

Bibliography of Hate Studies Materials

Elizabeth Thweatt*

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I. INTRODUCTION

Interest in working on this bibliography stems from involvement with the Collection Development Committee of the Institute for Action Against Hate at Gonzaga University as we sought to create a collection of materials to support study and research. Not being able to find a bibliography in print suggested that an annotated one would be valuable. Defining hate is problematic. Its scope is so broad that it touches almost all aspects of life and it dwells within the hearts and minds of each one of us. Although many of us cling subconsciously to it, hate harms and sometimes kills its victims. Scholars, journalists, sociologists, psychologists, criminologists, economists, anthropologists, theologians, perpetrators, victims, and myriad others seek to

*. Head of Collections and Information Access, Associate Professor, Chastek Library, Gonzaga University School of Law since 1992; M.L.S. University of Washington, 1972.

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define it. As reading and research progressed, it seemed insufficient to include materials on hate alone. This material has value for recognizing hate and exposing its extensiveness. However, many seek to understand it, control it, and eliminate it. Their contributions are invaluable to research and combating hate. Some believe that hate is deeply imbedded in human nature stemming from original sin or genetically rooted to a degree that survival will come only to those with superior genes. Some believe hate can be controlled through legislation and judicial decisions. Still others believe that hate can be eliminated through cross training and exposure to the characteristics hated and many programs have been developed to accomplish this. Finally some experts suggest that working together on projects where all parties have a vested interest is the path to eliminate hate. However, at the root of hate is a devaluation of the other. There is a failure to recognize the value and contribution that each individual is capable of making. This is the place we must begin to expunge hate. Although it may be race, culture, sexual orientation, gender, poverty, or another characteristic that is the target of hate, it is the individual who becomes the victim and experiences the harm that hate inflicts.

Information access has expanded significantly since “A Pathfinder on Bias Crimes and the Fight Against Hate Groups” by Laurie Pantell was published in 1991.¹ National databases with full text documents, online library catalogs, online bookstores, government, educational, and special interest group web sites with full text documents utilizing powerful search engines all facilitate the researcher in locating an abundance of information. There has been a proliferation of literature in the publication arena that examines hate, how to recognize and measure it, and how to combat it. This bibliography includes a selection of books, reports, government documents, and videos published between 1980 and 2000 that expose bigotry, hatred, prejudice and bias as well as works that address combating hate. Journal, popular magazine, and newspaper articles of which there are hundreds are excluded but are easy to locate through many online indexes and databases and are often in full text. Web sites and listings of groups that promote and combat hate are not included here but are listed in many of the publications that are in this bibliography.

II. COMBATING HATE

Brooks, Kenneth, *Cultural Diversity Without Prejudice: A Guide for Critical Thinking in the 21st Century*, Vallejo, Calif.: Amper Publishing, 1993. This

1. Laurie Pantell, *A Pathfinder on Bias Crimes and the Fight Against Hate Groups*, 11 *Legal Reference Services Quarterly* 39-75 (1991).

publication is designed to be used as a personal or group workshop tool in order to examine ethnic prejudice through the critical thinking method. Components of critical thinking: logic, perspectives, concepts, assumptions, analysis, intellectual standards, consequences, and implications are explained, then illustrated with general examples in the first half of the book. Twelve intellectual standards are defined. The concluding portion of the book presents the workshop by posing the question of the workshop's purpose from the perspective of the sponsor and the participants. The workshop "Problem Question" is modified through a process of narrowing the focus to the proposed question: "Do I use fair and accurate images when I think about race and ethnic issues?" The question is examined by applying the components of critical thinking. Suggested questions and answers are offered to assist a workshop facilitator or individual user in conducting an evaluation of cultural or ethnic prejudices. Possible answers are analyzed. A glossary concludes the publication.

Bullard, Sara, *Teaching Tolerance: Raising Open-Minded, Empathetic Children*, 1st ed. New York: Doubleday, 1996. This is a very practical publication for parents, teachers, or others who wish to embark on a journey to investigate their own self-awareness of relationships with individuals, groups, and community, particularly regarding the human characteristic of intolerance which we all share to some degree. The author illustrates how we unknowingly teach intolerance and how children express it without awareness and understanding. She also illustrates how tolerance can be taught from a very early age in an environment of love, support, openness, respect, understanding, and listening. She emphasizes the importance of teaching responsibility through the use of consequences rather than punishment. She advocates the practice of journaling as a technique for gaining self awareness and building a foundation for measuring the progress of our journey. Each chapter poses questions for this purpose. She emphasizes children's need for security, love, allowance for self-expression, moral guidance and the development of self discipline which will enable them to respect themselves and others.

The author also provides some suggested family activities, exercises designed to promote tolerance, a list of organizations with addresses, phone numbers and purposes that promote tolerance, and a collection of family resources to promote understanding and involvement in a multi cultural world.

Delpit, Lisa, *Other People's Children: Cultural Conflict in the Classroom*, New York: The New Press, 1995. This book is a winner of the 1995 Critics' Choice Award, American Educational Studies Association and *Choice Magazine's* Outstanding Academic Book Award. Much of the material has been published in other professional sources or presented in lectures. The

book is scholarly yet deeply personal in its perspective. Professor Delpit recalls her own personal struggles as an African-American student in a newly integrated high school, as a college student, and as a mother of a young child. Her experience as a teacher, counselor and observer, and a teacher of teachers along with a response to those experiences are focal points in this book.

The struggle of teaching teachers to teach in their own communities or elsewhere in an environment that includes students from poor families and students of color is a primary theme throughout the book. She sees teachers battling over how to teach "other people's children" in writing process approaches to literacy. She gains a world view of teaching through her experiences in New Guinea and Alaska where she finds herself to be the outsider and at the same time finds her own sensitivities to be heightened. She relates the struggles of many fellow teachers in her teaching journey as they share a wide range of experiences and tell why they decide to leave the profession.

Finally she critiques new teacher assessment models being designed for educational reform and offers suggestions for other approaches. The struggle for power and working with the uniqueness of each child, overcoming stereotypes and other barriers that prevent people from truly seeing each other are goals she advocates. She stresses a need to look for examples of success and to stop dwelling on the failures. The book includes bibliographic references and an index.

Edwards, Lonzy F., *Race Relations for Court Personnel: A Guide to Handling Racial Bias for Judges, Lawyers, Neutrals, and Their Staffs*, Macon, GA.: Magnolia Publishing Company, 1998. In his introductory remarks Mr. Edwards, both a minister and a legal expert, disagrees with those who say and write that racism is on the decline. He aims to sensitize all people, but especially those involved in the legal profession, to human relations issues and concerns that affect minorities and the people who work with them. His particular focus is on African-American and white relations. The book is divided into two parts dealing with handling racial bias in interpersonal, business and community relations, as well as in the civil and criminal justice system. The first part of the book is designed to be used as a sensitivity training tool or a tool for self-examination regarding one's own attitude in race relations matters. The author outlines his purpose as sensitizing the reader to inter-racial and intra-racial issues, suggesting attitudinal changes to facilitate better working relations and ultimate behavioral changes, improvement in work productivity, facilitating better communication across racial lines throughout the organization, and helping build a team approach within the organization. The exercises consist of scenarios in which the participant is asked to identify racist issues or communication, identify the race of the speaker, examine and analyze lists that reflect racist attitudes and

various other examples that measure or indicate bias across racial lines from the perspective of the Caucasians and African-Americans.

The second part of the book concentrates on the criminal justice system. Again, some scenarios are presented for the reader's examination for racial bias in voir dire and judicial attitude reflected at a hearing. This section consists primarily of commentary on bias found in the administration of justice, judicial decision making, selection and retention of judges, the general practice of law and attorney relations with one another and court administrators.

Chapter notes are very limited and the index is brief.

Environment of Support, Washington, D.C.: Office of Minorities in Higher Education, American Council on Education, 1992. This publication looks at student and faculty under-representation of African Americans, Hispanics and American Indians in higher education. The executive summary presents an overview of the problem, mentions the institutions for which case studies are included and provides an outline of elements identified as necessary for a supportive environment for minority recruitment and retention in graduate study programs. The work is based on a preliminary study conducted in 1987.

This publication presents six case studies from the Graduate School and University Center of the City University of New York, University of Michigan, Brown University, University of Texas at Austin, University of Florida McKnight Black Doctoral Fellowship Program, and the University of California at Berkeley. The eight components of the environment of support are again listed, then described in the efforts undertaken at the six universities. Each case study is based on telephone and follow-up interviews conducted with at least three administrators, three faculty members, and three graduate students at each institution. The case studies were conducted to better understand how administrators, faculty, and students work together to create an environment of support. The selected institutions exemplify an environment of support for their students and graduated a significant number of minority students. They recognize the struggles, isolation, and discrimination minority students often encounter. Components of the environment of support include a communication of expectations, shared experiences and relationships and appreciation for the efforts of faculty members. Institutional change and commitment, including incentives to stimulate faculty involvement, are recognized as steps that still need to be taken.

The publication includes bibliographic and explanation notes. A series of appendices lists people interviewed from each institution, a checklist for universities to measure the eight criteria, minority Ph.D.s from the top 50 universities, and doctorates awarded to U. S. citizens by institution and major field. The publication contains black and white photographs. There is no

index.

Glover, Denise Marie, and John G. Richardson, *A Total Approach to Diversity: An Assessment and Curriculum Guide for State Courts*, Williamsburg, Va.: National Center for State Courts, 1997. This publication was written particularly to provide guidelines for evaluating and conducting needs assessments and for conducting diversity assessments in the court systems. Although there are some specific references to the courts and an appendix which provides sample documents primarily relating to the courts, the overall document has broad application possibilities. The guide provides an overview of the process for evaluating need, designing, developing, finding trainers, implementing and evaluating the level of success of a diversity training program. The nine appendices provide tools, samples, references, forms, and a glossary of terms and definitions which are valuable for any diversity training program. One of the appendices is an annotated bibliography.

Green, Madeleine F., editor, *Minorities on Campus: A Handbook for Enhancing Diversity*, Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1989. This book is designed to assist institutions of higher education to take action in addressing the issue of declining minority enrollment and developing programs for success in colleges and universities. It looks to administrative leadership, an integrated approach to change involving everyone, and institutional change involving our institutional culture. This is a practical guide. The introductory chapters provide an overview of the book and forms and explains their use for conducting various institutional audits. Separate chapters focus on undergraduate students, graduate and professional students, faculty, administrators, improving the campus climate, teaching, learning, and the curriculum.

The primary focus in most chapters is on general directions and tactics for attaining goals including expanding the pool, recruitment, admissions, retention, support services, academic support plans, and financial aid for students. The search process including roles and responsibilities, interviewing, extending offers, retention, advancement, and support is covered in the faculty and administrators material. Each chapter also includes illustrative programs that provide contact names with phone numbers and bibliographic resources. The chapter on teaching, learning, and the curriculum explains principles for good practice in undergraduate education and a discussion of the controversies regarding curriculum transformation. The final chapter presents examples of three institutions that have been successful in their efforts to increase and retain minorities on their campuses. One chapter includes bibliographic references. There is no index.

Henkin, Roxanne, *Who's Invited to Share? Using Literacy to Teach for Equity and Social Justice*, Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann, 1998. This slender book

of fourteen very brief chapters designed for teachers of young children is packed with ideas, examples, and illustrations of ways to recognize outsiders and bring them into a community, especially into the classroom. Dr. Henkin shows that even in the first grade, evidence of exclusion is apparent in how boys and girls choose their partners and group members for projects and for play activities. She also describes how the teacher can unobtrusively intervene in helping children make different choices and build community. She includes in her examination and discussion illustrations of diversity from gender, religion, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, physical and mental disabilities, and emotional issues. Her examples are drawn from her own teaching experience, as well as those of the many teachers and the classrooms she visited to provide examples for this book. She includes examples of involvement in the community where young people can make a difference in the lives of others.

Among the many appendices included in the book are lists of children's books by theme, reference sources for teaching as well as a list of resources for teaching for social justice with selected web sites.

Hooks, Bell, *Killing Rage: Ending Racism*, 1st ed. New York: H. Holt and Co., 1995. When Bell Hooks writes about racial apartheid and white supremacy she is referring primarily to a life encountered as she grew up in the south and the day to day encounters experienced today and every day by African Americans. Her writing is different from that found in many books on race and racism. She writes from a black feminist perspective. Through personal experience and by other references, the author describes the experience of fear, terror, and injustice of living as a child in what she calls the apartheid south, the invasion felt when white males came to the black segregated communities and of separate and different treatment of blacks from whites. She warns against embracing victimization when engaged in the feminist movement, and advocates building solidarity with others by bonding. She places emphasis on self-determination and calls for a strong black leadership. Strong black non-authoritarian and non-patriarchal family life is critical because that is where most of black youth learn their ideas about race, gender, and class. She sees the media as portraying blacks in inferior roles that promote a negative black image and white supremacy and calls for boycotting films, picketing theaters, and writing letters to news media. She sees multiculturalism as divisive because it seeks to find individual cultural identity rather than bringing non-whites together. She distinguishes between intellectualism and academic pursuits finding her own calling to the former. She advocates the elimination of racism through self-determination, development and provision of literacy programs, and critical consciousness education enabling ability to change circumstances and systems.

The book includes many quotations with resource references but there are

no footnotes to these sources, making scholarly research difficult. Not all of the references are included in the bibliography which concludes the work.

International Human Rights Conference (1987: McGill University), *Nuremberg Forty Years Later: The Struggle Against Injustice in our Time: International Human Rights Conference , November 1987: Papers and Proceedings and Retrospective 1993*. Edited by Irwin Cotler. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995. This collection of presentations, papers, questions and responses represents an insightful look at the Nuremberg Principles, Canadian adaptation of the Principles, the role of the United Nations in the protection of human rights, the freedom of expression concept and apartheid in South Africa. The concept that one person can make a difference is displayed particularly in the legacy of Raoul Wallenberg and the heroism of Carmen Gloria Quintana. The importance of memory and the danger of indifference is central to the opening remarks by Elie Wiesel and is echoed throughout the book. The talk by Alan Dershowitz on freedom of expression was not what the group expected and generated a lively question and answer response recorded in the publication. Also central to the publication is how various governments address and respond to injustice with some suggestions for needed changes. The publication is global in scope and essays are in French or English. There are some bibliographic references but no index.

Kivel, Paul, *Uprooting Racism: How White People Can Work for Racial Justice*, Gabriola Island, B.C.: New Society Publishers, 1995. White people can only respond to racism when they realize that it makes a difference that they are white. They need to notice color to help them counteract the effect of racism. We need to disassociate from racists and challenge their speech. Overtly racist people are scared and lack the information and skills to be more tolerant. The author points out the many benefits white people receive because they are members of the white race and the cost everyone pays because of racism. He provides examples of how white people avoid taking responsibility for their actions and how power is used to subvert others. In part two he writes about the dynamics of racism exposing the myths that produce fear for the white person, and the injustices and real fear experienced by multi-colored and multi-cultural individuals. He writes about the value of diverse cultures and the need to convey through appropriate language respect and dignity for others. In part three he speaks of being allies, how alliances are built and the role of power in American gender, class, work situations, family, and community relations. He points to white people's need to listen to people of color so that they can give credence to their experiences, look critically at racism and at patterns rather than isolated incidents. White people need to notice our whiteness and all that entails that perpetuates factors of racism.

They need to listen to their own language and that of others and stand up to racist remarks. Part four provides a history of white people's relations with various racial groups. Part five deals with confronting institutional racism. Finally part six suggests ways for white people to change their thinking to become more inclusive.

Knopke, Harry J., Robert J. Norrell, and Ronald W. Rogers, *Opening Doors: Perspectives on Race Relations in Contemporary America*, Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1991. This collection of ten essays is from papers presented at a national symposium held at the University of Alabama, June 11-13, 1988, which grew out of a concern for the then impending twenty-fifth anniversary of Governor George Wallace's "stand in the schoolhouse door" in a measure to prevent two black students from enrolling at the University. The collection of scholarly works and personal experiences is divided into three sections: historical perspectives, current psycho-socio-cultural assessment of prejudice and discrimination, and strategies for change.

The four essays in part one represent an historical perspective on the plight of the Negro in the segregated south—freed from slavery, yet penalized, punished, and silenced when hard work and determination led to economic success. In the first essay the reader is exposed to struggle, suffering, determination and sometimes rebellion of people who created blues music that told their story. The second essay is a personal recollection and observations of a black woman born in Alabama who unfolds a story of frustration, resentment, injustice experienced in education and work but who persevered to gain employment, become a union organizer, work for black voter registration, and become a national civil rights leader. The third essay provides information on how the University of Alabama tried to keep its doors closed to blacks. The fourth essay describes the prevalence of racism in politics and the role George Wallace played after his blocking of the University of Alabama door to keep black students out.

The three essays in part two look at the nature of prejudice and discrimination in society. The first essay looks at scapegoating and transferring personal inadequacies by projection to others in the forms of prejudice or persecution. The next essay looks at standardized testing scores to measure the effects of desegregation on student achievement but also points out the limitation of those tests. The author also looks at the effects desegregation has on student self-esteem and concludes the essay by examining the contact hypothesis for effect on race relations as a method for reducing conflict and prejudice. The final essay in this section looks at changes in expression and assessment of racial prejudice by examining effects of attitude on behavior and behavior on attitude.

The three essays in the final section look at strategies for change. After examining the effects of the civil rights movement on the truly disadvantaged,

the author of the first essay outlines and explains a four part program to empower individuals. In the next essay the author points to black protests that led to legislation as the impetus for change in racial discrimination showing that structural changes alter institutions which in turn alter the behavior of people in the institution. She then outlines and explains a four-step process that leads to change. The final essay recommends bi-cultural strategies for coping with prejudice and racism through an examination of TRIOS which includes time, rhythm, improvisation, oral expression, and spirituality. The author sees two ways of viewing the bi-cultural merger. One is a central tendency approach which is represented by the melting pot concept and the other is the variance approach which is represented by the ethnicity approach. The book concludes with a short selected bibliography and a listing of the contributors with their credentials.

Landis, Dan, and Rabi S. Bhagat, editors, *Handbook of Intercultural Training*, 2nd ed. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1996. The primary emphasis of this publication is geared toward preparing individuals and groups for working in international or foreign locations, students situated in exchange programs, families of internationally placed employees, and persons relocating to their country of origin. The publication cuts across several disciplines including psychology, communications, education, and management. It posits that a training program should be based on theory and demonstrates why programs are or are not successful. The book is organized in three parts: theory and methods in intercultural training, contextual dimensions of intercultural training, and area studies of intercultural training for critical parts of the world with a chapter devoted to understanding sexual orientation which is considered as a special kind of culture. The second part of the publication is especially important for readers concerned with relations between majority and minority groups and for dealing with dominant and subordinate groups within the same culture. Thirty-four contributors from a broad array of academic disciplines provide a scholarly, technical, and theoretical publication which often reviews the literature for the area covered. The publication includes separate name and subject indexes as well as biographical information for each of the editors and all of the contributors.

Lawrence, Frederick M., *Punishing Hate: Bias Crimes Under American Law*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999. This scholarly publication provides a thorough examination and analysis of bias crimes law in the United States. In addition to a chapter by chapter overview in the introduction, the author begins by providing a background to heighten the reader's awareness of the seriousness of these crimes and the complexities of hate crime analysis.

His methodology consists primarily in posing repeated series of questions, providing examples and scenarios both factual and hypothetical, analyzing

court decisions, providing definitions, then examining all of these, exposing flawed reasoning and finally posing and explaining solutions or answers.

The text begins with an examination of the definition of hate crime, referred to as bias crime, and distinguishing it from other types of crime. Identification of the victim, including selecting appropriate victim groups for inclusion, is examined, as well as a review of bias crime statistical reporting. The development of bias crime laws in the United States is viewed through an examination of the racial animus and discriminatory selection models in which the author demonstrates how critical it is to determine the mental state of the perpetrator in distinguishing the status of the crime, harm to the victim, broader target community and society at large. The next four chapters focus on punishing hate by looking at criminal acts and punishment theory generally and what makes bias acts different and more egregious. The author examines the position of the victim and the perpetrator. He discusses the constitutionality of bias crime laws with particular attention given to hate speech and First Amendment rights and distinguishes between hate crime laws and penalty enhancement laws. In his examination of federalism, the author reviews the history of state action and role of the federal government in law enforcement, particularly between the first reconstruction during the 1860s and 1870s and the second reconstruction. In the final chapter the author provides justification for bias crime punishment and offers two model proposed bias crime laws with special focus on animus.

A bibliographic essay correlated to the chapters provides valuable bibliographic references and explanatory notes. Numerous appendices include: state bias crime laws arranged alphabetically by state and compared by 22 elements, sample discriminatory selection statutes, sample race animus statutes, sample "Because of" statutes with additional element of maliciousness, sample institutional vandalism statutes, other statutes dealing with disturbing/ obstructing religious worship, cross burning, and mask wearing, and four historical appendices for the Civil Rights Act of 1866, Enforcement Act of 1870 and the Ku Klux Klan Act of 1871, the Civil Rights Act of 1875, and the Federalism problem as viewed through successful civil rights prosecutions. The historical appendices provide an analysis, not the documents.

Lee, Courtland C., editor, *Counseling for Diversity: A Guide for School Counselors and Related Professionals*, Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1995. This publication offers theoretical and practical materials for working in a multicultural school environment. After providing an overview for diversity training, five cultural groups—African American, Arab, Asian American, Hispanic and Native American student groups are treated individually through the analysis of cultural awareness issues. Although contents vary from one chapter to the next, each examines cultural background, provides a case study

analysis, makes conclusions, and provides references and listings of additional resource materials for the particular ethnic group.

Part three, in four chapters, covers cross-cultural consultation, classroom guidance, coordination of counseling services within and outside the school environment, and evaluation for accountability in a culturally pluralistic school setting. Part four makes suggestions for continuing professional development of the counselor. The publication is especially valuable for the suggested additional resources provided at the end of each chapter. The book concludes with an index.

Loury, Glenn C., *One by One From the Inside Out: Essays and Reviews on Race and Responsibility in America*, New York: Free Press, 1995. The need for leadership, modeling, and taking responsibility for bringing about change are threads that run through this book in addition to a chapter devoted to fault versus responsibility. Loury sees the benefit provided through legislation to assist in addressing racial inequalities as having served a useful purpose but inadequate to address the issues prevailing in ghettos. It is now time to develop programs of a self-help nature. Loury examines the proposals of W. E. B. Du Bois and Booker T. Washington designed to address the problems of blacks and questions which was the best path to follow. He posits that affirmative action is not the answer to problems, although it has had limited positive effects. Race neutrality is seen as an ideal public policy. Nepotism plays a role in advancement and thus influences economic opportunity. Stereotyping plays a significant role in American race relations and racial preferential treatment can exacerbate negative race relations. Following the text is a collection of thirteen book reviews. The concluding chapter describes the author's personal spiritual conversion that changed his life.

McLaughlin, Karen A. and Kelly Brilliant, *National Bias Crimes Training for Law Enforcement and Victim Assistance Professionals*, Newton, MA: Educational Development Center, 1995. The training program developed for this set of guides was based on a review of existing programs, resource materials, policies, and procedures that effectively address verbal and physical violence in the United States. This set consists of two volumes, one designed for the instructor and the other for participants. Both volumes contain the same materials including handout and overhead illustrations with instructions for exercises, except the instructor's guide describes the equipment and materials needed for each portion of the training session.

Professionals from both law enforcement and victim assistance programs felt a need to respond more effectively to the growing incidents of bigotry in the nation. This set provides the training tools necessary to conduct a two and

one half day program for that purpose. The goal of the program is to provide law enforcement officials with current information and strategies for identifying bias crimes and taking appropriate action, to provide victim assistance professionals with current information and strategies for assisting the victims of bias crimes, to train professionals in both fields how to conduct successful investigations and prosecutions, to work within communities to foster tolerance and bring about change, and finally to provide training that will enable both professional groups to work effectively together. Participants are introduced to victim trauma, legal issues including both federal and state law, culture and diversity concepts, and strategies for working in different settings within the community.

The publication provides listings with some descriptions of resources for monitoring bias crimes, sources for learning about hate groups, resources for responding to hate crimes, various victim assistance resources, and federal and state legal resource contacts. The publication concludes with a bibliography of resource materials.

Newman, Jay, *Foundations of Religious Tolerance*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982. In this theoretical book, it is the author's intention to focus in a positive way on tolerance rather than negatively on intolerance. Tolerance is defined as a kind of acceptance or endurance without reacting strongly to that with which we are not in agreement. Religious tolerance is not defined but viewed in the context of metaphysical and ethical values. Newman believes religious tolerance to be more complex than racial or ethnic tolerance because of the attitude one holds regarding a belief. A distinction is made between religious intolerance and religious prejudice. Various concepts of relativism are examined and rejected. Instead trans-cultural values: love, justice, peace, economic prosperity, wisdom, progress, and self-realization are qualities the author suggests should be taught to bring about a more integrated, thus a more tolerant civilization. The ability to accept religious pluralism is seen as a necessary condition of religious tolerance. Proselytizing is examined from the perspective of morality, but Newman suggests what is really needed is dialogue. Exclusivism and universalism in churches is reviewed through an analysis of the writings of various philosophers and theologians. The author argues that the concept of absolute religious liberty promised by the First Amendment is not possible because our government system power rests with the state and not the church authority. The hope for the future is seen through education in trans-cultural values and study and discussion of great literature, history, and works of religious literature.

Osborn, Kevin, *Tolerance*, 1st ed. New York: Rosen Publishing Group, Inc., 1990. This book, written for youth, begins by defining tolerance through an

illustration describing a person's physical appearance and then expands the definition to include different aspects of intolerance. The author provides a brief historical perspective on majority rule in a democratic society and how laws can change to provide more equal rights for minority groups. He then expands the discussion to various kinds of intolerance, including physical appearance and stereotyping, religious beliefs, and political beliefs, and he explains how tolerance, always in active participation enlarges our world. The author expands his scope to a world view as he describes how heroes throughout history who stepped forward in courage to promote tolerance through peaceful means. His heroes include Martin Luther King, Jr., Raoul Wallenberg, Mohandas Gandhi, Betty Williams, Mairead Corrigan, Bishop Desmond Tutu, and Thurgood Marshall. The text concludes with an illustration of tolerance and acceptance as a young girl steps forward to greet a minority student new to her community juxtaposed against the beginning illustration of rejection and intolerance. The author provides a glossary of terms and definitions and a list of suggested readings.

Payne, Richard J., *Getting Beyond Race: The Changing American Culture*, Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1998. This is a scholarly yet practical publication written in jargon free language. Research, surveys, and interviews are used to gather information and combined with personal experience to reach a positive view of race relations. Payne describes how identity can force one into a position where one group can gain power over another group. He suggests how reframing, essentially changing the point of view, can move individuals and groups to different values and perspectives. For many Americans, race defines who we are. Payne examines the historical construction of race, looks at racial classification, social construction, myths, magic, and totem. Totem, in the Ojibwa American Indian language means "he is a relative of mine." He examines challenges to race relations in the American culture and views all branches of the military as models for successful race relations based on merit and teamwork. Immigration, travel abroad, interracial relationships, and trans-racial adoptions are all ways he demonstrates as methods for building bridges and reducing barriers in race relations. The final chapter brings all of the ideas together and focuses on the future. This is a very positive, courageous book based on human relations.

A Policymaker's Guide to Hate Crimes, Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Justice Assistance, 1997. This guide briefly describes the historical perspective of hate, then centers on this phenomenon in the United States, its prevalence, scope, and victims. Use of the Hate Crimes Reporting Act of 1990, along with the tracking of other interested groups reveals trends as well as disparities. Reasons offered to explain the disparities include methods used to gather

information, denial of bias, fear of the victim in reporting incidents or crimes, and the criteria used for reporting purposes. The guide promotes a better understanding of hate crime by describing the characteristics of offenders, the targets of hate crimes, the nature and harm of the crimes, and the significance of recording hate crime statistics. The publication goes on to explain hate crime laws, and reviews landmark decisions and the response of the ACLU to the laws and decisions. Additional responses to hate crimes are seen in government support for research including grant funding, legislative measures, and the role of Critical Race Studies in assistance and education of various communities, as well as organizational efforts of the Anti-Defamation League and the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force.

Initiatives to respond to hate crimes are described and contact information for support groups is provided which includes addresses and phone numbers in categories for reporting, and monitoring hate crimes, education, mediation, counseling, and victim support. A selected bibliography and sources for further information with addresses and phone numbers complete the publication.

Preventing Youth Hate Crime: A Manual for Schools and Communities, Washington, D. C.: U. S. Dept. of Education, Dept. of Justice, 1998. This brief pamphlet defines hate crime and outlines the elements of an effective school-based hate prevention program which allows for expression of diverse viewpoints and identifies federal hate crime and civil rights laws. It describes some effective hate prevention programs and provides the contact name and phone number for each. It also provides listings of resources in several categories including classroom activities, resource organizations, web sites, bibliography of curricula and instructional materials and videos.

Rendon, Laura I., and Richard O. Hope, editors, *Educating a New Majority: Transforming America's Educational System for Diversity*, 1st ed. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1996. Developed by an impressive group of educators and policy makers, this collection of 20 essays is presented in four sections: (1) current challenges to minority education in the twenty-first century; (2) restructuring schools to foster minority student success; (3) reforming higher education; and (4) leadership imperatives for educating a new majority. The book is intended for the use of educators, administrators, policy makers, counselors, and community leaders. Its scope is kindergarten through college with an indication that the process must begin in kindergarten. The new majority can be anyone viewed as disadvantaged, but some emphasis is placed on those who have been viewed as culturally, ethnically, or economically disadvantaged. Part one presents an overview of the current national challenges to the educational system in preparing workers for the future; part two looks at K-12 and how to make it more responsive to

culturally diverse students; part three provides a deeper examination of higher education curricular models; and part four focuses on leadership in transforming the educational system that will benefit the new majority. References are presented at the end of each chapter rather than being tied specifically to material just presented, making tracking citations somewhat difficult. The publication concludes with separate name and subject indexes.

Sleeper, Jim, *Liberal Racism*, New York: Viking, 1997. Sleeper sees law as having played some part in providing freedom and support for minorities. What he sees as most needed is a recognition of leadership for itself and a need to join in what he calls a "race transcendent human experiment." He is critical of lawyers, courts, the police, voter redistricting, and particularly news media reporting. It is his thesis that liberals have dwelt too long on identity politics that serve to separate people. The scholar will find it difficult to verify the frequent quotations for which there are no footnotes. Only a short list of "works cited" is provided.

Tatum, Beverly Daniel, *Why Are All the Black Kids Sitting Together in the Cafeteria? And Other Conversations About Race*, 1st ed. New York: Basic Books, 1997. This is both a scholarly and practical publication that deals with race identity, race relations, and racism. The author begins by exploring different definitions of racism and centers on one that describes racism as a system of advantage based on race. She sees describing identity as very complex and offers insights by examining blackness in a white context, whiteness in a white context, other racial identities, and identities in multi-racial families. For each of these identities she explores development in the early years, adolescence, and adulthood. Although she offers some theoretical analysis, for the most part she draws perspectives from her own experience as a mother interacting with her children, interactions and comments from participants at workshops she conducts on racism, and interactions with her students during twenty years of teaching at different universities. The concluding chapter acknowledges the difficulty and fear many people experience in talking about race. She points out that everyone pays a price for silence, and we all have some sphere of influence where we can speak and take action. The appendix offers several groups of resources that can assist the reader in moving into active participation.

Thompson, Becky W., and Sangeeta Tyagi, editors, *Beyond a Dream Deferred: Multicultural Education and the Politics of Excellence*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993. This publication is divided into three parts consisting of twelve chapters plus an introductory essay. The contributors represent a broad background of scholarship including sociology, literature, history, theological studies, and law. Several direct

programs in women's studies and ethnic and multicultural studies. Part one on moral and political visions of multicultural education examines the history of immigration and integration of multi cultural studies into the curriculum. Part two on multiple voices and the ongoing struggle looks at the power struggles, affirmative action, curricular changes and hiring practices. Part three on new directions for critical engagement documents the challenges and successes of four separate programs. Articles are carefully researched and provide extensive bibliographic references. Diversity is viewed in a broad sense to include race, class, gender, age, sexual orientation, disability, and culture with some varying degree of emphasis. The importance of people of color becoming catalysts for change is emphasized and illustrated in the final section of the publication. The publication includes an index.

Tolerance Education for Children of the 90s, Chicago, Young Lawyers Division, American Bar Association, 1992. This brief publication describes a two-part project designed to train administrators and teachers to implement programs to combat intolerance in the classroom at the middle school level. It includes identification of training needs, selecting an appropriate program to meet needs, selecting and inviting participants and presenters, communication and information dissemination, funding, planning time tables, and procurement of needed materials, equipment, and program facilities. A checklist for program planning is included. "A World of Difference" materials and the design is based on the "train the trainer" concept. Lists of trainers, affiliate contacts, and other contacts from the Maryland area are included.

Training Guide for Hate Crime Data Collection: Uniform Crime Reporting, Washington, D.C.: U. S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Criminal Justice Information Service, 1997. This training guide provides a brief introduction to the requirements for crime data collection and three learning modules intended for training and sensitizing police personnel in recognizing, responding to and reporting bias motivated incidents. Module one is geared to sensitizing the participant to the nature of bias motivation on an individual and institutional level, teaching the rhetoric of bias including prejudice, stereotyping, discrimination, racism, sexism, and other social categorizations, and relating prejudice bias incidents. Module two aims to provide the participant with necessary background for reporting a crime through an understanding of bias terminology and recognition of criteria for determining if a hate crime has occurred. If the participant believes a hate crime has occurred, a report is completed and forwarded to a second tier for evaluation and final determination. The third module utilizes the case study exercise in which the participant is exposed to a series of incidents and makes a determination of the crime, bias classification, and reason for determination.

The publication also provides a list of organizations with addresses, phone numbers and brief descriptions which offer information concerning anti-bias education. The appendices provide legislative documents updated through 1996 which provide the mandate for hate crime statistic gathering, a quarterly hate crime report form, a hate crime incident report form, and the regional offices of the Community Relations Service of the Department of Justice with addresses and phone numbers as well as field offices. A short bibliography accompanies the first training module.

Trotter, Tamera Charisse and Joycelyn Racquel Allen, *Talking Justice: 601 Ways to Build and Promote Racial Harmony*, Saratoga, Calif.: R & E. Publishers, 1993. This little book is meant to present positive, proactive ways to promote cultural awareness and celebrate diversity. Its ideas are applicable to any situation where building self-esteem and human relations issues are at risk. It is a book of universal inspiration providing steps to make situations more pleasant.

Vogt, Paul, *Tolerance & Education: Learning to Live with Diversity and Difference*, Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 1997. The impetus for writing this scholarly, well researched publication stems from the author's desire to determine if education fosters tolerance and how tolerance is learned in the educational system. Vogt distinguishes tolerance from prejudice and discrimination. When clearly defined, he proceeds to survey, analyze, and interpret the literature offering clear explanations to correct flawed and inadequately researched viewpoints thus providing a balanced vision. The author asks a series of questions which form the first five chapters in this publication: What is tolerance? Should we teach tolerance? Does education really foster tolerance? How does education promote tolerance indirectly? Can we teach tolerance directly? The author's conclusion examines implications for policy and practice as well as suggesting areas for future research. Tolerance is seen as a complicated but minimal first step all can take toward building a just society. An extensive bibliography and an index are included.

Waller, James, *Face to Face: The Changing State of Racism Across America*, New York: Insight Books, 1998. In this book, Professor Waller, a social psychologist, challenges three myths regarding racism: life is good for racial minorities, racism is declining, and America can become a color blind society. Waller examines the history of different racial groups, defines racism and looks at the related terms: stereotypes, prejudice, and discrimination. Racism can be seen as an individual negative prejudicial attitude or discriminatory behavior toward people of a given race, or institutional personnel, policies, practices, and structures, that subordinate a people of a given race. Waller

believes that any individual can be a racist, but at the institutional level, only white groups can be racist because of the power component.

Using surveys and demographic data, the author examines the myth and reality of minority life in the United States. He argues that the more blatant forms of racism have declined and when they do occur, people sometimes use excuses to hide their own beliefs the acts and justifying support for the victim. More subtle forms of racism can be more destructive and insidious in that they can lead the perpetrator and victim into believing there is little need for change. Various methods have been used to detect racism such as measures of nonverbal behavior, situations of behavioral ambiguity, physiological recordings of facial muscles, priming and response latency measures, and other measures of related behavior. Color blindness is not seen as an equalizer but as a silencer.

Finally, the text concludes by offering seven principles for achieving racial reconciliation: become a good reconciler through the development of good listening skills and constructive disagreement; teach yourself to think by controlling your attitude toward stereotypes; become more self-aware; become more open-minded by engaging in personal interaction with minorities; draw on the strength of the community and invest in the future by teaching children anti-racism early.

Before they can participate in cross-country tours where they meet and interact with racial minorities, Waller requires his students to construct an extensive genealogy. The students tell their personal stories and examine the meaning of their names and ethnic backgrounds for the purpose of self-discovery. The publication provides a list of international organizations and web sites on genealogy to assist the research endeavor.

Wang, Lu-in, *Hate Crimes Law*, St. Paul, Minn.: West Group, 1994. This classic treatise on hate crime laws provides comprehensive coverage with interpretation of state and federal statutes and cases that have applied them. The introduction enumerates various types of hate crimes: racial, ethnic, sexual orientation, religious (Jewish), and racially mixed families , It also examines the legal response to hate as found in federal criminal and civil rights, state ethnic intimidation, other criminal and civil statutes, local ordinances, and university hate speech laws. The appendices include federal and state provisions relevant to hate crimes, a selected bibliography, and table of cases. An index concludes the publication. It is in loose-leaf format for easy updating.

Wessler, Stephen, *Promising Practices Against Hate Crime: Five State and Local Demonstration Projects*, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Dept. of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, Bureau of Justice Assistance, 2000. Also available

on the Internet from NCJRS/BJA web site. This pamphlet describes five demonstration programs designed to combat and reduce hate crime incidents. The first program is an intensive four-day course for law enforcement officials. The second program is designed to meet the needs of hate crime victims. The three remaining programs are designed as training tools for confronting bias incidents in K-12 school incidents. A list of resource centers with addresses, phone numbers, and Internet addresses completes the publication.

When Hate Groups Come to Town: A Handbook of Effective Community Responses, 2nd ed., revised and updated. Atlanta, Ga.: Center for Democratic Renewal, 1992. This publication begins by providing a history of the work of the Center for Democratic Renewal and a review of its mission. A chapter on understanding racism and bigotry connects white supremacy and the problem of bigotry with racism, anti-Semitism, anti-gays, and violence against women. Each type of bigotry is covered separately to explain the unique issues and different support mechanisms available. Another chapter provides a brief history of the white supremacy movement, including the Klan, Christian Identity, Aryan Nations, the Order, skinheads, Christian Patriots, Liberty Lobby, Revisionist scholars, women in hate groups, the new right, and particular hate group leaders. The major portion of the publication concentrates on responding to hate—motivated activities through monitoring, research, security, legislation, religious institutions, campuses, and workplaces, as well as responses of government agencies and how police can assess and deal with bias crimes. The final section offers tools for counteractions including referral sources with addresses and phone numbers, sample resolution examples, publications available from CDR, a brief annotated bibliography of material, a sample intake form for recording bigoted incidents and some vital points to remember if a person is a victim of hate violence. There is no index, but the material is well organized to facilitate easy use.

Yamamoto, Eric K., *Interracial Justice: Conflict and Reconciliation in Post-Civil Rights America*, New York: New York University Press, 1999. Theoretical, scholarly, and practical, Yamamoto employs an interdisciplinary approach to develop what he calls race praxis to address interracial injustices. He draws from law, social psychology, theology, political theory and particularly peace studies, and indigenous healing practices. His methodology requires a four pronged approach which includes the elements of recognition, responsibility, reconstruction, and reparation. All the elements are critical and must be approached with true sincerity to bring forth healing for perpetrators and victims. The publication consists of three parts. Part one examines some interracial conflicts in business, education, politics, and immigration practices.

Part two explains the concepts of race, culture, and responsibility. Here the author introduces his commitment to critical race praxis which emphasizes simultaneity and differentiation, which are points of inquiry into complex interracial struggles over power and identity. Race praxis, the theory of racial justice practice, which draws from liberation theology, feminist legal theory, and environmental justice theory and practice is examined in the final chapter of part two. Part three takes a multi-disciplinary approach to inter-group healing by employing theology, social psychology, ethics, peace studies and indigenous healing practices to bring about mutual liberation and help build relationships while incorporating reconstruction, responsibility, and reparation. The race praxis is applied to several interracial controversies with varying degrees of success. The publication includes bibliographic references for each chapter and an index. There is no separate bibliography.

III. ASPECTS OF HATE

Able, Richard L., *Speaking Respect, Respecting Speech*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998. Through an accumulation of hundreds of examples drawn primarily from newspapers, Professor Abel sets out to document the pervasiveness of verbal disrespect on a global and universal basis. Most accounts are brief reports and may be used two or three times to illustrate various points throughout the book. Some incidents involve crimes as well as insults and some show that great harm can be done from ignorance, insensitivity, and misunderstanding in attempts to rectify wrongs. The subjects cut across a broad spectrum to include race, culture, gender, sexual orientation, religion, politics, the arts, literature, the military, pornography, and blasphemy.

Drawing from the sociological theories of Max Weber regarding honor and social standing, the competition for status in various groups is examined and analyzed in light of the struggle for material, economic, political, and emotional domination. In the struggle for respect, the competition for support, recognition, and the expectation of apology and reparation are described, as well as the need for forgiveness and the power held by the victim in granting or withholding it. The author posits that the position of civil libertarians is untenable considering the tension in the struggle between the dominate and subordinated and the opaque nature of speech. He sees law as unable to deal adequately with the wide variety of harms caused by speech and finds that laws often work in ways that are perverse. He points out the complexities of interpretation and knowing intent resulting in prosecutors, juries, and judges being reluctant to find guilt and impose punishment.

He calls for taking sides, amplifying silenced voices, and calling for apologies through an informal process that is acceptable to the victim and the community.

Aho, James A, *This Thing of Darkness: A Sociology of the Enemy*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1994. In the process of searching for an answer to the question of why people join hate groups, the author ventured into the field to get first-hand information. The publication is divided into two parts: "The enemy socially constructed," and "The enemy socially deconstructed." Aho begins by proposing a theory of reification which is composed of naming, legitimation, myth making, sedimentation, and ritual which he views as constructing evil and violence. The theory is then applied to the Goldmark case in which the difference between the victim and the persecutors is clear. A second case, the standoff at Ruby Ridge, is also examined under the theory, but here the lines become blurred. Next, some Neo-Nazi literature is examined with the objective of revealing the origins of the *Protocols* and the *Plot* so that through understanding, deconstruction of the texts can take place. The second part of the publication examines phenomenology or the experiencing of the enemy by examining four questions: What features make us experience the enemy? How is it possible to render human beings into evil things? Is it possible to eradicate our estrangement from others? Assuming this is unlikely, must we attribute characteristics of evil to the other? Each of these questions is examined. The final three chapters present a person who left a Neo-Nazi group, a family who responded to hate in moments of grace to provide support and love to the perpetrator, and a community who united to form a task force to counter hate. Aho concludes that we cannot effectively combat evil without recognizing it in ourselves.

Altschiller, Donald, *Hate Crimes: A Reference Handbook*, Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 1999. This publication provides an in-depth study of types and extent of hate crime in an introductory chapter which covers African-Americans, Jewish-Americans, gay men and lesbians, and Asian-Americans. This chapter is followed by a history of hate crime legislation, a discussion of major U. S. Supreme Court cases, hate crime legislation at the state level, and a discussion of the critics of hate crime laws. A chronology of hate crimes is included in the author's attempt to personalize these crimes. A short chapter is devoted to biographical sketches of individuals who have devoted their lives to fighting hate crimes. The most extensive chapter reports on *The Hate Crime Statistics Act of 1990*, illustrates statistical reporting from *The FBI Hate Crime Report of 1996*, and provides definitions. Altschiller provides many primary source materials, including legislative and judicial documents and some non-governmental documents. An annotated listing includes addresses, phone numbers, and Internet addresses for organizations that monitor hate crime incidents and extremist group activities. The final two chapters provide briefly annotated listings of books, articles, Internet and World Wide Web groups that address hate crimes and provide educational materials. An index

completes the publication.

Anastaplo, George, *Campus Hate-Speech Codes and Twentieth Century Atrocities*, Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen Press, 1997. Each of the nine essays in this collection was prepared for a difference audience and presented at conferences, universities, and one as a final class lecture. References for each essay are given at the beginning of the essay. Four of the essays concern campus speech codes and provide a combined philosophical and moralistic approach with subdued legalistic overtones. With a focus on hate more than on speech, the author recommends looking for causes of hate and suggests that the victim may possess more authority and control than is recognized. He posits that suppression is not the best solution to hate speech problems. People on campus must be taught civility, and victims need support. Rather than having a campus speech code, it is better to have an understanding regarding the campus culture. However, if a code must be written, everyone must be involved in its writing, and all must be free to criticize it. When hate occurs it is necessary to listen, look at the target, educate, and self-educate.

From United States campus hate speech, the author moves to a global perspective as he examines the fate of the Jews in Greece and Italy during the Second World War, the role of the United States in the Balkans, Islam, and the ills in government and society, decadence, and general immoral social fiber in the United States. The final two essays examine the self and the soul and seek to discover if moral virtues have a foundation in nature.

Andryszewski, Tricia, *The Militia Movement in America: Before and After Oklahoma City*, Brookfield, Conn.: Millbrook Press, 1997. This publication, which is appropriate for adolescents, provides an extremely brief introduction to various extremist groups, including the Ku Klux Klan, Christian Identity Movement, white separatists, Minutemen, neo-Nazis, Aryan Nations and the New Order, Posse Comitatus, and Skinheads. The reader will need to look elsewhere for a more thorough study. The author's purpose is to introduce these groups as organizations from which the militia groups might draw inspiration, leadership, and possible membership. Also she briefly describes some social, economic, and political changes and the incidents at Ruby Ridge and Waco, Texas, which combined with gun-control legislation set into action the formation of groups which hate the federal government so much that they embark on para-military training, separation from the government, and stockpiling of weapons and other commodities. The final chapter describes the political, government, and militia responses to the bombing at Oklahoma City. The book contains black and white photographs and excerpts from the *Turner Diaries*.

Baird, Robert M., and Stuart E. Rosenbaum, editors, *Bigotry, Prejudice, and Hatred: Definitions, Causes & Solutions*, Buffalo, N.Y.: Prometheus Books, 1992. The editors have gathered together a collection of 18 previously published articles and essays from popular periodicals, academic journals, and scholarly and theoretical books. This book is divided into five parts: phenomenon of hatred and prejudice: what is it?; universities and the “politically correct” response to hatred and prejudice; explanations for the persistence of hatred and prejudice; moral/rational critiques of hatred and prejudice; and desirable goals and possible solutions.

The first part serves as an introduction to the subject by offering a background of definitions and explanations for equality, hatred, anti-Semitism and construction, deconstruction, and reconstruction of differences. Part two examines how students, although very sensitive to bias, nonetheless form distinct racial, sexually oriented, and gendered groups and sub-groups; how faculty seek to promote “true diversity” by matching faculty of particular ethnic identity to representative academic fields; how a university begins student orientation with a first ungraded exam followed by compulsory encounter sessions where the school works to instill its multi-culture vision in the students; how a campus attempts to handle bigoted free speech; and finally one faculty member’s experience of trying to add a gay studies course to the diversity curriculum. Part three examines the causes of prejudice by presenting the bigotry of nepotism in an examination of kinships and demographics; and the role of reason in prejudice. Part four looks at the arbitrariness of racial discrimination and some questions, facts, and values regarding the gay life style. Part five examines goals and possible solutions includes a commentary on the *R.A.V. v. City of St. Paul, Minnesota* case. The proposed solutions look to intergroup involvement where outcomes depend on cooperation. These solutions are based on the premise that people with deep-rooted prejudice will not be influenced or experience attitude change by being merely exposed to new information. However change in behavior can effect change in attitude. In “Making of an American democratic socialist” the author posits the need for leadership and bases his philosophy on a non-Marxist social theory combined with a non-dogmatic based prophetic Christian vision.

Baird, Robert M. and Stuart E. Rosenbaum, editors, *Hatred, Bigotry, and Prejudice: Definitions, Causes, & Solutions*, Amherst, N.Y.: Prometheus Books, 1999. Similar to the earlier edition, *Bigotry, Prejudice: Definitions, Causes & Solutions*, the editors have gathered previously published articles and essays from popular periodicals and scholarly journals, as well as scholarly and theoretical books. In fact much of the material from the first edition is republished in this edition. Part four, which seeks to define hate, reprints the same four essays from part two of the previous edition. Incidents

which occurred since the earlier publication: the Matthew Shepard beating, the Rodney King incident, and the Columbine High School shooting are represented in the new edition as well as a reprinted speech about cyberhate. Like the earlier edition, this publication provides a selected bibliography and a list of contributors with their credentials.

Barndt, Joseph R, *Dismantling Racism: the Continuing Challenge to White America*, Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 1991. The primary focus of this publication is on how racism permeates all aspects of life. The author first examines the evil of racism by looking at history, emancipation, the civil rights movement, segregation, legislation, economics, culture, global issues, and the leadership role of people of color. Next he defines racism as prejudice plus power and describes the use of power by illustration of an anti-racist program from New Orleans called "Big Foot Analysis" in which a ghetto community is described and participants identify groups that have power over the community. Racism is described as a white problem in which it is necessary to reduce the power that enforces the prejudice. Chapter are devoted to individual racism, institutional racism, cultural racism, and white racism in the church. In all cases the author uses the metaphor of imprisonment from which whites must emerge to move beyond racism to reach a pluralistic society. The publication is written from a theological perspective that emphasizes liberation. The book concludes with a selected bibliography. There is no index.

B'nai B'rith. Anti-Defamation League, *ADL in the Courts: Litigation Docket 1994-* New York: Anti-Defamation League, 1994- Published annually since 1994, this publication describes the arguments and statutory interpretations made by ADL and in some cases includes a listing of other groups who support these same arguments. The ADL litigation docket covers several areas of law, including hate crimes and discrimination issues. The amicus briefs aim to combat discrimination and prejudice. Coverage includes new briefs filed by ADL since the previously published docket, as well as a discussion of cases decided by the courts during the same period.

Bracken, Harry M, *Freedom of Speech: Words Are Not Deeds*, Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 1994. Finding no legal precedent for the absolutist view of the First Amendment to the U. S. Constitution, Professor Bracken contends in this scholarly work that the philosophical foundation for its position can be found, at least in part, in the arguments for religious tolerance advanced by Pierre Bayle in the late 17th century. Thus it is from a philosophical and historical perspective that the author approaches an analysis of First Amendment doctrine. He compares the philosophies of Bayle and Locke, drawing some parallels to views of First Amendment interpretation.

Throughout this work, the author draws comparisons between United States and Canadian freedom of speech jurisprudence. He examines state intervention, treatment of hate literature, higher education curriculum, racism and political correctness, campus speech codes, group libel, and the value we place on individual self-expression and community needs. In conclusion, the author states his position as seeing freedom of speech as a core value in a democratic society but his primary aim is to provide an historical study.

Each chapter has explanatory notes and bibliographic references as well as a selected bibliography and index.

Bullard, Sara, editor, *The Ku Klux Klan: A History of Racism and Violence*, 4th ed. Montgomery, Ala.: Klanwatch, 1991. This publication includes contributions from several staff members of the Southern Poverty Law Center. It provides a history of Klan development from its beginning through its rise, fall and merger with other hate groups, some members have even integrated themselves into society as a whole, while retaining their own ideologies. The publication tells the stories of the Klan, Klan youth groups, the victims and families of victims, the police, and prosecutors. Biographies with pictures of those in the white supremacist organization are included. A listing of hate crimes for 1989-1990 update the material in *Hate, Violence, and White Supremacy: A Decade Review, 1980-1990* as reported by Klanwatch. The publication includes many black and white photographs and illustrations and concludes with a short bibliography.

Butler, Judith P, *Excitable Speech: A Politics of the Performative*, New York: Routledge, 1997. This scholarly publication examines the linguistic foundation from which speech emerges into a performative agent. A person can be injured by derogatory expression as well as the way in which one is addressed. Professor Butler describes how language assists in violence and torture by disabling the victim from describing the event. She distinguishes between the speech acts that have the power or authority to produce effects on another and those which lack the power. She reviews the *R.A.V.* cross burning decision and McKinnon's writing on pornography positing that McKinnon not only makes a mistake in judgment but does a disservice and is exploitative of racial subordination. Speech is consistently seen as an act.

While she focuses on recent arguments about hate speech, she outlines a more general theory of performativity of political discourse. She looks at the authority or performative power that provides for the temporary success of speech and stresses that it is only and always provisional. History gives it its force. She examines court opinions, government sanctions, speech/conduct theory, the First and Fourteenth Amendment debate and recent attempts to regulate speech on campuses, in the workplace, and in public places and posits that the state is responsible for hate speech in so far as the state decides

through law and regulation what is acceptable, and the state maintains the power to determine sanctions. She discusses censorship at length, examines and analyzes several speech theories, and reviews the role of society in shaping speech. Finally, she concludes with the idea that the name-calling that has caused the injury may be used for counter-mobilization. As a new identity is sought, a new line of authority in self definition is established.

Cleary, Edward J, *Beyond the Burning Cross: The First Amendment and the Landmark R.A.V. Case*, New York: Random House, 1994. *Beyond the Burning Cross* is more about the constitutionality of a St. Paul, Minnesota city ordinance applied to the burning of the cross on the lawn of a black family than the incident itself. Cleary takes the reader through his preparation of this pro bono case assigned to him shortly after his transfer to juvenile court. The book presents Cleary's struggle to defend an individual who has performed an act he abhors, accused under a city ordinance that he views as unconstitutional. In this book the reader learns how the legal process works and how the press and media respond to a high profile case. The reader receives an introduction to the thinking of the various Supreme Court justices and glimpses the presentation of the case to the United States Supreme Court. Cleary shares his experience of the primarily negative public response to the United States Supreme Court decision few understand. The 9-0 decision provided in Appendix A and B illustrate how the justices agreed in the decision but differed on the analysis of the law.

Cohen, Mark Nathan, *Culture of Intolerance: Chauvinism, Class, and Racism in the United States*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998. Professor Cohen does not intend this to be a scholarly publication and indeed it does not contain many footnotes, but within the text clear references are made to resources which the author refutes or supports. The life experiences related through the author's stories reflect the true uniqueness of different cultures. Cohen's contribution comes primarily in the way he uses facts and familiar comparisons to dispel some commonly held myths and biases of some mainstream individuals and groups.

He compares culture and language from a perspective of uniqueness, change over time, and rules. He also show that although each culture is unique, each shares with others many commonalities in content and structure. He examines some assumptions of American culture. Two chapters examine concepts regarding human biology, genetics, and IQ testing and challenge some of the too commonly held beliefs. He looks at affirmative action and curriculum inclusion to expose misconceptions and narrow applications. The final chapter offers suggestions for transforming the culture of intolerance by

exposing sources and suggests improving the system from within primarily through understanding and honest education. A short list of suggested readings and an index complete the publication.

Collins, Patricia Hill, *Fighting Words: Black Women and the Search for Justice*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998. This publication is scholarly, theoretical, and deeply personal. The reader travels from a segregated Philadelphia neighborhood through the terrain of experiences in grade and high schools and universities to an exposure to Sojourner Truth. Her journey is filled with surveillance and silencing and self-determination. The quest is for self-definition and self-determination by “lifting as we climb” based on a supporting community. The journey can be seen as a quilt metaphor Collins uses to bring the pieces together into a unit that seems to lack aesthetics, but for which all the pieces are necessary to form the whole. Whether the theory is viewed from womanism or the Black feminist standpoint, it progresses through a concern characterized by passion for justice and deep spirituality.

Dees, Morris, and James Corcoran, *Gathering Storm: America's Militia Threat*, 1st ed. New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1996. The authors recount the incidents of the Weaver family at Ruby Ridge and of the Branch Davidian raid at Waco, Texas in detail, presenting both each group's and the government's perspectives on the disasters. These incidents are used as a background along with the *Turner Diaries* to examine militia group activities that the authors tie to the bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City.

The reader is exposed to a great many individuals and detailed activities of the militia movement, many of which are tied to information gathered by the Southern Poverty Law Center's Klanwatch, “informers” who have penetrated the groups, and cases handled by Morris Dees and his associates. The authors provide many references and quotes from references verbatim throughout the work without giving chapter notes for works cited. A short explanation and “source notes” are provided at the conclusion of the publication.

Dees, Morris, and Steve Fiffer, *Hate on Trial: The Case Against America's Most Dangerous Neo-Nazi.*, New York: Villard Books, 1993. This book tells the story of the trial avenging the racially motivated murder of Mulugeta Seraw, an Ethiopian, working and attending college in Portland, Oregon. The reader meets the victim through his uncle Engedaw Berhanu. Morris Dees is convinced that he should handle the case. With the assistance of several colleagues and the cooperation of Dave Mazzella, a former vice president of WAR youth, Dees and his co-prosecutor gathers evidence, takes depositions,

selects members for the jury and conducts the trial that results in a settlement of ten million dollars in punitive damages against Kyle Brewster, Ken Mieske, John Metzger, Tom Metzger, and WAR. The conviction, at least for a short time, curtailed the activities of the Metzger leaders.

Delgado, Richard, *The Coming Race War?: And Other Apocalyptic Tales of America After Affirmative Action and Welfare*, New York: New York University Press, 1996. In this book the author employs the legal storytelling technique as he continues the *Rodrigo Chronicles*. The Professor takes the role of interpreter, clarifier, and devil's advocate as his protégée Rodrigo sets forth his perspectives and theories on topics critical to understanding race relations in America. The author cleverly presents an insider-outsider view on true and false empathy of liberals, the rule of law and politics in race relations, the impact of merit considerations and affirmative action on school enrollments and recruitment, hiring, retention, and promotion decisions, color blind theory, overt racism, injustice and need for reparation, identity politics, and immigration law and practices. Through Rodrigo's friend and colleague, Knowalsky, a conservative turned race traitor, one is exposed to an American apocalypse in which a race war occurs to which the new minority responds with increased police surveillance and martial law. Although the legal story telling technique is used, the publication displays scholarly research in numerous chapter bibliographic notes used to support the theories. The publication has no index.

Delgado, Richard and Jean Stefanic, *Must We Defend Nazis?: Hate Speech, Pornography, and the New First Amendment*, New York: New York University Press, 1997. This scholarly publication posits that First Amendment interpretation regarding freedom of speech applied to hate speech and pornography is experiencing a paradigm shift. The collection consists of ten essays gathered into four parts for which the authors provide a short introduction. Part one provides a brief history of the free speech debate and describes the harm done to victim, perpetrator, and society by hate speech and pornography. Part two provides an explanation of the paradigm shift from formalism to legal realism as it builds on the material from the first part. Campus speech codes, campus racism, and the universities' responses to it are described. The authors provide a synopsis of various arguments for and against racist speech, as well as a global perspective of how other nations view and legally address issues, the view of social scientists, and legal First and Fourteenth Amendment perspectives. Then the authors raise the question of looking at racist speech differently from other speech as it serves to demean, subordinate, and create a stigma-picture of a disfavored group. Turning directly to the victims, the authors illustrate how particularly the media has negatively depicted various minority groups, posit that the First

Amendment under current interpretation cannot perform the function of community building, and propose a program of social reform that includes speech as just one element. With reference to our social and political development as a nation, the authors show how time and space have assisted us in clarifying our vision. Part three examines in depth policy decisions regarding hate speech regulation, the authors' counter argument, and how hate speech is addressed legally in other nations at the statutory and judicial levels. In part four the authors examine the reasons judges and some lawyers see the need for legal reform. Finally, the authors posit that it is groundless for us to say we must protect one kind of speech in order to protect another kind.

Many of the essays in this collection were previously published but updated for this publication. Notes are both bibliographic and explanatory. An index is included.

Dovidio, John F., and Samuel L. Gaertner, editors, *Prejudice, Discrimination, and Racism*, Orlando: Academic Press, 1986. The editors provide a collection of eleven scholarly essays, three of which they have contributed. The book's emphasis is on the process that contributes to the development and maintenance of prejudice at the individual level, which, the authors assert, contribute to the existence and tolerance of racism at the institutional level. The introductory essay begins with an historical background that includes definitions of prejudice, discrimination, and racism. It also provides an overview of trends in racial attitudes and stereotypes, quality of life of blacks and whites, trends in research on prejudice, and six conceptual approaches to prejudice. Most of the essays rely heavily on analysis of published research and statistics. Chapters two through seven examine motivational and cognitive factors that contribute to racism while the next three chapters look at the consequences of prejudice, discrimination and racism on society in general, and on blacks in particular. The final chapter provides a reflection on the problems, progress that has been made, and hope for future progress with special attention given to intergroup behavior. There is no separate bibliography but each chapter provides an extensive list of references. An index completes the book.

Dudley, William and Charles Cozic, editors, *Racism in America: Opposing Viewpoints*, San Diego, Calif.: Greenhaven Press, Inc., 1991. This book consists of five chapters each of which contains six to eight very brief pieces reprinted from newsletters, magazines, journals or recently published books. Each piece begins with a short quotation followed by a paragraph about the author's background and viewpoint. For each piece, three questions prepare the reader to examine the viewpoint critically. Each chapter has its own introduction and concludes with a critical thinking activity. The book examines the seriousness of racism in America by looking at responsibility for

minority poverty, effects of affirmative action in alleviating discrimination and the question of emphasizing ethnicity. The final chapter asks the question of how racism can be stopped and presents seven contrasting viewpoints. The book is appropriate for stimulating discussions of different aspects of racism, its seriousness, and methods to use in working toward its elimination. Separate bibliographic listings of periodical articles and books are provided. A list of organizations with addresses, phone numbers, and a brief description of the purpose of each is based on information provided by the organizations. These organizations represent the opposing viewpoints presented in the publication. A short index completes the book.

Ezekiel, Ralph S, *The Racist Mind: Portraits of American Neo-Nazis and Klansmen*, New York, Viking, 1995. The author tells us in his introduction that he has selected portions from interviews and rallies and chosen particular individual personalities for presentation in this publication. Ezekiel looks for a psychological base to the movement and examines how rebellion, fear, and self-absorption are manifested in a variety of ways. The national leaders who emerge in these pages are well known: Tom Metzger, Dave Holland, and Richard Butler. The author also meets with members of the Death's Head Strike Group at a Nazi bookstore in Detroit.

His fieldwork began when Ezekiel noticed a Nazi bookstore in Detroit. He made contact and over a period of three years interviewed members, made additional contacts, and attended rallies. Personal interviews were tape recorded and are transcribed here verbatim. Material from rallies is from copious notes transcribed the day taken. As important as the materials gathered in the interviews and rallies are, the analysis, commentaries, and reflections Ezekiel adds greatly enhance the publication. Finally the author challenges the reader to become mentors to young people and advocates education as a preventative measure to reduce the vulnerability of youth to white racist recruitment.

Farber, Daniel, *The First Amendment*, New York: Foundation Press, 1998. This publication covers a broad range of First Amendment issues focusing on legal doctrine, case law, regulations and rules and provides a foundation to use in evaluating legal theory. The book does not propose a philosophy or theory. It does offer a discussion of foundational issues and principles of First Amendment doctrine.

Of particular interest to this bibliography are chapters five, six and seven. Chapter five looks at defamation and other torts by examining among other cases *New York Times v. Sullivan*, *Beauharnais v. Illinois*, *Milkovich v. Lorrain Journal Co.*, *Gertz v. Robert Welch Inc.*, *Florida Star v. B.J.F.*, and *Hustler Magazine v. Falwell*. This chapter focuses on the court's establishment of the rules by which to determine issues. Chapter six is devoted to an examination

of offensive language, captive audiences and public civility, the *R.A.V. v. City of St. Paul* case, university regulation of hate speech and penalty enhancement based on racist motivation. It also provides a critique of related First Amendment doctrine reviewing the uniqueness of harm and equality versus equality issues. Chapter seven on sexual material gives an historical background for the development of obscenity law both in the United States and Canada. It examines and discusses cases and describes the zoning approach and the more recent civil rights approach proposed by some feminists who connect pornography to sexism and violence against women. The author concludes that it is sometimes difficult to determine what material is to be considered and what tests are to be applied. The book concludes with a table of cases and an index.

Finzsch, Norbert and Dietmar Schirmer, editors, *Identity and Intolerance: Nationalism, and Xenophobia in Germany and the United States*, Washington, D. C.: German Historical Institute; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998. This collection of essays evolved from a scholarly conference of the German Historical Institute held in Washington, D. C., in 1994. The editors, Finzsch and Schirmer, have gathered together fifteen essays which explore the role of nationalism in the development of tolerance or intolerance focus in Germany and the United States. Indeed the authors seek to discover if there is any connection between the ways nations define themselves and the measure and form of tolerance or intolerance they display.

The publication is divided into three parts consisting of five essays in each. Part one provides a background for understanding the development of national identity in Germany and in the United States. These identities appear to be at polarities when considering political, social, and demographic aspects of the two nations. How equality and freedom, inclusion and exclusion, insider and outsider concepts are handled are central to the discussion. Part two focuses on cultural and social practices of racism. A multifaceted approach which combines class, race, and gender with various social, economic, and political conditions is utilized in the examination of racial violence, law enforcement, use of boycotts, and the role of language in the United States and Germany. Part three turns to a discussion of race in conjunction with bodily and biological features in the "gendering of racism" and scientific racism in some highly technical essays.

All of the essays include bibliographic references, some extensive; there is no separate bibliography. The book includes an index.

Fiss, Owen M, *The Irony of Free Speech*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1996. In this slender volume Professor Fiss discusses the treatment of hate speech, pornography, campaign finance, and public funding of the arts as he seeks to find reconciliation between the issues of freedom of

expression and equality within the state's power to regulate and to allocate. He sees in both the act of allocating and regulating that some silencing occurs. Liberal and feminist scholarship is examined and analyzed. Judicial trends are reviewed, but in the final analysis the role of the state is seen as complex and full of irony.

Freedman, Monroe H. and Eric M. Freedman, editors, *Group Defamation and Freedom of Speech: The Relationship Between Language and Violence; Prepared Under the Auspices of Hofstra University*, Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1995. In this publication Monroe and Eric Freedman edit and contribute to a collection of essays with seventeen additional scholars who met at Hofstra University for a conference to share their ideas on group defamation and freedom of speech. The volume is divided into four groups of essays. Part one provides the historical perspective contributing essays that deal with racist oppression of black Americans, American Indians, Asians, and Holocaust victims. Part two examines transition of language from thought to action through a series of questions and analysis. It examines outsider jurisprudence by looking from the victim's perspective and analyzing racial hate messages. Part three provides an international and comparative law perspective in a general overview, an examination of the American and Australian experiences, Israeli law and politics, and Canadian decisions. Part four looks at American legal controls in two U. S. Supreme Court cases, examines group liability in relation to tolerance in society, describes the harmful effects of pornography on women, and proposes that the First Amendment be interpreted to include civil but not criminal sanctions against defamation. Finally an argument is made to support the maximum freedom of expression.

The final group of writings is composed of sample hypothetical legal opinions, one that supports and one that opposes a particular section of the top prize-winning model statute. The three prize-winning model statutes complete the volume. The contributors to the volume provide an interdisciplinary approach from the fields of psychology, sociology, history, language studies, and law. The scholarly essays have bibliographic and explanatory end notes. An index completes the volume.

Gates, Henry Louis, *Speaking of Race, Speaking of Sex: Hate Speech, Civil Rights, and Civil Liberties*, New York: New York University Press, 1994. Ira Glasser, executive director of the ACLU, introduces this scholarly publication by providing an overview and historical background to the repression of speech in America. He distinguishes early repression from the recent movement to restrict what is called hate speech. He explains that the new movement aims at advancing social change unlike the early movement which was aimed at maintaining the status quo. He points out the trap that is constructed by speech restriction as those in power turn it against those

seeking protection. Further hate speech is viewed as an expression rather than the root of the real problem which is injustice and which speech restriction would not address.

Mr. Griffins' piece utilizes the art of storytelling in which he mixes truth and fiction as his characters discuss and experience speech restriction, hate, and injustice. The other five scholarly essays examine the theories and attempts made by advocates of hate speech restriction. Professor Gates discusses the ideas of the Critical Race Theory movement writers Matsuda, Lawrence, and Delgado, as well as McKinnon who was responsible for the Minnesota anti-pornography statute, later repealed, and the Canadian anti-pornography law now in force. Professor Lively examines the effects of speech management and control primarily against the background of real progress achieved through First Amendment protection. He sees speech management as divisive, and calls for a strategy to achieve change and direct attention to education and moral development. Professor Post focuses on the First Amendment as it relates to self-government in a democratic society as he examines the regulation of racist speech. Professor Strossen focuses on regulating racist speech on campus. She clarifies and explains the civil libertarian and ACLU position on First Amendment rights and regulation of hate speech, and in particular, campus speech codes. She analyzes and evaluates Lawrence's proposal, reviews *R.A.V. v. City of St. Paul, Chaplinsky*, and *Gooding v. Wilson* and campus speech codes. She provides an appendix which includes the "ACLU Policy Statement: Free Speech and Bias on College Campuses." The final essay by Mr. Rubenstein argues that the First Amendment has provided support and protection for gay men and lesbians. He reviews how homophobia operates in society, how the legal system has or has not worked for their protection, the role of the First and Fourteenth Amendment in protecting lesbians and gay men, and finally the implications of regulating hate speech. The final essay is from a presentation at Tulane Law School, October 1991 and was updated for this collection. The publication has no index.

Greenawalt, Kent, *Fighting Words: Individuals, Communities, and Liberties of Speech*, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1995. In this scholarly publication Professor Greenawalt discusses freedom of speech, often comparing and contrasting legal treatment in the United States and Canada. The introductory chapter outlines the themes and provides an overview of material to be addressed in the book, followed by a discussion of general principles of free speech adjudicated in the United States and Canada. The remainder of the book addresses specific subjects falling under the umbrella of freedom of speech including flag burning; insults, epithets, and hate speech; campus speech codes and workplace harassment; obscenity; and concluding with a discussion of the relevance of communities in human life. The conclusion briefly highlights the key difference in United States and

Canadian constitutional law and judicial interpretation of freedom of speech and obscenity. The author discusses the tension between equality and freedom of speech, presents the newer voices that call for restrictions on speech of oppressors to obtain equality for the victims, and reiterates the speech-action theory. The book is free of jargon. Chapter notes provide both explanatory and bibliographic references.

Haiman, Franklyn Saul, *"Speech Acts" and the First Amendment*, Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1993. In this scholarly work Professor Haiman argues in support of freedom of speech. He enumerates the points proponents of free speech have made, adding his own value of self-realization demonstrated by human symbol-creating and symbol transmitting capability. He discusses and analyzes the argument made by proponents of speech act theories in his review of situation-altering utterances, fighting words and incitement, hate speech, hate crimes, sexist speech, public disclosure of privacy, and victimless communicative actions. He concludes the volume with a discussion of morality and the law. He points out that by defining certain kinds of arguably immoral symbolic behavior, such as hate speech and pornography, as acts rather than pure speech, it becomes much easier to argue for legal control and sanctions. But for this to happen, there must be an overwhelming societal consensus regarding the morality of the act. He concludes that in a free society, blurring the line between speech as thought and speech as act is devastating.

Hamm, Mark S., editor, *Hate Crime: International Perspectives on Causes and Control*, Highland Heights, KY: Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences, Northern Kentucky University; Cincinnati, OH: Anderson Publishing Co., 1994. This collection of seven scholarly essays provides a global view of hate crimes and terrorism in England, Germany, Scandinavian countries, the United States, and Canada from a political and sociological perspective. Drawing from common threads relating to perpetrators, victims, and government response, a model for international comparative analysis is offered with a recommendation for future research and formulation of a broadly accepted definition of domestic terrorism. Extensive footnotes and a list of references are provided for each chapter. There is a brief index and a list of contributors with their credentials.

Hate/Bias Crime Report, Olympia, Wash.: Washington Association of Sheriffs and Police Chiefs, Uniform Crime Reporting Section, 1994. This brief report defines hate crime and presents the data and a variety of graphic illustrations by volume, bias motivation, location, offenders by incident, and hate crime victim type. The explanations and illustrations are followed by summary reports of offenses, offence motivation, number of offences, bias motivation

by nature and bias type. The report then presents the data for each reporting agency under the Washington counties by offence motivation and number of offences with descriptions. Finally the data are presented by county with 1992 and 1993 totals and percentage of change. The publication concludes with a list of counties and their reporting agencies as well as a list of non-reporting agencies.

Hate Crimes Laws: A Comprehensive Guide, New York: Anti-Defamation League, 1994. This guide focuses primarily on state statutes to enhance penalties or create separate statutes based on bias-motivated criminal acts that were developed since the previous ADL study in 1991. The guide identifies each state where legislation has created specific provisions to address bias-motivated crimes and where general prohibition on civil rights intimidation has been used to address crimes against persons. Classification of current state hate crime and penalty enhancement statutes are collected and organized by the language used (e.g. prohibiting intimidation or interfering with civil rights, separate bias-motivated crimes, penalty enhancement provisions, other statutes). Court interpretation of these statutes is then discussed, as well as constitutional challenges to the statutes. A review of state and federal case law decided under the statutes is then discussed as well as constitutional challenges to the statutes. The guide then looks at alternative sentencing programs aimed at rehabilitating offenders. Rewards, sometimes offered to assist law enforcement in obtaining information regarding crimes, are described by way of illustration. Finally, federal initiatives are reviewed.

Four appendices complete the publication. They include a map illustrating states with penalty enhancement hate crime laws, graphic illustration of hate crimes statutory provisions, state hate crime laws, graphic illustration of hate crimes statutory provisions, state hate crime statutes nationwide arranged by type of statute and state, and a bibliography of selected resources on hate violence counteraction.

Hate Groups in America: A Record of Bigotry and Violence, New Revised Edition. New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1988. This publication covers the period between 1982 and 1987 and provides a slightly different kind of overview from that of *Hate, Violence and White Supremacy: A Decade Review, 1980-1990*. Activities of the Ku Klux Klan, the Identity Church movement and training for violence as exemplified in militia groups are given more prominence in this publication. Combating hate is also covered in more detail in an action plan for law enforcement, state and local government, the courts, churches, the media, schools, the armed forces, human rights organizations, and business and organized labor. Several appendices are included which cover major convictions of hate group figures, a history of the Klan, Klan terminology, a list of extreme-right groups with

locations, a list of extreme-right publications, and a bibliography of ADL publications on extremism. An index concludes the publication.

Hate, Violence and White Supremacy: A Decade Review, 1980-1990, Montgomery, Ala.: Klanwatch Project of the Southern Poverty Law Center, 1989. This publication provides an excellent overview of hate crime activities during the 1980s. The reader is introduced to the primary leaders of the various factions of hate groups and their ideologies. There is a short section on combating hate through police training, legislation, litigation, education, and community action. A sidebar along each page provides a detailed chronology of hate crime activities and the perpetrators. Inserts in the text include pictures of hate group leaders with biographical information, ideological beliefs, activities, and their followers. There also are many other pictures. There is a short description of the work of Klanwatch, a map of supremacist groups in the United States as of 1989, a list of active hate crime groups in the United States, and a list of hate crimes arranged by date and subdivided by type of crime.

Hecht, Michael L., editor, *Communicating Prejudice*, Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1998. This theoretical and scholarly publication is a collection of 21 pieces by 24 contributors who are primarily academics. The first quarter of the publication serves as an introduction to the multi-level perspective which includes: stances (levels of acceptance of an out-group or an out-group member), spheres (group based identities along with which prejudice exists), levels or layers of analysis (foci where social phenomena occur and can be studied), and types of understanding (various ways of seeing the world). The editor also provides an overview of the pervasiveness, causes, forms, and theories regarding prejudice. The second part of the publication examines racism, sexism, sexual orientation, classism, and ageism applying the perspective explained in the introduction. Part three applies the perspective to personal and organizational relationships, and the media. Part four departs from the scholarly approach by providing personal narratives which illustrate an alternative method of understanding and studying prejudice. Part five examines personal, organizational, educational, legal and policy perspectives for their effectiveness in serving as avenues to intervention in moving beyond prejudice. The editor planned to examine prejudice, tolerance, and appreciation. He acknowledges that little attention was given to appreciation and it needs to be examined. Also he points out the need to continue research from the multi-level perspective, viewing this collection as a starting point. The publication includes a bibliography and index.

Heumann, Milton, and Thomas W. Church, editors, *Hate Speech on Campus:*

Cases, Case Studies, and Commentary, Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1997. This publication is appropriate for use in a variety of college classes that focus on hate speech. The book is divided into three sections: cases, case studies, and commentaries. Each section includes its own introductory scholarly essay. The first section on cases provides a fairly broad background for the whole hate speech issue. The general rules of First Amendment protection and exceptions are explained in the introductory essay and illustrated in the cases presented and discussed in the first section, with the final two cases bringing together most of the doctrine discussed earlier in the chapter. A total of fourteen cases are included in this section and provide majority and dissenting opinions. Four case studies and a case report comprise the material in the section. Material is selected to illustrate a variety of hate speech issues erupting on college campuses today, both public and private, how colleges are attempting to handle the problems, and discussions of policies and guides developed by the colleges. The first two sections include discussion questions for each chapter. The final commentary section presents four reprinted essays by J. S. Mill, H. Marcuse, C. R. Lawrence III, and N. Strossen. The reader who has studied hate speech issues will be familiar with most of the cases, case studies, and essays. There is no separate bibliography or index.

Hustoles, Thomas P. and Walter B. Connolly, Jr., editors, *Regulating Racial Harassment on Campus: A Legal Compendium*, Washington, D. C.: National Association of College and University Attorneys, 1990. This compendium is designed as a tool to assist college and university counsel and administrators in deciding upon what approach to take should they face issues of harassment or hate on their campuses. A short introductory essay provides an overview of the contents of the publication. The publication is divided into three main sections. Section one is devoted to the experience of the University of Michigan as it dealt with a challenge to the constitutionality of its student discriminatory harassment policy and guide. Included in this section are a statement of the background to the development of the policy, the judicial opinion from the district court, copies of the University of Michigan Policy on Discrimination and Harassment which includes sanctions, the Guide to the policy which was later withdrawn, and the Interim Policy on Discrimination and Discriminatory Conduct. Section two consists of various sample policies adopted or proposed by colleges and universities including Stanford University, University of Texas including a variety of proposals and suggestions for implementation, University of California letter of intent and policy, University of Wisconsin Policy which was challenged by the ACLU, a commentary by Professor Lawrence Weinstein, New York University procedures for adjudicating complaints, Harvard Law School's Guidelines for Student Sponsored Speakers, University of North Carolina at Charlotte policy

for racial harassment, and Emory University policy on racial harassment. Section three consists of advocacy pieces and outlines presented by speakers on drafting policies and related issues. The publication concludes with separate lists of periodical articles, other reference resources, relevant cases, and other materials available from the National Association of College and University Attorneys. The publication does not include an index.

Jacobs, James B., and Kimberly Potter, *Hate Crimes; Criminal Law and Identity Politics*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1998. The authors of this scholarly publication critically examine the concept of hate crime, hate crime laws including the politics behind the laws, justification and enforceability. They look at hate speech and hate crime in the context of the constitutional and criminal law. What they find is ambiguity, questionable and uneven statistical reporting, and inconsistencies in interpretation and enforcement of hate crimes. They suggest that hate crime laws may be increasing division in society as each identified, protected group in society seeks attention. They point out that "high level" crimes already carry maximum penalties for convictions. They discount the opinion that victims of crimes labeled as hate crimes suffer more than victims of other groups. They recommend that hate crime be defined narrowly, and that the hate crime reporting statistics requirement and hate crime statutes be repealed. They warn that rehabilitation assignments of hate crime offenders, considered a good idea, need to be considered carefully and coordinated with the community. Placing more minorities in the criminal justice system, enforcing criminal law fairly, and maintenance of community relations are seen as essential.

Jeness, Valerie and Kendal Broad, *Hate Crimes: New Social Movements and the Politics of Violence*, New York: Aldine de Gruyter, 1997. In this scholarly and theoretical study, the authors analyze the ways issues rise to the level at which they gain the status of recognized social problems. They examine the recognition and interaction of victims within the context of social movement organizations and the roles of these organizations at the local, state or regional, and national levels in providing services to victims. They demonstrate that the organizational structures provide for immediate crisis intervention such as victim protection and reassurance, shelters and hot line assistance at the local level; resources, training, education, and advocacy at the state and regional level; and coalitions, clearinghouses, and policy centers and caucuses at the national level. At the same time they provide a support network among the different levels. Some organizations also identify and monitor internal bigotry.

The two areas studied are violence against gay men and lesbians and violence against women. Selected case studies and theoretical research are utilized for this study. Two appendices identify the gay- and lesbian-sponsored anti-violence projects and national and state organizations that provided material for the case studies. Each chapter includes explanatory

notes. A bibliography, list of statutes cited, and an index are included in the publication.

Jones, Thomas David, *Human Rights: Group Defamation, Freedom of Expression, and the Law of Nations*, The Hague; Boston: M. Nijhoff Publishers, 1998. Concentrating on democratic societies, Mr. Jones provides an examination and analysis of laws and cases from Great Britain, Canada, India, Nigeria, and the United States that control group defamation and speech that incites racial and ethnic hatred. He begins this scholarly study by tracing the history of fundamental human rights from the time of Sophocles, describing the conflict in the law of God (human rights) and the law of man (domestic law). He states as his purpose to reconcile the conflicting and legal rights of freedom of expression and freedom from group defamation with particular emphasis on racial and ethnic defamation. He posits that legislation by the U. S. Congress would not impinge upon First Amendment rights to freedom of speech and of the press and describes his position as one of constitutional minimalism. He reviews the theories of critical law studies, critical race theorists, and legal realists. This author's position departs from that of the Critical Race Theory group by proscribing legal redress for group defamation of character thereby narrowing the scope of speech covered. He turns to the interest-convergence principle postulated by Professor Derrick Bell as justification for legal proscription of group defamation.

Special features of this study include the very extensive bibliographic references and explanatory notes for each chapter. Also, each of the first five chapters provides an overview and summary conclusion with the preface giving a general overview and the final chapter providing the same for the entire study. The appendices provide documents that have been referenced in the chapter notes and include acts, statutes, laws from various jurisdictions, racist advertisements, and a holocaust controversy document. An index concludes the publication.

Kelly, Robert J., and Jess Maghan, editors, *Hate Crime: The Global Politics of Polarization*, Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1998. This publication consists of eight chapters plus a short introduction and epilogue. Half of the material is the writing of the two editors. All contributions are academic in nature and represent sociology, law, criminal justice, international programs, English, and political science. The collection of essays provides an historical perspective of hate crime phenomena across national boundaries. The first essay on Colin Ferguson of the railroad massacre case unfolds to reveal the perpetrator as the victim. Chapters two and three describe how neo-Nazis and skinheads, particularly in Germany, and the Ku Klux Klan in the United States grew, adjusted to the political climates and socioeconomic changes to refocus hate on new targets. Chapter four depicts

the Palestinians as a homeless people in Israel and the Arab world. Chapter five shows hate stemming from conflicts of interest and religions in India. Chapter six views social cleansing in Columbia by the elimination of unwanted children from the streets. Chapter seven surveys American hate crime jurisprudence, and chapter eight looks at punishment for crimes in England from an historical perspective. The epilogue looks back on the materials just presented, reflects on the current events of the Oklahoma City bombing and the World Trade Center terrorist detonation, terrorist acts generally, and social mobilization. The publication provides an annotated bibliography on hate crime literature and a list of the contributors with their credentials. There is no index.

Kinsella, Warren, *Web of Hate: Inside Canada's Far Right Network*, Toronto: HarperCollins, 1994. Mr. Kinsella, a journalist, lawyer, and university lecturer, exposes a national network of groups and individuals involved in hate activities and the spread of hate literature and propaganda across Canada, crossing into the United States and reaching to parts of Europe. The perpetrators are portrayed as unique individuals standing apart from other family members, who lead and immerse their families in an attitude of hate.

Over a period of seven years, Mr. Kinsella conducted interviews, collected articles, reports, and printed propaganda and pursued research on hate movement leaders including Terry Long, Barry Dunsford, Mac a'Phearsion, Edgar Foth, Bill Harcus, George Burdi, Wolfgang Droege, Carney Nerland, Matt McKay, and Malcom Ross among others. Douglas Christie, the high profile attorney for neo-Nazi and white supremacist members, is given extensive exposure in his representation of Jim Keegstra, a mathematics and English teacher accused of promoting hate. The publication does not provide an examination of cases and issues from a legal perspective but is an expose of leaders, members, and various hate group movements with most extensive attention given to anti-Semitism. The author provides an explanatory note regarding his research, lists some bibliographic reference and gives chapter notes which are not connected directly with chapter quotations. The book has an index.

Kleg, Milton, *Hate, Prejudice and Racism*, Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993. This is a comprehensive and scholarly publication that gives an overview of hate viewed through prejudice, stereotyping, discrimination, aggression, and scapegoating. Kleg begins and ends with chapters on education, which is viewed as an important method for addressing hate perpetrated in racism. Historical and conceptual background material is presented through the examination and evaluation of a broad array of publications, particularly in the social sciences. Individual and hate group perpetration is examined through the study of ideologies and methodologies.

Kronenwetter, Michael, *United They Hate: White Supremacist Groups in America*, New York: Walker and Company, 1992. This publication, appropriate for adolescent readers, begins by introducing the popular radio talk-show host Alan Berg who was a victim of a hate crime. The author then defines hate groups generally, provides an historical perspective and explains religious, racial, and cultural bigotry as a background for studying hate groups in the United States. To introduce the Ku Klux Klan, he provides an historical background of discovery, development, and division that sets the mood for social and political conditions in this country. Three chapters are used to show the Klan's rise, fall, and resurgence, exposing personalities, organizational activities, atrocities, victims, perpetrators, and infiltration into politics and government leadership. Subsequent chapters expose additional hate groups including neo-Nazi groups, which split into the National Youth Alliance and the Cosmotheist Church led by Pierce who also leads the National Alliance and authored the *Turner Diaries*. The New Order was founded by Peirce and Matthews to carry out terrorist wars against the government. Other groups include the Christian Identity movement, Posse Comitatus and Christian Patriots all, of whom manifest extreme religious beliefs, and the Aryan Nations who combine hate, religion, and business to promote white supremacy. Two chapters concentrate on how recruitment is accomplished by White Aryan Resistance (W.A.R.) in prisons. The author explains what draws individuals into hate groups, shows how some people work in disguise to promote hate, and concludes with ideas on fighting hate. The material for the publication is researched but Matthews was apprehended and killed outside of Portland, not Seattle, as reported. The publication contains black and white photographs.

LaMarche, Gara, editor, *Speech & Equality: Do We Really Have to Choose?*, New York: New York University Press, 1996. The three essays in this publication emerge from a seminar sponsored by Human Rights Watch and New York University School of Law's Arthur Garfield Hays Program. Abortion clinic protests, hate crimes and hate speech, and workplace harassment find common ground in the clash between free speech and equality values. Each of the topics commences with presentations by three contributors and concludes with discussions and clarifications of key issues in those presentations. The first and third essays include accompanying bibliographic and explanatory notes but are lacking in the second essay.

In the second essay Ira Glasser focuses on freedom of speech and equality. He posits that almost all constitutional rights involve conflicts between or among persons so that it is important to recognize that the conflict in freedom of speech and equality is not a new concept. He describes many of the conflicts. He also points to the harms justified under freedom of speech

rights and focuses his talk on addressing the bigotry and prejudice behind the words. Martin Redish's focus is on hate speech regulation, distinguishing between first and third party protection and the tension between the First and Fourteenth Amendment. He enumerates the defenses made to regulate third party hate speech and argues against enhanced criminal sentencing. Randall Kennedy focuses on private versus public university rights, arguing that private universities should have the right to determine their own policies for campus activities.

The discussion which follows brings in additional participants, focuses on issues from the presentations but expands the discussion to include curriculum, recruitment, affirmative action, due process, historical treatment of minorities, civil rights issues and controls and the debate over the Hyde Bill. There is no index.

Lederer, Laura J., and Richard Delgado, editors, *The Price We Pay: The Case Against Racist Speech, Hate, Propaganda, and Pornography*, 1st ed. New York: Hill and Wang, 1995. This publication is comprised of over forty very short essays and interviews, some of which emanate from a conference on "speech, equality and harm" held at the University of Chicago Law School in 1993. Part one speaks about the harm experienced by women, minorities, Jewish people, gay men and lesbians told through interviews and personal narratives. The experience of harm depicted in the first chapter is followed by social science research pieces that interpret the effects of hate speech, hate propaganda, and pornography on the victims and society. Part one concludes with a look at the legal analysis that reviews harm-based and equality-based theories of hate speech and pornography. Part two of the publication examines the remedies available for addressing hate speech, hate propaganda, and pornography through a brief analysis of obscenity, hate crimes, and civil rights laws, as well as tort actions for individual victims. The publication concludes by examining new legal paradigms in which the authors posit we are at a crossroads where our past system has failed to produce true democracy and allow for self actualization. The final chapter examines value, terminology, liberty, harm, exploitation, and human rights from an international perspective.

The publication includes bibliographic and explanatory chapter notes and a list of the 42 contributors and their credentials. There is no separate bibliography or index.

Levin, Jack and Jack McDevitt, *Hate Crimes: The Rising Tide of Bigotry and Bloodshed*, New York: Plenum Press, 1993. This publication begins with a description of the murder of Alan Berg and moves quickly to other hate crime incidents involving Michel Griffith at Howard Beach and the case of the Central Park jogger. Hate is depicted as permeating all of society and

growing. It is present in our movies, music, media, in our homes, workplaces, and schools. It can take the form of a personal attack on an individual or damage to property. The target is usually within the hate group's own neighborhood but when perpetrated for the thrill of the act attacks can be random and difficult to trace. Hate crimes can result from a mission to rid the world of perceived evil, such as racist attacks or attacks on gay men, or women motivated by ridding the world of all unwanted members of the victim group. Attacks can rise out of organized groups such as skinheads, Ku Klux Klan or White Aryan Resistance, or they may involve conflict between racial groups. The authors refute the idea that intergroup contact promotes harmony and instead posits that in some cases, getting to know one another better sometimes leads to despising the other.

The authors examine hate around the world in Germany, France, Italy, Russia, and Hungary viewing anti-immigrant and anti-Semitic violence, particularly in times of economic stress. They acknowledge conflict between police and minorities, but point out some successful police department hate crime training programs and stress the importance of training for hate incident identification and problems that can occur when it is lacking. Several bias crimes handled by the courts and hate crime statutes, hate crime enhancement statutes, and hate crime reporting statistic requirements are reviewed. Generally the criminal justice system is criticized because of overcrowding in jails, inmate violence, and presence of gangs in prisons. Prison terms actually may serve as a source of gang recruitment and intensify hate attitudes. Alternative rehabilitation is also criticized as often being more negative than positive in the results. Recommendations are made for developing national and community service programs, several of which are described. Finally the authors, when looking forward, see economic hard times, increased immigration, declining white population, and growing hatred. They recommend building coalitions.

MacKinnon, Catharine A, *Only Words*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993. In three poignant essays Professor MacKinnon displays the deep pain and harm experienced by victims of words and expressions as she exposes the effects of pornography, racial and sexual harassment, and to a more limited degree, hate speech. She discusses the disparity she sees between freedom of speech promised by the First Amendment and equality protection by the Fourteenth Amendment. The first essay is particularly passionate and often graphic in depiction of pornography when the author sees protecting pornography as protecting sexual abuse as speech. She posits that pornography does not simply express or interpret experience but substitutes for it. She argues for law to shape society rather than to reflect its position on social issues. The anti-pornography statute proposed by Professor MacKinnon and Andrea Dworkin, which was subsequently ruled unconstitutional in the United States, was designed to do this. Some comparisons are drawn between

the treatment of freedom of expression in the United States and Canada by looking at both the law and cases, but the book is much more about subordination and harm experienced by victims of pornography, racial and sexual harassment, and hate speech.

Marcus, Laurence R, *Fighting Words: The Politics of Hateful Speech*, Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 1996. Professor Marcus begins this scholarly publication by describing the disruption on Kean College's campus which resulted from Nation of Islam's Khadul Abdul Mohamad's 1993 speech. Following a brief overview of the prevailing social, political, and demographic climate and attitudes and increasing hostility toward racial and ethnic groups in America, the author discusses the affirmative action debate. He becomes more centered on the educational scene in the remainder of the publication beginning with a discussion of identity politics in which students seek truth and identity; multiculturalism in which programs are examined and developed; and political correctness where sensitivities are examined and evaluated. An examination of the campus climate shows a widespread hostile environment and self-segregation efforts to find support groups and establish communities. Regulation of hate speech on campus is discussed in relation to the First Amendment and Fourteenth Amendment debate, as well as campus speech code regulations and constitutionality.

Primarily the author presents the theories of numerous scholars, describes some successful multicultural programs, and calls for continued affirmative action efforts, development of leadership skills, teaching students to be critical thinkers, development of a crisis management plan, and working with the community.

The chapter notes are primarily explanatory statements. In addition, each chapter has its own bibliography with an integrated bibliography at the end of the book.

Moore, Kathleen M, *Al-Mughtaribun: American Law and the Transformation of Muslim Life in the United States*, Albany, N. Y.: State University of New York Press, 1995. This scholarly publication traces the historical changes in attitudes of and toward Muslims in the United States and to a lesser extent in Canada. The primary focus is on the treatment of Muslims as a religious minority—as a group, as well as individually—with some attention given to changing immigration policies based on ethnicity requirements. The chapter on imprisoned Muslims depicts inmates who experience discrimination regarding diet, grooming, prayer, and religious guidance requirements juxtaposed with Christians and Jews. Muslims have attempted with some degree of success to modify the systems. The chapter on hate crime legislation is general but covers work done to have mosques as protected religious property added to legislation. The struggle to find acceptance to construct

mosques is shown in several illustrative cases of failures and successes. Educating others to understand the minority group was the key to success. This publication is valuable for the study of religious and ethnic minority groups. An extensive bibliography and an index is provided.

Newton, Michael, and Judy Newton, editors, *Racial and Religious Violence in America: A Chronology*, New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1991. This publication lists incidents of racial and religious violence for the years 1501 through 1989. Entries provide exact date when verifiable, otherwise only general date such as season, month, or year. Location and description of the incident are included. A short preface defines racial or religious violence as harmful or destructive action consciously directed at an individual or group because of race or creed. Motive is critical for selection purposes. The preface also provides a very brief historical overview of religious and racial bigotry in the United States. A selective bibliography of more significant research tools consulted for this book are listed alphabetically under subjects. An index completes the publication.

The Northwest Imperative: Documenting a Decade of Hate, Portland, Ore.: Coalition for Human Dignity; Seattle, Wash.: Published in association with The Northwest Coalition Against Malicious Harassment, 1994. This publication focuses on hate groups in the Pacific Northwest, especially the states of Idaho, Montana, Oregon, and Washington, although historical connections take the reader to other areas in the United States and occasionally abroad. Each chapter provides an introductory profile of the various groups relating particular group activities and key concepts. The major part of each chapter provides more detailed profiles of individual groups and individuals active in those groups. Side bars on each page highlight individuals, groups, locations, activities, and concepts. Separate chapters focus on Neo-Nazis, including Klansmen and skinheads. Patriots, including protestors, populists and the New World Order; and the Identity movement of Christian Identity of the Kingdom of Hate. The publication is carefully researched with endnotes provided for each chapter. A lexicon and a usage guide are included in the appendix.

Phillips, John W, *Sign of the Cross: The Prosecutor's True Story of a Landmark Trial Against the Klan*, Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2000. Mr. Phillips relates the deep pain experienced by a black youth in Atlanta when his uncle was severely beaten by members of the Ku Klux Klan following a cross burning ceremony. The police department and district attorney review evidence but decline to press charges. They claim First Amendment rights and that members of the Klan had acted in self defense when Samuel attacked them. Twenty-five years later another cross burning

incident occurs involving the Ku Klux Klan near the property of Mr. Gentry, the nephew of Samuel.

Mr. Phillips provides a brief history of Klan intimidation and violence. This true story describes the gathering of evidence, examination of witnesses, and attempts of the Klan to get the case dismissed and moved repeatedly from one judge's chamber to another. The author's conviction that the meaning of the cross is a symbol of love and forgiveness is juxtaposed against the intimidation and hate symbolized in the Klan's cross burning. Throughout the publication the author explains court practices and procedures. The account is fast moving, and in the end Mr. Phillips prevails as prosecutor of the Klan members. There are no bibliographic references and no index.

Pilla, Thomas V., *Fair and Open Environment? Bigotry and Violence on College Campuses in California*, Washington, D.C.: California Advisory Commission on Civil Rights, 1991. This summary report reviews the efforts undertaken by colleges and universities to combat racism on campuses. It gives the demographics on the influx of minorities into California and examines campus issues of bias, growing diversity, admission policies, faculty representation of women and minorities, and the failure to meet university affirmative action hiring formulas. It suggests programs to combat bigotry, to increase awareness, and promote cultural sensitivity among faculty, staff and students, and to develop educational programs on diversity for campuses.

Pinkley, Alphonso, *Lest We Forget—White Hate Crimes: Howard Beach and Other Racial Atrocities*, 1st ed. Chicago: Third World Press, 1994. This publication restricts coverage to New York State, primarily to the boroughs of New York City from 1980 through 1990. It attributes the social conditions and racial attitudes to conservative political leadership, drawing comparisons with the reconstruction era of 1900. The victims include Michael Griffith of Howard Beach; Luis Rodriguez, Antoine Davis, Richard Renner of Manhattan; William Turks, Dennis Dixon, and Donald Cooper of Brooklyn; Michael Stewart at the IND subway station; Eleanor Bumpurs of the Bronx; Barry Allen, James Ramseur, Darrell Cabey, and Troy Canty of the Bronx; Yusuf Hawkins, Troy Banner, Claude Stanford, and Luther Sylvester of East New York.

The author provides area profiles, victim and perpetrator profiles, an account of the trial including jury selection, evidence presented, medical examiner reports, description of jury deliberations, verdict, sentencing decision, and sometimes an aftermath which describes individual and public responses to verdicts, community responses to the verdicts, and consequences for witnesses willing to step forward with evidence. The perpetrators include corrupt police officers, individuals and white gangs, expert witnesses, and

corrupt medical examiners. The author has selected the most virulent incidents for exposure of racial violence. Although there are numbered chapter footnotes at the end of the publication, these are not included in the text of the book.

Ridgeway, James, *Blood in the Face: The Ku Klux Klan, Aryan Nations, Nazi Skinheads, and the Rise of a New White Culture*, Newly revised and updated. New York: Thunder's Mouth Press, 1995. "Blood in the face" comes from the white supremacist belief in the white race's ability to blush so that only those with blood in the face are members of the elite race. Ridgeway devotes a chapter to each of the groups mentioned in the title after providing an overview that includes a chart of key racist groups and members in a "Web of Racism." Distinct characteristics of each hate group emerge as the stories, sometimes reported in graphic detail, are told. Loyalty, defectors, recruitment, communism and politics all play a part in this publication which is liberally illustrated with pictures, slogans, cartoons, excerpts, and documents. There are no footnotes in the text and the "bibliographic notes" arranged by chapter references refer the reader to sources for more and sometimes current information. The latest date mentioned in the text is 1990.

Roleff, Tamara L., Brenda Stalcup, and Mary E. Williams, editor, *Hate Groups: Opposing Viewpoints*, San Diego, Calif.: Greenhaven Press, 1999. This Current Controversies series publication poses four questions about hate groups regarding the seriousness of hate crimes, the promotion of hate and violence, the threat of militia movements, and how hate crimes and terrorism can be reduced. An introduction is provided for each of the four chapters and the credentials of each author is given. Materials are composed of reprinted articles, speeches, and excerpts from published works. Each author's viewpoint is stated, and introductory questions are raised about each author's perspective to help the reader evaluate the viewpoint. The essays are appropriate for young adults and are designed to stimulate thinking about the subject. A list of organizations with addresses, phone numbers and a description of the purposes, a short bibliography, and an index complete the publication.

Shiell, Timothy C, *Campus Hate Speech on Trial*, Lawrence, Kan.: University of Kansas, 1998. Professor Shiell adds an important scholarly publication to the campus hate speech codes debate. In his preface he tells the reader that through examination and critical questioning he has changed positions in his assessment regarding campus hate speech codes. The publication presents the arguments on both sides of the issue. In the analysis the author illustrates how campuses could develop and implement hate speech codes and rules in response to incidents without opposition. He expresses concern over the moral and legal question of speech restriction and examines the deterrence argument, the First Amendment argument, and the university mission

statement argument. He presents and examines the cases that have tested the campus hate speech codes and rules. Then he examines the hostile environment regulations to determine in what kinds of situations it might be possible to develop sanctions. In the final analysis, Professor Shiell enumerates the arguments for free speech and the responsibility of the university to promote an open forum for speech. The publication includes an extensive bibliography, a list of cases, and an index.

Stern, Kenneth, *A Force Upon the Plain: The American Militia Movement and the Politics of Hate*, New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996. This publication covers the topic of militia groups in much greater depth than *The Militia Movement in America: Before and After Oklahoma City*, by Tricia Andryszewski, and it is written for a more mature audience. Although some connections are made between other hate groups and militia groups, attention is concentrated on the militia groups and their relations to government entities and individuals. The incidents at Ruby Ridge involving Randy Weaver and his family and the Branch Davidian Compound at Waco, Texas, as well as examples of efforts to protect the environment and gun control, are used to provide a backdrop for some understanding of how militia groups perceived government control. Mr. Stern provides a detailed history of militia group development and growth in the United States and an introduction to the major individuals involved in the movement.

An appendix gives the Anti-Defamation League model statute for paramilitary training and a proposed federal anti-paramilitary-training statute. The reference sources for each chapter are listed in alphabetical order by reference entry and are not tied to footnotes in the book. These come primarily from newspapers, although there are references to other primary and secondary sources. The book concludes with an index.

Strum, Phillipa, *When the Nazis Came to Skokie: Freedom for Speech We Hate*, Lawrence, Kan.: University of Kansas Press, 1999. Professor Strum provides a scholarly publication written with meticulous detail. At the same time she includes the background information necessary for the reader to understand the feelings and beliefs of the various constituencies with interest in the Skokie case. She begins the book by presenting the historical background of a Jewish community who suffered through the holocaust and survived but whose fears and memories dominate their lives. This situation is juxtaposed against a Nazi group led by Frank Collins, himself of Jewish decent but lacking the experiences of the Jewish community of Skokie, bent upon obtaining publicity for his group. The book explains Collins' attempt to obtain permission to march in Skokie, and the town's response, including attempts to institute an insurance bond, writing ordinances, and planning counter demonstrations.

The primary focus of the book is on defending free speech and distinguishing rights guaranteed by the First Amendment, even when it is speech the defenders abhor. The story also becomes one that depicts the ACLU struggle with the loss of membership as an attorney with great courage prepares and presents the defense for Frank Collins. Professor Strum compares the basis of free speech rights in the United States and that of other nations while she examines the purposes behind the hate speech laws we enact.

The book contains a chronology of events from the birth of Sol Goldstein in Russia through the dedication of the Holocaust Memorial in Skokie. The book includes a table of cases, a bibliographic essay referencing the primary sources the author consulted in preparing this publication, and an index.

Taylor, Jared, *Paved with Good Intentions: The Failure of Race Relations in Contemporary America*, New York: Carroll & Graf Publishers, Inc., 1992. Mr. Taylor acknowledges the difficulty he encountered when he attempted to have this book published, attributing it to a matter of orthodoxy. He begins his book by looking at racism from a variety of perspectives, reviewing ways that have been used to test for racism in areas of white collar employment, the criminal justice system, college campuses generally and Stanford University in particular, as well as society in general. As hard as he tries, he fails to find racism directed at white people, but he posits the reverse is evident. He examines the lives of Asians and the role of prejudice as it has affected their lives, calling attention to their high level of success and accomplishment as a minority group.

Affirmative action in education, employment, and areas less often considered, such as savings and loan establishments, the banking industry, development of enterprise zones, and housing markets, are all reviewed for their effect on blacks. It is Mr. Taylor's position that affirmative action efforts have failed because they have offered preferential treatment, and thus blacks have failed to learn self-reliance. Further he sees affirmative action along with civil rights efforts as having failed in eliminating racism and building equality; rather the effect has been that of creating a double standard for blacks and whites which he details.

The plight of the underclass involves the problems with which all of society must deal, including crime, poverty, lack of justice, greed and envy. These largely represent moral problems, and programs generally do little to address these kinds of problems. The one area that the author distinguished as moral to which society has responded is that of tolerance. The social programs that have been developed are seen as detrimental, especially for blacks, regardless of good intentions. The author calls for changes in morality in which blacks take responsibility for themselves, particularly in getting at minimum a high school education, getting and keeping a job, and bringing an

end to illegitimacy. He sees the lack of family stability as the single most devastating problem for blacks. His apparent lack of faith leads him to propose the use of Norplant as a form of social assistance.

The book has extensive footnotes with over 80 percent of the sources from newspaper reports and popular magazines. Although he could have at least at times have cited cases, ordinances or more substantial statistical sources, he does not. The publication concludes with an index.

Wade, Wyn Craig, *The Fiery Cross: The Ku Klux Klan in America*, Oxford University Press, 1998. This publication begins with a prologue which provides an overview of the treatment of blacks after emancipation showing political struggles to maintain enslavement in principle, including general mistreatment, severe abuses, beatings, house burnings, murders, and rapes. The remainder of the text breaks the history of the Klan activities into "books" covering 1865-1915, 1915-1930, and 1930-1987. The preface provides an update for the book published originally in 1987, which reflects work accomplished by the Southern Poverty Law Center which effectively prosecuted the United Klan of America in a civil suit that essentially bankrupted the Klan and brought activities to a halt. Other activities of the Southern Poverty Law Center are described including Klanwatch.

The author relates how the Klan was organized as a secret society by six men who were simply bored with life in their town. It was only a short time until the secret society turned from their entertaining social activities to unrelenting cruelty and terror as membership grew and the political climate changed. The Klan became the law as members infiltrated the criminal justice system, politics, and government. When a Klan member was brought to trial he would almost always win or appeal his case and gain acquittal. Referred to as the Invisible Empire, the group was thought to be a myth by many. Complaints to Congress resulted in an investigation in 1871 which found them to be large and strong but efforts to pass the Ku Klux Klan Act failed. Through detailed descriptions of some atrocities and catalogs of incidents perpetuated against blacks, politicians of unfavorable persuasion, tax officials, union organizers, civil rights workers, and others, the author provides an exhaustive history of how the Klan expanded into many groups

The text is followed by a collection of appendices which include Klan related documents relating to formation, membership, orders, ledgers, questionnaires for perspective members, posters, and federal legislation to protect U.S. citizens from the Ku Klux Klan. The publication has extensive footnotes keyed to the text by page number and by person, subject or quotation; however the text does not indicate these references.

Waller, Samuel, *Hate Speech: The History of an American Controversy*, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994. In contrast to most other

nations, the United States stands apart in its democratic belief that the people, not the government, decide what is true and what is false. In this scholarly book, Professor Waller presents a history of the hate speech issue in the United States. It is his contention that the strong support for freedom of speech is the result of a series of choices which could well have gone in the opposite direction. He looks at the advocacy groups that offered support and brought cases before the United States Supreme Court, as well as the resulting decisions. After briefly discussing the opinion in the *R.A.V. v. City of St. Paul* case, Professor Waller states that the purpose of this book is to examine how the commitment to protecting hate speech developed. He does this through an examination of First Amendment interpretation, particularly by looking at possibilities of using group libel for constitutional sanctions to restrict offensive speech in *Beauharnais v. Illinois*. He explores why American law and policy developed in a different direction from virtually every other country. He also looks at international human rights declarations that proscribe racial and religious propaganda. The book is not a legal history, but rather a social and political history of the hate speech dispute in the United States.

The author begins his discussion of events that brought the hate speech controversy to public attention in the 1920s, when victims of discrimination made concerted efforts to defend themselves. At this time the ACLU was formed and spoke out for protection of speech, and has remained a prominent voice in defense of free speech throughout the history of the hate speech controversy. Professor Waller demonstrates how protection of speech has worked for those who would perpetuate hatred through speech, as well as the victims who themselves at times sought protection under the First Amendment. He also argues that the United States Supreme Court has shaped social and public policy, attitudes and law, and that powerful advocacy groups, particularly the ACLU, have been instrumental in influencing the court without opposing advocacy groups calling for restriction on hate speech. One somewhat surprising turn in the hate speech controversy is seen in the 1990s with attempts to address hate speech on our college campuses through the development of policies and hate speech codes. In the end, challenges brought against the codes show free speech to have prevailed.

The book has extensive bibliographic and explanatory notes but no separate bibliography. An index completes the book.

Ward, Eric, editor, *The Second Revolution: States' Rights, Sovereignty, and the Power of the Country*, Seattle, Wash.: Peanut Butter Pub., 1997. This collection comes from the Proceedings of the 2nd Annual Symposium of the Northwest Coalition against Malicious Harassment held in Spokane, Washington. It is comprised of papers from five sessions and responses to those presentations. The first paper on xenophobia, the dislike of foreigners,

addresses treatment and attitudes regarding the issues of immigration, quotas, deportation, and refugees. The response looks at economic insecurity and the blaming of immigrants for problems by the groups that oppose immigration and the formation of groups to counter this trend.

The second essay presents the debate over First Amendment free speech rights and hate crime enhancement laws. It presents the landmark cases involving hate crimes, and it discusses the rights of groups including hate groups, and the rights of association. An explanation and text of both the "Model Statute to Prohibit Militia Organizing" and "Model Anti-Paramilitary Training Statute" as well as the "Model Hate Crime Statute" are included. The author also provides maps that show adoption of hate crime statutes by jurisdiction and state laws pertaining to military activity with code citations. The response examines First Amendment interpretation and reviews the position of those who take the opposite view. The remaining essays examine civil unrest, the ideological roots of paramilitary and militia movements, and white supremacy groups. One of these pieces relates the experience of an environmentalist who battled with local farmers over property rights. Most of these essays are scholarly and include either reference sources or bibliographies.

Weaner, Frank A, *The Hate Virus and How to Combat Hate*, Tampa, Fla.: Mancorp Pub., 1992. This publication offers a personal philosophy on the presence of hate in our lives. The author's background is in journalism and investment banking and his presentation is based on experience rather than scholarship. The book is void of references and has no index.

Weinberg, Meyer, compiler, *Racism in Contemporary America*, Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1996. This extensive bibliography lists 14,671 references under 87 subject headings. The section on education lists material for and about elementary and secondary education together and higher education separately. Racism is subdivided by seven categories: defining, exporting, institutional, psychology, scholarly, testing, and theory. There is a listing for each racist group as well as a special listing for Ku Klux Klan. Materials that do not fit easily into a specific subject are listed under the general category. The listing concludes with a collection of bibliographies. The materials selected for this bibliography include books, chapters from books, dissertations, legislative hearings, popular and scholarly journal articles, investigative accounts, newspaper articles, public opinion pole reports, government reports, and association publications. The book includes two extensive indexes: one for authors and one for subjects. Some entries show special emphasis of the publication such as "victims of KKK violence" or "written for young people," and cross references to author entries are provided for multiple authors.

Whalen, Charles W., and Barbara Whalen, *The Longest Debate: A Legislative History of the 1964 Civil Rights Act*, Cabin John, Md.: Seven Locks Press, 1985. Written by a member of Congress and a newspaper columnist, this publication reads more like a novel than a collection of documents one might expect to find in a typical legislative history. Charles Whalen demonstrated interest in civil rights when he was a sponsor of the 1963 Public Accommodations Law. Members of the House and Senate came to life in behind the scenes meetings, negotiations, compromises, and filibusters civil rights supporters led public demonstrations, and two United States Presidents influenced legislation. The reader is exposed to the contrasting rules, procedures, and operations of the United States Congress in deliberations over controversial yet strong civil rights legislation. Many previously unavailable manuscripts, congressional newspapers, and presidential collections were consulted to research information for this publication. A list of these sources is provided preceding the footnotes. The major provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 are listed with a brief description of each title with changes made by Congress.

Whillock, Rita Kirk, and David Slayden, editors, *Hate Speech*, Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1995. This collection of ten scholarly essays focuses on communication phenomena from the perspectives of various disciplines as an avenue through which hate is conveyed, naturalized, credentialized and hidden particularly by the white elite. Rather than viewing hate as occurring in isolated incidents, the contributors expose hate as naturalized and permeating society. One contributor examines symbolism as a form of communication used to terrorize or make statements of warning or superiority. Another essay the contributor looks at hate speech in relationship to free speech positing that bringing hate speech into the open fosters critical exchange of ideas in which both sides of an issue or conflict can be examined. Finally, the role of power for purposes of maintaining the status quo or gaining control is examined in the context of inclusion-exclusion incidents. Each chapter includes bibliographic references and sometimes tables of cases cited. There is an index but no separate bibliography.

Wilson, William Julius, *When Work Disappears: The World of the New Urban Poor*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996. Professor Wilson begins this scholarly publication by describing the devastating decline of the inner city from a center of activity and production to a jobless ghetto, attributing the metamorphosis to the disappearance of unskilled jobs, global economic reorganization, and the departure of the upwardly mobile. Those left in the inner city experience isolation exacerbated by a variety of social ills involving lack of work, education, training, transportation, resources and privileges. The author utilizes the material gathered in ethnographic field research and three

surveys of Chicago's urban centers and suburbs, conducted under his leadership, to show the plight of the inner city inhabitants, their attitudes regarding their neighborhoods, families, joblessness, isolation and social and economic deprivation. The attitudes of employers toward inner-city workers are also examined. The plight of the inner-city poor, who are primarily ethnic minorities, is seen not so much as a result of racism but a complex combination of social, moral, structural, and psychological factors and the rise of single-parent families. The survey results indicate that many inner-city inhabitants desperately want to work and if it were at all possible, many would prefer to move to different neighborhoods.

Professor Wilson's recommendations to address the issues discussed include the creation of WPA type employment opportunities, the cooperation between urban and suburban areas, and national performance standards for public schools.

Detailed descriptions of the survey methodology are provided in the appendix for each survey. A bibliography and index complete the publication.

Winters, Paul A., editor, *Hate Crimes*, San Diego, Calif.: Greenhaven Press, 1996. This Current Controversies series publication raises four questions regarding hate: (1) Are hate crimes a serious problem? (2) Should racist speech be limited? (3) Should special penalties apply to hate crimes? (4) Are certain groups responsible for promoting hate and violence? Each of the four chapters provides a very brief introduction to the controversial subject followed by "yes" then "no" arguments regarding the issue. The contributors include magazine editors and contributors, a newspaper correspondent, the founder of the White Aryan Resistance, a college president, a staff member of Peace and Democracy, the president of the ACLU, and Rush Limbaugh, among others. The credentials of each contributor are briefly described at the beginning of the contribution. A wide variety of perspectives is offered on an array of hate crimes ranging from anti-Semitism to gay bashing and racism. Discussion of *R.A.V. v. City of St. Paul*, *Wisconsin v. Mitchell* and *State v. Wyant* figure prominently in several of the essays. In addition to discussing a topic, some contributors propose solutions to problems.

These short essays do not provide bibliographic or explanatory references, but the book contains a short bibliography of books and periodical references and a list of organizations with addresses, phone numbers, and descriptions of their purpose and interest. The book concludes with an index. It is appropriate for use by young adults.

Wolfson, Nicholas, *Hate Speech, Sex Speech, Free Speech*, Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 1997. Wolfson states the positions and arguments of several feminist and minority spokespersons for limiting freedom of speech, explains the dynamics of language, and presents some hypothetical examples of how

speech might be controlled. Many of the newer voices are gaining a hearing as they resonate from our universities in their call to censor certain speech, particularly in the areas of race, sex, and pornography. This publication reasons why people should support the First Amendment and thereby permit even hateful and sexually offensive speech in the persistent search for truth.

The author examines the pragmatic approach to seeking knowledge, looks at the critics of traditional free speech liberalism, and argues for a pragmatic approach to First Amendment doctrine. After presenting the arguments made by those seeking protection from hate and sexist speech, the author makes arguments for protecting hateful speech from censorship. He examines, evaluates, and criticizes the inequality arguments made by the disadvantaged, provides a brief historical background on religious and cultural beliefs regarding sex and the development of the concept of pornography, and finally reviews the feminist opposition to pornography as an expression of male domination with particular attention given to the work of Catharine MacKinnon. He believes those who oppose First Amendment protection of speech to be limited in vision by their focus on the power issue.

Words That Wound: Critical Race Theory, Assaultive Speech, and the First Amendment, Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1993. In their introduction, the four contributors to this scholarly, yet personal publication identify themselves as proponents of critical race theory. They provide the historical background for the formation and development of Critical Race Theory and explain the characteristics which make each of them particularly suited to be a spokesperson for the theory. All are academics deeply involved in the CRT movement, and all are people of color. The common thread that connects the essays is the idea that racist speech, which serves to subordinate, should be regulated. Each contributor approaches the subject in his or her unique manner.

Mari Matsuda examines the values of freedom and equality as she considers the victim's story and views racist speech linked to racial violence to be outside protected speech. She defines characteristics of racist speech and then applies it the hypothetical cases. She would apply the principles only to subordinate groups and argues for tolerance when one subordinate group lashes out against another subordinate group. In essence this theory suggests criminalization of a narrowly defined class of racist hate speech and provides sanctions, not defined, for the most harmful speech.

Charles Lawrence addresses the issue of regulating racist speech on campus through an alternative interpretation of *Brown v. Board of Education*. He examines the debate of racial harassment regulations on campus and the historical context from which racial harassment rises, showing the deep pain

suffered by victims. He examines the effects of how people participate in the debate about racist hate speech with some emphasis on the voice of the ACLU. He refutes the idea that racist speech in a face to face confrontation should be treated differently from fighting words in a captive audience situation, positing that both deserve equal protection afforded by the First Amendment. He sees that racist speech which tends to silence the victim fails to meet the intent of the First Amendment to broaden discussion.

Richard Delgado examines the harms of racism from a psychological perspective on victims with particular emphasis on harm to children. Next he looks at legal remedies to racial insults by examining a variety of cases, the Restatement of Torts, and constitutional statutory provisions. He concludes that together these offer inadequate tort action for racial insults.

Although some progress has been achieved through legislation and court decisions for women in recognizing that battering and rape are specific areas of gender subordination, Kimberly Krenshaw points out that this emphasis on gender detracts from the interaction of gender subordination with race and class. She shows how women of color are placed in a situation of double jeopardy, as they must deal simultaneously with sexism and racism in a position of subordination. Through an examination of structural, political, and representational intersectionality, which she explains, she views popular culture's portrayal of women of color with misogynistic characteristics. She struggles with her own feelings as she reviews the debate over the performance of 2 Live Crew's *As Nasty As They Wanna Be*.

The final essay reviews the decision of the *R.A.V. v. City of St. Paul* case which was reversed by the U.S. Supreme court.

Zingo, Martha T, *Sex/Gender Outsiders, Hate Speech, and Freedom of Expression: Can They Say That About Me?*, Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 1998. In this scholarly publication, Professor Zingo examines hate speech with a predominate focus on gender identity and affectional orientation/preference. She begins by providing an historical overview of the free speech and hate speech debate and a summary from the perspective of civil libertarians, civil rights adherents, and accommodationists, particularly as applicable to sex/gender outsiders. She analyzes the First Amendment, Fourteenth Amendment, and Title VII of the Civil Rights of Act of 1964 for the constitutional rights for equal protections, and draws parallels between discrimination and intolerance of Jews and sex/gender outsiders experienced in societal attitudes spread through stereotyping, jokes, verbal abuse and alienation. Next she examines solicitation, sodomy, hate speech, and hate crime laws seeing them as a way the government endorses violence against the gender identity affectional orientation preference (GI/AOP) group, and the Hate Crime Statistics Act fails to identify the group in statistics gathering. Finally she reviews judicial response to *UWM Post Inc. v. University of*

Wisconsin, *R.A.V v City of St. Paul*, and *Wisconsin v. Mitchell*. She concludes that controlling speech is not the answer to the problem, but identifying the root causes that trigger hate speech—and eradicating the underlying cause—is the only possible solution.

IV. UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT REPORTS AND DOCUMENTS RELATED TO HATE ISSUES

United States. Commission on Civil Rights. *Bigotry and Violence on American College Campuses*, Washington, D.C.: The Commission, 1990. This report resulted from a panel discussion which was held to assess bigotry and violence on American college campuses and to suggest possible solutions to the problem. It begins with a summary which describes the extent of the problem, describes perceived causes, and recommends solutions. The summary is followed by a transcript of the briefing session and a panel discussion held to answer questions and clarify issues. Murray Friedman of the Commission on Civil Rights introduced the speakers and chaired the panel which included representatives from The Department of Justice Community Relations Service, The Anti-Defamation League, The National Association of Scholars, The American Council of Education Office of Minority Concerns, a student leader and officer representing the Campuses Against Racist Violence, a professor of philosophy, The American Jewish Committee National Affairs director, and the vice president and vice provost of Penn State University.

The report represents some diversity in viewpoints on how bigotry is defined and how it is manifested on campuses. Lack of respect, standards and appropriate sanctions, insufficient recruitment efforts, multi-cultural training and staff development, college administrative leadership, competition for limited resources, the presence of extremist speakers, and the increase in minority students are all seen as factors which contribute to the problem.

Recommended solutions center around four basic areas which describe existing resources available through Community Relations Services, National Research Council, The National Commission on Minority Participation in Education, and the American Council on Education. Multi-cultural education is an area where there is some disagreement on focus and effectiveness in countering bigotry. Increased federal support and involvement is recommended. Finally, solutions to the visits of extremist speakers is discussed in the context of freedom of speech issues and resulting tensions on campus, with recommendations to address any issues that are criminal but with a warning about suppression of views that are offensive or vicious.

United States. Commission on Civil Rights. *Intimidation and Violence: Racial and Religious Bigotry in America: A Restatement of the United States Commission on Civil Rights*, Washington, D.C.: The Commission, 1990. This

report updates the 1983 report of the same title. Primary changes from the earlier publication appear as implemented changes formerly described as promising responses to racial and religious bigotry. The appendix illustrating official resolutions that speak out against racial and religious bigotry has been omitted from this new edition. (Clearing House Publication 96).

United States. Commission on Civil Rights. Hearings Before the United States Commission on Civil Rights. Racial and Ethnic Tensions in American Communities: Poverty, Inequality, and Discrimination—A National Perspective. Executive summary and transcript of hearings held in Washington, D.C. May 21-22, 1992, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1995. This publication includes the transcript of hearings on racial and ethnic tensions, hate incidents, changing demographics, multiculturalism, socioeconomic factors, and civil rights. The format for each section provides for a presentation from various group representatives who speak regarding the issues and what his/her group provides in the way of support, resources and limitations. Questions and answers, comments, and discussions are provided throughout the publication. The publication provides the current state of affairs (1992) regarding racial and ethnic tensions.

United States. Commission on Civil Rights. Intimidation and Violence: Racial and Religious Bigotry in America: A Statement of the United States Commission on Civil Rights, Washington, D.C.: The Commission, 1983. This very brief report measures and presents statistics on the extent and significance of racial and religious intimidation and violence in the United States with special emphasis on Georgia, Connecticut, Michigan, New Jersey, and California. It examines underlying causes that contribute to bigotry including Nazi connections, Klan and Nazi-like organizations, the role of hate groups, guerilla warfare training, the rhetoric of hate, scapegoating, media coverage of violence perpetrators, perception of law enforcement response to incidents, and racial integration of the police force, as well as slavery, anti-Semitism, and economic conditions.

Efforts described to deal with racism and anti-Semitism include educational programs sponsored by the National Education Association, Council on International Books for Children and the Connecticut Education Association to assist in curriculum planning as well as a curriculum guide from the Anti-Defamation League. ADL, KLANWATCH, Anti-Klan, Network, state, regional and local task forces and groups formed to promote education and fight bias are described. Special units within police departments formed to investigate, monitor, and assess potential violence, legislative initiatives passed to address racial and religious terrorism, sentencing enhancement standards, statistical gathering and reporting, and codes for responsible media coverage are all described as promising efforts to respond

to bigotry. All the ideas are summarized in the final chapter. An appendix presents two official resolutions that speak out against racial and religious bigotry. (Clearing House Publication 77).

United States. Commission on Civil Rights. *Racial and Ethnic Tensions in American Communities: Poverty, Inequality, and Discrimination: A Report of the United States Commission on Civil Rights*, Washington, D. C.: The Commission, 1993-1997. The Mount Pleasant report examines racial and ethnic tensions of the Latino population in the vicinity of the District of Columbia. Special emphasis is placed on El Salvadoran refugees. An overview provides background information on the socioeconomic makeup of the Latino population as well as the demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of the District of Columbia, needs of Latino residents, the government response to those needs, the mayor's response to the Latino Blueprint, and the financial crisis in the District of Columbia. This is followed by a more in depth examination of immigration from El Salvador, police and community relations, civilian oversight of policing, Latinos in the District of Columbia court system, Latino employment opportunities with the government, access to social services and health care, low income housing, and educational opportunities. Findings and recommendations are summarized for each of the areas examined. Three main issues emerge: patterns of abuse, harassment and misconduct by the police department against the Latino community; inadequate Hispanic representation in government jobs; disproportionate receipt of government services. The primary shortcomings cited repeatedly include lack of communication, particularly bilingual and lack of goals, plans, strategies, assessments, monitoring of progress, representation, and funding. The police department was severely criticized for abusiveness, insensitivity, and for lacking Latinos on the force. Three responses to police misconduct allegations are included in the appendices. Numerous black and white tables and graphs accompany the text.

The Chicago report examines racial and ethnic tensions in Chicago, placing special emphasis on unequal economic opportunity, unequal access to public services, and police misconduct. The hearing expands on the Mount Pleasant report in its examination of services provided to a growing limited-English speaking population. The black community is viewed as existing in profound isolation with police seen as an "occupying force." But the report also includes procedures for investigating and adjudicating police misconduct complaints, community policing, and training. Findings and recommendations are outlined for addressing issues in economic development, minority access to housing, minority health care, access to education, employment and training programs, access to services, and police-community relations. A letter from the Chicago Superintendent of Police which responds to the hearing is

included, as well as seven tables that relate to police-community relations.

The Miami study is introduced with a review of demographics which show a very high foreign-born population in Dade County. The hearing examines language policies in government and public services and its impact on race relations in Florida, immigrant use of public benefits programs, and asylum policies. In each area of concern, the report provides a summary of findings and makes recommendations for addressing those concerns. Three concurring statements and one dissenting view are included in the report. Appendices on adult education, a copy of the Federal Official Language Bill introduced in the 104th and 105th Congress, as well as five tables relating to foreign-born and minority residents in Florida and educational attainment of Dade County residents complete the report.

United States. Commission on Civil Rights. Racial and Ethnic Tensions in American Communities: Poverty, Inequality, and Discrimination—Los Angeles Hearing: Executive Summary and Transcript of Hearing held in Los Angeles, California, June 15-17, 1993; hearing before the United States Commission on Civil Rights. Washington, D.C.: The Commission, 1998. This report was intended to be a part of the above publication but was not published until 1998. The Los Angeles report provides a summary and transcript of the hearing held June 15-17, 1993. The impetus for this report was the brutal beating of Rodney King in 1991 caught on videotape and aired by the media, the acquittal on criminal charges stemming from the King beating which gave rise to rioting and destruction of property, and another video tape of the brutal beating of Reginald Denny which occurred during the riots of 1992. The primary focus in the hearing is on the administration of justice, particularly as it relates to police policies and practices; economic conditions pertaining to unemployment, the role of the Los Angeles Transportation System, job training and small business initiatives; and media portrayals of minorities in news and entertainment production. A wide spectrum of witnesses from civil rights organizations, justice administration, federal and local leadership groups, academia, and the private sector offered testimony, problem analysis, and suggestions for solutions for various conditions under examination.

United States. Congress. House. Committee on Foreign Affairs. Subcommittee on International Security, International Organizations, and Human Rights. Religious Persecution: Hearings Before the Subcommittee on International Security, International Organizations, and Human Rights of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, One Hundred Third Congress, first session, October 28, 1993 and March 9, 1994. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1994. This hearing was held to examine the upsurge in global religious persecution and to assure that religious concerns

figure prominently in foreign policy debates. It looks at repression of religious freedom in Beijing and Hanoi, Russia, Muslim countries, Iraq, Iran and Pakistan. Some of the wide variety of speakers make recommendations for addressing the issues.

United States. Congress. House. Committee on the Judiciary. Hate Crimes Prevention Act of 1997: hearings before the Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives, One Hundred Fifth Congress, second session, on H.R. 3081, July 22, 1998. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2000. Impetus for this hearing was the tragedy involving James Byrd in Texas. The bill was intended to be named for James Byrd, to prevent crimes like that in Jasper, Texas and to assure there is a federal jurisdiction for cases. The goal was to create a statute that would allow for federal jurisdiction when there is the use of force up to and including murder or the intention of someone to harming another because of race, color, religion, national origin or because of any of the six federally protected activities in Title 18 Sec. 245(b)(2) and following. The Act adds new sections to include gays and lesbians, gender motivated hate crimes and disabled hate crimes. It looks at adults who recruit juveniles to commit hate crimes by directing the Sentencing Commission to examine appropriate penalty increases and to authorize additional funding for prevention programs. The examination raised possible constitutional questions that might arise, looked at comparative rights and jurisdictions and the power of states and federal legislation.

United States. Congress. Senate. Committee on the Judiciary. Combating Hate Crimes: Promoting a Responsive and Responsible Role for the Federal Government: Hearing before the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, One Hundred Sixth Congress, first session, May 11, 1999. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2000. This hearing was convened to look for appropriate means to meet the objective of dealing with hate crimes. The Senate responded to the tragedies of James Byrd and Matthew Shepard by proposing the establishment of a partnership between federal and state government in combating hate crimes and established a fund within the Justice Department a fund to assist state and local authorities in investigating and prosecuting hate crimes. The speakers recognized the need for a comprehensive analysis of raw data collected as a result of the Hate Crimes Statistics Act and the desirability of having a neutral forum develop a model hate crime statute to assist states in evaluating their hate crime legislation. Also they expressed a need to modify federal hate crime laws to give federal authority power to prosecute hate crimes within federal jurisdiction. The Hate Crimes Prevention Act is viewed as a preventative measure that increases coverage of all hate crimes. Those involved in the hearings represented a broad spectrum of concerns and included the mother of

Matthew Shepard.

United States. Congress. Senate. Committee on the Judiciary. Subcommittee on the Constitution. The Hate Crimes Statistics Act: Hearings before the Subcommittee on the Constitution of the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, One Hundred Third Congress, second session, on the Implementation and Progress of the Hate Crimes Statistics Act (Public Law 101-275), June 28, 1994. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1996. This hearing focuses primarily on the efforts and needs to provide education and training opportunities for young people and adults to enhance tolerance and stimulate understanding of others. Participants involved in the hearing include Steven Spielberg, producer of Schindler's List; Sara Bullard, education director at the Southern Poverty Law Center; Philip Lyons, deputy Attorney General for training and standards of the North Carolina Department of Justice; Robert Machleder, chairman of the New York Regional Board of the Anti-Defamation League; several senators supporting the act; and federal and local government officials. Speakers focus on law enforcement participation in national hate crime data collection, the importance of community based programs, and need for funding and monetary reward for work well done.

United States. Congress. Senate. Committee on the Judiciary. Subcommittee on Terrorism, Technology, and Government Information. The Militia Movement in the United States: Hearings before the Subcommittee on Terrorism, Technology, and Government Information of the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, One Hundred Fourth Congress, first session, June 15, 1995. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1997. This hearing was held to examine the extent to which, if at all, the militia poses a threat to public safety and the Federal government and to what extent Americans are joining the militia because they feel that the Federal government poses a threat to their constitutional rights. The document ties Waco to the Oklahoma City bombing. The document consists of testimony from speakers, witnesses, and panelists as well as prepared statements, including the history of the militia movement and white supremacist group connections, updated materials from the Militia of Montana, a memo from the Aryan Nations, and published articles.

V. REPORTS FROM STATE ADVISORY COMMITTEES TO THE
UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

A. *Connecticut*

United States. Commission on Civil Rights. Connecticut Advisory Committee.

Campus Tensions in Connecticut: Searching for Solutions in the Nineties, Connecticut Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights. Washington, D.C.: The Commission, 1994. This report expands and updates a report of April 27, 1992. Representatives from the Connecticut Department of Higher Education and Region I Director of the Office for Civil Rights of the Department of Education, as well as panelists representing students, administrators, faculty and staff from the University of Connecticut at Storrs and Wesleyan University, were involved in the discussions and presentations. Also the head of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith in Connecticut and a local Hillel Foundation and the Connecticut Association of Latin Americans in Higher Education contributed to the report. Speakers, panelists, and contributors concurred that the bias-related problems and tensions adversely affected both campuses and that both campuses needed to do more to accommodate increasing multiculturalism. The summary outlines issues, problems and suggestions from the contributors. Although efforts continued to integrate minority students at the universities, the report noted that sensitivity toward cultural needs and increased demands for ethnic studies programs occurred at the same time the students sought self-segregation opportunities which brought about added tension.

United States. Commission on Civil Rights. Connecticut Advisory Committee. Collecting Data on Bias-Related Incidents in Connecticut, Prepared by the Connecticut Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights. Washington, D.C.: The Commission, 1987. This very short summary report provides a history of activities, hearings, concerns, and recommendations regarding the collection and use of data related to bias-related incidents in Connecticut.

United States. Commission on Civil Rights. Connecticut Advisory Committee. Hate Groups and Acts of Bigotry: Connecticut's Response, Washington, D.C.: The Commission, 1982. This is one of several reports written in response to the United States Commission on Civil Rights request for state studies on religious and racial bigotry in the states. The Connecticut response is both well written and well organized. The introduction provides background information on the rise of bigotry, objectives of the study, organization and methodology for conducting the investigation, and questions and concerns of participants involved in gathering data and producing the report. The study recognizes the rise in bigotry at both the national and state levels. Concern for the growing number of incidents caused the Connecticut Commission on Human Rights to hold a series of hearings for fact finding purposes. The hearing sessions are described and are followed by a chronology of bigotry incidents. The study then turns to an examination of governmental responses, law enforcement agencies responses, and community response, devoting a

chapter to each. The text of the report concludes with a description of findings organized under acts of hate and actors, government response, and community response followed by recommendations for preventing acts of racial and religious hatred. Findings are presented in an appendix and coordinated with a list of recommendations that tie issues to particular groups in the state. Additional appendices provide copies of correspondence sent in connection with this study and "A Proposed Policy on Academic Freedom and Public Education." Bibliographic references are included with each chapter.

B. *Florida*

United States. Commission on Civil Rights. Florida Advisory Committee. Racial and Ethnic Tensions in Florida, Florida Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights. Atlanta, GA.: U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Southern Regional Office, 1996. This publication provides an edited transcript of six briefing meetings held to examine the extent of racial and ethnic tensions in Miami, Gainesville, Jacksonville, St. Petersburg, and Tallahassee, Florida. Participants agreed on the lack of equal opportunity in education, employment, housing, business opportunities, financial access, disaster relief, the justice system, and immigration issues. Residents of Miami were recovering from Hurricane Andrew and cited language issues as a major concern. Participants in St. Petersburg voiced concerns over confrontations with Nazis and Klansmen. Participants in Gainesville cited campus unrest, lack of equal treatment, and long-term student divisiveness on campus as concerns. Lack of economic opportunities, especially in government contracts, was of particular concern in Jacksonville. The Advisory Committee expressed concerns over the lack of financial resources for human relations endeavors in Tallahassee.

C. *Georgia*

United States. Commission on Civil Rights. Georgia Advisory Committee. Bigotry and Violence in Georgia, Prepared by the Georgia Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights. Washington, D.C.: The Commission, 1989. The Committee reports on fact finding efforts on racial and religious bigotry in Georgia and recommendations for action by the Governor, law enforcement officials, and the local communities. It includes a report of hate group growth in contiguous states. The material comes from the work of three panels. The antiterrorism task force was recognized in the report for its work, but there was consensus that a state human rights commission needed to be established. Four appendices accompany the report, including Antiterrorism Act from the Georgia Code Annotated, Anti-mask statute, Vandalism to places of worship, and racist

violence with a hate group activity reporting form.

D. *Idaho*

United States. Commission on Civil Rights. Idaho Advisory Committee. *Bigotry and Violence in Idaho: A Report Prepared by the Idaho Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights*, Washington, D. C.: The Commission, 1986. This report embarks on an analysis of the extent of hate crime in Idaho with special emphasis on Northwestern Idaho and some references to Eastern Washington. It reviews demographics and enumerates incident occurrences, impact of racial and religious violence on the victims, community support of victims, and the Idaho and national experiences. The report explores strategies to combat bigotry and violence, including legislative enactments, incident monitoring, task force formation, community interactions, government leadership, and law enforcement work with the community, prosecution of offences and need for significant training. The role of Critical Race Studies in supporting Interstate and Kootenai County Task Forces on Human Relations, and educational programs undertaken to inform the public train government officials regarding racial and religious bigotry and violence, white supremacist groups, and applicable laws are described. The role of schools in developing a curriculum that educates students in human and race relations is emphasized. The problem of attracting qualified minority professionals is discussed. The report provides a summary of findings and recommendations to address issues. An update to the text describes a national effort to combat hate in the United States v. Pierce case then before the court. Numerous appendices provide copies of documents which illustrate efforts to combat hate as well as state and federal legislative documents.

E. *Illinois*

United States. Commission on Civil Rights. Illinois Advisory Committee. *Bigotry and Violence in Illinois*, Prepared by the Illinois Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights. Washington, D.C.: The Commission, 1988. This Committee reports on a hearing held regarding the extent of bigotry and violence in Illinois. The Committee heard from civil rights groups, federal, state and local law enforcement officials, and educators. The level of bigotry and violence in the state are described and the organizations perpetrating it are identified. Responses and methods used in incidents by law enforcement agencies are described as well as efforts used by educators to combat hate.

F. Indiana

United States. Commission on Civil Rights. Indiana Advisory Committee. Hate Crime in Indiana: A Monitoring of the Level, Victims, Locations, and Motivation, A Report of the Indiana Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights. Washington, D.C.: The Commission, 1994. This report concludes that reporting by various monitoring groups was found to be in conflict but that there was agreement on the nature of hate crimes. The Hate Crimes Statistics Act was not adequately followed, and law enforcement agencies did not participate in collecting data. It was found that a person was most likely to be a victim in his own home and hate crime appeared to be a neighborhood phenomenon. African Americans, gay men, and lesbians were found to be primary targets of hate crimes. Suggestions are made to better monitor and trace the sale of weapons and to use electronic surveillance. Concern was expressed about excessive media coverage of acts of bigotry.

United States. Commission on Civil Rights. Indiana Advisory Committee. The Increase of Hate Crime in Indiana: Indiana Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights. Washington, D.C.: The Commission, 1992. The forum consisted of twenty participants representing government officials, community organizations, gay and lesbian community, law enforcement officials, and members of the public. There was concurrence that the amount of crime, including hate crime in Indiana, was on the increase. Discussion involved the nature of criminal behavior and how to control and eliminate hate crime. The report indicated that hate crime against gays and lesbians showed the highest incident rate with racial oriented crimes on the increase. Appendices show incidents of potential hate crime motivated by the Indianapolis police in 1991 and hate legislation documents.

G. Kentucky

United States. Commission on Civil Rights. Kentucky Advisory Committee. Bias and Bigotry in Kentucky: Perceptions from Louisville, Lexington, and Bowling Green, A Report of the Kentucky Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights. Washington D.C.: The Commission, 1997. This report consists of three briefings meetings in three Kentucky cities which experience severe racial tension and a sense of isolation and alienation for racial groups. In Bowling Green it found hate symbols and materials on school grounds and there were no school-based programs or other efforts to respond to the incidents or to nurture positive race relations. The report found a lack of economic opportunities which suggested discriminatory practices. Incidents and groups targeted by bigotry-related violence was found to be

increasing. The lack of community leadership was seen as a primary factor that allowed bigotry to grow. A lack of educational materials and programs to foster better ethnic relations were seen as other factors that contributed to bias and bigotry. The Advisory Committee listed specific suggestions for addressing the underlying causes of bigotry-related violence. The report includes several appendices which supplement the report with demographic information, a hate crime ordinance and a letter from Bowling Green.

H. *Michigan*

United States Commission on Civil Rights. Michigan State Advisory Committee. *Hate Groups in Michigan: A Sham or a Shame: A Report Prepared by the Michigan Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights*. Washington, D. C.: The Commission, 1982. This is one of several reports written in response to the United States Commission of Civil Rights request for state studies on religious and racial bigotry in the United States. The Michigan response is very brief. It begins by illustrating the prevalence of Klan member involvement in national politics, para-military training, and the concern for increases in the crime activities on a national level. The Michigan report presents an overview of the situation in the state. It describes incidents of bigotry drawn from national and local reports and newspapers. The committee conducted its investigation by reviewing studies issued by public and private agencies and statements made by community leaders and federal officials. The report provides a summary of findings with some suggested solutions and concludes that there is lack of agreement regarding the assessment of the nature and extent of the problem. A general agreement was reached regarding causes of bigotry and violence. The findings are enumerated, as are recommendations for addressing them. The report includes bibliographic chapter references

I. *Ohio*

United States. Commission on Civil Rights. Ohio Advisory Committee. *Hate Crime in Ohio: Ohio Advisory Committee to the United States*. Chicago: U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Midwestern Regional Office, 1995. The focus of this report was to compile statewide information on the amount of hate crime, learn about hate group activities in the state and determine if state law enforcement agencies had tracked, monitored and reported incidents of hate crime activities. It also aimed to define hate crime and examine the extent of hate crime compared to other crimes. The Commission held two fact-finding meetings. Prior to the meetings the committee examined hate crime statistics and hate group activities. It found that hate crime reporting had decreased in the period examined, that hate groups were growing in the state and that hate

crimes motivated by sexual orientation biases were the most tolerated by society. The report recommends more training for law enforcement agencies and that hate crime prevention be made a top priority. Also it noted that hate crime statistic gathering needed to be done. Further it noted that all forms of hate crime were found to be unacceptable and that adults have the responsibility to teach respect and challenge those who promote bigotry.

VI. VIDEOS

Cavander, Kenneth and Bill Moyers, *Beyond Hate*, A production of Public Affairs Television, Inc. and International Cultural Programing, Inc.: from WNET-New York and WTTW-Chicago: produced and directed by Catherine Tatge and Dominique Lasseur. New York, N.Y.: Mystic Fire Video; manufactured and distributed by PolyGram Video, 1991. Guests in this video include Nelson Mandela, Elie Wiesel, Vaclav Havel, Nadine Gordimer, Jimmy Carter, Mrs. Medgar Evers, Walter Anderson, John Kenneth Galbraith, Robert Jay Lifton, Li Lu, Mairead Corrigan Maguire, and Romila Thapar, as well as gang leaders and young people. Bill Moyers asks questions and listens as world leaders, gang leaders, and victims explain their encounters with hate and how they attempt to cope with it.

Cochran, Floyd, *Opposing Hate, Presentation by Floyd Cochran*. Spokane, Wash.: Gonzaga University School of Law, 1995. The presenter of this video provides an inside story of hate group recruitment, expansion, fund raising, and connections with other groups. He tells how he left the hate group and how he was supported by people whom he had hated. He also talks about combating hate which is his purpose in educating people about hate and hate groups in videos like this one.

Facing Hate, With Elie Wiesel and Bill Moyers, Produced and directed by Catherine Tatge, Dominique Lasseur; a production of International Cultural Programming, Inc. and Public affairs Television, Inc. New York, N.Y.: Mystic Fire Video, 1991. This video provides a discussion of hate and its effect on people throughout the world including how Elie Wiesel managed to resist feelings of hate in his own experiences.

Guggenheim, Charles, *Shadow of Hate*, Guggenheim Productions; producer, Jennifer L. Gruber. Montgomery, AL.: Teaching Tolerance, 1995. This video comes as a kit with accompanying publications designed as a teacher's manual with lesson plans to accompany each portion of the video and another publication that provides a printed copy of materials covered in the film.

Various aspects of racial and religious bigotry are covered from early immigration to the present.

Hess, Ronnie, *KKK: Hate Crimes in America*, Kurtis Productions, Ltd. and Towers Productions, Inc. Presented by Bill Kurtis. New York, A & E Home Video, 1996. This video provides a graphic depiction of the foundation, growth and evolution of the Ku Klux Klan through many acts of terrorism in America.

Tucker, Andie and Bill Moyers, *Hate on Trial*, A production of Public Affairs Televison, Inc. and International Cultural Programming, Inc.: produced and directed by Catherine Tatge, Dominique Lasseur. New York, N.Y.: Mystic Fire Video; distributed by PolyGram Video, 1992. This video includes footage from the trial of White Aryan Resistance leader Tom Metzger and his son John for inciting skinheads to murder Ethiopian student Mulugeta Seraw in Portland, Oregon. Morris Dees represents the Seraw family, and Tom Metzger represents himself and his son. The trial footage is interspersed with analysis and commentary from panel members who respond to questions by Bill Moyers.

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