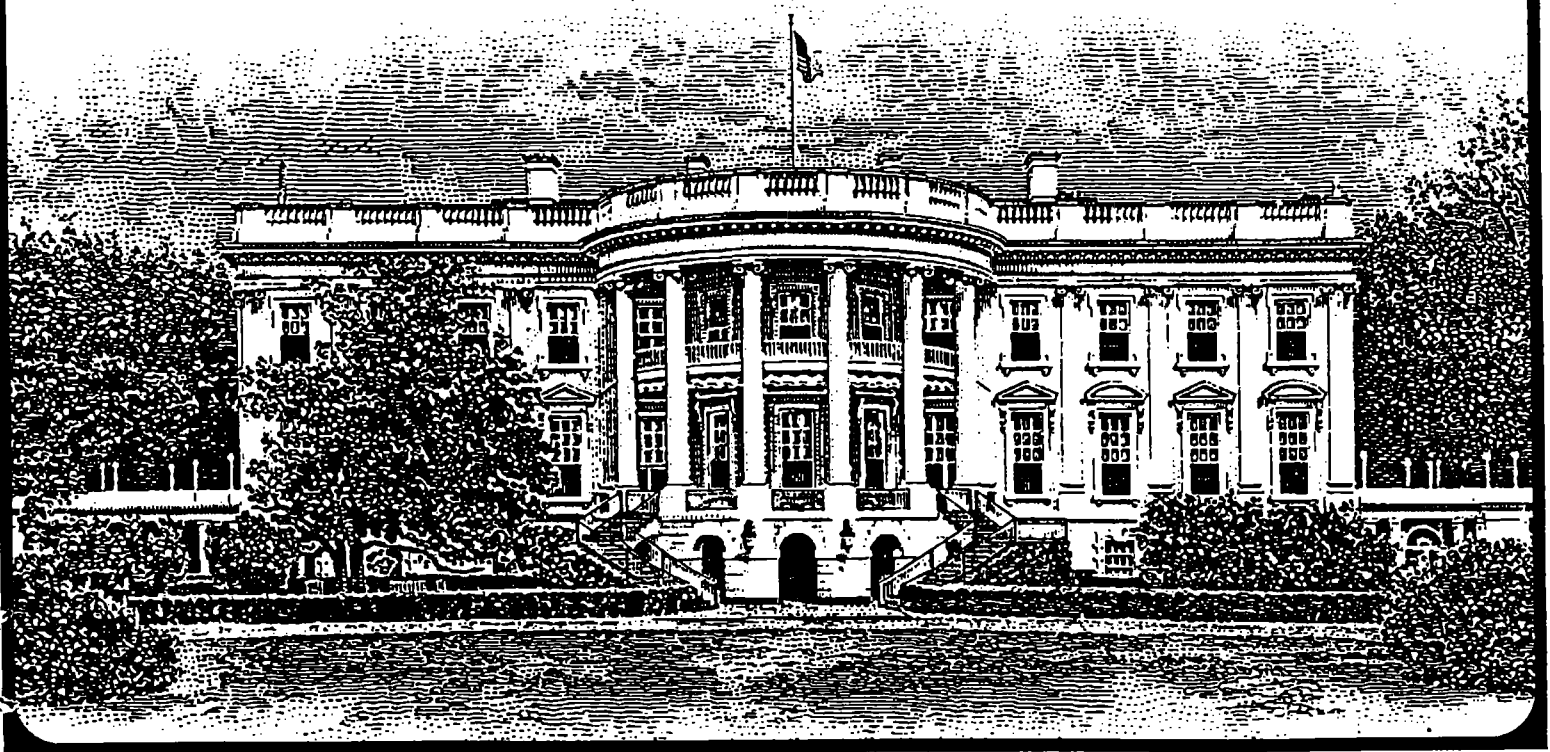


THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON HATE CRIMES

NOVEMBER 10, 1997



THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON HATE CRIMES

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 7, 1997

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON HATE CRIMES

Date: November 10, 1997
Location: Breakfast - East Room
Conference - George Washington University
Time: Breakfast - 9:30 am - 9:50 am
Conference - 11:30 am - 1:30 pm
From: Bruce Reed/Maria Echaveste

I. PURPOSE

To call national attention to the problem of hate crimes, highlight effective law enforcement and educational strategies to address this problem, and announce significant new federal initiatives to prevent and punish hate crimes.

II. BACKGROUND

You will host a breakfast for conference participants at the White House, make the opening address at the conference, and chair a panel discussion in which the Attorney General, the Secretary of Education, and seven others will join.

In the afternoon, members of the Cabinet and other senior Administration officials will chair a number of concurrent working sessions to examine various aspects of the hate crimes issue. Afterward, the Attorney General will chair a closing panel to discuss ideas and themes from the working sessions. Participants will attend a closing reception at the United States Holocaust Museum.

In your opening remarks, you will make the following policy announcements:

- Support for legislation to expand the principal federal hate crimes statute to prohibit hate crimes based on gender, sexual orientation, and disability. (The law currently prohibits only hate crimes based on race, color, religion, and national origin.);
- Creation of hate crimes working groups in every U.S. Attorney's district in the nation to coordinate federal, state, local, and private efforts to respond to and prevent hate crimes;
- Assignment of more than 40 additional FBI agents and federal prosecutors to enforce hate crimes laws and creation of a Civil Rights Analytical Center to

collect data and analyze trends in hate violence.

- Enhanced prosecution of civil cases, including increased penalties, against perpetrators of housing-related hate-crimes;
- Improved reporting of hate crimes statistics through the expansion of the National Crime Victimization Survey to include inquiries on hate crimes; and
- New educational materials, including a Department of Education resource manual on hate crimes for schools and a Department of Justice website designed for children.

III. PARTICIPANTS

Briefing Participants:

Sylvia Mathews
Rahm Emanuel
Bruce Reed
Maria Echaveste
Elena Kagan
Richard Socarides
Marsha Scott
Jordan Tamagni

White House Breakfast Participants (with speaking role):

Attorney General Reno

Conference Participants (with speaking role):

Vice President Gore
Attorney General Reno
Secretary Riley
Stephen Tracktenberg, President of George Washington University
Officer William Johnson, Retired Boston Police Officer
Chuennee Sampson, Student Duke University
Peter Berendt, Principal, Mamaroneck Avenue Elementary School, NY
Hon. Sheila James Kuehl, President Pro Tempore, California State Assembly
Reverend Samuel Billy Kyles, Monumental Baptist Church, TN
Raymond Delos Reyes, Student, Franklin High School, Seattle, WA
Tammie Schnitzer, Survivor of hate crime, Billings, Montana
Arturo Venegas, Jr., Chief of Police, Sacramento Police Department, CA
Hon. Grant Woods, Arizona Attorney General, AZ

Members of the audience will include approximately 350 leaders from the law enforcement, civil rights, anti-violence, youth, education, and religious communities. Hate crime victims and students from George Washington University will also be in attendance. The event will

be broadcast via satellite to over 50 sites throughout the country.

IV. PRESS PLAN

Breakfast - Closed Press.

Conference - Open Press.

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

White House Breakfast Sequence of Events:

- **YOU** will briefly meet the panel participants in the Green Room.
- **YOU** will be announced into the East Room accompanied by the Attorney General.
- Attorney General Reno will make welcoming remarks and introduce **YOU**.
- **YOU** will make remarks, and then depart.

Conference Sequence of Events:

- **YOU** will be announced onto the stage accompanied by Vice President Gore, President Tracktenberg, Officer William Johnson, Student Chuennee Sampson.
- President Tracktenberg will make remarks and introduce Officer William Johnson.
- Officer Johnson will make remarks and introduce the Vice President.
- The Vice President will make remarks and introduce Chuennee Sampson.
- Chuennee Sampson will make remarks and introduce **YOU**.
- **YOU** will make remarks, and then take your seat with other panelists. (The Vice President and other introducers will depart the stage.)

***SEE ATTACHED SCRIPT FOR SEQUENCE OF SPEAKERS ON PANEL.**

VI. REMARKS

Provided by Speechwriting

VII. ATTACHMENTS

- Sequence of panel speakers and suggested questions.
- Bios of panelists.
- Conference Agenda.
- Background material on hate crimes.

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON HATE CRIMES

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 10, 1997

- 9:00 - 10:00 a.m. Breakfast -- The White House
Remarks by the Attorney General and the President
- 11:30 - 12:00 Welcoming Remarks -- Stephen J. Trachtenberg
President of The George Washington University
- Remarks by William Johnston, Boston Police Department (Ret.)
- Remarks by the Vice President
- Remarks by Chuenee Sampson, Duke University
- Remarks by the President
- 12:00 - 1:30 Panel Discussion
The President
The Attorney General
The Secretary of Education
Peter Berendt, Principal, Mamaroneck Avenue Elementary School, NY
Honorable Sheila Kuehl, California State Assembly
Reverend Samuel Billy Kyles, Memphis, Tennessee
Raymond Delos Reyes, Franklin High School, Seattle, WA
Tammie Schnitzer, Billings, MT
Chief Arturo Venegas, Jr., Sacramento Police Department, CA
Honorable Grant Woods, Attorney General, State of Arizona
- 1:30 - 2:15 Lunch and Information Resource Fair*
Colonial Commons Ballroom
Lunch is underwritten by a gift to the George Washington
University by USA Network
- 2:30 - 4:00 Discussion Groups -- Fourth Floor
1. Hate Crimes in Schools (K-12): Prevention and Response (Secretary Riley);
 2. Hate Crimes on Campus: Prevention and Response (Director Raines);
 3. Law Enforcement Response to Hate Crimes (Attorney General Reno);
 4. Understanding the Problem: Improving Hate Crime Statistics (Deputy Attorney General Holder)
 5. Hate Crimes in Public and Private Housing (Secretary Cuomo);
 6. Community Responses to Hate Crimes (Secretary Glickman); and
 7. Counteracting Organized Hate (Secretary Slater).

- 4:15 - 5:15 Closing Panel
The Attorney General
The Secretary of Agriculture
The Secretary of Housing and Urban Development
The Secretary of Transportation
The Secretary of Education
The Director, Office of Management and Budget
The Deputy Attorney General
- 6:00 - 7:30 Reception
Sponsored by The White House
and The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum
Host Committee for Reception:
American Jewish Committee, Anti-Defamation League,
Arab American Institute, Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium,
Consortium of Citizens with Disabilities, Fund for a Feminist Majority,
Human Rights Campaign, Justice for All,
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People,
The National Conference, National Congress of American Indians,
National Council of La Raza, National Gay and Lesbian Task Force,
National Italian American Foundation, National Urban League,
NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund

*Note: The materials distributed by conference participants do not necessarily reflect the opinions, findings or recommendations, nor do they necessarily represent the official position or policies, of the U.S. Government.

Sequence and Suggested Questions for Panel Discussion

- The Attorney General will introduce panelists, who will each make opening statements.
- After all opening statements, you will lead the discussion by asking any of the below questions.
- Secretary Riley will close the panel discussion.

Peter Berendt, Principal, Mamaroneck Avenue Elementary School, Mamaroneck, NY.

- What is the best way to teach children how to be more aware of diversity and the problem of hate crimes?
- What initiatives is your school undertaking? What incidents prompted what you are doing?

Hon. Sheila Kuehl, President Pro Tempore, California State Assembly.

- Why do you think hate crimes statutes are important?
- What advice would you give other legislators to get hate crimes legislation passed?
- What kind of statistics does your state keep with respect to hate crimes?

Samuel Billy Kyles, Pastor, Monumental Baptist Church, Memphis, Tennessee.

- What role can the religious community play in combating and preventing hate crimes?
- In your 30-year involvement with hate crimes, do you think people's attitudes have changed?

Raymond Delos Reyes, sophomore, Franklin High School, Seattle, Washington.

- How did you get involved with ADL's Children of the Dream program? What have you done in that program?
- What do you think reaches students the most in helping them understand the problem of hate crimes?
- What have you experienced that has made the biggest impact on your attitudes?

Tammie Schnitzer, Billings, Montana.

- Do survivors of hate crimes suffer a different kind of injury than victims of other crimes do?
- What steps would you recommend to get whole communities involved in responding to hate crimes?

Arturo Venegas, Jr., Chief of Police, Sacramento Police Department, Sacramento, CA.

- Is it difficult to investigate and prosecute hate crimes cases? Why?
- What strategies should law enforcement use in bringing hate crimes cases?
- Do you find that victims often do not want to report hate crimes?

Grant Woods, Arizona Attorney General.

- Have you experienced any difficulties in Arizona with regard to the enforcement of hate crimes legislation?
- What is the best way to generate widespread support for the enactment and enforcement of hate crimes legislation?

Panel Participants

Peter Berendt, Principal, Mamaroneck Avenue Elementary School, Mamaroneck, New York. Following a series of hate crimes in the community, Mr. Berendt convened the *E Pluribus Committee* to address the underlying diversity issues facing the school community. His school is currently engaged in a multi-year comprehensive diversity awareness program. Mr. Berendt's school is working closely with the Anti-Defamation League in this effort.

Hon. Sheila Kuehl, President Pro Tempore, California State Assembly. Sheila Kuehl represents the 41st Assembly District in Encino, CA. She was the first openly gay or lesbian member of the California State Legislature and is the sponsor of legislation to prohibit discrimination against gay and lesbian students in California Public Schools. Kuehl was a pioneering civil rights attorney and professor who worked on woman's and gay and lesbian civil rights issues.

Samuel Billy Kyles, Pastor, Monumental Baptist Church, Memphis, Tennessee. Mr. Kyles is an outspoken advocate against hate crimes and plays an important role in the religious community's efforts to further civil rights. Mr. Kyles is a member of Ecumenical Minister's Task Force. He was a close friend of Dr. Martin Luther King and was with Dr. King during his last hours.

Raymond Delos Reyes, sophomore, Franklin High School, Seattle, Washington. Mr. Reyes has worked with the ADL's Children of the Dream program. In March, Mr. Reyes traveled to Israel with the ADL's program. Mr. Reyes is also a member of the Peer Mediation Training Program at his high school.

Tammie Schnitzer, Billings, Montana. Ms. Schnitzer is a Jewish woman who was the victim of one of several anti-Semitic hate crimes in Billings, Montana. She responded by persuading the entire community -- Jews and non-Jews alike -- to display menorahs in the windows of their home. Ms. Schnitzer's efforts were depicted in a television movie, *Not in Our Town*.

Arturo Venegas, Jr., Chief of Police, Sacramento Police Department, Sacramento, California. Mr. Venegas helped to develop the Sacramento Police Department's model program to deal with hate crimes in the community.

Grant Woods, Arizona Attorney General. As a Republican, Mr. Woods has coordinated bipartisan support for hate crimes enforcement. He backed one of the first and strongest hate crime bills in the country. Mr. Woods also was the most visible Republican proponent of the Martin Luther King Holiday.

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON HATE CRIMES

Participants

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HATE CRIME: AN OVERVIEW

Definition

Hate crimes are variously defined in federal and state laws as acts (or threats) of force directed against people or property because of a particular characteristic of the victim, such as the victims' race, ethnicity, religion, gender, disability, or sexual orientation. Hate crimes are also acts of violence against the group of people who share the characteristic, and they often have devastating and lasting psychological and emotional effects. Hate crimes can exacerbate tensions between different groups in the community and with law enforcement.

Level of Hate Crime

Data on the level of hate crimes by public and private sources are incomplete, but reflect a serious national problem that may be getting worse. Fewer than half of the states require data collection, and even where collection is mandatory, complete reporting is rare. Data are underreported because the most likely targets of hate crime are often the least likely to report incidents to the police because of fear of an insensitive or hostile response. Some jurisdictions may also be reticent to compile hate crime data because acknowledging such activity may exacerbate racial tensions in the community and embarrass the community.

- **FBI Hate Crimes Statistics:** The FBI began reporting hate crime statistics in 1991, based on race, ethnicity, religion, and sexual orientation, pursuant to the Hate Crimes Statistics Act of 1990 (disability was added to the categories in 1994). Data are collected voluntarily by local jurisdictions and reported to the FBI. In 1991, the FBI reported 4,755 crimes, collected from 2,771 agencies. The latest FBI report reflects an increase in 1995 to:
 - 7,947 incidents, reported by 9,584 agencies across the country.
 - 4,831 based on race
 - 2,988 against African-Americans
 - 1,226 against Whites
 - 355 against Asian/Pacific Islanders
 - 814 based ethnicity or national origin
 - 516 against Hispanics
 - 1,277 based on religion
 - 1,058 against Jews
 - 1,019 based on sexual orientation
- **Church Burnings:** The National Church Arson Task Force reported over 500 arsons, bombings and attempted bombings at houses of worship since January 1995. Some 37% of these involved churches attended by African-Americans.
- **Private Statistics:** Several private organizations also track hate crimes. The information from these groups varies from the FBI data because many incidents are

not reported to the police, and several of the organizations report verbal harassment as hate crime incidents even though they are not considered crimes in most states. Outlined below are highlights of some of the more recent surveys by private organizations.

- **Cross Burnings:** Klanwatch documented 51 cases of cross-burnings in the United States in 1996, up from 29 in 1995. The targets of the incidents included black families, interracial couples, and gays.
- **Anti-Semitic Incidents:** The Anti Defamation League reported 1,722 incidents in 1996, a decline for the second straight year. The data showed a rise in vandalism and a decline in acts of harassment.
- **Sexual Orientation:** The National Coalition of Anti-Violence Programs cited 2,529 incidents of hate crime based on sexual orientation in 1996, up 134 incidents from 1995.
- **Asian Americans:** The National Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium reported 534 incidents against Asian Pacific Americans in 1996, an increase of 17% from 1995.

Offenders

According to a 1993 Northeastern University study, almost 58 percent of offenders committed their crimes for the "thrill." Offenders were predominantly white teenage males; 91% did not know the person they were attacking; and a majority of these attacks were spontaneous, and not the result of a planned incident. A second category, "reactive" hate crimes, accounted for 41% of incidents. Offenders perceive themselves as protecting their neighborhood, their workplace, or their college campus from outsiders. Most such offenders were white males, often acting alone, who did not know their victims. The third category are committed by offenders who perceive themselves to be on a mission, and who are likely to join a hate group and commit violent acts.

Characteristics of Hate Crimes

A review of hate crimes data reveals certain characteristics:

- Hate crimes involve a higher level of assaults against persons than crimes generally. 45-55% of bias crimes are personal assaults, whereas only ten percent of overall crimes are assaults.
- Hate crimes are more violent than crimes generally. Assaults causing physical injury occur in 74% of bias crimes, versus 29% of non-bias crimes. Hospitalization is required in 30% of bias crimes versus only 7% of non-bias

crimes.

- Attacks are often preceded by a series of confrontations and incidents that escalate in severity.
- Hate crimes are more likely than other criminal activity to be committed by groups of perpetrators.
- Most crimes against persons are committed by someone the victim knows; hate crimes, however, are more likely to be committed by strangers.
- The majority of hate crimes are committed by young males against persons of other races. It is estimated that about one-half of all hate crimes are committed by persons younger than 20.
- Only a small minority of offenders are members of a hate group, but the involvement of hate groups is still significant. Members of such groups have been involved in some of the most violent crimes. Moreover, the encouragement of violence against minority groups can provide the justification for hate crimes.

Hate Crime Statutes in the States

Thirty-eight states and the District of Columbia have enacted laws that address bias-motivated violence and intimidation. These laws generally fall into three categories: prohibiting specified intimidating actions; prohibiting behavior motivated by certain types of bias; and enhancing penalties for criminal acts motivated by certain types of bias. Twenty one states criminalize interference with religious worship.

Federal Investigations and Prosecutions

There are several Federal statutes providing jurisdiction to prosecute hate crimes. The federal criminal civil rights statutes provide for prosecution of conspiracies to interfere with federally protected rights (18 U.S.C. 241), the use of force or threat of force to injure or intimidate someone in the enjoyment of specific rights (such as voting, employment, education, use of public facilities)(18 U.S.C. 245), and criminal housing interference (42 U.S.C. 3631). In addition, the Church Arson Protection Act of 1996 amended the criminal civil rights statutes to facilitate prosecutions of racially motivated arsons and other acts of desecration against houses of worship (18 U.S.C. 247). Federal prosecutors can also seek enhanced penalties against persons who commit federal criminal offenses motivated by bias.

THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION: DRAWING A LINE AGAINST HATE CRIMES

The Clinton Administration: Fighting Hate in Our Communities

- ▶ In Richland, Mississippi, four members of a neo-Nazi skinhead organization pled guilty to conspiracy and interfering with the housing rights of an interracial couple by throwing a molotov cocktail at their trailer home.
- ▶ Three defendants, one of whom is a racist skinhead and a member of the white supremacist group "South Bay Nazi Youth," were convicted of a civil rights conspiracy after they drove through the streets of Lubbock, Texas, hunting African-American men, luring them to the conspirators' car, and shooting the men at close range with a short-barreled shotgun. One victim died, one was seriously wounded in the face, and another had a finger blown off.
- ▶ In Livingston, Texas, six defendants pled guilty to civil rights charges for beating randomly selected African-American men with a rifle and a rodeo belt buckle, and punching them repeatedly as they tried to escape. The defendants had been angered at seeing other black men in the presence of white women.
- ▶ In Livermore Falls, Maine, two defendants pled guilty to civil right charges charges after firing shots at the Latino victims' fleeing car, wounding one victim in the arm.

[Source: Department of Justice, Civil Rights Division, 10/97]

Fighting Hate Crimes Through Tough Law Enforcement:

Vigorously Prosecuting Hate Crimes Under the Civil Rights Statutes. Several federal statutes provide jurisdiction to prosecute hate crimes -- crimes where the perpetrator selects his victim on the basis of certain characteristics such as race, color, religion, and national origin. Since 1989, over 500 defendants in more than half of the 50 states have been convicted on federal criminal civil rights charges for interfering with various federally protected rights of minority victims. Virtually all defendants charged in these cases have been convicted. President Clinton's Justice Department has vigorously prosecuted hate crime incidents, including where the defendants were members of organized hate groups, such as the Ku Klux Klan and various skinhead gangs.

Enhanced Penalties For Hate Crimes. As part of the historic 1994 Crime Act, the President signed the Hate Crimes Sentencing Enhancement Act which provides for longer sentences where the offense is determined to be a hate crime. In 1996 alone, 27 cases received enhanced sentences.

The Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF) Provides Expertise in Arson and Explosives Investigations to Help Fight Hate Crimes Throughout America. While enforcing explosives and arson laws over which it has jurisdiction, ATF has participated in the investigations of bombing and arson incidents triggered by animus against characteristics such as race and sexual

orientation. The ATF, for example, has investigated the bombing of predominantly gay bars and nightclubs.

Sensible Gun Regulation Helps Stem the Flow Of Firearms that Can Fuel Hate Group Activity. Many organized hate groups use guns to carry out violent offenses covered by hate crime statutes. Treasury bureaus work to intercept gun shipments into the U.S. and to regulate the illegal sale and possession of firearms by potential perpetrators of hate crimes and other offenses.

Prosecuting Hate Crimes Aimed At Our Houses of Worship:

Fighting Hate Crimes Aimed at Houses of Worship. The President fought for and signed the Church Arson Prevention Act of 1996, which facilitates prosecutions of racially motivated arsons and other acts of desecration against houses of worship.

Creating the National Church Arson Task Force. President Clinton established the National Church Arson Task Force (NCATF) in June 1996 to oversee the investigation and prosecution of arsons at houses of worship around the country. The NCATF has brought together the FBI, ATF, and Justice Department prosecutors in partnership with state and local law enforcement officers and prosecutors. Well over 200 ATF and FBI investigators have been deployed in these investigations. In addition, the NCATF has coordinated with other agencies, such as the Federal Emergency Management Agency and the Department of Housing and Urban Development, in the federal government's efforts to promote arson prevention and provide resources for church rebuilding.

- ▶ Many of the 508 incidents investigated by NCATF have been solved, mainly by a combination of federal and state arrests and prosecutions. Since January 1995, there have been 240 arrests and over 100 convictions, including the first convictions under the Church Arson Prevention Act. This rate of arrest (35%) for crimes that may have been motivated by hate or bias is more than double the 16% rate of arrest for arsons in general.

Working with Communities Against Hate:

Bringing Communities Together to Fight Hate. The Department of Justice's Community Relations Service often becomes involved when a hate crime incident threatens harmonious racial and ethnic relations in a community. The Service uses mediation to provide representatives of community groups and local governments with an impartial forum to restore stability through dialogue and discussion. It conducts training conferences on how to prevent and respond to hate crimes for state and local law enforcement and agencies, academic institutions, and civic, business, and community organizations.

Focusing on Youth Attitudes that Create Hate Crimes. The Department of Education is supporting efforts at the local level to develop and implement innovative and effective strategies for preventing hate crimes, including by funding programs aimed at reducing violent, hate-motivated behavior among youth.

Understanding the Problem of Hate Crimes:

Gathering Information on the National Scope of the Problem. The FBI Uniform Crime Report collects the only national data on hate crimes through the Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Program. In 1996, 11,355 law enforcement agencies, representing 84% of the nation's population, participated in the FBI's data collection efforts. These departments reported 8,759 incidents of hate crimes in 1996.

Studying Hate Crimes: The National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH) has funded the first large-scale study of the mental health consequences of hate crimes, focusing on anti-gay hate crimes. The preliminary findings of this research are that hate crimes have more serious psychological effects on victims than do non-bias motivated, but otherwise similar crimes. The study also provides information about the prevalence of anti-gay hate crimes and the rate at which these crimes are reported to the police.

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

November 10, 1997

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
IN DISCUSSION
AT WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON HATE CRIMES

Dorothy Betts Marvin Theater
George Washington University

1:15 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Reverend Kyles said, this is a dynamite panel. (Laughter.) I think they were very good. Thank you all very much. (Applause.) Even though we tried to put the Republican on after the kid, he did pretty well, didn't he? (Laughter.) That was so funny. (Laughter.) You know, as good as Arizona was to me, I would never do anything like that. (Laughter.) But you made the best of a difficult situation. You did a good job, Raymond.

Let me ask you all something. We've heard from people who work in enforcement, whether it's an Attorney General or a police chief. We've heard from people who work in writing the laws. We've heard from an educator who's trying to systematically keep these things from happening in the first place and deal with it. We've heard from a minister who has given his whole life dealing with these matters. We've heard from a remarkable citizen here who changed a whole psychology of a community.

We've heard from a young man who had an opportunity to have a remarkable experience, and he made, I thought, a very interesting point, which he deftly went by, but I don't think we should miss it -- he said that he went to a very diverse school where there was a lot of continuing social segregation. And he had an opportunity to escape that on his project when he went to Israel.

In various aspects, I guess most of us who have lived any length of time have been dealing with one or another of these issues our whole lives. It's been my experience when I see some form of bigotry or hatred manifest in a particular person that there's usually one of three reasons that this person has done something bad. One is just ignorance, and the fear it breeds -- I don't know this person who is different from me and I'm afraid, and I manifest this fear in bigotry or violence or something. We see that a lot with the gay and lesbian issues now, you know, where people are at least unaware that they have ever had a family member, a friend, or someone who is homosexual, and they are literally terrified.

Then there are some people -- and I saw this a lot when Secretary Riley and I were kids growing up in the South -- there are some people who really have an almost pathological need to look down on somebody else because they don't have enough regard for themselves, and so they think somehow they can salvage self-regard by finding somebody that at least they think is lower down than they are.

And then, there are people who have been brutalized themselves and who have no way of

dealing with it, no way of coming out of it, and they return brutality with brutality. There may be others, but that's been my experience.

Anyway, I ask you that to make this point -- I announced a series of measures that we would take in my opening remarks, but you're in all these things. What advice do you have for me, for the Attorney General, for the Secretary of Education, the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, Secretary of Agriculture who deals, interestingly enough, with some important aspects of this, and the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, and Transportation -- I think I mentioned them all -- the members of Congress -- what is the most important thing the nation can do through the national government? What should we be focusing on? If you could give me advice -- you've been very good to talk about your own experience and what you're trying to do -- if you could give me advice in a sentence about what you think we ought to do to move the ball down the road to help deal with this, what advice would you give us? What advice would you give to Senator Kennedy and the House members that are here? What should we be doing at the national level?

Sheila, do you want to go first? (Laughter.) You're good at this, so I think everybody else deserves a chance to think. You're good at this, you have to go first. (Laughter.)

MS. KUEHL: And you know I'm not going to say, "No, Mr. President, thank you very much." (Laughter.)

Well, I guess there's two things. I mean, I am struck as a lawmaker now, which I had never been before 1994, about the power of the expression of the law -- not just the club of it, but the bully pulpit of it; the expression of the morality of the country.

You have the biggest bully pulpit in the country and your saying that this is an important thing makes it an important thing -- just like when you show up somewhere makes it an important thing. (Applause.) So I thank the two Senators who have agreed to carry the legislation, because that goes a long way, the continuation of it and the expansion of the categories.

I guess the second thing is that everyone involved in the government who needs to work on this has to recognize the grand power of coalition and the willingness, as you look out here, of all of this diversity to work together. That's the strength of it.

My brother in the state legislature, Antonio Veragosa (phonetic), is here. He's our majority leader, a confirmed heterosexual -- (laughter and applause) --

THE PRESIDENT: There's a man who wants to be identified -- (laughter.)

MS. KUEHL: But he carried the legislation for us, which is the same as the Employment Non-Discrimination Act, and by associating himself with the gay and lesbian community took the same kind of stuff that we take, and said, what can you do to me, I'm a Latino, I understand this already. And that, I think, is very, very important for all the departments, for the Cabinet, for yourself to remember is that there is so much willingness to work on this and be used that I think it expands the bully pulpit and expands the reach of the law. (Applause.)

THE PRESIDENT: Anybody else want to answer that question?

SECRETARY RILEY: Mr. President, let me address a question to Peter Berendt and perhaps Raymond. I know -- let's think about schools. Of course, I think prevention of hate is really the ideal that we want to all talk about. We have been involved in character education, members of the House and Senate here and the President and I -- identification of basic American values, like honesty and respect for others and so forth, and I'm very interested, and appreciate your diversity awareness and so forth and all that's so helpful.

It appears to me that in music and the arts and even sports, team working with students and even team teaching these subjects, sensitivity subjects, can be very well addressed. And I wonder if you would comment on some of those. Those are local-state issues, but we, of course, are interested -- bully pulpit and other ways, with them.

MR. BERENDT: Surely, I'll try and address your question, Mr. Secretary and yours, Mr. President. First, I think you have begun to do some very meaningful work in calling this conference together, and I sure hope that we all recognize that this is not just a one-day conference, that we need to continue this work as each of us retreat back to our homes, our schools, and our constituent groups, we need to carry the message that you have set forth. Certainly, it is -- the policies that you've outlined this morning are just another way of making a community aware of the need to understand and be sensitive to the diversity issues.

In our schools, the importance is dealing with the entire community, not just one segment of it; that it includes as not only the students or the faculty, but also that it encompasses the larger community -- the parents and all of those groups that are so vital to the running of our educational system.

Within that, the arts are a wonderful vehicle for giving us the opportunity to celebrate our diversity; to gain a clear understanding of who we are; and to showcase the talents that Americans have -- the talent that they're able to bring to the forefront through either an individual gift that they have or through an acquired skill.

So, Mr. Secretary, I would say that what we need to do as educators is to foster and to water those talents, to encourage our artists in whatever form they take to express themselves through our educational institutions, and to celebrate the messages that they communicate to us through the medium that they use.

THE PRESIDENT: Raymond, talk a little more about this whole issue of having an integrated school that's socially segregated. What bothers you about it and what do you think we can do about it?

RAYMOND DELOS REYES: Well, what bothers me is that in one of my classes a couple of years ago in middle school -- about in the '60s or so, I think that schools were desegregated throughout the whole nation. However, right now, if you look around at the schools you'll have certain groups hang around in one area, and then in another, and then there are some groups that just move around, kind of roam around the school. And I don't know how you can get past it, because I guess throughout the years I've heard about this and now I'm experiencing it my second year in high school. And I have no idea on how this is going to change.

I mean, maybe someone will have to step up and really, really confront this issue, because I really don't see much meshing within the groups. I mean, in the classrooms, everything is cool, but after school, before school, lunch time when everybody gets their chance to be outside and hang around their friends, one person's main group of friends is usually of their own race. The group of friends that I hang around is predominantly Asian. And I must admit I am also a part of the that problem and I think a number of students or someone -- not just one person, but a group of people need to step up and really address this issue. It's not something we have to do, but it's something that should be done.

THE PRESIDENT: Don't you think you almost have to have an organized effort to do it? There would almost have to be some sort of club or organization at the school -- because if you think about it, your parents are still pretty well separated. Now, we all work together more than we ever have before, just like you go to school together. But most neighborhoods are still fairly segregated. Most houses of worship are still fairly segregated. We're making more progress on it, but I think you almost have to organize your way out of this.

I guess that's why I asked you the question I did earlier, because every time this issue is confronted, we can point to Billings and the stirring story of a menorah in every window. But somehow, we have to find a disciplined, organized way out of this so that we reach every child in an affirmative way before something bad happens, and so that at least -- I don't think there is anything bad with people hanging around with members of their own ethnic groups in a lot of different ways. I think that's a good thing. I just think that people also really, really need systematic opportunities to relate to people across racial and ethnic and other lines. And my own opinion is that, just from my own experience is that unless there is an organized effort in your school to do it, it's not going to happen, because if you just wait for people spontaneously to go out at recess, lunch or after school, it's just not going to happen. It's too much trouble, there's too much psychic risk in it.

And I hope you'll be able to do something about it, because I really respected you for raising it. It's a big problem in every school that I have ever been to in this country.

ATTORNEY GENERAL WOODS: Mr. President, I think I'd like to, from the prosecutor's perspective, I'd like to say that I know General Reno agrees that we're committed to the prosecution of hate crimes, and law enforcement, I think, is becoming more and more aware, and we will be there. But I think any prosecutor who knows really what he or she is talking about understands that you can do all of the enforcement in the world and you can't solve the problem unless you solve it on the front end rather than the back end. And so it's appropriate for common justice, to seek justice, that we work here on the back end, and with Senator Kennedy's bill hopefully we'll have more justice than we have today.

But this problem here, in my experience, is the key, I think, to the future. And that is, I do believe that children today are not taught basic principles of equality and respect for each other and respect for the dignity of every human being regardless of our differences as much as they once were in this country. And as you say, they come from families that aren't necessarily exposed to that diversity, and they live in a culture, a popular culture that doesn't necessarily always celebrate the positive sides of this country that we've talked about today.

So if there is not an organized counterbalance to teach these children different ways to resolve conflicts rather than violence, to teach them that they need to stand up for something better when people make an antisemitic remark or a racial remark, that it's up to them to take charge of their own lives and really make their own generation's mark here, if that's not there in an organized way, I think that we will find that the gains we've made over the last quarter of a century will slip away.

And so, to answer your question, which I think is the most important question of the day, I agree with Sheila. You and all of your people need to do whatever you can to educate children yourself, as children in this country look to you for what's right and wrong, and also to strongly encourage, Mr. Secretary, all schools, since we have the children there, to provide that counterbalance to the negativity that popular culture often brings.

THE PRESIDENT: Tammie, you told your story about the brick coming through the window at your child's bed. Were there similar manifestations of bigotry among the children in the schools, or was it mostly older people? And is there anything going on in the Billings schools to try to offset this?

MS. SCHNITZER: Well, what had happened in 1993 certainly created a basis to discuss this issue and had brought this issue to the limelight. The most frustrating part about trying to sell the community on this issue was being told by representatives of our state that once we got this off the front page of the paper, my problem would be over with. So there wasn't a clear understanding of the adults. And I believe educating the educated was probably the hardest part in dealing with this issue. It really was. (Applause.)

And I truly believe that when we talk about teams, when we talk about sport activities, we've lost the concept of a team within ourselves. I don't have a community unless I have a

team here. The community doesn't have me unless I'm a part of the community. I don't have a community unless I accept my community. I have comfort within my community, and it's my job to take responsibility for my community. That's the ultimate team.

Have I lost that concept? Have we forgotten to teach our children that? I don't want to have to wait until my child goes to kindergarten for him to learn that. (Applause.) But most importantly, I think that we really need to understand that this isn't a children's issue. We have children that we educate in our school systems, and then they go home and then they hear racial jokes from their parents. Or let's talk about institutionalized racism here. How about when I go into a grocery store and I'm with a Native American woman -- her check is questioned but mine is not. This problem is far deeper than just going within the school systems. I have to own it as an adult with myself. I have to teach my grandparents first, before I can teach my kids. (Applause.)

CHIEF VENEGAS: Mr. President, I think what you're hearing from us is that there's no real magic bullet out there. But I guess, personally, if I was to offer anything from our experience in Sacramento, is that it really takes the united front of everyone. And, as Tammie has indicated, that everyone is us as a community of America; and that it's not only important for America, but it really is important for the world, because whether we like it or not, the world looks to us for that leadership. And so taking this step, as you have, and others, is a very important one for the world.

The other part that I believe is really important for us -- and it's something that you said this morning -- and that's to not become complacent and believe that everything is now great because of what we have achieved in a very short time. And the fact is that in this country, the experiment that is America of 200 years, can go down the tubes in one or two real quickly -- maybe not a total revolution of a country, but a revolution of its people as they have a lack of tolerance for differences of people. And you see it experienced not only at the individual level, but you see it in communities where riots have broken out and race has been the issue.

And for us to believe that those gains that we have made since the mid-'60s now makes everything okay is totally ludicrous, and that in reality, now, as we come to grip with those successes, the battle actually gets meaner, and that we cannot allow it to become the politics that it is becoming; and that collectively, the leadership of the state, local and federal governments, with you as our leader of our country, must be united in that front in mobilizing our entire communities for a zero tolerance against hate violence. (Applause.)

REVEREND KYLES: It occurs to me that you're so right, Chief. The fact that you have placed it on the front burner, so to speak, the initiative that you have with the dialogue on race is so important, because cities are not burning, not physically they're not burning. And you're doing it in a calmer fashion, where there is some calm.

But there is so much opportunity. I was so hopeful -- and I remain hopeful -- I was not as hopeful before the church community, the faith community got involved in the church burnings. The media didn't pick certain ones up, until we got it in the media -- hateful things. And then the church took the lead in bringing other organizations together and just did a fantastic job of resisting that kind of behavior. And you, yourself going to Tennessee to help rebuild the church just gave a whole -- I mean, it gave a kind of calmness and hopefulness that we didn't have.

Before that, I was pretty much disturbed that -- quote, unquote -- "the white church" almost gave comfort and aid to people who were doing things like that. They were sitting there in the morning service, looking up, and people in the congregation pretty much knew who they were, who people were who had committed those crimes. And the kind of interchange and teaching that you're talking about doing for children, the church must take that kind of lead, the white church. So as I said in my remarks, through all of it I have remained so hopeful.

As far as the schools, I think that withholding funds from some of the schools where you have that, if they don't put something in place to handle the kinds of things that we've talked about, then I think that if they get federal funds, that's another weapon we can use, to withhold federal funds until they come up with something. You see fraternities now burning black people in effigy and all kinds of hateful things, and that school should have some program, some mechanism in place to deal with that, or risk losing -- make it very expensive to commit a hate crime. (Applause.)

MS. KUEHL: I have one more thing -- let me add one more thing. One of the things that I think -- I know that I'll see when Congress comes to debate these laws is a question about the hierarchy of the importance of categories and whether or not it makes sense to include gays and lesbians, for instance, some question about whether that's as important as other kinds of hatred. Or when we talk about gender and people say, rape is not committed on the basis of hate and you have to go, oh, yeah, maybe you haven't been there.

So my last piece of advice about your question would be -- and I think to all of the Cabinet and the members of Congress -- to resist that notion that there is some hierarchy of importance, because looking around this room, where we've all showed up for each other and where we're all prepared to be there for each other, and know that that's the greatest strength, I think that that's going to be important to resist, because that only helps people who wish we could commit hate crimes with impunity -- we'll carve this section out and it won't be a hate crime, or whatever. So I hope that that will also be an important part of the dialogue. (Applause.)

THE PRESIDENT: Once we cross the great sort of intellectual and emotional hurdle that might be presented to some with Senator Kennedy and Senator Specter's bill, I, frankly, think the next big problem will be a practical one -- Sheila, you talk about ranking the categories. I think there is a practical question -- which you can help with because you've written the law, which Grant can help with because Arizona has a law -- But the Attorney General and I, we will have to answer a lot of questions about this law about not whether or not rape is motivated by hate or not, but whether or not if we include all these categories in the law, we will, in effect, be lumping into federal law enforcement a lot of crimes that are actually being prosecuted now at the state and local level through the existing criminal justice system in a way that will clog the system because we're trying to be politically sensitive, instead of actually going out now and covering offenses where people are getting away with murder, by abusing people because they're gay or they're disabled or whatever they're doing.

That, I think, is a practical question, but we need your help in getting through that. You have a law like that in Arizona, you have a law like that in California. And that's what we're going to be asked when we go up there to defend Senator Kennedy's bill -- that's where we're going to be hit -- aren't you just creating a whole new category of federal crimes that are being prosecuted anyway at the state level and all that sort of stuff. And if you will help us, I think that will be very good.

General Reno, do you want to say anything before we wrap up?

ATTORNEY GENERAL RENO: I would just ask of the Chief and the Attorney General and Reverend Kyles, in all of this, I agree that the first line of defense is to prevent it. But then it is very important when you see hate to speak out against it immediately and strike it down, because as I have always said, haters are cowards and they will back down in many instances.

How can we in the federal government improve our coordination with local law enforcement, with the state authorities, and with groups such as the churches or other advocacy groups in the community, one, to get it reported, and two, to work with you so that the investigations and the prosecutions are conducted in the best way, designed with one objective in mind to eliminate hate and not just who gets the credit? (Applause.)

CHIEF VENEGAS: Madam Attorney General, I guess -- and it would address the President's concern about the legislation and how it gets passed -- I would suggest to you from our experience is that by federalizing the crime, you enable the resources of the federal government to really join in partnership with the state and local law enforcement agencies, not only in the investigations, but in the eventual prosecution. And both the federal government and state governments hire bright people, contrary to popular belief, that can sort out whether or not you're going to prosecute in federal law or state courts. And I would suggest to you that partnerships work a heck of a lot better than the folks who may only have limited resources in some of the communities who cannot afford in-depth investigations.

The other part for us, at least, in Sacramento and the district of California that I work in, is not being afraid as a community to speak out. And I've been really proud of the U.S. Attorney's office in being up front and coordinating the federal efforts toward not only prosecution, but the education of the community and about the devastating effects that hate violence can have, and the leadership that they have taken. And that's served us well, and we offer it as a model for the rest of the country where it doesn't exist.

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you.

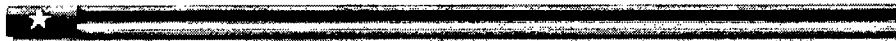
Secretary Riley, do you want to wrap up for us?

SECRETARY RILEY: Well, I do have the responsibility of concluding this powerful panel, and I -- while Grant had to follow Raymond, I think it would have been difficult to follow anybody on the panel, including you, Mr. President and the other speakers. So I want to thank everyone for that. And, of course, we will end up in breakout session where we can really deal with some specific responses, solutions, and continue the discussion of awareness that has taken place. I thank all of the panel members, and then I look forward to us reconvening here at the breakout session.

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much.

Ladies and gentlemen, as you know, we're going to break for lunch now, and then the whole conference will resume. Again, I want to thank President Trachtenberg and George Washington, but I mostly want to thank all of you, because the real answer to our success in this endeavor is obviously that we all have to work together. And all of you can strike new energy into this entire endeavor around the country. We will take our initiatives that we outlined today -- we urge you to give us more ideas -- but you are actually the heart and soul of this endeavor, and a lot of you have stories that I wish all the rest of us could sit and hear today.

Thank you for being here, and thank you for being a part of the conference. (Applause.)



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Subject: WH Conf on Hate Crimes Working Group meeting, Thurs, Oct. 23 at 2pm -- 180 OEOB

We will have updates on the program, site selection, participant selection and other items. 19 days to go. Here, also, is a list of future meetings:

October

23	Thursday	2 PM	OEOB 180
28	Tuesday	2 PM	OEOB 472
30	Thursday	2 PM	OEOB 180

November

4	Tuesday	2 PM	OEOB 476
6	Thursday	2 PM	OEOB 180

Message Sent To:

Background memo (by 2 or 3pm today)
ask Tom or Mary @ Susan Carr
memo re:
CR
Initiative
General update, etc.
When to meet (next couple of days)

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Toby Donenfeld/OVP @ OVP
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