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# TO GIAL PROFILING IS A REALITY FOR BLACK DRIVER

POLICE MAJOR AARON CAMPBELL JR. was heading north on the Florida Turnpike one evening when it happened to him.

Charles and Etta Carter were driving through Maryland, returning home to Philadelphia on their 40th wedding anniversary when it happened to them.

And if their stories are not enough, lawyer Christopher Darden of O.J. Simpson trial fame, actor Wesley Snipes and other numerous known and unknown African-Americans have their own versions of it to tell. Even U.S. Deputy Attorney General Eric H. Holder Jr., the highest-ranking African-American in the U.S. Department of Justice, has a story from his college days about it. In each case, "it" is DWB — Driving While Black.

DWB (Driving While Brown when referring to Hispanics) is the catch phrase being used to describe racial profiling these days, the practice of law enforcement officials pulling over drivers simply because of the color of their skin. It's a practice that many police departments steadfastly deny, but one that many African-Americans say is an ugly rite of passage for Black and Hispanic drivers.

When you're Black or Hispanic, they say, rules of the road take on a different meaning. A car filled with young men has a good chance of being stopped. A Black or Hispanic man or woman driving through a mostly White area can arouse suspicion, and if they are driving a nice car, it's a good bet that they'll be pulled over. In the nation's protracted and too often misguided "war on drugs," U.S. highways have become like minefields for motorists of color, as authorities comb the roads in search of "mules," those smuggling narcotics — and often guns. Without warning, an innocent Black driver can end up parked on a highway shoulder, face—to—face with the law. Sometimes motorists are

# BY MARCIA DAVIS

ticketed for minor infractions, such as a cracked taillight or making an illegal lane change. But the main purpose of their stop is to be questioned, and often have their vehicles and belongings searched. Then they are sent on their way, many times without an explanation or apology.

"Ninety percent of the people that they stop and infringe upon their rights get stopped and get humiliated," says Campbell, a police officer in Dade County for nearly 30 years, who was pulled over early one evening in 1997 while driving to a house he was building in North Florida. The incident, caught on videotape and now part of Campbell's own efforts to expose what he calls a "racist game of smoke and mirrors," ended in a scuffle with Orange County deputies. Campbell was pepper sprayed and arrested. He says he has spent nearly \$100,000 fighting the case. He was found guilty of a misdemeanor and has a civil suit pending, he says.

"The intent is good, but the way it's being practiced by racist police officers is an abuse of power," he says. "[Black and Hispanic drivers] are innocent people who haven't done anything. That's what's so bad about it. The majority of the people they are searching and humiliating are Black people. That's why I was so angry. I went from being an ordinary citizen and decorated officer to a criminal in a matter of minutes."

It may have taken minutes for Campbell's transformation, but it's taken years for the complaints about racial profiling to make "[BLACK AND HISPANIC] DRIVERS ARE
INNOCENT PEOPLE WHO HAVENT

DONE ANYTHING.... THE MAJORITY OF

THE PEOPLE THEY ARE SEARCHING

AND HUMILIATING ARE BLACK."

it across America's great racial divide. Finally, after years of studies and lawsuits from angry Black motorists, police denials and charges that accusations were isolated incidents or inflammatory exaggerations, the issue is getting an unprecedented level of attention across the country.

In April, North Carolina's Gov. Jim Hunt signed into law Senate Bill 76, which requires state law enforcement officers to record

the race, age and gender of every motorist stopped. North Carolina, which had been sued by Black motorists, was the first state to pass such legislation. Similar bills challenging racial profiling have been introduced in Congress and at least 12 other states, including those along the Interstate 95 corridor, which authorities target for heavy drug trafficking. The states with legislation pending include: New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Maryland, Massachusetts, Virginia, Florida, Ohio, Illinois, Texas and California.

Though the debate on profiling has been a long-standing one, in recent months the issue has gained a wildfire momentum. In states such as Massachusetts and New Jersey, Black and Hispanic drivers have come forth, some in tears, to testify at public hearings about their roadside encounters with law enforcement; and the American Civil Liberties Union, one of the most tenacious and aggressive opponents of racial profiling, has filed at least nine lawsuits in six states, so far. An ACLU spokeswoman said another suit is planned, but she would not be specific about where. The group also has set up a national DWB hot line [1–877–6–PROFILE].

In the meantime, against the backdrop of unrelenting protests in New York City over a police shooting of an unarmed African immigrant, and a growing realization of the steadily plummeting confidence in law enforcement by communities of color, the nation's top law officer says she favors collecting racially specific data on traffic stops. In a speech in Washington, D.C., this spring,

JUNE 1999 . EMERGE 43

U.S. Attorney General Janet Reno said collecting data is necessary so "we can see where the problems exist and how extensive they are." She praised the San Diego police department for its announcement this year of plans to voluntarily collect the information. San Jose, Calif. also announced this year that it would collect data.

Vice President Al Gore Jr. has spoken out against the practice, saying, "I am outraged by recent reports of 'racial profiling.' DWI is a crime in this nation. DWB shouldn't be. It is wrong to pigeonhole and punish innocent citizens on the basis of race. It is wrong to stereotype somebody as a suspect simply because of the color of their skin."

Gore will get no argument from U.S. Rep. John Conyers Jr. (D-Mich.), who has introduced his data collection legislation, "The Traffic Stops Statistics Act," for the second time in two years.

"We feel very good about what's happening. We think that we are poised to move forward," says Conyers. Last year, his bill passed the House on a voice vote but died in the Senate. This year, his legislation has three Senate sponsors: Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.), Russell D. Feingold (D-Wisc.) and Frank R. Lautenberg (D-N.J.). No Republicans have signed onto the bill so far, but a Conyers' aide says they hope for some GOP support. Conyers, whose efforts helped open up the national debate on racial profiling, says Reno supported the bill last year and he's also expecting her on board again.

But Reno and the Justice Department have come ur from some activists who fear she is moving too slowly issue. "While it's heartening to hear Reno mouth the right they still have to go a long way in putting their money who mouth is," says Laura W. Murphy, director of the national office in Washington, D.C.

Counters Christine DiBartolo, a spokeswoman for the Department's civil rights division, "The issue of police mis and police integrity is an iusse that the Justice Department very seriously, and it's one of the highest priorities here."

It's certainly a high priority for activists in New Jersey two young Black men and a Hispanic man were shot troopers after a traffic stop last year. In late February, Gov tine Todd Whitman fired the head of the New Jersey State Col. Carl A. Williams, after a report quoted him as sayin was naïve to believe race wasn't a factor in drug crimes a most traffickers of cocaine and marijuana were people of co

Weeks later, Whitman and her attorney general admitted that racial profiling was a reality on the New Jersey Turnpike. A preliminary report conducted by Attorney General Peter Verniero's office stated that based on information it reviewed, "minority motorists have been treated differently than nonminority motorists during the course of traffic stops on the New Jersey Turnpike." The report came a day after two state troopers had been indicted for falsely listing Black motorists as White in their reports. They were the same two involved in the turnpike shooting.

Says Whitman, "There is no question that racial profiling exists at some level. The problem of disparate treatment is real."

New Jersey legislators and activists, noting Whitman's "some level" qualification and angry that her administration had appealed a court ruling against racial profiling, were lukewarm to the admission, saying the comments have come late in what has been a long and dangerous game on the New Jersey Turnpike. The appeal has since been dropped. Critics, however, also made

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"...MINORITY MOTORISTS

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TIME NONMINORITY MOTORISTS."

note of vinceran's aspirations for a seat in the U.S. Senate.

"It a syou acknowledge the house is on fire as you run out the door, "says the state's ACLU's acting Executive Director Kevin Keenan. "It is much harder to stay and help put it out."

Assemblyman LeRoy J. Jones Jr. was also skeptical. "They have a lot of things they said they are going to do, [but] I don't know that there is a great sense of confidence in anything that they propose."

The attorney general's report came on the same day that Jones and other members of the Black and Hispanic state legislative caucuses had spent 12 hours listening to testimony from residents about their traffic stops. "Many times there were individuals breaking down in tears," says Jones, who has introduced several pieces of legislation to step up state police accountability. "One woman, Dorothy Cobb, was physically abused and humiliated.... Two lawyers who had been pulled over for no apparent reason, had a gun stuck in their face and were talked to like they were second—class citizens. Just listening to the humiliations, to what people had to endure was very draining emotionally."

Along the New Jersey Turnpike, African-Americans made up

# SOME CASES OF DRIVING WHILE BLACK

### California

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### RAMENTANTE

13.5 percent of the traffic and 15 percent of the speeders, but were 46 percent of those pulled over. According to the attorney general's report, arrest data from the Computerized Criminal History database shows that from 1996 through 1998, for Cranbury, Morrestown and Newark -- the three New Jersey trooper stations along the turnpike — of 2,871 arrests, 61.7 percent were Black and 32.5 percent were White. Five percent were other races. In Florida, The Orlando Sentinel videotaped traffic stops and found that 70 percent of those stopped on Interstate 95 were Black motorists, even though they made up less than 10 percent of the driver population.

In Maryland, the numbers were equally disturbing, showing that while 17.5 percent of the traffic violators on I-95 just north of Baltimore were African-American, 70 percent of those searched by the Maryland State Police were Black. Charles and Etta Carter were stopped along that stretch. The couple, then Philadelphia residents, was traveling north on I-95 through Maryland on their 40th wedding anniversary in 1994 when they were pulled over by the state police in Cecil County. Troopers brought in a drug-sniffing dog to search the van, and even refused to allow Etta Carter, 69, to relieve herself. They said later they feared she would flee. The couple's belongings were strewn along the highway, including their daughter's wedding gown and invitations, a microwave and even boxes of detergent. The Carters say the dog even urinated on some items.

After being detained for a long period - the Carters say it was for three hours; state police say it was for about an hour the couple was allowed to leave. No drugs had been found; the couple received a warning citation for improper lane change.

"They had us sitting on the embankment all this time and you feel like an idiot," says Charles Carter, 70, a retired jewelry store worker. His wife had been a kindergarten assistant in Philadelphia public schools. "To top it off, my wife had to relieve herself and they wouldn't let her. They told us if we didn't sit down, they were going to handcuff us." The Carters have since moved to Florida to live with their daughter and her husband. Now on their anniversary, thoughts of their wedding day are overshadowed by the memory of that stop. "That's why we'll never forget it," Etta Carter explains. "When I start to talking about it, I get so angry. I wanted them to really pay for what they did. They have to stop it." Authorities did THE REPUBLICANS ON CRIMINAL

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A SECRET SEED IN A LONG TIME."

Harvard-trained lawyer Robert L. Wilkins and several members of his family were also pulled over on I-95. Wilkins, a public defender in Washington, D.C., was returning from a funeral in Chicago in May 1992 when the rented Cadillac he and his family were in was stopped for speeding in western Maryland. Troopers said the car was traveling 60 miles an hour in a 40 mile zone. The trooper ordered Wilkins, his aunt, uncle and cousin out of the car.

"I remember standing in the rain with that German shepherd jumping all over the car and police standing around and all the cars driving past and the occupants looking at the dogs and the cars and us. And I remember seeing this young boy who was White, who was in one of those cars. He was about 6 and had his face pressed against the window the way kids do. I couldn't help but to think what that image subconsciously told him as he is growing

up. What did it help to contribute about his view of Black people? Whether it's going to contribute to him [believing] racist stereotypes about Blacks, or an unwarranted fear about Black men."

The car was searched for drugs, but authorities didn't find anything.

Wilkins, along with the ACLU, sued. The Maryland State Police denied the allegations of racial profiling but settled the case. Part of the settlement was a requirement that the state police collect racial data on traffic stops. The case encouraged others to seek data on police stops.

"I think it's encouraging that there's interest and attention being paid to this issue. It's certainly not new," Wilkins says. "It's something that's been going on for generations, and finally people are starting to do something about it. This is one of the terrible legacies of slavery and racism that needs to be left behind as we go forward to the year 2000. I think that getting the statistics was very important because they showed very clearly how police discretion can skew the public's attitude about Blacks and crime."

California Assemblyman Kevin Murray (D) is pursuing the same issue on the West Coast. Like Rep. Conyers, Murray sponsored DWB legislation last year and has reintroduced it this year. Last year, GOP Gov. Pete Wilson vetoed the first initiative, which had been passed by the legislature. This year, with Democratic

leadership in both state houses and the governor's mansion, Murray is confident the bill will become law.

"The issue is reaching a critical mass," says the legislator, who was stopped by police one evening last year while he was out with his fiance'e in Beverly Hills. Authorities have said Murray didn't have a front license plate, though Murray was never ticketed and says the officer never looked at the front of his car. "My little incident is small and irrelevant," he says. "But if this could happen to me, someone who has gone to law school and is an elected official, then it really must be horrible when it happens to others who are not in my position.

"We are talking about nice middle-class people who are getting targeted. We're talking about people whose only difference is that they happen to be African-American. That is not an allowable crime suppression tool in this country. Individuals commit crimes, races don't commit crimes."

Tell that to Boston-based Drug Enforcement Administration agent Paul L. D. Russell Jr., who was on duty last Nov. 18 and driving through Reading, Mass., (a predominantly White town about 10 miles north of Boston) when he was pulled over for having an expired license plate. He was in an unmarked DEA car. Russell says he had no problem with the initial stop because the plate was expired. The officer asked if he knew why he'd stopped him, Russell recalls. He replied he did, produced his driver's license, DEA badge and other I.D. The car Russell was driving wasn't registered to him, common with vehicles used in undercover DEA operations. The officer "wasn't impressed" by his explanation, though. He asked numerous questions, then said he'd have to have his sergeant check things out, Russell says.

"We're all on the same team supposedly, but the whole attitude was very condescending, it was very suspicious-looking," Russell says. The officer called a sergeant to the scene. The two conferred, Russell says, then the sergeant told Russell there were holes in his story. The sergeant asked if he had a weapon. Like most agents, Russell says, the sergeant asked if he had a weapon.

# If I had a dollar for every time

# I've been pulled over..

## Have you ever been stopped for Driving While Black?

Racial profiling on America's highways is no surprise to people of color. But most public officials are still in denial about it.

Federal and state legislation is needed to stop discrimination on our highways and streets. But so far, only North Carolina has passed such a law, and the Traffic Stops Statistics Study Act introduced by Rep. John Conyers (D-MI) is stalled in Congress.

The ACLU has made the "DWB" problem a priority issue. We are representing victims in court, lobbying Congress and state legislatures, and educating the public. But we need your help. The more examples we have, the more effective we will be.

If you have been a victim of racial profiling while driving, call our toll-free hotline at

1-877-6-PROFILE.

Or go to www.aclu.org/forms/trafficstops.html on our website.

We'll make sure your story reaches lawmakers on Capitol Hill.

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sell did. The sergeant ordered Russell against the car. "The officer pressed against me on the car, pushed me and started yelling commands at me, kicking my legs open. They completely ignored my credentials and my badge," says Russell. "Clearly they had a different agenda and I believe a lot of it was racially motivated."

He was released without any apology. "I'm not saying all police officers are racist, but there is a segment that do profiling," says Russell, who also points out that as a federal officer he actually had the authority to arrest the officers.

What's ironic about a DEA officer being stopped is that it's the DEA's low-key drug interdiction program known as Operation Pipeline that many activists say is a major source of the DWB problems along interstates such as I-95. The agency, a branch of the Justice Department, for more than a decade has run a program meant to bust smugglers traveling along major drug corridors. The program, which the department says it has reviewed, is alleged by DWB opponents to include some profiling of racial and ethnic characteristics.

Murphy, of the ACLU in Washington, believes the Justice Department, among other things, should take a harder look at the program. Murphy also fears that much of the administration's talk against DWB will not be followed up by meaningful deeds. "My fear is that the Clinton administration will give the civil rights community and Black mayors and Black religious leaders a few crumbs in the right direction but use this as a sweetener so that the civil rights community will not oppose [the administration's] omnibus crime bill," Murphy says. "This administration and the Republicans and Democrats agree that there ought to be another crime bill."

The last one included tougher death penalties, "3 strikes, you're out" provisions and didn't do anything about the crack and powder cocaine sentencing disparities. "I think she [Reno] is trying to keep the White House happy, which has made a career out of looking pro police," Murphy explains. "This administration has tried to out Republican the Republicans on criminal justice legislation. The policy out of the White House has been some of the most regressive we've seen in a long time."

Despite Conyers' optimism about the bill and even Reno's support, like Murphy, he says there's a lot more work to be done.

"I can't use this surge of support on the DWB to think that we're getting somewhere on other issues," he says. "It doesn't appear to be. Though there are a lot of people offended by the violence of police and their illegal conduct, it still seems to go on."

In fact, Reno could take the initiative on data collection without a congressional vote, says Rachel King, the ACLU's legislative counsel in Washington. King says she's not even sure the legislation will be passed and signed into law. "I wouldn't be surprised if it got attached to something else. I think a lot of stuff is going to come down in terms of dealing with police abuse, and dealing with police accountability.... Whether it's going to pass straight alone as a standup bill, I don't know."

Ronald Neubauer, police chief of the 55,000-member bedroom community of St. Peters, Mo., and president of the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP), knows what he'd like to see concerning Conyers' bill. "The way it's drafted, we aren't for the legislation. It's not the concept that we have an issue with it, it's the method," he says. He fears asking race-based questions during traffic stops might add to

an already-tense situation.

In San Diego, Keith W. Enerson isn't hesitating. "We think it's the right thing to do," says Enerson, the acting police chief for the country's sixth-largest city with more than a 2,000-member police force and with 800 civilian workers. Before retiring as chief this year, Jerry Sanders decided to collect the data, Enerson says. He expects the system to be operating by year's end.

"We're in the process of equipping all of our officers with laptop computers," he says. "We will build a program into this where we will capture all this info in a very easy way. We'll include the reason for the stop and the race, sex, age and whatever the disposition. Then we'll be able to retrieve all that information and analyze it."

To the north, San Jose makes about 100,000 stops each year, about half of them resulting in citations.

"We are going to take a look to see if we are stopping a disproportionate number of young people or different ethnic groups," says San Jose Chief Bill Lansdowne. "We want to do the job right. But if you don't do it, it damages the trust and relationship in a community. If you are doing the job right, then the numbers shouldn't cause you a problem. And if there is a problem, we'll fix it."

Lansdowne decided to collect the data after hearing his own officers of color talk about being pulled over, as well as stories from area residents. "We have to keep the communication lines open, to listen and listen well. We have a tendency in law enforcement to isolate ourselves from the community and that's a huge mistake."

—Additional reporting by Lottie L. Joiner and Rhonda Stewart.

# BEFORE BUTCHS RECEIPE AND A SUBJECT OF THE BUTCHS RECEIPED AND A SUBJECT OF SUBJECT OF THE BUTCHS RECEIPED AND A SUBJECT OF SUBJECT OF THE BUTCHS RECEIPED AND A SUBJECT OF SUBJECT OF THE BUTCHS RE

### Salter, George

From:

Nilsen, Paul

Sent:

Thursday, June 03, 1999 9:44 AM

To:

Rep.MorrisTatum; Rep.YoungL; Rep.Coggs

Subject: FW: CNN - 'Driving while black' -- racial profiling under study - June 2, 1999 (htt

I thought you might find this page interesting. There are numerous related links at the bottom of the page. North Carolina currently requires statewide racial data collection on traffic stops.

Paul E. Nilsen (608) 261-6926 Legislative Attorney State of Wisconsin

----Original Message--

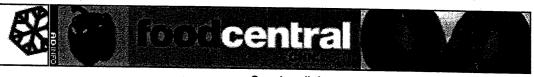
From: Peter Herman [mailto:pherman@execpc.com]

Sent: Wednesday, June 02, 1999 10:20 PM

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To: Nilsen, Paul

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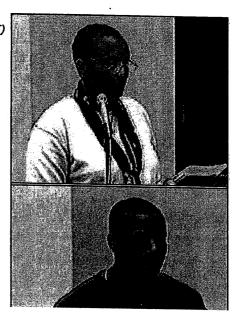
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# Driving while black' -- racial profiling under study

June 2, 1999 Web posted at: 4:22 p.m. EDT (2022 GMT)

SAN FRANCISCO (CNN) --With the growing number of allegations that police are using racial profiles to decide which motorists to pull over, some states are moving to gather statistics to show just who is stopped for alleged traffic violations.

Some minority leaders say they expect the statistics to show African Americans routinely are stopped for what they call "driving while black."



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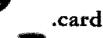
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After being stopped recently in Clayton, California, black motorist Sam Williams asked the officer why he had pulled him over.

"I said, 'Do you know why I'm being pulled over?' He said because someone in the back seat fidgeted," Williams said.

Police later said Williams was stopped because of "suspicious activity."

Clayton Police Chief Pete Peterson maintains that his department keeps a close watch for racial harassment.



Motorists Joanne Williams and Sam Williams say blacks are targeted by police officers

### CRELATED VIDEO

CNN's Greg Lefevre reports on what some call "racial profiling" -- police stopping motorists because of their race

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"We don't tolerate racial harassment or discrimination of any type. If somebody has a complaint like that, we will investigate it vigorously. If there is a problem, if discipline is necessary, we'll certainly take that kind of action," Peterson said.

He said in this case, an investigation showed that the officers' actions were correct and legal.

Some African American leaders think gathering statistics on police stops will help show that the problem of racial profiling is widespread.

"The primary reason that police departments have been able to get away with racial profiling is because they refuse to collect the evidence that would prove that a problem exists," said Michelle Alexander with the American Civil Liberties Union's Racial Justice Project.

Figures gathered in Ohio seem to support Alexander's point. A study shows that blacks received traffic citations at a rate 1.5 times their portion of the population.

North Carolina already mandates that its police departments keep racial data on traffic stops. And the legislatures in several other states either already require it, or are considering laws mandating that their departments keep traffic stop statistics.

A bill was introduced in the U.S. House in April that would order the U.S. attorney general to conduct a nationwide study of traffic stops. The study would include information on the race and ethnicity of the drivers.

But not everyone thinks a federal law is a good idea.

"I just don't think we need another federal law that really doesn't do anything other than gather statistics," said <u>Chip Warren</u>, with the International Brotherhood of Police Officers.

Recently the U.S. Supreme Court gave police wide discretion on who they stop, scolding critics for second-guessing police instincts.

"We teach that in our police academies, that if you see something or you see a building that just doesn't look quite right, stop what you are doing and check it out." Warren said.

Racial profiling has been spotlighted recently in a New Jersey case. Prosecutors filed a motion to dismiss charges against 21 people arrested by two state troopers accused of singling out minority drivers for traffic stops. The officers were indicted on charges that they falsified their records to hide their alleged practice of targeting minorities.

A House panel in May heard allegations of racial profiling by the U.S. Customs Service. Minorities testified they were unfairly targeted in the fight against drug trafficking. The Customs Service has appointed an independent commission to investigate

Correspondent Greg Lefevre contributed to this report

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Citizens Opposing Profiled Police Stops
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Senate: Traffic Stops Statistics Study Act of 1999
ACLU: American Civil Liberties Union
International Brotherhood of Police Officers

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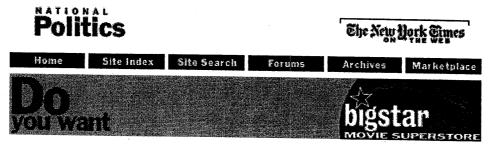
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June 10, 1999

### **Clinton Orders Investigation on Possible Racial Profiling**



By STEVEN A. HOLMES

ASHINGTON -- Declaring racial profiling "morally indefensible," President Clinton on Wednesday ordered federal law-enforcement agencies to compile data on the race and ethnicity of people they question, search or arrest to determine whether suspects are stopped because of the color of their skin.

"Racial profiling is in fact the opposite of good police work where actions are based on hard facts, not stereotypes," the president said. "It is wrong, it is destructive and it must stop."

Clinton said he was issuing a presidential directive requiring all federal law-enforcement agencies, like the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Drug Enforcement Administration, the National Park Service, the Customs Service and the Immigration and Naturalization Service, to gather detailed demographic data on their activities.

"The Justice Department will then analyze this data to assess whether and where law enforcement engage in racial profiling, and what concrete steps we need to take at the national level to eliminate it anywhere it exists," he said.

Clinton acknowledged that because the vast bulk of police work was carried out by state and local agencies, and not the federal government, his directive would have limited i-pact on the practice of racial profiling. But he challenged state and local police forces to follow his lead in determining the extent of the practice.

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The president Wednesday also threw his support behind a bill requiring the attorney general to analyze data from a sample of jurisdictions on stops for traffic violations by state and local lawenforcement agencies. The study would look at the race, ethnicity and sex of the driver, what prompted the stop, whether the vehicle was searched, and if so, what contraband was found and whether an arrest was made.

The measure, sponsored by Rep. John Conyers Jr., D-Mich., is identical to one that passed the House last year, but stalled in the Senate.

The president's remarks Wednesday, at a Justice Department Conference on Strengthening Police-Community Relations, came in response to months of lobbying by civil rights and civil liberties groups in the wake of the killing by New York City police officers of Amadou Diallo, an unarmed West African immigrant.

Those groups have urged Clinton to make a forceful statement against racial profiling, using race or ethnicity as a criterion for stopping someone to question or search them.

The issue has also been particularly controversial in New Jersey, where a recent analysis of stops by state troopers on the New Jersey Turnpike appeared to support the contention that vehicles driven by black and Hispanic motorists were being stopped and searched disproportionately.

Clinton was seated on stage Wednesday with a number of civil rights leaders including Al Sharpton, the black minister and political activist from Brooklyn who led protests after the Diallo killing that brought some changes in police practices.

"Some say that police misconduct is an inevitable byproduct of the crackdown on crime," Clinton said at Wednesday's gathering. "I don't believe that's so. As a society we don't have to choose between keeping safe and treating people right, between enforcing the law and upholding civil rights. We can do both."

Though the leaders praised Clinton's actions, some civil libertarians grumbled that they did not go far enough.

"This is just a mandate to gather statistics, not a mandate to solve the problem," said Laura Murphy, director of the Washington office of the American Civil Liberties Union. "But I don't want to be too negative. This is an important first step."

It is unclear how much Clinton's directive will affect the activities of federal law-enforcement agencies. The two federal agencies whose officers have to make the most decisions on whether to home in on a particular individual out of a large mass of people are the Immigration and Naturalization Service and the Customs Service, both of which have to look over people entering the country.

Maria Cardona, a spokeswoman for the immigration service, said the agency did not use racial profiling to determine which of the millions of people entering the country through legal ports of entry it would question.

"We don't believe it's a legitimate enforcement tool," Ms. Cardona said. "What the INS uses is a list of factors, one of which is the appearance of an individual. But that in no way means that an INS enforcement official is to look at the race of an individual alone."

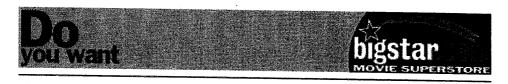
In 1990, in response to delays at ports of entry, the Customs Service switched from closely questioning nearly everyone, to inspecting a select group of people, and in recent years it has been accused of racial bias.

In response to lawsuits, Customs began compiling demographic data on those who had their luggage searched, or were frisked, X-rayed or strip-searched at selected locations. Last month the agency began collecting such data at all ports of entry.

Last year Customs conducted 2,500 "intrusive" searches on the more than 70 million people who arrived in the United States at legal ports of entry.

"It's absolutely necessary for us to do this to have a handle on these allegations of bias," said Raymond W. Kelly, the commissioner of the Customs Service and a former New York City Police commissioner.

Concerns over racial profiling have intensified as questions of police abuse against minorities have risen. This week a federal jury in New York City convicted a city police officer in connection with the beating and torture of Abner Louima, a black Haitian immigrant in a Brooklyn police station. Two weeks ago another officer, Justin Volpe, pleaded guilty to charges of violating Louima's civil rights.



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