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U.S. Commission on Civil Rights

Commission Holds Consultation On Crisis of Young, African American Male in Inner Cities

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights held a two-day Consultation on the Crisis of the Young, African American Male in the Inner Cities. Commission Chairperson Mary Frances Berry opened the Consultation by observing that there was a broad range of statistics suggesting that "disproportionate numbers of young African American males in the inner cities . . .

find themselves losing the struggle to survive." But she noted that there was no consensus about the causes of the crisis and how best to resolve it.

Rates of morbidity, unemployment, underemployment, and incarceration are disproportionately high for young, African American men. They are over-represented among high school dropouts, underrepresented on college cam-

pus, and disproportionately lack access to medical treatment, including mental health care.

The Consultation focused on four main issues: criminal justice, education, health care, and employment. Each was the subject of a separate panel composed of experts of diverse perspectives. They presented papers on the causes of the crisis, which will be edited and published at a later date, and proposed workable approaches for confronting and resolving these problems. Also represented at the Consultation were leaders from the civil rights, religious, business, government, and law enforcement communities, as well as young African American men themselves.

Dr. Berry noted that there were civil rights implications to the

First Native American Named to Commission

Harvard Prof. also Named, Chair & Vice-Chair Reappointed

Elsie M. Meeks, a member of the Oglala-Sioux Tribe from South Dakota, was named in April 1999 to the Commission, the first Native American to serve since the Commission's founding in 1957. "We are delighted with the appointment of Ms. Meeks, and look forward to working with her in the years to come," said Commission Chairperson Mary Frances Berry.

Ms. Meeks is a successful small business owner and the executive director of the Lakota Fund, which makes loans available to individuals starting their own businesses. In 1994, she received the "Minority Business Advocate of the Year" Award from the U.S. Small Business Administration, and in 1998, ran as the Democratic candidate for Lieutenant Governor of South Dakota. She was appointed to the Commission by Senate Minority Leader Tom Daschle (D.-S.D.).

Also appointed to the Commission was Christopher Edley, Jr., a Harvard University Law School professor and government official who was most recently Special Counsel to President Clinton. Prof. Edley is the author of numerous works on race and the law, and the co-founder of the Civil Rights Project, a Harvard-based think tank. He was appointed by House Minority Leader Richard Gephardt (D-MO.).

Chairperson Mary Frances Berry and Vice Chairperson Cruz Reynoso were both re-appointed to their positions at the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights in January 1999 by President Clinton. Robert P. George and Constance Horner's terms on the Commission expired in December, 1998.

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Census Briefing Focuses on 2000 Count

The United States Commission on Civil Rights (USCCR) held a briefing in February 1999 on the civil rights implications of Census 2000, focusing on the Supreme Court's recent decision regarding the undercount of minorities, the operational aspects of conducting a traditional headcount versus sampling, and the concerns of minority communities. The briefing included testimony from many of the leading advocates, lawyers, and scholars on the issue.

Mary Frances Berry, the Chairperson of the USCCR, opened the briefing by noting that civil rights concerns are a prominent element of any discussion of Census 2000 because minorities have been historically undercounted using traditional methods. "It is the Commission's hope," she said, "that this briefing will help us decide whether and how to take further action on this issue."

The briefing ranged broadly over the legal, statistical, political, and methodological issues at stake. Despite sometimes heated discussion, the participants were unanimous in the sentiment that all Americans deserve to be counted and that the Census needs to go forward as scheduled. They also agreed on the importance of an accurate Census to a host of issues, from apportionment of Congressional seats to the distribution of Federal monies.

Participants disagreed over the best way to make sure that all Americans are counted. Some argued for the need to employ modern statistical sampling techniques, while others argued that such an approach would damage the integrity of the Census itself.

The divide falls along largely

partisan lines, with most Republican congressmen insisting that the Census Bureau produce a single set of figures based on an actual enumeration (as the venerable practice of head counting is called). The Democrats, a handful of Republican mayors and governors, and the Census Bureau itself, want to use modern sampling techniques. They would have preferred to eschew enumeration altogether, but last month, the Supreme Court ruled 5-4 that current census law requires head counting for the Constitutionally mandated purpose of allocating Congressional seats among the states.

Now those who support sampling insist the bureau issue two sets of numbers--one based on enumeration for re-apportionment, and another, derived from sampling, for the Census' countless other purposes. And they say that the Supreme Court's ruling not only permits but requires this two-track approach.

Among those who participated in the briefing were Matt Glavin,

President of the Southeastern Legal Foundation; Edward Still, an attorney with the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law; Wade Henderson, Executive Director of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights; Marisa Demeo, Regional Counsel of the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund; Karen Narasaki, Executive Director of the National Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium; Charles Schultze, Senior Fellow Emeritus at the Brookings Institution; A. Mark Neuman, Congressional Member of the Census Monitoring Board; Andrew Pincus, General Counsel of the Commerce Department; Jack C. Jackson, Jr., Government Affairs Director with the National Congress of American Indians; Lorraine Green, of the Census Monitoring Board; Robert Hill, of Westat; and Kenneth Darga, Senior Demographer with the State of Michigan.

Asian American Fundraising Controversy Examined

The USCCR has issued a summary report and transcript on a briefing held in December 1997 regarding discrimination against Asian Pacific Americans arising out of the campaign fundraising controversy. Charges that the Democratic National Committee accepted illegal contributions during the 1996 election cycle provoked intense media and Congressional scrutiny. Many of the panelists at the

December briefing asserted that Asian Pacific Americans had been unjustly targeted in the subsequent investigations. Among their concerns: that Congress and the news organizations focused discriminatorily on Asian Pacific Americans while ignoring violations by non-Asians; that the DNC audited campaign contributions in a discriminatory manner, and that a number of politicians and candidates made racist remarks.

Crisis of African American Male Debated

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challenges facing males of other ethnic and racial classifications, including poor whites in certain areas of the country, Hispanics or Latinos, Indian peoples, and some groups of Asian Pacific Americans. But as the late Commissioner Judge A. Leon Higginbotham often remarked, few would argue that there is not a crisis among inner city African American men, even if reasonable people disagree about how to prioritize resources to address the crisis most effectively. Dr. Berry said that the purpose of the Consultation was to identify issues that might benefit from further analysis and to develop follow-up recommendations that could be monitored by the State Advisory Councils.

Opening remarks were delivered by William Highsmith, a representative of the D.C. Mayor's Office, and the Reverend Lewis Anthony, the chairperson of the District of Columbia Advisory Committee. Mr. Highsmith remarked on the irony that nowhere was the crisis more acute than "here, in the nation's capital." Rev. Anthony evoked the memory of the Dred Scott decision of the last century, in which the Supreme Court decided that African Americans were not fully human, and argued that the current crisis results from the legacy of America's racist past. "We have had a hard time making it to the melting pot," he said.

Among the panelists were the following people:

Day One: OVERVIEW

Stephen B. Bright, Director, Southern Center for Human Rights; Raymond

C. Pierce, Deputy Asst. Secretary, U.S. Dept. of Education, Office for Civil Rights; Ronald Monroe, Asst. Chief, D.C. Metropolitan Police Dept.; Hilary Shelton, Director, Washington Bureau, NAACP.

Panel One: CRIMINAL JUSTICE
Richard Dembo, Professor, Criminology Department, University of South Florida; Tracy Huling, Consultant and Filmmaker, New York; Janice Joseph, Professor of Criminal Justice, Richard Stockton College of New Jersey; Marc Mauer, Assistant Director of the Sentencing Project, Washington, D.C.

Panel Two: EDUCATION
Antoine Garibaldi, Provost/Chief Academic Officer, Howard University, Washington, D.C.; Carolyn Talbert-Johnson, Associate Professor, Dept. of Education and Allied Professions, University of Dayton, OH; Sylvia T. Johnson, Editor-in-Chief, Journal of Negro Education, Howard University, Washington, D.C.

Day Two: OVERVIEW
Rev. Calvin Butts, Pastor, Abyssinian Baptist Church, New York City; Harry J. Holzer, Chief Economist, U.S. Department of Labor, Washington D.C.; Edward Lewis, Chairman and CEO of Essence Communications Inc., New York; Thomas E. Perez, Director of the Office of Civil Rights, U.S. Dept. of Health and Human Services, Washington, D.C.

Panel Three: HEALTH CARE
Arline T. Geronimus, Associate Professor, School of Public Health, Dept. of Health Behavior and Health Education, University of Michigan;

Camille L. Huggins, Coordinating Manager, Early Intervention/Child Health Assessment Program, Woodhull Medical and Mental Health Center, Brooklyn, NY; John A. Rich, Chief Medical Officer, Boston Public Health Commission, and Director of Young Male Clinic, Boston Medical Center; Brian K. Williams, Psychologist, Student Counseling Services, Texas A&M University; Charles L. Woodley, Psychologist and Director, Acute Mental Health Services, Correctional Medical Services, Kilby Correctional Facility, Mt. Meigs, AL.

Panel Four: EMPLOYMENT—
BARRIERS AND OPPORTUNITIES
Ronald B. Mincy, Senior Program Officer, Ford Foundation, New York; Zuline Gray Wilkinson, Executive Director, "Operation Childhood" and "First Steps" Programs, Union Industrial Home for Children, Trenton, NJ.

Panel Five: PERSPECTIVES OF
YOUNG AFRICAN AMERICAN
MALES
Milton H. Boyd, Sophomore, School Without Walls, Washington, D.C., winner of the D.C. Chapter of Concerned Black Men's 1998 Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Oratorical Contest; Shaar Mustaf, President of "Take Charge Program, Inc." Forrestville, MD; Larry B. Quick, Executive Director of "Life Pieces to Masterpieces Program," Washington, D.C.; The Honorable Carl Washington, Assemblyman, 52nd Assembly District, Compton, CA.

SAC Round-Ups

Home Lending in D.C.

The D.C. Advisory Committee to the U.S. Civil Rights Commission has published a report focusing on mortgage lending disparities in the District of Columbia. The report is based on a fact-finding meeting that examined an apparent lack of lending services and loan activity in minority and low-income areas. The report also studied the level of government oversight of lending institutions and the jurisdictional boundaries of the government agencies responsible for enforcing fair housing laws.

The D.C. Advisory Committee reviewed three studies of lending practices in the D.C. area that were published by advocacy groups attending the meeting. It concluded that in the early 1990s, minority borrowers within the District received a disproportionately small share of the total number and dollar value of residential mortgage loans. Minority applicants also experienced higher rejection rates on loan applications. Disparities in marketing by neighborhood were also noted.

The differences were severe enough to "rais[e] serious civil rights concerns," said the report. However, data were not available regarding applicants' debt repayment record, employment experience, and other factors that could bear on credit risk assessment. Because their researchers were unable to secure individual loan file data, the panelists representing the three advocacy groups "were reluctant to conclude that their findings constituted proof of discrimination."

The report concluded with a short list of recommendations. Among them: that District and Federal

officials accurately collect and report lending information by race and ethnicity, taking into account other relevant factors, in order to determine whether lending disparities are due to discrimination or applicant financial and employment characteristics.

Police Community Relations In Mississippi

Stating that "race is the unsolved problem hovering over the city ready to erupt at any time," the Mississippi Advisory Committee to the U.S. Civil Rights Commission has issued an alarming report about the state of police-community relations in Jackson, Miss. The report finds that race continues to be a problem in the areas of "education, housing, employment opportunities, economic advancement, and police-community relations."

The study was sparked by complaints of brutality involving the Jackson Police Department (JPD) and concerns about racial polarization in mayoral, police, and community relations.

Jackson remains a city marked by strong racial contrasts. According to the 1990 census, Jackson's population is 44 percent white and 56 percent black, with a fraction of a percent other. Like many cities throughout the U.S., white flight has exacerbated geographical divisions, with a largely black and declining downtown surrounded by white suburbs. Per capita income for blacks is half that of whites, while the unemployment rate is nearly four times as high. That inequality translates into high crime levels, blighted neighborhoods, segregated schools, overcrowded jails, and

backlogged courts.

Jackson continues to wrestle with a long, sometimes violent racist past. Slavery and Jim Crow established a tradition of black inequality maintained by force and sanctioned by law. In the Civil Rights era, a number of murders, as yet unsolved and unpunished, highlighted the willingness of some local whites to maintain segregation by any means necessary. A 1964 investigation of law enforcement practices in Mississippi conducted by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights found that police were often accomplices in the violent suppression of black political activity.

No one disputes that racial progress has been made. Many formerly all-white institutions, including the city council, the Mississippi bar Association, the school board, and the Jackson Police Department, are integrated or even majority black. There is an environment open to new ideas in Jackson and the mayor, Kane Ditto, has made some efforts to improve race relations.

Nevertheless, community perceptions about the current state of race relations in Jackson vary widely, with whites generally reporting a more positive view of race relations than blacks.

Kansas Race Relations Probed

The Kansas Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights released a summary report this spring on a two-day community forum it held on race relations in western Kansas. The report examines race relations in three small Kansas towns, Dodge City, Liberal, and Garden City. The three towns have

SAC Round-Ups

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experienced dynamic population and economic growth since 1980, as the "Golden Triangle" of a reinvigorated beef packing industry. The industry has transformed the region from a bicultural community of established Anglos and Mexican Americans to a multicultural community including recent Asian refugees and Hispanic immigrants.

The Advisory Committee heard from Federal, State, and local officials, law enforcement representatives, school district personnel, community leaders, business owners, and concerned citizens. State Advisory Committee chairperson Jacob Gordon noted that while western Kansas has received a positive reputation nationwide for accommodating immigrants and cultural diversity, the picture that emerged from the hearing was decidedly mixed. "Something is amiss in the[se] rural towns," he said.

Midwestern Advisory Committees Explore Affirmative Action

Five Midwestern State Advisory Committees recently held intensive consultations on affirmative action, and three have released reports to the U.S. Commission based on their deliberations. The goal of the consultations was to clarify the arguments and illuminate the debate on this contentious issue.

The three states to release reports are Ohio, Wisconsin, and Minnesota.

Each of the reports consists of analyses and discussions of affirmative action from a variety of stakeholders. Although the principles of equality of opportunity and nondiscrimination enjoyed universal support among the conferees,

affirmative action clearly provoked a great deal of controversy. Still, a common theme did seem to emerge in all three reports: the disagreements that affirmative action programs elicit derive in part from the individual's understanding of what the programs entail.

The Committees provided a broad definition of affirmative action, as encompassing "any measure, beyond simple termination of a discriminatory practice, adopted to correct or compensate for past discrimination or prevent discrimination from recurring in the future." That definition gave conferees plenty of latitude for disagreement, however, with some terming the practice "reverse discrimination" even as others defended it as a necessary precaution against continuing racism.

Racial Harassment in Vermont Schools

The Vermont Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights issued a report in early February on racial harassment in Vermont public schools. The report finds that harassment of minority children is a pervasive and largely unrecognized problem.

The State Advisory Committee held community forums in Burlington and Rutland at which numerous concerns were voiced.

Among them:

The rise in the number of racial harassment incidents, including racial slurs, epithets, and physical assaults;

The intense fear experienced by many minority students entering schools;

The general insensitivity by

teachers and administrators;

Deficiencies in existing State law; and Curriculum materials promoting racial stereotypes and intolerance.

Kimberley Cheney, Chairperson of the Vermont Advisory Committee, noted that "racism has reached all levels of Vermont life including our schools. We hope our report will help refocus the State's collective attention to this problem so that the legislature and appropriate State agencies will come to the aid of our schools."

Reaction to the report has been swift. The report received widespread media coverage both within the state and nationally. The Vermont affiliate of the National Education Association (NEA) distributed the report's conclusions and recommendations to its 9,000 members, and its president noted that there is "clear and undeniable evidence . . . that several of our Vermont public schools and communities are struggling to teach and successfully manage growing populations of racially and ethnically diverse students."

Largely in response to the report, a bill has been introduced in the Vermont State Legislature calling for remedies and prevention strategies to end racial and other forms of harassment in public schools. The bill, sponsored by Representative Henrietta Jordan, calls for new resources, stricter laws, and stiffer penalties.

Reports Available

Copies of SAC reports may be obtained free from the Publications Office, USCCR, 624 Ninth St., NW, Room 600, Washington, D.C. 20425.

Judge Higginbotham Mourned

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights mourned the passing on Monday, December 14, of Commissioner A. Leon Higginbotham, Jr. Judge Higginbotham, retired Chief Judge Emeritus of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit, was the recipient of more than 60 honorary degrees as well as the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the nation's highest civilian honor. He was remembered at the Commission not only as a giant in the civil rights movement but as a warm and generous person.

"Judge Higginbotham brought an extraordinary combination of dignity, passion, and insight to his service at the Commission," said Commission Chairperson Mary Frances Berry. "He was one of my closest friends for almost thirty years. I will miss his voice, his vision, and his

commitment."

Judge Higginbotham received his law degree from Yale University in 1952, and worked for several years at what was then Philadelphia's only African American law firm. His dedication and abilities led to his appointment to high-level State and Federal positions. President Kennedy appointed him as a Commissioner to the Federal Trade Commission in 1962, and President Johnson named him to the U.S. District Court of Pennsylvania in 1965, when he was 35 years old.

Judge Higginbotham, a highly regarded scholar who taught at several of the nation's most prestigious law schools, was also a prolific author whose books and articles explored the intersection of race and the law. His book, *In the Matter of Color: Race and the*

American Legal Process, received numerous national and international awards.

At the Commission meeting on Friday, December 11, just a few days before his death, Judge Higginbotham spoke passionately of the need to address such issues as affirmative action in higher education. "These are among the most significant issues of the next century," he noted, "and of the deepest consequence."

It was, as Dr. Berry noted, a most appropriate statement of a gentleman whose remarkable life and career were dedicated to the achievement of social justice, equality, and civil rights.

Hate Crimes Deplored

A string of highly publicized hate crimes against gays and minorities has prompted the Commission to issue several public statements, and in one case to urge the Department of Justice to investigate.

The vicious murder of James Byrd, Jr. by a self-proclaimed white supremacist in Jasper, Texas, in June 1998 shocked the nation. His death was reminiscent of a pre-civil rights era lynching. But the town of Jasper's response to the killing has been exemplary, noted Chairperson Berry.

In a statement issued to the press after the conviction of Byrd's killer, Dr. Berry observed approvingly that the community had come together to "express its outrage and shame at the murder, and the guilty parties have felt the full sanction of the law."

Then, in early October, 1998, a 21-year-old college junior at the University of Wyoming named Matthew Shepard was killed. He was lured from a campus bar, robbed, pistol-whipped and tied to a fence near Laramie, Wyoming. He died of his injuries two days later. Two men have been arrested for his murder; their girlfriends have been charged as accessories. The Commission condemned the murder soon after it occurred, calling it a "cowardly, brutal act."

In February, 1999, another murder took place, this one in rural Alabama. The murder of Billy Jack Gaither, allegedly by two men who claim that he made sexual advances on them, also prompted the Commission to issue a condemnation.

"Hate is turning lethal with

alarming frequency," said Dr. Berry. But it was the shooting death of Amadou Diallo at the hands of New York City police in early February that prompted the greatest concern. Dr. Berry wrote a letter on behalf of the Commission calling on Attorney General Janet Reno to investigate his death. This was followed by a decision to conduct a one-day hearing in New York City in late May on the relationship between civil rights and police protection.

"The Commission has a long history of concern about police-community relations," noted Dr. Berry. This hearing will be a first step in updating the Commission's widely acclaimed 1981 report, "Who is Guarding the Guardians?"

Human Rights Briefing Held

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights held a briefing on international human rights issues on Friday, October 16, 1998, to examine how well the U.S. is implementing its treaty obligations and to consider how these might be used to further the cause of domestic civil rights. Noting that this year marks the fiftieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Commission Chairperson Mary Frances Berry stated that "this anniversary year serves as an opportunity for all of us to renew and rededicate ourselves to the task of ending human rights violations both in this country and abroad."

The briefing consisted of three panels of expert witnesses, and brought together many of the nation's leading voices on international human rights law. Several themes emerged from the briefing:

First, there is a need for more public recognition that the international covenants the U.S. has signed are in fact "the law of the land." Greater awareness of the obligations the U.S. has committed itself to would shine a spotlight on those areas where the country is falling short, and help to make these treaties operative as U.S. law.

Second, there is a need to comply with certain obligations in the treaties that are now widely ignored. For example, the U.S. has bound itself to issue periodic reports on its implementation of three treaties it has ratified in the last decade: the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights; the Convention Against Torture and All Other Forms of Cruel, Inhuman and Degrading Treatment or Punishment; and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination.

Yet to date, only one report has been issued on one of the treaties, and it failed, according to critics, to address concerns relating to substantive violations of the Covenant. Third, there is a need for the U.S. to ratify several other treaties that are part of the evolving norms of international jurisprudence.

Among the other concerns that were raised regarding U.S. human rights practices were police brutality, torture and abuse of prisoners, the incarceration of asylum seekers, and the policy of "expedited removal," which gives INS agents authority to refuse entry to those whom they determine do not have a "credible fear" of persecution in their home countries.

Among the panelists were Paul Hoffman, an attorney with Bostwick and Hoffman and the Chairman of the Board of Amnesty International; Steven Wagenseil, Director of Multilateral Affairs at the Department of State; David Weissbrodt, Professor at the University of Minnesota School of Law; Gay McDougall, the Executive Director of International Human Rights Law Group; Morton Sklar, Executive Director of the World Organization Against Torture; Elisa Massimino; Director of the Washington Office of the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights; Michael Young, Dean of the George Washington University School of Law; and Rhonda Copelon, Professor of Law at the City University of New York.

USCCR Completes Hearings on Schools and Religion

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights conducted a sequence of three public fact-finding hearings in 1998 in Seattle, WA., in August.

The Commission explored whether public school districts are complying with the Equal Access Act of 1984, which gave student religious clubs the same access rights as other clubs; whether schools are interfering with individual students' and teachers' constitutionally protected rights of freedom of religion and speech; and the role and place of religion in public school curricula.

The New York and Seattle hearings focused on many of the same topics, but with an emphasis on how these issues are playing out

locally.

Although these were the Commission's first public hearings on schools and religion, the issue of civil rights-related religious discrimination has been the focus of other Commission activities. It held a consultation on the topic "Religious Discrimination: A Neglected Issue" in 1979; published a report titled "Religion in the Constitution: A Delicate Balance," in 1983; issued a statement on racial and religious bigotry in America in 1990; and held a briefing on religious discrimination in 1994.

A statutory report with findings and recommendations is being prepared and will be submitted to the President and Congress.

Commission Investigates ADA Enforcement

In twin reports released in early October, 1998, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights gave mixed grades to the Federal agencies responsible for enforcing the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990 (ADA), and blamed misleading and sometimes inaccurate news coverage for the public's negative perception of the Act.

The two reports, "Helping Employers Comply with the ADA," and "Helping State and Local Governments Comply with the ADA" examined how well the responsible agencies are implementing and enforcing the ADA. Title I of the Act, enforced by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), prohibits discrimination on the basis of disability in employment.

Title II, Subpart A, under the jurisdiction of the Department of

Justice, prohibits discrimination in State and local government services. The EEOC earned praise for processing an increasing number of discrimination complaints despite operating on a stagnating budget. The agency was also commended for its training programs, organizational structure, and litigation activities.

The report pointed out, however, that the EEOC had not developed policy documents on some of the most heavily disputed disability issues, such as reasonable accommodation and undue hardship.

The Department of Justice also received mixed grades for its efforts under Title II. of guaranteeing the rights of the disabled. The reports recommend that the EEOC and other Federal agencies charged with protecting the interests of individuals with disabilities mount a national public relations campaign and

make a concerted effort to educate journalists and other media professionals about the ADA. The reports discuss the sensitive issue of how much it costs employers to comply with the ADA, which has been one of the most persistent criticisms of the Act. The benefits to the disabled and the public taxpayers to having the disabled at work rather than dependent are enormous, noted Dr. Berry. A concrete study to measure costs and benefits could be undertaken by the National Institute for Disability and Rehabilitation Research.

The Commission makes clear, however, that the cost of compliance is not an appropriate argument for refusing to enforce the laws Congress has passed, including laws concerning the denial of civil rights and the remedying of discrimination.

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