been to every other region or most of them. We have not visited any regions in the Western Region.

COMMISSIONER REDENBAUGH: There isn't any particular event in Seattle of which I was unaware.

CHAIRPERSON BERRY: All right. We could go to Portland. I guess that's in the Western Region. There are a lot of places in the Western Region, but

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1	Seattle seemed to be it was a place he recommended.
2	So that was the it seemed to me to be a good idea.
3	I accepted that.
4	COMMISSIONER REDENBAUGH: Obviously
5	meteorological considerations weren't given much
6	weight.
7	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Which considerations?
8	COMMISSIONER REDENBAUGH: Meteorological.
9	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Meteorological.
10	COMMISSIONER REDENBAUGH: Weather.
11	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: You mean rain.
12	(Laughter.)
13	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: No, it had nothing to
14	do with that.
15	COMMISSIONER REDENBAUGH: No, I see that.
16	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Otherwise we would
17	have gone to Hawaii maybe.
18	COMMISSIONER EDLEY: I do think the law
19	school at Berkeley would be delighted to host a
20	Commission next fall, meaning
21	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: This fall?
22	COMMISSIONER EDLEY: No, I'm serious. I'm
23	completely serious.
24	COMMISSIONER REDENBAUGH: Well, this sort
25	of raises a larger question in which is absent, you
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know, some compelling local issue, which often there is, you know, reason, I'm concerned as I often am about is this the best use of our limited resources, and particularly, this is, I think, a question probably more specifically for the Staff Director in terms of the allocation of the financial resources against our other projects and against the personnel

How do you make the assessment about the return, rate of return, on something like that versus, say, if we need to meet with the Western people bringing them here versus us going there.

CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Well, I would let him answer the balance of resources question, but I would say that in my own view, it would probably cost more to bring all of the people from the West, the guy from Hawaii and the SAC chairs from the West to Washington than it would to go there.

And also, I think that when we go to places and we make visits and the people in the community have a chance to come and see us and talk to us and see us in action. They very much appreciate it.

I mean, I have been just astounded by the reception in most of the places that we went, the

people who come out, the local media's interest in what we're doing, and I think that it's good for us to be out on the ground seeing people and letting them see us in different regions of the country and having an opportunity to come and listen to what we do and watch what we do.

I just have found that to be of incalculable benefit. I don't know what the dollar balances are for the Staff Director. He can answer that, but I just found it very beneficial. I don't know if other members or Commission have found it beneficial, but I think -- yes, Vice Chair.

VICE CHAIRPERSON REYNOSO: Well, Madame Chair, I had my Assistant Laura just check, and actually we've discussed this matter several times.

I'm looking now at November '02, where you said practically the same thing:

"It is clear that we go to places for a combination of reasons, and the Staff Director and I discussed that sometimes it's a hot issue there. Other times there are several issues, and the SAC may need to be in need of reinforcement or wish to have us urging to come to meet with them in terms of reinforcing what they're doing in their local communities, et cetera."

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So you're pretty consistent, but beyond that, I would say that I've been very enthused about the meetings that we've had away from Washington, meeting with the folk that deal with these issues day in and day out.

At one time I remember the staff did do a financial study when we were meeting some other place, and it came out that the expenses were about even because sometimes you get cheaper hotel rooms, et cetera, et cetera. Sometimes it's even cheaper to fly elsewhere than to Washington, D.C.

But I just think that it has been of tremendous value not only to us, but to the folk that we meet with, and I think the procedure has worked well.

IV. Staff Director's Report

CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Okay. I don't know.

Do you want the Staff Director to say something,

Commissioner Redenbaugh?

COMMISSIONER REDENBAUGH: Yeah, I'm just concerned about two -- obviously there's merit and benefit in traveling for all of the reasons both you and Cruz have mentioned, and how does that weigh against the personnel needs and staffing the agency and compensating the staff in the way that they need

to be, and does the fact that we're under a continuing resolution impact our ability to do travel?

STAFF DIRECTOR JIN: Yes, sir. I think the fact that we're under a continuing resolution, especially this particular continuing resolution which runs to the end of this month, and then the way that they've been running so far is that, this is not like somebody may remember in 1994 when there were some real serious questions as to whether the government would continue to operate and continuing resolutions were running a few days at 2 time.

That's not the situation here. I think that clearly everybody is interested in making sure a lot of the agencies can operate. So I don't think that's of real issue here.

I think one of the things at this point, again, the Commissioners remember when the Commissioners decided in good part on the recommendation of staff and I certainly thought it was a good idea.

Because of the resource issue, certainly the Commissioners at this point felt that we should not travel every month. Even though that still may be a good idea, I would have some concerns because on the whole it costs a little more to travel. It's hard

kind of comparing apples and oranges because a lot of times when we travel we have briefings and hearings, especially with our projects. So it's kind of hard to compare everything.

But it does cost a little more to travel, and so if we travel every month, I would have some concerns, but the last time we traveled was when we went to Albuquerque to look at Native American health care, which is one of our projects. The time before that was in February when we went to Charlotte and in part to look at educational accountability.

So the last time we really traveled just to kind of see what's going on out in the different regions and so forth was really a year ago. So, under those circumstances, I think our travels are certainly a very reasonable use of resources, and obviously anything we do that's of value costs some money, whether it be our reports, our SAC activities, everything. So use of our Lexis/Nexis.

So in terms of the context of everything,

I think it's a very reasonable expenditure under the
circumstances.

COMMISSIONER REDENBAUGH: So you don't feel it's restraining your ability on the personnel side?

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STAFF DIRECTOR JIN: Well, obviously, as 1 I've said, I think, a number of times, and I think 2 most of you agree with me, because our budget has 3 decreased in terms of real current dollars every year, 4 we need more money. So, sure, it's a constraint, but 5 again, just like I think it's your jobs and my jobs to 6 try to try to continue to do good work and get good 7 products out there and do all of the stuff that the 8 supposed to do within the budget 9 Commission is constraints, I mean, this just falls for me within one 10 of those areas. 11 COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: May I be heard? 12 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Yes. 13 COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: I mean, with all 14 15 I don't really think that answers due respect, 16 Commissioner Redenbaugh's question. I think he's 17 asking and my concern as well, is about you, 18 priorities. I mean, you're saying, yes, we need more 19 Okay, fine. We don't have it. money. 20 So given what we do have, you know, is the 21 priority to hear from SAC leaders or to compensate our 22 overworked and overburdened staff or to buy new 23 computers or to whatever? 24 Ι mean, you know, part of being 25 administrator and a manager is having to prioritize

within the budget that you're given. So I'm curious 1 as to what those priorities are. 2 STAFF DIRECTOR JIN: Okay, Commissioner. 3 I think if the question was, should this be the first 4 priority over every priority, my answer would be no, 5 but I think in terms --6 COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: I'm asking you 7 what your priorities are. 8 STAFF DIRECTOR JIN: Well, first of all, 9 I'd be happy to try to answer that, but I think it's 10 important to remember that this question is 11 12 simply, that's my personal priorities. I think my priority is to implement the responsibilities of the 13 Commission, including the desires the 14 15 Commissioners, in a way consistent with the legal mandates. So the Commissioners have --16 COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: Well, I can assure 17 18 you --STAFF DIRECTOR JIN: The Commissioners 19 have, in my mind, appropriately and wisely voted to at 20 least periodically visit some of the regions. I can 21 tell you from talking to -- I talked to the SAC chair 22 just a couple of days ago. He's very excited that the 23 24 Commissioners are coming out to that Pacific Northwest 25 Region, and the only thing I would caveat that with

1 what Dr. Barry said, the Chair said is it's not just going out West. We're going out to the Pacific 2 Northwest. 3 I mean, that's a little different. I used 4 to live there, and there are different parts of the 5 country that feel like nobody pays attention to them. 6 Pacific Northwest is one of those parts, and so this 7 really to some of the people out there is important. 8 So I think in terms of value, this is a 9 it's wise expenditure 10 aood value, and a 11 consistent with what the Commissioners have voted. That's a good idea. 12 13 COMMISSIONER I BRACERAS: mean, understand that in an ideal world it would be a good 14 15 In a world of limited resources, I haven't seen idea. 16 a rationale laid out as to why this takes precedence 17 over other things. I mean, you say you're acting on 18 the wishes of the Commissioners. I can assure you 19 that 50 percent of the current Commission doesn't 20 think this is a good idea. 21 So, you know, you may we acting on some 22 prior vote, but I can tell you right now four of the 23 people whom you allegedly report to and take orders 24 from don't think it's a good idea.

CHAIRPERSON BERRY:

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I think we

Well,

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should -- I'm going to call the discussion because the procedure is that I make the decision after the Staff Director makes a recommendation to me. The Staff Director can only operate on prior votes until there is another vote, and until the procedure is changed, I intend to continue to make the decision.

And I am happy to be responsible for it, and I took his advice and one may quibble with his advice, but unless the Commission wishes to try to call for some kind of vote to change the procedure then, we have had this discussion several times, and I see no reason to continue it unless there's a motion on the floor.

Yes, Commissioner Redenbaugh.

COMMISSIONER REDENBAUGH: I ask that since these decisions are, as you pointed out, well thought out, ahead of the selections being made, that when the selection is made and we're notified, that the basis for that be shared with us so that we can begin to organize our thinking around that so that we have more notice of the thinking behind the decision.

CHAIRPERSON BERRY: That sounds like a very seductive idea, very nice and benign idea, but what it presumes is that there's some basis on which to challenge the discussion, and the decision is made

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COMMISSIONER REDENBAUGH: But there's no presumption. Thank you.

Commissioner CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Thernstrom has --

I think COMMISSIONER THERNSTROM: Commissioner Kirsanow had his hand up first. delighted to let him go first.

COMMISSIONER KIRSANOW: Thank you.

I was just curious as to whether or not there has been any budgetary analysis made with respect to this particular trip, and if so, what is the budgetary impact of the Seattle trip as you estimate it to be, and conversely, as I Commissioner Reynoso indicated, that on occasion it seems that it might be just as expensive to have people come here. Has there been any analysis done of what the expense would be to have the anticipated

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people who are going -- the people who we anticipate are going to be present at this particular meeting in terms of SAC people coming here, what the budgetary impact of that would be.

COMMISSIONER THERNSTROM: Well, can I just piggyback on that one second so that it becomes one question, and I have a question on a completely different matter as well.

But, you know, I think there would be concern on the part of some of us if, for instance, the trip had an impact on performance bonuses for the staff, on step increases for the staff. In other words, it would be nice to have some more information as to exactly what the budgetary impact.

CHAIRPERSON BERRY: I have no intentions of -- well, let's just be clear. I will not, unless there is a vote to do so, direct the Staff Director to put in writing on a piece of paper some analysis that pits the staff and its bonuses and its step increases and all of this stuff. All that is is obfuscation, and anyone can see through it.

So we can sit there and talk about this all day long if you want to, but I am not going to instruct, unless there is a vote by a majority to do so, the Staff Director to do anything except what he's

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already doing, and I am going to make a decision about 1 whether or not we go someplace in accordance with the 2 3 procedure that is there. already told Commissioner have 4 Redenbaugh we will share with him or with you to the 5 extent possible the basis of the decision to go to a 6 certain place, and I think that's reasonable, but I 7 think going behind the decision to do all of this kind 8 unnecessarily burdensome 9 is of analysis 10 unnecessarily contentious. So with that, unless there is a motion, 11 12 yes? No, I'd just like to 13 COMMISSIONER EDLEY: ask my colleagues, and Commissioner Braceras made the 14 15 point about it being a four-four split. That's In a matter of months, you will have 16 obviously true. 17 Change the policies; change the majority. 18 procedures. I would really like to move on to the 19 substance of what we've got on the table today and 20 talk about that. 21 COMMISSIONER THERNSTROM: Yes. I have one 22 other question for the Staff Director not on this 23 subject. 24 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Okay, sure. 25 COMMISSIONER THERNSTROM: Is there some

policy that it would be useful for you to articulate 1 as we are now already thick into the presidential 2 campaign season as to what the guidelines are with 3 respect to endorsements, involvement, and so forth? 4 think it would be useful for Commissioners. 5 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: I can help you in that 6 connection. You may not know this because you weren't 7 here, but this question came up before in the last 8 election cycle, and --9 COMMISSIONER THERNSTROM: Okay. I wasn't 10 11 here. I'm telling him CHAIRPERSON BERRY: 1.2 because he wasn't. 13 COMMISSIONER THERNSTROM: Oh, okay. 14 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: He won't know the 15 answer, but if you look in the files or have OGC or 16 somebody look in the files, you will find that the 17 same question came up the first time with reference to 18 Commissioner Remirez in one of those elections, and 19 she was supporting Fritz Mondale, and it was answered 20 in terms of Commissioners have the right to do 21 whatever they feel like doing in a campaign. 22 We're special government employees as you 23 know, and Commissioners may do as other citizens do on 24 these issues, as they wish, but you should unearth 25

1 that. COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: Well, it would be 2 3 useful to have. COMMISSIONER THERNSTROM: Yeah, and 4 identifying themselves the U.S. as members of 5 Commission on Civil Rights or --6 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Identifying themselves 7 which the public 8 for purposes of identification, already knows, as Commissioners if they want to, 9 10 professors, whatever they are, yes, anything that they are by description, but I think it would be better 11 that the --12 13 COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: Yeah, it would be helpful to have something in writing because I think 14 15 all of us want to be conscious of that, and also, you 16 know, how you can identify yourself, and any details 17 that you have would be useful. 18 STAFF DIRECTOR JIN: Okay. Will do. 19 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: And how others can 20 identify you because, as you know, whether you 21 identify yourself or not, others may identify you 22 however they wish. 23 COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: 24 COMMISSIONER EDLEY: While you're digging 25 around in the file cabinets, if you have something

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1	also that is a guidance about identifying ourselves in
2	things that we write, that would be
3	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: That we publish?
4	COMMISSIONER EDLEY: Yeah.
5	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: That have nothing
6	to do with the campaign, that might just be on a
7	COMMISSIONER EDLEY: Yeah. I mean, I'm
8	just finishing a book chapter. I don't know. I just
9	don't know if there are rules.
10	STAFF DIRECTOR JIN: Okay. We'll do that.
11	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Okay. Anybody have
12	anything else?
13	(No response.)
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	V. State Advisory Committee Report: Coping
14 15	V. State Advisory Committee Report: Coping with Police Misconduct in West Virginia
14 15	
14	with Police Misconduct in West Virginia
14 15 16 17	with Police Misconduct in West Virginia CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Okay. The State
14 15 16 17	with Police Misconduct in West Virginia CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Okay. The State Advisory Committee report, the next item on the
14 15 16 17 18	with Police Misconduct in West Virginia CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Okay. The State Advisory Committee report, the next item on the agenda, coping with police misconduct in West
14 15 16	with Police Misconduct in West Virginia CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Okay. The State Advisory Committee report, the next item on the agenda, coping with police misconduct in West Virginia. Can I get a motion to accept the report?
14 15 16 17 18 19	with Police Misconduct in West Virginia CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Okay. The State Advisory Committee report, the next item on the agenda, coping with police misconduct in West Virginia. Can I get a motion to accept the report? COMMISSIONER EDLEY: So moved.
14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21	with Police Misconduct in West Virginia CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Okay. The State Advisory Committee report, the next item on the agenda, coping with police misconduct in West Virginia. Can I get a motion to accept the report? COMMISSIONER EDLEY: So moved. CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Could I get a second?
14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21	with Police Misconduct in West Virginia CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Okay. The State Advisory Committee report, the next item on the agenda, coping with police misconduct in West Virginia. Can I get a motion to accept the report? COMMISSIONER EDLEY: So moved. CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Could I get a second? COMMISSIONER MEEKS: Second.
14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22	with Police Misconduct in West Virginia CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Okay. The State Advisory Committee report, the next item on the agenda, coping with police misconduct in West Virginia. Can I get a motion to accept the report? COMMISSIONER EDLEY: So moved. CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Could I get a second? COMMISSIONER MEEKS: Second. CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Yes?

and I think the Advisory Committee is to be commended, as I think we said with another advisory committee, just sticking to this issue for some time.

And I want to commend particularly the 4 of the the Chapter portion of Models for Police Disciplinary "Alternative Procedure," and I want to comment particularly, that I'm convinced as they are that we need to take a second look at police community relations, and that the notion of accountability in terms of incentives for the police in terms of examining what a police officer on the street thinks is a good thing, and so they will commend one another for having done that good thing, and really it's the key for any potential improvement rather than -- I shouldn't say "rather," but that would be far better than civilian review boards and other folk who are looking at what they're doing from the outside.

And I just go out of my way to mention that because this is the first report that I've seen from an advisory committee nibbling at that those issues, and since they have been dealing with this issue now for several reports apparently. The next time they look at it and focus on that, I think it would be very helpful for them and for us.

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Which is the culture CHAIRPERSON BERRY: 1 of this. 2 Exactly, the VICE CHAIRPERSON REYNOSO: 3 culture within the police department, and when an 4 officer does something good, for example, they mention 5 that officers will get rewarded based on the number of 6 arrests, and they suggest that maybe there ought to be 7 a reward for the number of times that they're able to 8 diffuse a volatile situation into a nonvolatile 9 There ought to be measurements and ways of situation. 10 looking at the good things that officers do. 11 But I don't think that we've done enough 12 work in that area, and since this advisory committee 13 has been following these issues for some time, 14 seemed to me that if they continue doing this sort of 15 work, maybe that ought to be the focus of their next 16 17 report. So I just thought it was a good report, 18 but I am particularly interested in that aspect of it. 19 Well, the subject of CHAIRPERSON BERRY: 20 police misconduct, I don't know if you noticed it, but 21 this week there's a settlement in New York in the 22 23 Amadou Diallo --VICE CHAIRPERSON REYNOSO: Yes, yes. 24 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: -- case for millions 25

of dollars.

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VICE CHAIRPERSON REYNOSO: Right.

CHAIRPERSON BERRY: First, I noticed that at least one of the New York papers gave some credit to the Commission for its report on the New York racial profiling as being Department on Police instrumental in this, but I think that there was a study done one time of all of the funds that have been paid by municipalities in police brutality cases. was an extraordinary amount of money that they've had to pay out, which you would think -- and I remember we discussed this once with an expert who was here. I've forgotten his name. He was a really great professor at some place in New York -- of the issue of why police departments don't behave better when there are such big damage awards of amounts that they have to pay out in settlements.

And I remember he told us it's because the police aren't paying it.

VICE CHAIRPERSON REYNOSO: Right.

CHAIRPERSON BERRY: He told us that sitting right here. He said, "They're not the ones who are paying the money. It's the municipalities."

But the taxpayers there have that amount in terms of their social services reduced or their tax

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bills increased by that amount.

VICE CHAIRPERSON REYNOSO: We hear about quite a bit in New York, Los Angeles, the bit cities —

— it took me a little bit aback — that this report out of West Virginia also raises that issue, and they give some of the figures, and apparently it's pretty high even in West Virginia.

But in my comments, I was actually thinking about the hearings we had in Los Angeles, the hearings we had in New York, and I remember one gentleman, a black minister testifying that the hearing we have there, particularly with that special unit that had been set up in the police department, was simply the last of a series of issues that he had been concerned with, and that he wasn't blaming the Commissioner or the mayor at that time because he had been dealing with these issues for 30 years.

Whether the administration was Democratic or Republican, somehow these issues didn't go away. They would come up in different forms. So that's one of the reasons, and I couldn't help but think about that in reading this report and why I continue to think that more study needs to be done about the culture and the matter of rewards and training and all of that of the cop on the beat rather than — even in

1	New York we had the mayor and the Commissioner come
2	and tell us about all of the good work they were
3	doing. Then we had dozens of citizens telling us
4	about the bad work they were doing, and you have the
5	folk like this, and we don't get to the core of it.
6	So I was just excited that in Chapter 4
7	this report starts getting at some of the core, I
8	think.
9	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: I think the guy's name
10	was Jim Fife, I think.
11	COMMISSIONER EDLEY: Very good.
12	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Is that right?
13	COMMISSIONER EDLEY: Yeah.
14	CHAIRPERSÓN BERRY: Boy, I'm not getting
15	(Laughter.)
16	COMMISSIONER EDLEY: Don't leap to
17	conclusion.
18	(Laughter.)
19	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Okay. Any other
20	comments on the report?
21	(No response.)
22	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: All right. All those
23	in favor of accepting the report indicate by saying
24	aye.
25	(Chorus of ayes.)

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1	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Opposed?
2	(No response.)
3	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: So ordered.
4	VI. Program Planning
5	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Now we go to program
6	planning unless there's something else I've missed,
7	that I didn't do.
8	We have some proposals from our staff, and
9	we have a list for projects for FY 2004 that they gave
10	us for our information and that approved for 2005, and
11	then we have these new ones that they are proposing.
12	Is there anything that you wish to say, Mr. Staff
13	Director, or is it res ipsa loquitur?
14	STAFF DIRECTOR JIN: No, I think this has
15	nothing to do with race.
16	(Laughter.)
17	STAFF DIRECTOR JIN: I think it's pretty
18	much all of the documents. I mean, I think all of the
19	Commissioners have gone through at least one cycle.
20	So I don't think I necessarily need to go through any
21	major presentation.
22	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Oh, we'd like a no.
23	STAFF DIRECTOR JIN: Do you want a little
24	presentation?
25	(Laughter.)

CHAIRPERSON BERRY: That's okay. 1 STAFF DIRECTOR JIN: I mean a small one. 2 Commissioner CHAIRPERSON BERRY: 3 Redenbaugh. 4 COMMISSIONER REDENBAUGH: Before we 5 this, I sent a letter to the Commissioners, which I 6 was hoping the discussion of that might precede the 7 discussion of any of the merits of any individual 8 9 project. CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Could you please just 10 identify this for the record? Just say a memorandum 11 to the Commission on the subject of? 12 COMMISSIONER REDENBAUGH: It was on the 13 subject of a change in the process for preparing 14 15 projects. 16 Okay, all right. CHAIRPERSON BERRY: COMMISSIONER REDENBAUGH: And I must say 17 18 I'm not very happy with the articulation of what I 19 It appears inordinately complex, I'm afraid, 20 and I didn't mean it to be that, but my intention is 21 to increase the or to improve the process, and so 22 drawing on our experience in the past where we've 23 some οf our really effective 24 Commissioner task forces, you know, I

something along those lines here.

Okay. Well, now that CHAIRPERSON BERRY: 1 you've described it, I was only asking for you to 2 describe what it was. 3 COMMISSIONER REDENBAUGH: Yes, that's what 4 I'm referring to. 5 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: So we would know how 6 to assess it. 7 Vice Chair? 8 Madam VICE CHAIRPERSON REYNOSO: Yes, 9 I went over the suggestions with some care. 10 The letter stated January 5, '04, and I must say that 11 I concentrated on the modest proposal, but -- . 12. COMMISSIONER REDENBAUGH: But the immodest 13 one is a little confused. 14 15 (Laughter.) VICE CHAIRPERSON REYNOSO: But the modest 16 proposal manifestly would affect deeply how the staff 17 18 does its work quite differently from how it does it and as you know, I've mentioned in times past 19 that we really ought to hear from the staff, I think, 20 21 before making any changes. I was going to ask Russell if we might ask 22 Les to talk to particularly the two units that I think 23 would be most involved here and come back with their 24 own reaction or further discussion on it or maybe even 25

some other ways of meeting the suggestions that you 1 have so we can have a more in depth discussion. 2 I think that's COMMISSIONER REDENBAUGH: 3 very right. 4 VICE CHAIRPERSON REYNOSO: I must say I 5 did focus on modest proposal because even that modest 6 proposal, I think, would change completely the way 7 we've traditionally done our work. 8 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: I don't know which one 9 of you had your hand. I think Christopher did. 10 COMMISSIONER EDLEY: Well, I like that 11 idea, but I was going to suggest, Les, that if we do 12 proceed this way that one thing the staff might think 13 about is if there's a lot of nervousness about it, 14 then at least think about whether to do it on some 15 sort of pilot basis or something like that would give 16 them more of a comfort level. 17 18 But let me just put that in the mix of 19 what you think about as a way to assess it. 20 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Commissioner Braceras? 21 COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: I agree it's a 22 good idea to get the input of the staff. However, I 23 don't think that that's dispositive. I think that we 24 have to make a decision as Commissioners as to how to 25 run our own ship. I don't think it's up to the staff to decide, although we should certainly take their views into consideration.

You know, the question for me has always been who's in charge and who's running the show. Are we, you know, just here to authorize and lend credibility to the work of the staff or are we, as Commissioners, as a body, not as an individual, but as a body, supposed to be integral to the process?

I've always felt that the Commissioners should be more involved and, therefore, was very happy to see Russell's proposals, and I think that the spirit in which he put them forward is really in the spirit of good government and the spirit of nonpartisan reform.

I think that if all of the Commissioners, with all of our varying perspectives and diverse backgrounds, can be more involved in the process, then our work product is going to be stronger, and our credibility will be greater.

So, I don't see why in principle anybody would be opposed to moving in this direction. That said, I also want to say that I don't think it makes a lot of sense to go forward and approve any particular projects for future years until we figure out how projects are going to be implemented.

So I'm not prepared to vote to approve any of these proposals, even though many of them -- any of the substantive proposals -- even though many of them are excellent ideas, until we first get our house in order in terms of our process.

CHAIRPERSON BERRY: So that we can not waste our time -- and I'll listen to others in a minute -- if it is the view of the four Republican Commissioners that we should not consider the projects or approve any of them until such time as we get the staff input and approve the process, then there's no sense in us sitting here discussing the projects, if that's already how you've made up your minds.

respond to that, you know, obviously the second version of Russell's recommendations is very comprehensive and would probably need, you know, a great deal of discussion and thought, but I mean, perhaps we can collaborate and come up with today, you know, a more modest proposal, a skeletal set of procedures which can be fleshed out later, in which case I would be happy to go ahead and approve substance.

But I think we have to at least move towards thinking about how we can make our work

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products better, more credible, you know, narrow the scope. Sometimes our reports, you know, can be excellent, but they're too broad and too unfocused, and so I think we need to think about our procedures before we send our staff running off on wild goose chases to study this, that, or the other issue. We need to have a way to narrow the issues and to have our process set before we start them working on something.

CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Vice Chair.

Chair, I could, I guess, in going over the modest proposal, I just thought of so many issues I'll just mention one. We've been working very hard for the last several years, and Russell has been particularly influential in trying to have us get the reports out in a more timely fashion, and I must say that now, compared to what it was when I first joined the Commission about ten or 12 years ago, we're doing really very, very well.

How will this impact the getting of the reports out in a timely fashion, for example? But that's just one of many things where I think we need to --

COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: I think it will

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help. It will help keep people on a time line.

CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Commissioner Edley.

very much -- to my mind, it is not necessary to resolve the procedural questions that Russell has raised, which I don't view as unimportant, in order to have a substantive discussion of some of the proposals that the staff has prepared for us, and I'm sure that individuals have thought of additional projects that we'd like to put on the table and kick around a little bit.

It does seem to me that it would be possible to go ahead and have a discussion and a vote on the program planning issues and then revisit them after we've resolved the procedural question to see if we want to make any adjustments in light of whatever procedures were adjusted. That's what I would prefer.

Another possibility would be to have the substantive discussion of these issues that have been presented and defer a vote until after the procedural matters are resolved, but in any case, I have to come two subway stops to get to this meeting. Elsie had to come from South Dakota. Others I know had to travel. I'm sure, I assume, the staff is preparing things for the Commission to do next month and the month after,

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et cetera. 1 This is the month we're supposed to do 2 program planning. You know, I'd like to have the 3 discussion of program planning. 4 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Commissioner Meeks? 5 COMMISSIONER MEEKS: Am I wrong that the 6 2004 and 2005 budget have been approved? 7 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Yes, they have. 8 So this is COMMISSIONER MEEKS: 9 10 projects? CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Right. 11 COMMISSIONER MEEKS: Ι mean, 12 13

there's plenty of time to resolve this, and I know that my Staff Director if Ι were first thought was Executive Director, I would have said, you know, the proposal -- and I think Russell's is reasonable in a lot of accounts and his intent might vary, but I think that it merits some more oomph. It merits some thought by the Staff Director of what all the implications are of the proposal.

And so, even if we could let him think about that for a month and come back at the next meeting, I mean, I think no one is opposed to some structural changes or procedural changes, but I think it would be reasonable to say can we think about this

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1	next month, or can we realry discuss it next month
2	after Les has had a chance to really talk with his
3	staff and maybe you've already set this for us. I
4	don't know, but
5	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Yeah, Russell said he
6	thought it would be reasonable to let the staff
7	COMMISSIONER MEEKS: Oh, okay.
8	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: If I'm not misstating.
9	COMMISSIONER REDENBAUGH: No, I did say
10	that.
11	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: That you thought it
12	was reasonable.
13	COMMISSIONER REDENBAUGH: No, I think it's
14	essential.
15	COMMISSIONER EDLEY: But, Jennifer, if you
16	want to press it, let's have a vote on Russell's ·
17	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: Well, can I say
18	something?
19	COMMISSIONER REDENBAUGH: Well, no, I
20	don't want I'm not going to let there be a vote on
21	my proposal.
22	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Would you prefer to
23	wait to at least see what the staff has to say about
24	your proposal?
25	COMMISSIONER REDENBAUGH: No, I have
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1	something to
2	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: Can I?
3	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: I'm going to yes,
4	just a second. I'm going to recognize you,
5	Commissioner Braceras.
6	Russell, are you wanting a vote before the
7	staff has a chance to
8	COMMISSIONER REDENBAUGH: Absolutely not.
9	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Okay. Commissioner
10	Braceras.
11	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: You know, I think
12	I've been misunderstood. I by no means object to
13	having the staff director consider the proposals, make
14	alternate suggestions, talk to the staff. All of that
15	is very reasonable.
16	By the same token, given that we are
17	talking about projects for 2006 in this planning
18	meeting, it seems to me no rush to approve them
19	substantively, and so I think it's ridiculous to put
20	the cart before the horse and say, well we're going to
21	talk about all of these projects we're going to do
22	without deciding the procedure for doing them.
23	And if I may finish.
24	COMMISSIONER MEEKS: I'm listening.
25	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: I have to say,

I've come to resent the fact that every time somebody on this Commission puts forward a proposal for reform or a proposal for altering the process in a way to make things more democratic, that somehow we're regarded as trying to be obstructionists and we're wasting everybody's time, and let's just do what we've come here to do.

I mean, we should be concerned about good government and process, and just because somebody raises those concerns doesn't mean we're wasting our time. I think it would be a very productive use of our time to talk about some of these issues and hear what other Commissioners think about them so that the Staff Director has a sense when he goes back to talk to the staff of where other Commissioners stand on these proposals that we've all, you know, had at our desks for at least a couple of days and hopefully have had a chance to read.

my point is, know, Ι don't So you understand what there's a need for the eye rolling and the complaining that we're bringing up issues that frankly have been of concern to us for some time. Yet, you know, somehow our concerns about the process οf this Commission, the administration of this Commission are considered either invalid or a waste of

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time and not a good use of the Commission's time when 1 we're here together for a meeting. 2 I mean, that's ridiculous. 3 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Commissioner Braceras 4 -- no, I am going to answer. 5 COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: Feel free. 6 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: I am going to answer 7 not her, but where the process is going. I think 8 Commissioner Edley's suggestion that we discuss the 9 substantive proposals is a good one because that's why 10 we came here today, and unless there is some motion to 11 overrule the decision, then I am saying we're going to 12 13 proceed with what we said we were going to do, which is to do the proposals, which is the next item on the 14 agenda. I called it, and no one objected to calling 15 that item. 16 We will in the meanwhile have the Staff 17 Director look at Russell's proposals and talk with his 18 staff and get some feedback and some reactions on how 19 20 he would either approve this, think we should approve this, or how he thinks it should be modified or 21 22 whatever. And also, if Commissioners wish to discuss 23 some of Russell's proposals just to give advice to the 24

Staff Director while he's doing all of this, we can do

that, too. But I would like for us to discuss the proposals, and also there is nothing undemocratic about operating according to procedures that have been approved democratically. That is the essence of democracy actually, and what we are doing is operating according to procedures that were approved democratically.

There is nothing incredible or uncredible about Commission reports that are approved by the Commission. In fact, some of them have been approved since there was a majority of people who were not appointed by Republicans here. So I assume, unless someone can show otherwise, that Commission reports have credibility, although there's always a lot more work that can be done on everything else.

But I would like to discuss the proposals, and if anyone has limited advice to give the Staff Director while he's off looking at Russell's ideas so that we can come back and discuss them, do that. Otherwise we're going to discuss the proposals.

Now, Commissioner Kirsanow.

COMMISSIONER KIRSANOW: Just to move this along, I would move that we discuss the proposals contingent upon a vote to be conducted on such proposals absent or subsequent to input from the Staff

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Director on the impact of Russell's proposals. 1 COMMISSIONER THERNSTROM: I second that, 2 and that was the motion I was about to make. Edley's 3 Option 2, in other words. 4 Did you say that, CHAIRPERSON BERRY: 5 Edley, that we're not to vote on the proposals? 6 I said it Well, COMMISSIONER EDLEY: 7 unless it was ridiculous. I mean, I don't want to say 8 9 anything ridiculous, but --COMMISSIONER THERNSTROM: Of course you've 10 never said anything ridiculous. 11 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Why are we discussing 12 them if we're not going to vote on them? 13 COMMISSIONER EDLEY: The only reason I'm 14 hesitant is because at least there's one proposal that 15 I wanted to make that I was concerned might have an 16 impact on what the staff has on its plate in the 17 current fiscal year, and if the Commissioners are 18 interested in pursuing it, that's the relation to the 19 Voting Rights Act, and if the Commissioners are 20 interested in pursuing that, then I'd like us to be 21 able to give guidance to the staff to appropriately 22 23 adjust the mix of what they're working on now. Is that too obscure? 24 COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: You want to put 25

1	something on their plate, not for six, but four.
2	COMMISSIONER EDLEY: Yeah, I was going to
3	suggest something that's on their plate for '04, which
4	I understand from the Staff Director a lot of work
5	hasn't begun already, that it be converted from a
6	major project to perhaps just a briefing in order to
7	try to free up time to get started on something
8	related to the Voting Rights Act which will be up for
9	reauthorization, and that sort of has a time limit
10	aspect to it.
11	COMMISSIONER KIRSANOW: It says that
12	particular data from this, I mean, if everyone is in
13	agreement.
14	CHAIRPERSÕÑ BERRY: You mean excise the
15	point that Christopher is making?
16	COMMISSIONER KIRSANOW: Right. Generally,
17	my proposition would pertain
18	COMMISSIONER EDLEY: Tabling the '06
19	decisions.
20	COMMISSIONER THERNSTROM: The final vote
21	on them, as you proposed in your second option. You
22	had two options. This is your second one.
23	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Vice Chair.
24	VICE CHAIRPERSON REYNOSO: Well, I guess
25	I'll need some clarification.
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CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Well, who seconded it? 1 COMMISSIONER THERNSTROM: I'll second it. 2 VICE CHAIRPERSON REYNOSO: But I just want 3 to comment that I thought we were dealing with '06, 4 5 and --COMMISSIONER THERNSTROM: Yeah, we are. 6 REYNOSO: and CHAIRPERSON 7 VICE presumably we will have made a decision on Russell's 8 proposal way before '06, and presumably that procedure 9 will then guide how the staff sill proceed on the '06 10 So I'm puzzled in terms of what the issue 11 12 is. COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: Would you like me 13 14 to clarify for you? CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Russell, let me ask 15 you a question since you made the proposal. 16 COMMISSIONER REDENBAUGH: Yes, yes. 17 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Since these are '06 18 19 projects, why is it essential that we make a decision about changing the procedure, and that you do that --20 21 what they're working on right now, the staff, I mean, is the 2004 and the 2005 projects. They won't start 22 working on the '06 projects until next year or some 23 24 other time. So why can't you wait until we get a

majority and pass whatever procedures you feel like

1	proceeding?
2	Why do you need to do this now? It won't
3	apply to 2005, '04 and '05 anyway?
4	I'm asking Russell since he made the
5	proposal.
6	COMMISSIONER REDENBAUGH: Yeah. Well, I
7	think we're kind of all in the wrong thicket here, and
8	let me just I know we've got a motion pending, or
9	two or three. I kind of lost track.
10	COMMISSIONER THERNSTROM: No, we've got
11	one. Call it Edley 2.
12	COMMISSIONER REDENBAUGH: But just can I
13	take a minute, Mary?
14	CHAIRPERSÖN BERRY: Sure.
15	COMMISSIONER REDENBAUGH: Because I think
16	we're kind of in the wrong story here a bit. This
17	sort of organizational design or process, I mean, this
18	is something I really know a lot about and I'm really
19	good at.
20	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: I noticed.
21	COMMISSIONER REDENBAUGH: And there's
22	reason to believe that none of the rest of us here
23	are. So just let me be the expert witness for a
24	minute.

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CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Okay.

second.

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COMMISSIONER REDENBAUGH: It's hard work, process design and organizational design. It's really hard, and I have a sense of urgency about it. The decision about '06 projects, we know how to make those '06 is a long way off. That's really not decisions. hard work. We know how to do that, and I don't have a great sense of urgency that has to get done right this

But I wanted to get started, not voted on, but started, the discussion about the process changes. They absolutely have to involve staff. They can't be pushed down from the bottom or from the top, but they can be tremendous -- and we've done a lot, as Cruz pointed out.

When Cruz and I came on the Commission, we had reports older than -- older than some of us almost, older than some of our staff. But I want to get away from where we get a report that comes to us on a take it or leave it basis or gets passed by, you know, a majority of one vote and has a bunch of objections to it, and I think we can do that.

But the hard work is the work of changing the process, and that's what I'd like to use some of today's time, since we all are here together, and we are here representing a variety of political points of view, and that's why I think it's important not to just wait, as you've suggested one could do, to design a process that doesn't represent only one point of view.

I don't see an ideology in this process, a political ideology. It is intended to be neutral with respect to politics.

Would CHAIRPERSON BERRY: you, Commissioner Kirsanow, accept the notion of thinking what Russell said and the in light of conversation, changing your motion slightly? it seems that we could discuss the 2006 proposals and we would either approve or reject them the substance with a motion that said that the procedure to be applied in beginning to implement them, which isn't going to take place for a while, will be determined based on the outcome of the discussion concerning Russell's proposals.

COMMISSIONER KIRSANOW: That's essentially what my motion was, but I want to make it very clear, especially after hearing what Russell just had to say. I think to a large extent substance bleeds over into process and vice versa, and in discussing the substance of particular project proposals before us, I think it makes sense to have a template in our minds

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as to what process is going to be applied to those substantive proposals.

So I think it makes sense for us to talk -- we're here today for us to discuss program planning. I think it makes sense for us to talk about those things substantively, but also to the extent we can, talk about these issues that Russell has raised today, but defer a vote on adoption of them until such time as we've received input from the Staff Director at some later point.

CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Question: what is the relevance of the procedural question to whether or not one likes the substance of, say, an inquiry into religious discrimination against Muslims in the work place?

COMMISSIONER KIRSANOW: Probably limited, but I'm persuaded by what Russell has to say in my own limited experience as to the impact of process on substance. Without addressing that particular example you've just provided, I can envision circumstance in which we have a substantive issue that may not lend itself to Russell's proposal, and for that reason if we adopted Russell's proposal, we would abandon that particular project. I can't think of one off the top of my head, but that's the possibility.

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CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Commissioner Edley

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COMMISSIONER EDLEY: Well, in the interest

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of candor, which I guess is often a mistake, but

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Howard Dean is my name. Here's what this feels like

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to me.

I think Russell has put forward a couple of intriguing ideas that address some concerns that some members of the Commission have voiced quite I thought that the Chair, the Vice Chair, certainly my comments were an effort to engage the content of Russell's proposals in good faith. I think there are a lot of important and interesting ideas there to be considered.

And I, frankly, thought that Commissioner Braceras' linking of that with a willingness to take up the program planning and vote on the program planning today had very little to do with a logical connection between the content of Russell's proposal and a decision on the merits of those six activities and had more to do with an effort to hold hostage the Commission's decision making on the program planning to a timely consideration of Russell's process proposals.

And I think given certainly my effort, and I thought that of Cruz and Mary, to be forthright and

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in good faith talk about Russell's proposals, it seemed to me that that linkage, while perhaps not ridiculous, gives this whole thing a political coloration.

I mean, so let me try again. I think that what you're hearing from the Democratic appointees here is an expression of good faith willingness to give serious consideration to the proposal Russell has made and to do so in a timely and deliberate way because I, at least, am searching for a way to be less partisan and less ideological and more constructive in the way in which we interact.

And, candidly, I think that the effort to link it, I think kind of this linkage of the votes makes me feel like I'm naive in adopting that posture because I just don't get why it is -- I think it's Mary's last point -- I don't get why it is that whatever we decide about Russell's procedures bears on whether or not collectively we think that religious discrimination against Muslims is a worthwhile thing to pencil into the '06 agenda.

COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: Can I -- a point of personal privilege.

CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Well, let us see -- let us see --

COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: I was directly --1 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Let us see --2 No. Point of 3 COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: personal privilege. 4 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Let us see --5 BRACERAS: That takes COMMISSIONER 6 7 precedence. CHAIRPERSON BERRY: -- what you get for 8 your candor, Commissioner Edley, whether you get the 9 10 knife. Go ahead, Commissioner Braceras. 11 COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: I think No. 12 13 that's a very -- I think that's reasonable but in one An honest statement, and I'll be equally 14 15 honest, I agree with Commissioner Edley's analysis of my viewpoint. Since I've come on this Commission, 16 17 it's been my experience that proposals for reform or 18 to let Commissioners have greater input have been met 19 with politburo-like resistance. 20 And so, yes, it is my view -- and I speak 21 only for myself now -- that if I need to withhold my 22 vote on substance in order to effect change, positive 23 democratic change in this organization, then that is 24 what I'm going to do, and if you want to call that a

raw political move, fine. That's exactly what it is

because the reason I joined this Commission was to try to help reform it, try to help reform what I see as a laughable, dysfunctional institution and to make it something that we can all be proud of.

So, I've sat here for two years and voted on projects that many of us agreed were interesting, timely, and worthwhile studying, only to see then (a) disappear into a black hole; (b) be treated without academic balance or academic rigor. And so now, no, I'm not going to vote for anything until I see process reform.

So you're right about that, and I wasn't trying to hide any cards. You know, it's not as if I was trying to be covert about it. I'm being totally honest about it. I think we need to put process before substance, and I'm willing to hold up substance until I get reform because I'm a reformer on this Commission. That's why I joined this Commission. That's the first thing.

The second thing is what I take offense to in your comments is not that analysis of what it is I'm trying to do, because you're right about that. What I take offense to is Commissioner Edley's comments that he is trying to act in good faith and be nonpartisan, while at the same time saying the

1	Democratic appointees are acting in good faith and the
2	Republican appointees are all evil obstructionists.
3	How
4	COMMISSIONER EDLEY: I'm sorry. Did I
5	say
6	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: He didn't say
7	"Republican appointees."
8	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: He specifically
9	said that the Democratic appointees were the only ones
10	acting in good faith.
11	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: He didn't say the
12	"Republican appointees."
13	COMMISSIONER EDLEY: I made no
14	characterization about the Republican appointees.
15	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: Well, you drew a
16	line in the sand.
17	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Let's read the record
18	, back.
19	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: No. Let me finish
20	my statement, and then you can read the record back
21	for whatever you want.
22	The implication was clear that you and
23	Cruz and May are acting in good faith, whereas, you
24	know, Jennifer and her cohorts aren't.
25	COMMISSIONER EDLEY: I'm sorry if you

interpreted it that way. I only meant you. I didn't 1 mean your other colleagues. 2 COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: Well, okay, fine. 3 The bottom line is, the bottom line is I think it is 4 acting in good faith to do whatever it takes to get 5 reform of an institution that is wildly out of 6 control, and it is not as if the staff doesn't have 7 plenty to work on. Okay? 8 We are talking about projects that are for 9 2006. My position in no way holds up the current work 10 of Commission staff. They can proceed with all of the 11 things we've authorized them to do for '04 and '05. 12 So it's in no way obstructionist to say you may no 13 longer have my vote until you reform yourselves. 14 15

CHAIRPERSON BERRY: May I? I will let you respond in a minute, but let me just say something in the I interested only very startling. Were in the not interested were Ι political game, Commission once I'm not here anymore, I would simply say let's vote for Russell's measure proposal and let's get it over with because I don't care. I won't be here anyway in 2006. You guys can do whatever you want.

But the reason why I'm not saying that, so that we're very clear, is that I know the history of

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this Commission very well, have studied it as well as been part of it, and I know why we operate the way we do, and I know why we don't let the staff be interfered with by individuals on the Commission or individuals, people's special assistants and various.

And as a matter of fact, the first years of the Commission, the special assistants worked under the supervision of the Staff Director to avoid that.

And I know why we do this, and I also am offended by attacks on the credibility of work that the staff has done because our reports, while in some quarters they may be things that people aren't interested in, there are other quarters like the Supreme Court of the United States and other legal quarters in which people respect the work that we do, and I don't think the staff should have to sit and listen meeting after meeting to how the work that they do isn't very good when, in fact, it is and they work very hard.

But because I know the history, because I know how the Commission is supposed to operate and because I know why it is staff driven as opposed to not being staff driven, then even though I won't even be here in 2006, I am not going to sit here and say what I would say otherwise: is vote for Russell's

thing and let's get with the substance.

So what I'm going to do is vote against Commissioner Kirsanow's proposal since I believe everything that Commissioner Edley said is correct. I'm just surprised that he candidly stated it on the record, and then we will see where we are after we vote down Commissioner Kirsanow's proposal.

I am even saying if we don't approve any projects for 2006, it is better not to approve any than to try and establish some procedure which is going to undermine the way the staff works over these years — I don't mean just the people who are here now — have operated this Commission and avoided undue influence ahead of time from individual Commissioners on the work to the detriment of other Commissioners who might have other views.

And finally, if people really were so interested in the process and in getting involved, there is absolutely no reason why Commissioners could not have accepted the invitation to go meet with staff, talk about projects or their assistants, or to read the drafts and make comments in writing on them, or to sit here for hours discussing the drafts and going over them line by line as we used to do in the Civil Rights Commission when Arthur Fleming was here.

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There's no reason why Commissioners wouldn't do all of those things.

since Commissioners have not. And a little bit myself. speaking candidly now, am suspicious of this great interest in the process, and having said that, you are next, Commissioner Edley, unless you decided not anything, being to say surprised by my candor.

COMMISSIONER EDLEY: Yeah, I'm stunned, and Russell's proposals to me most fundamentally raise the question of whether or not ideological combat and political strife, which often seem to turn Commission meetings into theater, will be imposed upon the Civil Service staff pulling away on these projects.

Alternatively, whether it is possible even for members of this Commission to constructively engage the staff in a way that will improve the Commission's work, which I take to be the aspiration underlying Russell's proposal.

And I just have to say that this discussion has made me believe that it is not possible to move in the directions that Russell described without poisoning the activities of the staff. So I've moved backwards, and I'm -- I mean, I hope it will be possible for the Staff Director or others to

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suggest ways in which interaction between Commission 1 members and the staff can be shaped in a way that will 2 maximize the positive and minimize the negative, but 3 I'm doubtful. 4 And, again, I say this understandingly, 5 that the majority is going to shift in a few months, 6 and the new majority can set it up any way they want 7 But I'm prepared to vote and have a 8 to set it up. stalemate now, and I'm prepared to vote and be 9 outvoted a year from now, but I'm just disappointed. 10 11 That's all. BERRY: Commissioner 12 CHAIRPERSON 13 Thernstrom. VICE CHAIRPERSON REYNOSO: Yes, I think 14 15 she was first. COMMISSIONER THERNSTROM: Well, needless 16 to say, I deeply resent the depiction of these 17 proposals as in any sense political, partisan. I do 18 think that this is an effort to simply have a 19 20 responsible process end that we'll be more involved 21 in. I mean, from the beginning of my tenure 22 23 here, since starting in January 2001, I have been a process person. I am always a process person in every 24 context in this Commission because I do believe that 25

the quality of the substance of any reports, the quality of outcome and its legitimacy depends in great measure on the process. You can always revisit substance if you get the process, if the process is right, and if the process is right, you will have everyone signing on in a way that really it seems to me would minimize or decrease in any case the partisan splits on this Commission, and therefore —

COMMISSIONER EDLEY: I'm sorry, Abby. You said you think you can design the process? Is that what you said?

COMMISSIONER THERNSTROM: Yes, Ι think that Russell's proposal is an effort to, in fact, reduce the partisan split on this Commission because there would be a constant working with the staff at every stage of a project so that people would sign on and at the end of the day, if people feel that the process has been legitimate, even if they disagree with substantive matters in the report, they will nevertheless embrace it, embrace its legitimacy precisely because they have been part of the process, and if you're part of the process and you feel you're part of the process, you lose one day. You know, you feel I can return another day and through this same process perhaps I'll win.

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adopting Russell's modest proposal. And, you know, I'm happy to have as Pete's motion suggested a

discussion of the substantive projects, but I also do

not want to vote on these projects for the reasons I've just stated until -- I don't want to have a final

But in any case, it has been legitimate,

and so I think, indeed, that the partisan splits on

this Commission would be radically decreased by

see such a clear link between process and substance.

vote -- until we get the process in place because I

Now, as I understand it, the Chair and now, of course, Edley has just cast a vote against all reform of the sort that Russell has proposed, that, of course, makes me very sad, and see absolutely no down side to having a substantive discussion but deferring that final vote until we can get our processes in place.

point about, you know, As to the Commissioners have always been free to meet with the staff and so forth, two things. One, you can't meet with the staff and have anything interesting and important and significant to say unless you got this process in place, where there are periodic reports at every stage of a project so that you have some sense of what the issues are, what the questions that have

been raised, what the staff is working on, the kinds of conclusions the staff is tentatively coming to, and, you know, I did take — but, I mean, that's just not a conceivable process. I mean, it's not possible as things are now constructed.

And I did have one occasion which I did very much. I have, you know, as others as well on this Commission have, I have a great deal of expertise on questions of education, and I did have one meeting and nothing came of it, and I did subsequently write a note to those with whom I met, and there was no answer for months. Kristina would know the exact timing of that, and I don't have it in front of me.

But as it stands, it's just not a useful process. What Russell is suggesting would be a useful process, would involve real input from Commissioners if they chose to provide it, and at the end of the day, of course, what they have to say could be ignored in the final report, but at least there would be, as I say, this legitimate process that I think would lend legitimacy to the reports as a whole, left wings or —

CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Your conversation,

Commissioner Thernstrom, has made me even more wary

rather than less simply because several things that

you said were totally inaccurate. Neither

Commissioner Edley nor I said we were opposed to all 1 Neither of us. reforms. 2 COMMISSIONER THERNSTROM: You said --3 Of the sort that CHAIRPERSON BERRY: 4 Russell had proposed. We said that we would wait to 5 see what the Staff Director had to say about this, but 6 my initial reaction to it was the reason why I wasn't 7 just going to vote for it was because of what I know 8 about the history and traditions of the Commission. 9 I won't make that speech again, but in any 10 case, I said I would wait to see. <u>i1</u> COMMISSIONER THERNSTROM: I'm glad to have 12 misunderstood you on that. 13 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Right, and the second 14 thing is that on this point of the staff telling us 15 from time to time, we could have asked the staff to 16 come here any time we want to while they're working on 17 something and tell us where they are and what they're 18 doing, right here with everybody to put their cards on 19 20 the table. The other thing is that I spent one time 21 hours in the Commission conference room at a 22 meeting with Commissioners where we went over a report 23 and fought over a paragraph that somebody objected to, 24

and finally came up with something that most of us

agreed to and one guy didn't like it, but he felt he had had his day in the sun and discussed it.

So that that kind of discussion can take place on drafts among Commissioners, as well as taking place otherwise. I don't prejudge what's going to come out of the Staff Director's review of Russell's proposals, but I'm saying that the reason why I don't go for them whole hog and just vote for them because I won't be here and just say, "I don't care," is because of what I know about the positive aspects of how the Commission operated.

But beyond that, if no one else has a point, then I guess we should call for the question.

Does anyone have -- yes, Vice Chair.

VICE CHAIRPERSON REYNOSO: Madam Chair, I just want to say one thing, and perhaps Commissioner Braceras has a different experience than mine, but I just want to say here publicly what I always -- how I The folk will ask me how we're able to do respond. our work when we have four Republican appointees and four Democratic appointees, and I tell them that sometimes we aren't able to work really controversial issues like Affirmative Action, and so but that the work that comes out of Commission is absolutely top flight, and I tell them

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that because I speak not with politicians, but with academics. I remember having discussions about the housing report that came out two or three years ago, and I have several academics talk to me about what it had added to the area of knowledge in housing, and even those that have been controversial like the Florida report, we heard from folk on Capitol Hill commenting on all of the information that was there that was helpful to them.

And of course, you mentioned the Supreme Court. That is I have found that the work of the staff that the staff does has been really very, very good, and so I sometimes agree that sometimes the recommendations go — sometimes they're so extensive that I disagree with some of them, but as a whole, the work is to be well respected by folk in the academic field, by litigators who depend on this information, and so on.

So I tell people that despite that, we're doing good work. There's some work that we can't do because of the split in philosophies as to what civil rights means or is, but nonetheless, the great body, 90 percent of the work that relates to civil rights we have been able to do, and we've done very well.

So that's my own perspective. I just want

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1 | to share that.

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CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Okay. I don't know which of you was first.

COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: Go ahead, Pete.

COMMISSIONER KIRSANOW: I'd like to speak to the motion again. I thought that the motion I had put forth was predominantly a summary of what Commissioner Edley had proposed as his Option 2, and for that reason I thought we might be able to garner enough votes to proceed forward.

I think, again, it makes sense to discuss the substance. That's why we're here. We've already had some discussion with respect to -limited discussion with respect to Commissioner Redenbaugh's proposal, and also deferring a vote based on input from the Staff Director, I think, strikes me as a reasonable proposal because this proposal that I'm holding that is Commissioner Redenbaugh's proposal may not be what we ultimately adopt. I'm presuming it would be a consensus proposal or something nearer to a consensus proposal that we could all live with, and then we will have safe time by having had in a subsequent discussion determined what the procedure would be, and then vote and adopt the proposals that staff would be working on in 2006.

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I'd like to make two points. One is there suggestion that Republican somehow the was indication proposal is our Commissioners' an Republican Commissioners have a concern about the credibility or the quality of staff work, and speaking for myself, and I'm fairly certain I'm speaking for the other Republican Commissioners, that's not the case.

I at least on one occasion told staff that while I had voted against the proposal, it had nothing to do with their hard work and the quality. It really had to do with what Russell likes to talk about, inputs and outputs. Given the charge that they had, I thought that they did a phenomenal job. I thought that the charge was wrong, and the charge had originally come from us.

I'm persuaded also by what Commissioner Thernstrom said, and that is that I think it is less likely to be partisan if there is an agreed upon framework by which we will have some input and involvement in the production of these reports because then at the end of the day, I think we will have invested in the project, and we will have less concern about whether or not the procedure has been fair, regardless of whether I agree or disagree.

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For example, and I'll use this as The environmental justice report was one example. that I thought that the staff, given what the charge was, did a very good job, but one of the reasons why I cast a negative vote was I thought that the inputs or the direction given was not what it should have been.

It conceivable my vote would have been different had a structure similar to what Russell's proposed been in place at that time and I had been assured that Chris or Cruz or Abby or someone had had some input into it in the final document, was one that reflected some considered input from Commissioners, all or one or two or three.

I would reiterate that So, again, proposal I put forward was an attempt in a collegial atmosphere. I think intellectually I agreed with what Chris had to say in terms of the way this should I hope this doesn't evolve into a partisan battle about whether or not we should move forward on certain projects and in what fashion.

And since it is 2006 that these projects we're going to be working on, I think we can have a substantive discussion and then vote at some point after we've had a deliberative process from or a deliberation from the staff as to the impact of this

proposal on whether or not we're going to move forward 1 on this project. 2 In other words, you CHAIRPERSON BERRY: 3 would preserve the linkage between approving the 4 projects and approving reform at some point? 5 I think they would COMMISSIONER KIRSANOW: 6 be contingent upon it because I think otherwise, well, 7 I will just say yes for that. 8 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Commissioner Braceras. 9 COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: I just want to be 10 clear about my intention here because the way it has 11 been portrayed by some of my colleagues is that 12 individual Commissioners seek to influence or strong 13 arm the process and that we're trying to reform the 14 process to allow individuals to influence reports. 15 I think if anybody has read Russell's No. 16 proposal carefully, they see that the objective here 17 is to have all of us collectively, not behind the 18 scenes, not behind closed doors, but in public, on the 19 record, collectively influence the process step by 20 step, and basically, I mean, I think what Russell's 21 proposal very clearly does is it replicates the 22 process that many other commissions use whereby 23 specific recommendations and findings are voted on 24 individually, not as a whole report, and minority 25

viewpoints are then recorded in the final document, 1 and that's common practice and not controversial at 2 all. 3 So, you know, the motivation behind it is 4 not nefarious. It does increase the democracy of the 5 It increases the public access to our Commission. 6 deliberations and to the sort of thinking behind our 7 reports, and I'm surprised that it has met with -- you 8 know, that people seem to be -- I don't know -- sort 9 10 of questioning the motivation. So you know, I am prepared to do just as 11 Pete and, before him, Chris originally suggested, 12 13 which was to discuss the substance of things, but not vote on them until we have these better procedures in 14 15 place. 16 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: I will recognize you 17 in a minute, but point of information. The Commission 18 procedures now, there's nothing that forbids anybody 19 from voting on recommendations one by one. 20 COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: But we've asked for that several times and it has never been done. 21 22 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: On occasion I have 23 asked if people would like to go over the report and 24 the recommendations and everything page by page, and 25 I've been prepared to sit here all day and do it.

Commissioner from doing that. 2 3 And without getting into the guts of Russell's proposals, there is nothing in the process, 4 5 except the Commissions' unwillingness to go ahead and do it. 6 7 Not to get into the guts of Russell's proposal because, if all this needs and it's even 8 9 clearer that it needs to be vetted and discussed by 10 the staff and get back to us, is that his proposal, as 11 understand it, special assistance of has Commissioners involved with getting briefings from 12 13 staff and putting into it with staff in both of his 14 proposals, but I won't say more about it. 15 I don't know which one of you had your 16 hand up, but, Chris, please. 17 COMMISSIONER EDLEY: I think that the difficulty, Pete, just to engage your comments, is 18 19 that I agreed with virtually every word that you said 20 and with the spirit of what you said. 21 had a brief E-mail exchange with 22 Russell. looked at these proposals, and 23 approach this discussion with the spirit of, okay, 24 let's see. Maybe it's possible to put the path behind 25 us and start afresh and construct a process that would

there's nothing in the process now that would keep a

24.

have the attributes that you, Pete, described. And I was prepared to do that, to try to put the past behind us and figure out how do we proceed on a going forward basis.

My perception of Jennifer's linkage, which was confirmed by every subsequent statement that she had made in this meeting, is that she at least is not prepared to put the past behind and approach this as if we're going to start afresh in hopes of achieving things that both you and Abby spoke about in terms of engagement with the staff.

My feeling is that without putting the past behind us, the kind of engagement that you describe will be ugly and counterproductive, and therefore, I'm not prepared to pretend that it would be otherwise.

In other words, I think it would work in a circumstance in which people were going to put the past behind us and approach it in good faith, but I think the linkage proposal itself is evidence that, no, this is politics as usual in a different form.

What I guess I would say to you is to the extent that you, Abby, Russell are inviting us to set off in a different manner and try to construct a different modus vivendi, then you should, I

1 respectfully suggest, accept at face value the statement that I and some of my colleagues are ready 2 to engage the content of Russell's proposals in good 3 faith, in a timely way will do that, period. 4 So, I'm -- well, that's all I have to say. 5 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Commissioner Meeks, I 6 think you were next, but before you do that, I will 7 8 say that I'm prepared to have an up or down on Commissioner Kirsanow's proposal, and if it's voted 9 down, I'm prepared to discuss the proposals and have 10 11 them voted down or not vote on them. But go ahead. 12 13 COMMISSIONER MEEKS: Yeah, Ι didn't -- at least I wasn't characterizing Russell's 14 proposal, but let's get a chance to look at them, let 15 Staff Director talk with staff, and we think about 16 17 what the implications are and come back next month 18 even and discuss this. 19 I mean, I'm not and I don't presume that 20 this process, if it's changed, is going to make us 21 vote unanimously on any report. On the environmental 22 report, he had good reason for his vote, negative 23 I'm sure if the process was different someone 24 else would have voted up or down on it.

But I think this discussion has gone --

1	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Too long?
2	COMMISSIONER MEEKS: too long and
3	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Okay. I call for the
4	question. All those in
5	VICE CHAIRPERSON REYNOSO: Yes. Could I
6	get the motion? I'm confused at this point.
7	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: It's Commissioner
8	Kirsanow's motion.
9	COMMISSIONER KIRSANOW: I trust I'll
10	remember it now. The motion is to discuss the
11	substance of the proposals today. We've already had a
12	little bit of discussion of Russell's proposals at
1.3	least in the general sense, but to defer the vote
14	until such time as yôu've received input from staff
15	upon Russell's proposals.
16	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Okay. All those in
17	favor of the motion indicate by saying aye.
18	(Chorus of ayes.)
19	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Opposed.
20	(Chorus of nays.)
21	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: So now what we'll do,
22	is discuss the proposals without voting on them or
23	we'll vote on them, and if they're voted down, they're
24	voted down, and that's just it.
25	The first proposal under the Office of

1	Civil Rights Evaluation, religious discrimination
2	against Muslims, religious discrimination in the work
3	place, evaluation of the Department of Homeland
4	Security and civil rights enforcement, and our federal
5	security activities discrimination decree, and
6	accessibility in an information age.
7	Is there anyone who feels that any of
8	these proposals, without committing yourself to how
9	you will vote, is something that you think is worth
10	the Commission looking at at all, or do you think that
11	none of them are worth the Commission looking at?
12	Yes.
13	VICE CHAIRPERSON REYNOSO: Madam Chair, my
14	recollection is that the staff recommended that we end
15	up voting to proceed only on two of the
16	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: OCRE's, yes.
L7	VICE CHAIRPERSON REYNOSO: And the General
L8	Counsel also.
L9	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Most of them, yeah.
20	VICE CHAIRPERSON REYNOSO: Okay. So we're
21	really talking about which two of these five that we
22	think would be more appropriate; is that correct?
23	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Right. So what we're
24	asking then, to rephrase it thank you, Vice Chair -
25	 - is without voting or committing oneself to a vote,

are there any proposals that were among the ones that OCRE suggested that any of you think should be the two that the Commission ought to ultimately, if it looks into anything in 2006, will look into, or is it that none of them attract your attention or you have something else you would like to propose?

The staff can also go away and write new proposals if the Commission has some ideas of things that the Commission would like to see formulated. So if you've got some ideas, anything at all that you would like to substitute for these or if you don't like any of these or if you would like more work on them or if you do like them.

Commissioner Edley.

COMMISSIONER EDLEY: I think that when the Supreme Court took up the affirmative action cases for the University of Michigan, there was a fairly unusual amount of attention in that litigation to the social science evidence related to the two constitutional propositions that were before the court. And I suppose what I would like is for the Commission to think about what kinds of investigation would be helpful in anticipation this time not of a Supreme Court case, but of congressional consideration of reauthorization of the Voting Rights Act.

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is to say it strikes me that thinks in 2007 about the preclearance Congress provisions in Section 5 and about the language rights issues in Section 2003, that if there were some way to do whatever we could to assist the Congress by appropriate kinds of studies and insuring that investigations have been done well in advance to guide their deliberations. I think that would be a great service by the Commission.

CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Don't you think that should be under OGC and OCRE, a hearing process or both or a combination of both?

Maybe it's a joint COMMISSIONER EDLEY: effort because I think part of it may have to do with -- I would definitely think that it would involve a I can certainly think of some things that hearing. might require a hearing, for example, looking into the question of how the department has administered the preclearance process over the period of time, but on the other hand, I think there might very well be important elements that are more social science oriented in nature, looking, for example, at the rates of participation of language minority groups in those jurisdictions covered by Section 203, what of whether demographic changes suggest in terms

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Section 203 needs to be modified in any way.

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So, I think it would be sort of a joint exercise. If we were going to pursue this, my suggestion would be that the staff narrow the focus of its work, its planning for this project with an eye towards seeing to it that the Commission's work complements work that's probably going to be done by other people anyway.

Do you know what I mean? So that we have kind of a niche contribution that the Commission study those questions that are unlikely to be studied effectively by other organizations or other entities?

And if I can just add one of the other things, I would just maybe put a marker. going to be here, I hope, but I think since the reauthorization of the Voting Rights Act and new consideration of the Voting Rights Act is so important so many levels, that one might think about in combining a hearing with briefings or something of it's really that sort that a substantial so undertaking.

CHAIRPERSON BERRY: And the one thing in addition to what you suggested on it would be to look at perhaps in the introduction in some way the impact of the Voting Rights Act on Latinos or on different

groups that are covered.

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commissioner edley: I think that's right, especially because the Section 203, the language rights provision, it's going to be very interesting, I think to understand whether that provision has functioned as intended in those communities, those states that have an influx of immigrants who have become recently naturalized citizens.

It also connects to the technology issues we talked about in relation to the Florida report. That is to say does the emergence of new technologies for voting make it possible to do more in the way of translation services, et cetera? That means if the thresholds for when a jurisdiction should try to provide ballots in other than English. Maybe those triggers should be changed in light of the availability of technology.

So, yes, is the answer to your question. There's a lot of interesting stuff that could be useful as you go about the Commission.

CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Commissioner Thernstrom.

COMMISSIONER THERNSTROM: Well, the whole voting rights issue, of course, is immensely complicated, and in terms of the record in Section 5

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enforcement and what should happen, the emergency provision that was supposed to be for five years only when it was passed in '65 and has now been extended up to total number of years that now I've lost track, in any case, expires and has to be renewed in 2007 and it's going to be renewed, but the whole zeitgeist in developing the enforcement of that provision has When I wrote in 1987 my published "Whose altered. Votes Count?" there was an absolute commitment on the part of the civil rights groups, on the part of the voting section on the Civil Rights Division in the Justice Department to maximizing the number of safe minority districts, that is, minority districts or districts with minority constituencies of at least 65 percent concentration to make up for low voter turnout. Fifty-one percent would be viewed as a safe minority district.

At the time in '87, I argued that that was a waste of minority votes with high concentration, and the response on the part of the civil rights community was to say, you know, basically that's an anti-civil rights position and she's an idiot.

Today precisely what I said in '87 has become the conventional line in the civil rights community, not that anybody --

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COMMISSIONER EDLEY: Cites you.

COMMISSIONER THERNSTROM: Right. I mean,
Adam Clymer in The New York Times who originally
reviewed "Whose Votes Count?" said, "Is she crazy?"
now is coming out with exactly my line, but anyway,
you know, such is the life of authors. It's the way
the cookie crumbles.

But in any case, it has now become an immensely complicated issue of precisely what the tradeoffs are in terms of the so-called influence district versus safe minority constituencies. If we were to get into that subject, we are wading into an incredibly complicated thicket, and that is a major project.

And, by the way, just to add a little note to that, it is exactly the kind of project that requires the kind of process that Russell suggested, but in any case, I just think we need to know what we're getting into with that very complicated issue.

CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Well, I would hope that the Commission would get into at least the enforcement issues, if nothing else, because the Commission is particularly situated better than anybody else to deal with what the Justice Department is enforcing, whatever the definitions are.

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Even if they change, there's still 1 issue of what are they enforcing, and now to make it 2 even more complicated, you've got the Supreme Court 3 apparently accepting the idea in the last Mel Watt 4 case that political reasons for making the change, 5 whatever the impact they have on minority voters --6 7 COMMISSIONER EDLEY: Are just fine. 8 9 10

CHAIRPERSON BERRY: -- are just fine, and that argument was advanced to try to win Mel's case, but now it is being used in precisely the other way.

So I would hope that the Commission would bite off a piece of this whole discussion even if it is just enforcement issues.

But yes, Commissioner Edley.

COMMISSIONER EDLEY: I agree with all of that and with what Abby said as well. I suppose my instinct on this would be if I were going to be around, I think my impulse would be to try to narrow the Commission's project so that to the extent one can draw these lines it's less about the Commission trying to make a recommendation with respect to what should the retrogression standard be going forward and more kind of a sense of I'd just like to understand and I'd like Congress and the public to understand what has been the experience under the current provisions.

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have they been administered? Sort of assemble the range of judgments about effectiveness.

And I think that I understand that the lines are difficult to draw, but I think there has not been -- maybe in the second 203 is it going to be easier to deal with in the Section 205 arena?

COMMISSIONER THERNSTROM: Much easier.

COMMISSIONER EDLEY: But I think, for in the administration of the Section 5 example, really understanding how just preclearance, department has over the years handled it, what done; what are the examples of the kinds of election practices that have triggered an objection? Maybe even more important, what are the kinds of things that came into the department and triggered an informal response and were changed before they even got to the stage of a formal objection being filed? They were below the radar stuff that might not be readily apparent to other researchers.

But I accept the spirit of Abby's caution very much. It probably would not be all that productive to wade into some of the murkiest aspects of a retrogression standard, but I think there are other areas where we would have a comparative advantage.

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CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Okay. 1 COMMISSIONER THERNSTROM: Well, and part 2 of the problem, Chris, is that I had the luck at the 3 time to be able to see internal memos in the voting 4 section and to see how Section 5 questions were 5 handled. I think I'm the only one to have looked at 6 7 those internal memos. Those internal memos are really the only way of answering the guestion that you've 8 raised, and we will not get to those internal memos. 9 10 the things, Ι mean. And among instance, the attorneys in the voting section raised 11 the question of below the radar was where 12 the attorneys were drawing maps for jurisdictions which 13 they were not supposed to be doing, but the only way 14 15 and saying these lines will be acceptable to us. 16 But the only way of getting at that kind of below-the-screen information is to have seen those 17 18 internal memos. Just as an aside --COMMISSIONER EDLEY: And won't we be able 19 20 to get at them? 21 COMMISSIONER THERNSTROM: Oh, well, the 22 last I knew at least when I was working on it, they

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We have.

COMMISSIONER THERNSTROM: Yeah, I mean, we

were not -- maybe we can now that they're public.

COMMISSIONER EDLEY:

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the

1 have. COMMISSIONER THERNSTROM: We have as I 2 understand. So maybe we can. 3 I mean, by the way, as an aside just 4 because it might amuse people here, one of the things 5 "Whose Votes Count?" was that arqued in 6 Republicans were laughing all the way to the political 7 bank with these racially gerrymandered districts, and 8 everybody also said at the time, "She's got to be 9 kidding," and of course, I was right on that as well. 10 11

But this is just a very difficult -- the question, of course, is just very difficult to get at. That's just my bottom line, but the Commission can get at those internal memos. It is a lot of work to go through piles and piles of correspondence and intra-voting section correspondence.

CHAIRPERSON BERRY: So, the bottom line? COMMISSIONER EDLEY: Now I'm even more interested in the project. I mean, it may be what you just said in terms of really getting at what's going on, if not us, then who?

COMMISSIONER THERNSTROM: Hey, I've been writing on voting rights, and I've been writing on it since 1987. A lot of years passed.

COMMISSIONER EDLEY: Maybe you'll get it

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right this time. 1 COMMISSIONER THERNSTROM: Maybe I'll get 2 it right? That is still the best book I've written, 3 Chris. I got it right. 4 (Laughter.) 5 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Your husband was not 6 7 on that book, was he? COMMISSIONER THERNSTROM: No. 8 9 COMMISSIONER EDLEY: Ah-ha. 10 (Laughter.) CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Is there a sense then; 11 12 do I hear a sense from you, Commissioner Thernstrom, that you would find such a project interesting, as 13 14 Commissioner Edley would --15 COMMISSIONER THERNSTROM: Depending 16 exactly how the questions were framed, what 17 information we could get access to. I'm not 18 interested in a once over lightly on such 19 complicated subject. 20 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Well, why don't we 21 get, if there's no disagreement at least about this, 22 why don't we get the staff to try to direct a little proposal of some sort reflecting the discussion here? 23 24 And, may consult with Les, you any 25 Commissioners you wish or their staffs.

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STAFF DIRECTOR JIN: Okay. 1 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: While you're doing so, 2 so that we could see what such a proposal would look 3 like and try to limit in some way to reflect what the 4 discussion here is. Is there anyone opposed to staff 5 doing this? 6 COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: Are we going to 7 have an opportunity to vote on whether to go forward 8 after we see the proposal? I just want to be clear. 9 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Oh, no, I will by fiat 10 announce that this project and this --11 COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: I just want to be 12 clear because we're agreeing by consensus. 13 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: -- will go forward. 14 COMMISSIONER REDENBAUGH: In Seattle. 15 (Laughter.) 16 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: The consensus is that 17 the proposal will be -- that's what I'm asking for --18 would you like to vote on whether the proposal can be 19 20 written? COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: No. I'm perfectly 21 happy to see a proposal. I just want to make sure 22 23 that that not --CHAIRPERSON BERRY: We're not voting on 24 25 anything.

1	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: a green light
2	to go forward with anything
3	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: We haven't voted on
4	anything yet.
5	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: unless we have
6	a chance to discuss and vote.
7	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: You have to vote on
8	projects, Commissioner Braceras. Okay?
9	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: I just wanted to
10	make sure that wasn't what we were doing.
11	CHALKPERSON BERRY: Oh. No, we're not
12	voting. I'm asking if anyone objects to having the
13	proposal written and presented, but I could get a
14	motion or something.
15	COMMISSIONER THERNSTROM: No, we don't
16	need a motion on this, for goodness sake.
17	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Okay. Without
18	objection.
19	Yes?
20	COMMISSIONER KIRSANOW: Let me take
21	another stab at this. Why don't we have staff, just
22	as an exercise, draft a proposal trying to incorporate
23	some of Russell's suggestions on this particular
24	project?
25	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Called back door.

1	COMMISSIONER KIRSANOW: Just to see what
2	the outcome is. I think you've already suggested that
3	we can consult with Commissioners. Let's just see
4	what happens and what kind of satisfaction the
5	Commissioners have we have ultimately with what staff
6	comes up with.
7	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Well, I think that
8	having him consult and see if anybody has anything to
9	say about it is good. We've done that before so I see
10	no objection to doing that, but I wouldn't call that
11	following a proposal. I wouldn't want to back door it
12	that way.
13	We've already disposed of that issue for
14	now, but we will consult as he
15	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: No, but
16	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: puts this together.
17	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: I mean, I like
18	Pete's idea very much that
19	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: I'm sure you do.
20	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: Well, can you give
21	me a chance to speak?
22	I think the idea is for the staff to come
23	up with a substantive proposal that incorporates a
24	specific procedure which is limited only to this
25	project, and that might be a good way of sort of

getting the staff to flesh out their own ideas on the 1 2 process. CHAIRPERSON BERRY: We're mixing apples 3 supposed to be working They're oranges. 4 and separately on analyzing the process and coming up 5 That would be different people from the people 6 with. 7 who are trying to come up with proposals. COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: But Pete's idea 8 isn't attacks through the back door anything because 9 10 it wouldn't bind any future projects. The idea is 11 almost like a pilot program to see how something like 12 that would work. That's one of the 13 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: things we're supposed to be considering, is whether 14 15 they want to suggest a pilot program, which was one of 16 the things for them to evaluate, which they have not done yet because they haven't sat down to talk about 17 18 whether they want to do this yet. 19 COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: I think it's 20 totally reasonable, and if he's moving to do that, I 21 second it. 22 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Is this a motion? 23 COMMISSIONER KIRSANOW: I'm not going to 24 make a motion. It's simply a suggestion. I'd like to 25 move on, but it's just for staff consideration.

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1	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: So, staff, to the
2	extent that you think it works and you can do it
3	without being delayed for six months or whatever time
4	it takes or in the substantive part of this, because
5	I'd like to see what a proposal looks like while we're
6	approving proposals or not approving proposals.
7	And this proposal would be a joint OCRE-
8	OGC and now
9	COMMISSIONER EDLEY: Does that mean it
10	doesn't count against either agency's total or it
11	counts against both?
12	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: That's a good
13	question.
1.4	(Laughter.)
15	VICE CHAIRPERSON REYNOSO: I have the
16	sense that if it's going to be in depth, as Abby has
17	suggested, that it probably counts against both of
18	them.
19	COMMISSIONER EDLEY: Well, let's see how
20	the staff drafts it.
21	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Yes, let's see what
22	they come up with.
23	VICE CHAIRPERSON REYNOSO: Okay.
24	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: How about religious
25	discrimination against American Muslims in the work

Does anyone have any particular positive or 1 negative or neutral feelings about that proposal? 2 Commissioner Meeks. 3 Well, I would just COMMISSIONER MEEKS: 4 is religious 5 the second one then that say discrimination in the work place, and if we're going 6 to do one or the other, I think they could be combined 7 in some way, you know, if people agree that number two 8 is the one we should take on. 9 I'm not biased 10 Maybe no one thinks that. 11 for or against it. CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Does anyone have any 12 particular fondness or dislike for talking 13 about religious discrimination in the work place for either 14 15 muslims or for people in general as a project? 16 COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: I think I really 17 like the topic, but I agree with Elsie that it's sort 18 of redundant. I'd like to see a broader look at 19 religious discrimination against, you know, 20 religions, including Muslims, of course, but 21 including Christians and Catholics, and any other 22 religion that may be facing discrimination in the work 23 place. 24 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Yes, Commissioner

Thernstrom.

COMMISSIONER THERNSTROM: Well, I guess 1 this is a question for the people who have expertise 2 3 in employment discrimination here. Are we going to get accurate information here? 4 I mean, I'm just 5 worried about data quality. COMMISSIONER KIRSANOW: Well, to the 6 7 extent you do, it's going to come principally from the EEOC. It's going to come from the EEOC or the various 8 9 correlatives to the EEOC, the human rights commissions 10 at the state level. . 11 That's where the greatest locus of data 12 I'm sure there are some university studies along 13 those lines, too, but they probably to a large extent 14 incorporate what you get from the EEOC and its sister 15 agencies. 16 COMMISSIONER THERNSTROM: Are we going to 17 learn things that the EEOC doesn't already 18 because it has been collecting data? 19 COMMISSIONER KIRSANOW: That's good 20 What we'll know is, I mean, what we'll know 21 from the EEOC data is we'll have numbers. In terms of 22 the breakdown Jennifer suggests and in terms of who's 23 being discriminated against. 24 COMMISSIONER THERNSTROM: Doesn't the EEOC 25 do that?

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COMMISSIONER KIRSANOW: Yeah. I mean, that's what I'm saying. Because we're going to be using their data. I don't know what else --

COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: I mean, I think that in addition to EEOC data, it would be helpful to look at case law on these topics and not just look at — in other words, something that has synthesized current case law and religious discrimination with the statistics would be a product that's different from something that the EEOC would put out and might be worthwhile and useful to academics

Well, in the project CHAIRPERSON BERRY: doesn't it say that for one of them, the first one, that they're going to analyze EEOC information and evaluate literature review, EEOC interviews with staff representatives of groups, and employers, and on the second one, which is the big one, it says on page 6 that they're going to look at federal sector religious discrimination and possibly identification of best practices from private sector employers. The study identify EEOC stuff, look would technical assistance to employers, training, trying to religious discrimination, fact literature, review and analysis of EEOC complaints and compliance data.

So the second one basically is federal sector with some attention to best practices in the private sector.

COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: I mean, neither of those talk about the case law, and maybe we think that's beyond the scope. I'm open to that, but I mean, one issue that's certainly interesting to me is how both the EEOC and state agencies, as well as courts are defining religion in terms of discrimination.

I mean, there's this case out in Western Mass. with a woman -- I forget where she worked, Costco or one of those types of places -- and they had a policy against body piercing, and she won a probable cause finding of discrimination from the EEOC on the grounds that she was the member of some pagan religion that was basically body worship that included body piercing.

So I just think it's interesting to see how courts and administrative agencies are defining religion and what groups are feeling persecuted and availing themselves of anti-discrimination laws.

Maybe that's all beyond the scope, but just something to throw out.

CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Did you have a

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question?

VICE CHAIRPERSON REYNOSO: Just a quick note. As Commissioner Braceras indicated, there's probably a lot of activities in some of the state agencies, particularly the big ones like New York and California, and the staff should be taking a look at that.

CHAIRPERSON BERRY: If we're going to do the court stuff, then it would become an OGC involved project. As I read it -- or maybe they could do some of that in terms of the introduction, like what the courts are saying about what religion is.

But as I read it, it's in terms of OCRE's role of trying to evaluate what government agencies are doing and monitor that and do social science literature review. I think that they've defined the scope that way.

I may be wrong about that. Maybe you want to say something and maybe Terri.

STAFF DIRECTOR JIN: Yeah, Madam Chair. I think that's right, and if Terri wanted to add something she can, too, but I think what we tried to do here, and again, clearly I don't think we saw any scenario where the Commissioners would want to do both of these proposed projects, and of course, always if

the Commissioners want to do another related project, that's fine, too.

But I think the idea was that part of it was in keeping with some of the comments I think Commissioners have made over the months of wanting to see some projects that are kind of more narrow, more manageable, and maybe spend a little bit more time and depth. The (unintelligible) America project is more like that way. The other one is a more generic, one which has value, but is probably a little more of a survey.

But, Terri, do you want to add anything to either one of those projects?

Again, if the Commissioners -- I think like the Chair said, if certainly the Commissioners want to do a project that involves some discussion of cases, I mean, that's perfectly fine, but of course, that will have to be done as kind of a joint project between the two offices.

COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: I mean, I wasn't trying to complicate things. I thought, you know, it's one thing to look at the data that EEOC may already be collecting, but I think to kind of give it a higher level of analysis as to what that means in terms of the case law might be more useful.

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STAFF DIRECTOR JIN: If I can just make one more comment, earlier there was a comment made about is EEOC, already collecting the data. I think the answer is yes, but as far as we know, internally they may evaluate the data for their own internal purposes, but certainly, it's not within their mission, and they don't go about like taking the integrating in assessing it and some and literature so that examination and stuff like that.

I mean, that's where we kind of have the value added here.

So far is that Commissioners like the idea of having something more general that considers more than just the Muslim religion and also maybe some modification, some proposal to include so that the staff can think about how they could put together stuff that human rights agencies do, stuff that courts have had to say and the like, and in your thinking about trying to revise the proposal or a proposal on this subject, but we still haven't prioritized in terms of what anybody thinks is more important than anything else. But at least that's the response you get.

Yes? I mean the staff. Yes.

COMMISSIONER EDLEY: Well, I wanted to

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speak to the issue of priority because I don't have any objection intellectually at all, and I even have some interest in what's been discussed in the last ten minutes.

As a matter of establishing priorities, it's not clear to me that doing kind of what are the developments with regard to religious discrimination in the work place should be a higher priority than doing a similar thing with respect to people with disabilities or age discrimination -- I mean, and so maybe the way to ask this is just thinking back over both what's on our plate for '04 and '05 and what we've done in the last few years probably done on age discrimination; I can't recall.

CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Not recently.

COMMISSIONER EDLEY: And with the aging of the work force, I'm just wondering. There were certainly a lot of stories in this last economic cycle, business cycle about firms trying to squeeze out older employees because it's cheaper to replace them with younger employees. Their incentives were the pension benefits, related to health care issues and the like.

I don't mean to be affirmatively pitching back specific issues. I'm just raising the question

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of the comparative of doing something on religious 1 discrimination in the work place versus some of these 2 other areas. I'm at a loss as to how to --3 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: In disability, the 4 5 last time we did it, we showed disabled people didn't really get employed, if I recall correctly. 6 There have been some 7 COMMISSIONER EDLEY: very interesting case law developments so --8 9 COMMISSIONER REDENBAUGH: They were not in 10 the work place. CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Right. So we wouldn't 11 be doing anything on them. Discrimination in the work 12 place is not in the work place. 13 Well, that's one way COMMISSIONER EDLEY: 14 15 to minimize the problem. 16 VICE CHAIRPERSON REYNOSO: Right. 17 (Laughter.) 18 VICE CHAIRPERSON REYNOSO: Madam Chair, 19 the problem I have is I think all five listings are 20 interesting and worthwhile, but in terms of 21 priorities, if we go with the voting rights, then I 22 think I would go with number three, evaluation of the 23 Department of Homeland Security's civil rights 24 enforcement as the two projects that

recommend.

1	four seem like a subtopic of three?
2	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Yes.
3	COMMISSIONER EDLEY: Terri looks like
4	she's about to cry.
5	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: Why? Because that
6	would make it too broad?
7	MS. DICKERSON: Given the resources, I
8	just believe that the scope might be inordinately
9	large for the number of people that we have to work on
10	it for the resources that we have to carry it out.
11	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: Because number
12	three seems large as it is, and maybe you want to just
13	bite off a piece of that. I mean, maybe the piece is
14	just number four and maybe it's a different piece,
15	but
16.	MS. DICKERSON: Number four involves quite
17	a few agencies.
18	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: Oh, I see.
19	MS. DICKERSON: Yeah. If you look at the
20	Department of Transportation.
21	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: So both of them
22	well, okay.
23	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: So Homeland Security
24	11
	is narrower. I'm just looking at
25	is narrower. I'm just looking at COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: Well, it's both

1	narrower and broader.
2	(No response.)
3	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Right. I was just
4	wondering what Terri but Russell had his hand up.
5	Stay there, please, Terri.
6	COMMISSIONER REDENBAUGH: Yes, please.
7	I don't know how to think about priorities
8	without having costs associated with them. Dean
9	Edley, do you have a way?
10	COMMISSIONER EDLEY: I do.
11	
12	Dean Edley already.
13	COMMISSIONER EDLEY: I prefer the dart
14	board method.
15	COMMISSIONER REDENBAUGH: I see. Deans
16	will probably not be permitted that.
17	COMMISSIONER EDLEY: No, but in more
18	seriousness, I think that I take what the staff has
19	presented as a sense that they can afford to do two
20	projects in each office at the price
21	COMMISSIONER REDENBAUGH: Or at the least
22	the projects are of similar ties.
23	COMMISSIONER EDLEY: Yeah, there's sort of
24	a modal cost recognizing that we are projecting out a
25	couple of years and the projects need to be further

1	defined, and I take the spirit of Terri's concern to
2	be that if we simply collapse them, it may make sense
3	verbally, but from the cost perspective, we're fooling
4	ourselves. Just collapsing them verbally doesn't
5	change the fact that the tasks involve these added
6	demands on staff time.
7	I think so if they're really doing to be
8	limited to two and you start collapsing, what we're
9	really instructing them to do is go back, combine
10	them, and then chuck them down to a manageable size.
11	Let me give you an example. You could
12	one thing to do would be to take number four, which is
13	our federal security activities, discrimination three,
14	and instead of trying to answer the question, make it
15	a meta question and ask: are we satisfied that the
16	agencies have the wherewithal to detect discrimination
17	if it is, in fact, occurring.
18	Do you know what I mean? So that
19	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: That's almost a
20	philosophical question though, even beyond the data.
21	COMMISSIONER EDLEY: Well, it's really
22	more like doing an audit of their own
23	COMMISSIONER REDENBAUGH: Are the
24	processes in place to do that?
25	COMMISSIONER EDLEY: civil

rights/Inspector General operations? Are the 1 processes in place in order to monitor how much is 2 going on in the field? Do they have the resources to 3 monitor it effectively? Do they have the policies in 4 place to define what does or doesn't constitute 5 discrimination? 6 But it doesn't aspire to doing the level 7 of sort of a granular empirical assessment ourselves. 8 I don't know. 9 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Vice Chair and then --10 VICE CHAIRPERSON REYNOSO: I just wanted 11 to remind us if memory serves me from time to time the 12 staff will come back and say, you know, "This is the 13 way we started, but it's too big and can we redefine 14 it both in terms of getting it out in a timely fashion 15 and in terms of being able to deal with it with the 16 staff that we have?" 17 So these are projections that I think will 18 19 be subject and have some modifications as staff gets 20 into it. CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Commissioner Braceras. 21 COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: To sit here and do 22 23 which ones we might focus on, and this may not be a basis on which we decide to study things, but looking 24 25 at these and thinking about which ones of these might

be less political or more bipartisan or more capable of getting a consensus from the group, I mean, it seems to me, for example, if you study religious include Christians and discrimination and you Catholics as well as Muslims and, you know, Jews, other groups, that that may be something that would lend itself more to many of us on this Commission, lend itself more to a product that we can all agree on for example, Homeland Security, as opposed to, which -- let's just be honest about it -- is going to be a huge issue in this campaign.

VICE CHAIRPERSON REYNOSO: But it is just so --

COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: Okay, but it's still political. You know, let's say George Bush gets reelected and whatever. I mean, it has got a much more political component to it, I think. The Homeland Security debate, for better or worse, has become a political issue which is on the table now and probably will be in the future, whereas I think religious discrimination, that issue, looking at it as it applies to all religions and all groups, to me is inherently nonpolitical and is something that —— and maybe it doesn't break down that way, but I'm just throwing it out there as maybe we want to focus on

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1	issues that seem, you know, more that we can look
2	at it with more of a neutral eye than a political eye.
3	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Okay. Commissioner
4	Meeks.
5	COMMISSIONER MEEKS: Well, I agree that it
6	could be viewed more politically. I'm just not sure
7	that we should make a decision based on that
8	because
9	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: Well, maybe we
10	shouldn't. I'm just
11	COMMISSIONER MEEKS: Yeah, given the
12	number of agencies that's been collapsed into
13	Department of Homeland, and you know, the Commission
14	has always looked at civil rights functions under all
15	federal agencies, I don't see where the Department of
16	Homeland Security should be exempt, but in 2006, I
17	mean, I think there's going to be some big
18	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: Yeah. I still
19	don't think it should be exempt. I'm just saying in
20	terms of prioritizing and trying to focus our
21	attention on issues where we might be able to all come
22	together.
23	I know that, you know, when proposals were
24	being made for an Office for Civil Rights in the
25	Homeland Security Department we all had wildly

different views about that on this Commission, 1 obviously the makeup of this Commission won't be the 2 same in 2006, but it seems to me that religious 3 discrimination is something that there 4 I mean, we're all basically 5 divergent views on. against it, whereas I think --6 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: We're against it? I'm 7 in favor of it unless you -- I want to favor Baptists. 8 9 COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: The point is that the Homeland Security issue is one on which there is a 10 more political component than there is with religion. 11 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: We don't disagree. 12 13 absolutely agree with that. COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: And maybe that's 14 15 irrelevant. I'm just pointing out that we can try to 16 be more collegial and collaborative in terms of what 17 issues we choose to study. I don't know. It just may 18 improve things down the road. That's all I'm 19 thinking. 20 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Why don't we do this 21 Why don't we take Jennifer's advice, at least 22 in part, and why don't we leave -- since we can only 23 pick two at this stage; the staff would like us- to 24 recommend two, and we're not recommending them, but 25 we're saying tentatively; but why don't we just say

for further consideration we will 1 that is for further discrimination -- this 2 religious but right now religious consideration 3 discrimination in general would be one for the reasons 4 that -- and other reasons because substantively they 5 6 are important issues. COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: Oh, yeah, they are 7 important issues. We're trying to choose between 8 9 them. CHAIRPERSON BERRY: -- to work on them 10 except for schools and education on the long term. 11 And that the voting rights joint project 12 would be the other. 13 VICE CHAIRPERSON REYNOSO: That's fine. 14 COMMISSIONER EDLEY: Would you want to 15 pick a third in case the voting rights doesn't turn 16 out to be satisfactory? 17 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Right, and the third 18 would be going against the reasons that Jennifer gave, 19 but in favor of the reasons that Elsie gave and 20 21 As a third option we put Homeland somebody else. religious 22 the general Security, but we put discrimination and the voting rights that nobody 23 seemed to really hate as the two things that they 24 might think about that they might possibly be doing. 2.5

1	I say all of that because we haven't voted
2	on it, and I'm aware that we haven't voted on it, and
3	I'm aware that we have to vote on it.
4	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: So I'm sorry.
5	You're saying that
6	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: For purposes of
7	discussion and for a further elaboration and
8	discussion and votes and later on some time, we would
9	say for now we're talking in terms of religious
10	discrimination in the work place generally.
11	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: Right.
12	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: And we're talking
13	about the voting rights project which is a joint
14	project, both that they have to draft up.
15	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: Right.
16	· CHAIRPERSON BERRY: And Homeland Security
17	would be put down as a further option if for some
18	reason the voting rights blows up and people want a
19	second proposal, unless somebody thinks of another one
20	in the meanwhile.
21	COMMISSIONER THERNSTROM: So we're only
22	talking about OCRE at the moment.
23	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: At the moment. That's
24	for OCRE, and Terri looks somewhat happier than she
25	did when she was back there about to cry.

But then for OGC, there are four things 1 there, and I for one like the immigration stuff. 2 voting rights, that's right. They have voting rights 3 as one of theirs. So that means we have to pick some 4 one thing and then a backup in case the voting rights 5 blows up in the same way that we just did OCRE. 6 That's what that means. 7 I don't know. I think Abigail was next. 8 COMMISSIONER THERNSTROM: I happen to very 9 much like number three, the disproportionate placement 10 of children of color in the state foscar care systems. 11 I also am extremely interested in the 12 question of color matching between foster kids or 13 adoptive kids and the race or ethnicity of parents. 14 don't know whether we can wed the two, but I think 15 that there is an issue of discrimination/civil rights 16 issue in the latter question as well. 17 Anybody else see CHAIRPERSON BERRY: 18 anything else on there that they sort of are fond of? 19 Yes, Commissioner Edley. 20 COMMISSIONER EDLEY: First I want to say 21 that I would hope that as the staff thinks of shaping 22 the voting rights thing that you shape it in a way 23 that makes it comparable. I don't want it to swallow 24 25 up two slots, one in each.

COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: So find a way to 1 stick it into one category or the other. 2 COMMISSIONER EDLEY: Yeah, right. 3 I think that, yeah, we ought to be looking for a way 4 in which we stick it in one category or the other, 5 with the understanding that there will be an assist by 6 the other office, and that it's complemented by 7 another project that's in the second office to get 8 some assist from the first office 9 I mean, do you know what I mean? I think 10 I made my point. 11 Second, as much as I think the immigration 12 related employment practices issue, I think that's 13 very important. I think that immigration legislation 14 15 is going to be such a moving target over the next two years, two to three years, that I don't really believe 16 17 -- I think it's unlikely that an '06 project on this 18 topic will be timely for congressional consideration. 19 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Good point. 20 COMMISSIONER EDLEY: And therefore, 21 important as the subject is, I think we should drop it 22 from the list for that reason. 23 If we want to play on that topic, then we 24 should think about doing a briefing next year or 25 something of that sort, but that way you just get some

1	people who have done some empirical work on employer
2	sanctions, et cetera, who could come in and talk about
3	what the evidence is, but I wouldn't suggest anything
4	more ambitious than that.
5	VICE CHAIRPERSON REYNOSO: That's not a
6	bad idea.
7	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: I like that.
8	VICE CHAIRPERSON REYNOSO: I think we
9	ought to see if we could make any recommendations from
10	the debate that's going on, but I think you're right
-11	for '06.
12	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: That's fine.
13	Yes, Commissioner Meeks.
14	COMMISSIONER MEEKS: Well, I actually
15	think number four would be a good briefing topic.
16	VICE CHAIRPERSON REYNOSO: Yeah, I'm
17	interested in four.
18	COMMISSIONER EDLEY: The media ownership
19	issue?
20	VICE CHAIRPERSON REYNOSO: Yeah.
21	COMMISSIONER MEEKS: Well, I mean,
22	obviously we can't fit them all into a project, but it
23	would be an interesting briefing.
24	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Yeah, I think so, too,
25	and in a timely fashion, too, because it's a very hot

So we could take that under -- what do you 1 issue. 2 think, Cruz? 3 VICE CHAIRPERSON REYNOSO: You know, sometimes we've had a briefing to help us decide 4 whether or not we're going to have hearings, 5 example. We might consider doing that. 6 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: So maybe we could have 7 a briefing on the impact of deregulation in minority 8 media ownership. I sort of like number three also, 9 the same one that Commissioner Thernstrom liked, and I 10 11 even like it with the coda that she added about 12 placement of kids. So we're left with that one. 13 COMMISSIONER THERNSTROM: And it has the 14 15 virtue of what Jennifer was talking about, but it is 16 an issue I think that we could come together on. 17 COMMISSIONER MEEKS: I agree. 18 COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: Yeah, I really like number three as well. I'm not as interested in 19 20 number four, although I have no objection to it. 21 preference would be for number two because I think --22 and maybe I'm wrong -- but I think that there's a 23 dearth of information on the Southeast Asian 24 community.

And I think that that could be a value

added report, and it seems to me that even if it's just using, you know, whatever clout we may have to get issues facing the Southeast Asian community into the public eye, that might be a useful thing to do because I think it's something that's underplayed, under thought about by politicians and the media and people. So for whatever it's worth, I like two and three under the OGC proposals, and I agree with everything Chris said about immigration. I think it's extremely important, but difficult to get your arms around while everything is in flux. other time.

CHAIRPERSON BERRY: So we're left with the idea of having a briefing on the deregulation of minority media ownership, which means it doesn't have to be a project at least now. It may be one some

But so we've got two here that have been spoken of favorably in addition to the voting rights one, which means that one of these could be like number two, such as we did with OCRE, and the other one as a backup if voting rights falls through.

COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: So voting rights could also be reconceptualized and put in OCRE. mean, there's no reason voting rights has to be under

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OGC if we're evaluating current government enforcement 1 of Voting Rights Act. Wouldn't that fall under OCRE? 2 It could. VICE CHAIRPERSON REYNOSO: 3 We'll get a recommendation from the staff on that 4 5 actually. COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: Yeah. 6 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: But for now we've 7 lopped off some of these at least, and we got left the 8 cost of your thing and adoption and so on and the 9 social services compensations under OGC. 10 VICE CHAIRPERSON REYNOSO: That's fine. 11 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: And then we know what 12 we have under OCRE and the voting rights thing. 13 So why don't we leave it at that for the 14 15 moment? Yes, Commissioner Edley. 16 COMMISSIONER EDLEY: You know, we're 17 talking about '06, and the fact is if you had a firm 18 view about what you really wanted to do and it 19 required slightly different staffing patterns, you'd 20 have two years to adjust. 21 I mean, if you needed just through 22 attrition and so forth and decided you needed to staff 23 up one office a little more than another office, the 24 way in which you do your hires, looking ahead at what 25 the work loads are going to be. So --

COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: Well, meaning that 1 you could do three projects under OGC and one under 2 OCRE or vice versa? 3 COMMISSIONER EDLEY: Well, yeah, or vice 4 I mean, if you think about --5 COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: Right. 6 COMMISSIONER EDLEY: people 7 different offices working on different stuff. I mean, 8 a lot of the voting rights stuff that we talked about, 9 for example, I could easily imagine somebody with a 10 11 J.D. as well as somebody with an M.A. or a Ph.D. doing the work. 12 hope that as the Staff Director 13 thinks this through there will be a little bit of 14 constraint 15 imagination applied to the resource 16 challenge. CHAIRPERSON BERRY: But we need to think 17 all of this through for us, and we'll just leave these 18 at that. It was a good discussion to this time, and 19 20 then maybe next time we can discuss these again, and 21 we'll see how we proceed on these matters. 22 Before we adjourn, unless somebody has got something else, I should have asked you, and I should 23 24 have earlier, is it possible to change the May 14th meeting? Vice Chair Reynoso's son has finally been 25

	notified that he might possibly graduate.
2	VICE CHAIRPERSON REYNOSO: He will
3	graduate.
4	(Laughter.)
5	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: And have a
6	commencement somewhere?
7	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: On May 14th.
8	VICE CHAIRPERSON REYNOSO: At Pratt
9	Institute in New York.
10	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: And so if it were
11	possible for Commissioners to adjust their calendars
12	to permit him to go see his son on commencement.
13	One thought that the Staff Director and I
14	had was to ask you whether you thought we could meet
1 _. 5	on a day other than Friday for a change unless you've
16	got a calendar that doesn't permit it, like on May
17	17th, which is the anniversary of Brown v. the Board
17 18	17th, which is the anniversary of Brown v. the Board of Education.
18	of Education.
18 19	of Education. COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: What day of the
18 19 20	of Education. COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: What day of the week is it?
18 19 20 21	of Education. COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: What day of the week is it? VICE CHAIRPERSON REYNOSO: A Monday. It's
18 19 20 21 22	of Education. COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: What day of the week is it? VICE CHAIRPERSON REYNOSO: A Monday. It's the following Monday.

1	and talk about Brown, you know, some of the people who
2	were involved in it if they're still around, and
3	people who know about it and have a little reception
4	or something.
5	VICE CHAIRPERSON REYNOSO: Party. For
6	those of us who teach, we're beyond the semester then.
7	So that's fine with me.
8	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: So it doesn't matter
9	to us.
10	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: It sounds
11	interesting and great, and you shouldn't change it for
12	me. I just don't happen to have day care on Mondays.
13	So I might be able to arrange something, but it does
14	sound very interesting, but
15	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Can we find day care
16	for
17	VICE CHAIRPERSON REYNOSO: Well, I'll pay
18	for it.
19	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Commissioner
20	Braceras?
21	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: I'll look into it.
22	I have no substantive objection.
23	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Does anyone else have
24	any?
25	COMMISSIONER THERNSTROM: I'm not sure.

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1	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Well, maybe we can't
2	do it.
3	COMMISSIONER THERNSTROM: Is it true that
4	the 17th is Monday?
5	COMMISSIONER EDLEY: Monday, the 17th.
6	VICE CHAIRPERSON REYNOSO: Well, if
7	somebody can't make it, then it shouldn't be
8	COMMISSIONER THERNSTROM: I'm trying to
9	figure this out.
10	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Do you have day care
11	any other day?
12	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: All the other
13	days.
14	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Every day except
15	Monday.
16	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: Yeah.
17	COMMISSIONER EDLEY: Is this some
18	religious thing with your nanny?
19	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: No, no. She just
20	works for another family on Mondays.
21	COMMISSIONER THERNSTROM: No, I can make
22	it. I'm sorry. I can make it.
23	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: I'll see what I
24	can juggle. It sounds interesting.
25	COMMISSIONER THERNSTROM: I think we ought

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to check with Russell before we make a final decision. 1 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Okay. Let's do this 2 so that we have two options. Let's check with Russell 3 and see if Russell can do it, and if he says yes, 4 let's do it and hope that you can get day care. 5 COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: I will try. 6 And if not, then CHAIRPERSON BERRY: 7 Christopher will send his nanny and Maria will stay at 8 home with the kids. 9 (Laughter.) 10 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Them, if we can't do 11 it that day, is there a day other than Friday, the 12 13 week before the Commission meeting? Because you don't want to do anything about Brown after Brown's 14 anniversary, that you guys could meet, like between 15 the 10th and -- because he can't do it Friday, but he 16 can do it another day. 17 Is that possible at this moment, depending 18 on Russell's schedule, as a backup? 19 20 COMMISSIONER MEEKS: Well, Monday is 21 actually better for me. COMMISSIONER THERNSTROM: Friday the 7th 22 23 is out for me if that's the question. 24 CHAIRPERSON BERRY: No, my question is If we cannot do it on the 17th because of 25 this.

1	Russell, and we can't do it on the 14th because of
2	Cruz or we can't do without Cruz, is there a day
3	during the week of May 10 through 12, 14th, before
4	Friday that you could meet. That's the query, any of
5	you, or that you cannot meet.
6	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: I can do it any
7	day except the following Monday poses the same the
8	previous Monday poses the same problem.
9	COMMISSIONER THERNSTROM: I'm all right.
10	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: You're all right like
11	the 11th-12th?
12	COMMISSIONER THERNSTROM: Yes.
13	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: All right. Well,
14	let's see what Russell says, and if he says it's a go,
15	we'll do it on the 17th. Otherwise
16	VICE CHAIRPERSON REYNOSO: Thank you very
17	much.
18	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: we'll pick a day
19	during the week, and we really very much appreciate
20	you.
21	Could I get a motion to adjourn?
22	VICE CHAIRPERSON REYNOSO: So moved.
23	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Is there a second?
24	COMMISSIONER EDLEY: Second.
25	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: All in favor indicate
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1	by saying aye.
2	(Chorus of ayes.)
3	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: Opposed?
4	(No response.)
5	CHAIRPERSON BERRY: So ordered.
6	Thank you.
7	(Whereupon, at 12:14 p.m., the Commission
8	meeting was adjourned.)
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