

September 25, 1992
Meeting of the South Carolina Advisory Committee
to the United States Commission on Civil Rights

Columbia Marriott Hotel, Salon E
1200 Hampton Street
Columbia, South Carolina 29201

members of the State Advisory Committee present:

Gilbert Zimmerman, Chairperson
Bobby D. Doctor, Regional Director
Rudy Barnes, Jr., Esquire
Dr. Milton Kimpson
Dr. Marianna W. Davis

Speakers:

Jesse Washington, director of the Greater Columbia Community Relations Council

David L. Dillard, representative of South Carolina Black Media Group, Inc.

Morris Blackman, assistant director of the Institute of International Studies at the University of South Carolina and president of a MJ Blackman and Associates, Inc.

Harriet Gardin Fields, member of the Richland County Council

William Griffin, operator of wholesale produce and vegetable business

Reverend Joseph Darby, pastor of St. Phillip AME Church in Eastover, president of the Greater Columbiana Faith Clergy Association and vice-president of the South Carolina Christian Action Council

Todd Ewing, consultant with the issue of diversity

Barbara Brown, county agent with a program called Visions for Youth in Sumter.

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1 (Meeting commences at 2:00 o'clock, p.m.)

2 MR. ZIMMERMAN: Let me welcome all of you to
3 our last public forum and briefing session on
4 racial tensions in the State of South Carolina.
5 And I'm welcoming you on behalf of the South
6 Carolina Advisory Committee to the United States
7 Commission on Civil Rights. Our first forum was
8 held in April of this year in Greenville, South
9 Carolina. In June we had our second forum in
10 Charleston, South Carolina. And we find ourselves
11 here wrapping up our schedule of forums. To give
12 you a little background on why we're here, in 1991
13 the United States Commission on Civil Rights
14 mandated that their SACs or State Advisory
15 Committees would take a very close look at what's
16 happening in the United States as far as racism is
17 concerned. This was prior to the outbreak in Los
18 Angeles and several other very, very well known
19 acts of racism that have taken place around the
20 nation. We in South Carolina accepted the mandate
21 and the mission to embark on such a--how should I
22 say it--serious kind of trip to get to the bottom
23 of racism in our state and to bring about some
24 viable solutions to the problem. We've had some
25 very interesting people around the state share

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1 their insights on racism in their specific areas
2 and for the state at large. And today we have some
3 wonderful people who have had some varied
4 experiences with interracial activity and also with
5 understanding cultural diversity. I'd like to
6 introduce to you the others that are seated here at
7 the head table. To my extreme right, a member of
8 our State Advisory Committee and from Columbia,
9 South Carolina, Dr. Milton Kimpson. Next to Dr.
10 Kimpson is Rudy Barnes from Prosperity, South
11 Carolina. He's an attorney and very active in the
12 area. And on my left is our regional director, a
13 native from Columbia and South Carolinian, Mr.
14 Bobby Doctor. Now I would like to ask Mr. Doctor
15 if he would share with you just what has been
16 happening with our mission on racism in America
17 from a national perspective as well as a regional.
18 Mr. Doctor?

19 MR. DOCTOR: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Indeed
20 we're very pleased that you've taken the time out
21 from your busy schedules to join with us today to
22 discuss this very vital subject of racial tensions
23 in South Carolina. I'm indeed very pleased as a
24 native South Carolinian to be here today. As the
25 chairman has indicated, we initially met in a

1 retreat, a commission retreat, in February of 1991
2 to look at what was going on on the horizon in as
3 far as racial tensions in America were concerned.
4 We obviously had some concerns about what we viewed
5 to be some increases in racial tensions to be
6 honest and very candid with you. As a result of
7 that particular retreat, the commission adopted a
8 national project entitled Racial Tensions in
9 America which clearly is designed to look at that
10 particular subject in a very critical sort of way.
11 But as has been indicated by the chair, we had a
12 number of advisory committees. To be exact, in
13 this region some five different advisory committees
14 decided to tie in with that national project. And
15 as a result we are doing a project in Florida on
16 racial tensions in that state, we're doing one in
17 North Carolina on racial tensions to the north of
18 this particular state, we're also doing one in
19 Kentucky and also Tennessee as well as South
20 Carolina. The idea in all of these particular
21 efforts is to try and get some sense of how the
22 citizens in the local community feel about the
23 subject of racial tensions and whether or not they
24 think that racial tensions are on the increase. As
25 has been indicated, we started the project here in

1 South Carolina up in Greenville back in April. We
2 heard from a number of folks in that particular
3 community. I think it was probably somewhere in
4 the neighborhood of about 12 to 15. We left
5 Greenville and went down to Charleston in June, and
6 we heard from somewhere in the neighborhood of
7 about 10 in Charleston. It goes without saying
8 that we invited a larger number than that in both
9 those communities. We were particularly interested
10 in trying to get as much balance as we possibly
11 could. We were also interested in trying to get as
12 much representation from a white community as we
13 could to be honest with you. We invited the mayor
14 in Greenville, we invited the mayor in Charleston
15 and we invited other officials in both those
16 cities, and the mayors in both those cities
17 declined to participate. Now the mayor in
18 Charleston indicated that he had a previous
19 commitment. I'm not altogether sure what happened
20 in Greenville. But it's interesting to know that
21 here in Columbia as well, we invited the mayor in
22 this city, and we've not received a response. I'd
23 like to think that that lack of response does not
24 typify a lack of interest on this particular
25 subject because clearly we need leadership at all

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1 levels of government to deal effectively with the
2 question of racial tensions in America. Mr.
3 Chairman, with that being said, what we're going to
4 do after we complete all these projects is to pull
5 together reports with findings and recommendations.
6 Of course those findings and recommendations will
7 be made a part of the national report which will
8 subsequently be submitted to the president and to
9 the congress with the findings and recommendations.
10 I emphasize the findings and the recommendations
11 part because we're very, very concerned about
12 having governmental leaders provide some leadership
13 on this particular question. In community after
14 community we have had folks tell us that they feel
15 racial tensions are on the increase. So it's just
16 not something that's peculiar to South Carolina.
17 Again it's happened in Florida, it's happened in
18 Kentucky, it's happened in Tennessee, it's happened
19 in Chicago, it's happened in Washington. We will
20 be going to Los Angeles at the beginning of the
21 year with a national hearing. Subsequent to that
22 we will be going to Memphis, Tennessee with a
23 national hearing and Miami with a national hearing.
24 So the commission is taking this particular subject
25 very, very seriously, and with your presence here

1 today, I am assuming, and I think likely so, that
2 you too take this particular issue very seriously.
3 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

4 MR. ZIMMERMAN: Thank you very much, Mr.
5 Doctor. We will proceed this meeting, this forum,
6 following the agenda as outlined. Our first
7 panelist is Mr. Jesse Washington who is the
8 director of the Greater Columbia Community
9 Relations Council. Mr. Washington, the floor is
10 yours.

11 MR. JESSE WASHINGTON SPEAKS AS FOLLOWS:

12 MR. WASHINGTON: Thank you. Let me thank you,
13 Mr. Chairman, for inviting me to talk about race
14 relations in the Greater Columbia area and South
15 Carolina, our fine state for that matter. Let me
16 also commend you and the Civil Rights Commission
17 for conducting these hearings in South Carolina and
18 all over the country. I think they're needed.
19 When we can have dialogue, it seems to me that
20 there's room for things to improve as long as we're
21 talking to one another. So let me commend you in
22 that regard. I will make some remarks and then of
23 course answer any questions that you may have. I
24 am here today representing the Greater Columbia
25 Community Relations Council of which I'm its

1 executive director. And very briefly, that council
2 is about 26, 27 years old, and it was created here
3 in Columbia in the early '60s to be prepared for
4 the signing of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. The
5 thought was to have Columbia integrate its lunch
6 counters in a peaceful way which was a big thing in
7 those days. Integrate its lunch counters in a
8 peaceful way so that things would go well in
9 Columbia without incident. The mayor at that time
10 was Lester Bates of Columbia. The mayor along with
11 the Chamber of Commerce and along with a lot of
12 community leaders got together to decide how to
13 handle this because all over our country rioting
14 was going on and a lot of things were happening in
15 different cities in the streets and whatnot that
16 were not kind to citizens, and Columbia wanted to
17 avoid that. And so the thought was to bring
18 together citizens black and white to handle the
19 crisis situation at that time. And Columbia
20 integrated its lunch counters without incident on
21 that particular day. The seed then was planted
22 that if we could bring people together to talk us
23 through this situation, wouldn't it be marvelous to
24 have a standing group of people, a standing body of
25 people, objective thinking people who cared about

1 each other and who cared about our community to
2 come together all the time to have a pleasant place
3 to live with regard to race relations. And that is
4 how the community relations council was formed.
5 And of course its purpose was and is to study
6 problems of a racial nature and then to come back
7 with recommendations that would benefit the entire
8 county, the entire area, on improving those
9 situations. And secondly the employment. It seems
10 to me that you cannot have good race relations if
11 you cannot employ your citizens. So those were and
12 are the purposes of the Community Relations
13 Council. We are not an advocacy council. There
14 are other advocacy agencies, and there should be.
15 It is just that this council is not that. The
16 NAACP is an advocacy agency, and the National
17 Organization for Women is an advocacy agency. And
18 that is why they became about. That is why they
19 are in existence, and that is what they should do.
20 The Community Relations Council was not created to
21 advocate for any one group advocate but only to
22 advocate for a peaceful and harmonious community.
23 So I wanted to use that as a backdrop to then tell
24 you our impressions of race relations in this area
25 and not just to recite the problems but to tell you

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1 how we believe that we can overcome those problems
2 and some things that we are doing. Now racism as
3 we know is a value system that believes that what
4 people believe that one race is innate less a
5 period to another race. And therefore they will
6 dominate the other race with their thoughts and
7 attitudes and actions. Racism in my view is
8 defined from that central reason in two ways. It
9 is personal, and it is institutional. Personal
10 racism is almost self-explanatory. It's how we
11 treat one another, how we have power over one
12 another, how we force our beliefs and attitudes and
13 way of living over another race of people.
14 Institutional racism is larger. It has to do with
15 how government is set, how our educational system
16 is set, how our churches, schools and all the other
17 larger things are set. Racism comes in those two
18 forms in my view. The Community Relations Council
19 works to a great degree with regard to personal
20 racism. We have to know what we can do, what we
21 can change, and work in that regard. We do not do
22 a lot of work with regard to institutional racism.
23 I believe that the United States Civil Rights
24 Commission does a lot of work in that regard, and
25 it should. So my remarks would be more centered

1 toward personal racism than institutional racism.
2 In Columbia and the Midlands, like a lot of cities
3 in the South, all is not well. We are making a lot
4 of progress in the South as a whole, but there is a
5 lot of work to do. We all know that we've had
6 incidents across the state over the past couple of
7 years that we don't particularly like. We have the
8 Conway situation, we had the Buffalo Room
9 situation, we had the situation over next door with
10 regard to the swimming pool with the church group.
11 The blacks and whites, blacks were not allowed to
12 swim. And we've had more recently racial incidents
13 over at Coker College. We've had a more recent
14 incident over in Marion County where some white
15 students walked out of a black history celebration
16 program, and the next day black students walked out
17 in protest from that. So we've had little things
18 to occur all around the Midlands and all over the
19 State of South Carolina. That indicates to me as
20 Mr. Doctor said a few minutes ago that we need to
21 get back to some basics. That we need to try to
22 improve our lot. The Community Relations Council a
23 couple of years ago established a biracial task
24 force. That task force is composed of about 80
25 people and transcends racial and sexual lines. It

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1 transcends more importantly socioeconomic lines.
2 We met as a result of those incidents that I
3 mentioned earlier in the State of South Carolina.
4 Things that were happening that we didn't
5 particularly care for and wanted to meet to decide
6 how to overcome those things in our area. We have
7 conducted a series of town meetings this year.
8 We've had three town meetings, and a fourth one is
9 scheduled for the evening of October 15th. We
10 started the town meetings earlier than we had
11 planned. We were going to do them this fall. But
12 as a result of the situation in California, the
13 Rodney King situation, we decided to pick up the
14 pace to be prepared for any rippling effect that
15 might take place around the country. At these town
16 meetings, we've learned a lot. We conducted three,
17 and as I mentioned, we'll have another. And
18 participation has been fairly decent. At one town
19 meeting, we had as many as 150 people, black and
20 white. And I want to tune into something that you
21 all said earlier. You can't do race relations with
22 just one race of people. It must be blacks and
23 whites coming together. Or if you're in a
24 different part of the country, blacks and whites
25 and hispanics and whatever the other minorities may

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1 be. We've had a town meeting at a basically white
2 church, Trenholm Road United Methodist Church. And
3 we had one at a basically black church, Wesley
4 United Methodist Church on Gervais Street. And the
5 third we had at the Martin Luther King Park. The
6 fourth will be at a school over in Greenview. But
7 we have looked at this matter over a couple of
8 years, and it seems to us, the Community Relations
9 Council and the biracial task force, that we can
10 make improvements and can attack this situation
11 from three positions. From education, from
12 business and through religion. And to improve race
13 relations, in my view it must be an attitudinal
14 change. We cannot legislate this kind of change.
15 It must be an attitudinal change. And so the
16 approaches that we will be using will be geared
17 toward attitudinal changes. The point I speak
18 about is yesterday or maybe the day before, the
19 newspaper carried a story that the City of Columbia
20 is going to help with the erection of the memorial
21 to Dr. King down at King's Park. I'm a part of
22 that committee. It is my understanding that a lot
23 of phone calls have come in saying why would the
24 city want to put money into a project like that.
25 It's a bad use of taxpayers' money. To clear one

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1 thing up, the fact of the matter is that the city
2 is not giving that committee the money. It is
3 loaning the committee the money. The committee is
4 going to pay the city back from the money from
5 ticket sales. But the important point is citizens
6 called to say why do we have to do that. My reason
7 for saying that it's acts of racism is because the
8 city supports other historic foundations and other
9 pieces of history in the city of Columbia to
10 preserve the history, which it should. This is a
11 part of history. This happens to be a black man.
12 And we have citizens saying why do we have to
13 support that. But no one complains about
14 supporting other cultural things. Now that calls
15 for an attitudinal change. A few months ago some
16 white citizens were interviewed on King's birthday
17 and said well that's a black holiday. We don't
18 necessarily have to be off. Well that bothered me
19 a little bit. That calls for an attitudinal
20 change. My history tells me that there are three
21 national holidays in this country. Three. George
22 Washington's birthday, Abraham Lincoln's birthday
23 and Dr. King's birthday. To have a national
24 holiday in your honor, you must do something of
25 national impact for the entire country. We know

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1 what George Washington did, and we know what
2 Abraham Lincoln did. Before Dr. King started the
3 movement--and I don't want to put all of this on
4 him because many people were involved. But Rosa
5 Parks refused to give her seat up that day in 1954
6 in Alabama. Before the movement black people had
7 jobs of pushing brooms and sweeping streets and
8 cleaning ditches. That's basically what we did as
9 a race. And white women that did not stay home
10 were secretaries. That is basically where America
11 was before the movement. Before the Civil Rights
12 Act was passed. That's where America was. Since
13 that women hold offices now, white and black women,
14 women are on boards, they're CEOs. All of these
15 things happened as a result of the movement. And
16 that doesn't seem to me to be a black holiday. But
17 the attitude is that it's a black holiday. So it
18 takes an attitudinal change to overcome that. Now
19 how do you do these things. And let me pace them
20 because other people need to talk. We mentioned
21 earlier that we believe that we can impact this
22 situation through three ways. Through education,
23 through religion and through the business. With
24 regard to education, I believe and the council
25 believes that we need to do a couple of things.

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1 The first thing we need to do is integrate our
2 curriculum. A lot of white citizens do not have an
3 understanding of the black contributions to America
4 and to Columbia. When I took leadership of
5 Columbia a few years ago, an instructor said during
6 the beginning of the process that talked about how
7 Columbia came about and the contributions people
8 made to Columbia, he looked at me, and he said
9 Jesse, I'm sorry. I just don't know of any
10 contributions that black people made to Columbia.
11 I'm a historian. When I took history in school--
12 this man was in his 60s. When I took history in
13 school, I was taught that slavery was bad, that
14 blacks were lazy and shiftless. And that's all I
15 know. He said I know there must be some
16 contributions. I just don't know of any. Well
17 that may be all right for me to accept because I'm
18 a grown man. But a kid in school needs more than
19 that. They need to know of contributions made.
20 Not just black children but white children need to
21 know those contributions so they don't look down on
22 black children. I submit that we treat people the
23 way we think of them. If we disrespect a person,
24 we will treat them with disrespect. So if I am
25 white and I think that only white people

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1 contributed to the development of this country and
2 black people did not, and you were here for a
3 handout, then that's how I would treat you. So
4 this opinion of mine is reinforced by his
5 statements. We need to integrate the curriculum so
6 that all of our citizens can know all the
7 contributions that we all made, and we'll think
8 differently about one another. This then in fact
9 will alleviate all the pressures for a black
10 history month because we'll have history being
11 taught nine months of the year rather than shoving
12 it all into one month where you have white citizens
13 saying why do we have to do all of this for black
14 people during this time span. Why don't we put it
15 all through the history books, all through the
16 books, and teach it nine months. And I submit that
17 that would help with the attitudinal change. The
18 other part of it is that we have got to have town
19 meetings and workshops. And the Community
20 Relations Council plans to be very active in this.
21 We've discussed this with Barbara Neilson who is
22 our superintendent of education. We've got to have
23 community meetings to make this palatable to
24 parents. We have parents on both sides, blacks and
25 whites, that are telling children things that we

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1 should not be telling them with regard to race
2 relations. We've got to take the apprehensions and
3 the fears away of having this material. Thirdly
4 we've got to have meetings and workshops with our
5 teachers. We will have white teachers who will be
6 uncomfortable in handling this material, and we've
7 got to find a way to overcome that so that it goes
8 much smoother in the classroom. I think that
9 making changes in this regarding the field of
10 education will help create a harmonious atmosphere
11 for the youngsters coming along. We've got to
12 catch it way down in first, second or third grade.
13 That will help in that regard. Now what about
14 adults. What about people like us. We think that
15 we need to attack that at the work site. The
16 business community. A couple of months ago the
17 community relations council cosponsored with the
18 South Carolina Personnel Association a diversity
19 meeting. We had a speaker, Darwin--I can't think
20 of his first name now--who's great at this. He's
21 out of New Jersey. But we think that while
22 businesses have in-service training, all
23 organizations have in-service training, where we
24 learn to do what we do better. We'll do it once a
25 month or once a quarter or twice a year or

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1 whatever. We believe that as a part of that
2 training--not to create an additional expense. As
3 a part of that training to add diversity training
4 because as adults we spend most of our waking hours
5 with our coworkers. The sad part about it though
6 is that at 5:00 or when we leave, we don't see the
7 coworker again until the next day. And if it's
8 today, Friday, we won't see him until Monday. We
9 don't socialize with one another which is another
10 way to help improve relations. But I think if we
11 can add diversity to the work place, it would help.
12 And we are talking with some major companies in the
13 Columbia area that are leaning that way. And I
14 think if those larger companies take the
15 initiative, begin to do it, then it would be easier
16 for others to follow in place. IBM is doing it on
17 a national level. And I think it's a win-win for
18 the employer as well as the employees. Now then,
19 with regard to the religious field, let me say very
20 quickly that I admire and congratulate the United
21 Methodist denomination for its integrated pastoral
22 exchange. I think that's excellent. They're
23 leading the way in this regard. We have in
24 Columbia a black ministerial group and a white
25 ministerial group. And there's nothing wrong with

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1 that. I suggest though that the two should meet
2 sometime. There is an interfaith ministerial group
3 that I meet with from time to time and to talk
4 about these matters. And I believe that if we can
5 get our ministers who have command of audiences on
6 Sunday mornings and on Saturdays and on Friday
7 nights depending upon your denomination--we believe
8 in our ministers. If we didn't we wouldn't attend.
9 We believe if we can get them to begin to try some
10 kind of exchanges. Maybe a Sunday School exchange
11 at first. Hot dogs and hamburger cookouts. If we
12 can begin to get them to do some exchanges, we can
13 begin to change attitudes. There are some churches
14 that are doing this. There are some churches that
15 are having Sunday School exchanges, and this is
16 marvelous. The entire thing is that breaking down
17 the fears between the races and breaking down the
18 stereotypes and an attitudinal change. You said
19 earlier on this cannot be legislated, it cannot be
20 forced. It has got to be an overhaul of the
21 attitude. And these are ways that we believe that
22 these things can be changed from those three
23 angles. When we complete our town meetings, and
24 we're recording them, we will set forth an agenda
25 that we believe will work for the Midlands.

1 Another crucial part to this that I did not mention
2 is law enforcement. A lot of things click off law
3 enforcement. Next door in Springfield the
4 unfortunate shooting of a black citizen by the
5 police chief, the unfortunate situation in
6 California with Rodney King. When we go around
7 this country, and we look at things, a lot of it is
8 centered around law enforcement. Well in Columbia
9 we have a fine police chief who believes in
10 community-based policing. And he's being very
11 successful with that. We're also working with the
12 sheriff. He has made some improvement with regard
13 to handling the sheriff's department and race
14 relations, some of the initiatives that he has
15 made. And we're working with him. And we believe
16 a combination of the police department as well as
17 the sheriff's department can help. The sheriff has
18 participated in these town meetings, the police
19 chief has participated in these town meetings and
20 the mayor has participated in these town meetings.
21 I don't know what happened today. And the NAACP
22 has participated, the Urban League. Just a host of
23 people. Because this is a problem so massive that
24 one organization does not have the wear with all to
25 handle it. I think if anybody in America had the

1 answer to race relations, they would be worth more
2 money than Ross Perot. I assure you of that.
3 Because they could peddle it. They could sell it.
4 But these are areas that we think that we can make
5 an impact in with regard to race relations. And
6 I'll kind of wind that down now and give time for
7 the other people or answer any questions that you
8 may have of me.

9 MR. ZIMMERMAN: I just want to say, Mr.
10 Washington, that I'm certainly happy that you
11 started off by differentiating between personal
12 racism and institutionalized racism. While
13 personal racism most of us are more regularly to
14 act aggressively and emotionally, we have to
15 remember that institutional racism acts are usually
16 more subtle, they are much more organized, and they
17 are much more acceptable and it has done more harm
18 than personalized racism. But many people do not
19 understand institutionalized racism and act within
20 an air of deny and neglect on his part and turn the
21 other cheek or look the other way. So I'm happy
22 that you understood that very well in your
23 endeavors as the director of the Greater Columbia
24 Community Relations Council and recognize, you
25 know, the dangers of institutionalized racism.

1 Thank you very much.

2 MR. WASHINGTON: One example of that comes to
3 mind. And then I'll leave the institutionalized
4 racism. A person, a black male talked to me a week
5 or so ago who is 49, 50 years old and tried to
6 obtain a signature loan. The bank is not important
7 where he tried to obtain it. But the bottom line
8 is that his net worth would not allow that. And
9 that's all right on its face. But he said to me
10 that at 49, my net worth is this, and some of my
11 white friends that graduated when I graduated were
12 allowed to go into jobs that I could not. I was
13 locked out. Therefore they had a chance to work on
14 their net worth. They had a chance to make money.
15 I didn't. Not because of my ability but because of
16 my race. And now down at 49 years old, I'm not
17 qualifiable for this because of my net worth, and
18 my white friend is because he's now a CEO of a
19 company because he had a chance to get the job and
20 I didn't. I submit that that's institutionalized
21 racism.

22 QUESTIONING DR. KIMPSON:

23 Q Mr. Washington, the Community Relations Council as
24 we all know, it tries to keep abreast of the current
25 problems. Of course when you think about the economy, that's

1 I think the uppermost on everyone's mind. As you look at the
2 city of Columbia and the metropolitan area, how has the
3 downturn in the economy, the laying off or the freezing of
4 jobs, do you think it has affected blacks disproportionately
5 to whites?

6 A I think so. We have an employment arm of the
7 Community Relations Council. Therefore we receive
8 applications and phone calls all day long trying to find
9 employment. And I might add before that that the downshift
10 in the economy has also affected the Community Relations
11 Council itself. We felt the brunt of that. County Council
12 is one of our sponsors, as you know, along with City Council.
13 And we have lost \$50,000. The Community Relations Council
14 has as a result of the economy. So it is felt not just in a
15 personal way but with the council as well. We've had to cut
16 back on some of the things we do. But in the economy with
17 regard to the layoffs and whatnot, it has and probably will
18 until we turn the corner affect blacks at a disproportionate
19 rate than whites. And we see that every day with the job
20 applications we have. And not necessarily people looking for
21 new jobs. With people who were employed and who are not now
22 employed and who are trying to find work. And the numbers
23 that we see through that way as well as we're in touch with
24 all the personnel directors across the county. We have to be
25 so that we can find people jobs. In talking with them, it

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1 has affected blacks at a disproportionate rate to whites. I
2 don't expect and hope that will not happen in state
3 government. I know that we're preparing for a layoff there.
4 And as an old timer coming out of state government, I would
5 expect that state agencies would use their RIF plans that
6 were put into place some years back and would do it so that
7 when the RIF is over, the idea is if your work force is as it
8 should be, the idea is to wind up--if your work force is as
9 it should be, the idea is to wind up with the same statistics
10 coming out of the layoff as before the layoff. And I hope
11 that that happens in state government. That has not happened
12 all around in Columbia.

13 QUESTIONING BY MR. BARNES:

14 Q Jesse?

15 A Yes, sir.

16 Q I want to commend you too for all that you've done
17 and your predecessors, one of whom is my friend, Milton,
18 here.

19 A My role model.

20 Q Who sat in your chair many years ago. I've had the
21 pleasure of working with him. The Community Relations
22 Council has done a great deal over the years in helping
23 improve race relations which is a separate issue from
24 problems facing black people in the community. Both are
25 serious problems. But the Community Relations Council I

1 think has recognized the difference. You alluded to some of
2 the issues that affect race relations and how the Community
3 Relations Council has addressed them. One of the things you
4 mentioned was encouraging exchange programs in black and
5 white churches. Have you noticed in your experience there
6 with the Community Relations Council whether there are more
7 or fewer bridges being built between the races these days
8 that might improve race relations? Do you think these are
9 getting better or getting worse?

10 A Well I've got to say that things are getting
11 better. I think we are issue-oriented people. Not by race.
12 Just people. Black and whites are issue oriented. If
13 something had occurred in Columbia a week ago that's very
14 hot, this room would have been full. But nothing is going on
15 now of an emotional nature, so we have a few people here. I
16 think more bridges are being built. As I move around, I can
17 see little things happening that I know is going to turn into
18 something real big. Last week, and I was glad to share the
19 company with you, Trenholm Road United Methodist Church had a
20 workshop on racism. An all-day workshop. Trenholm Road
21 United Methodist Church is a white church. People in this
22 room know it, Bobby. I don't know if you know it or not.
23 You've been gone from Columbia a long time. But the turnout
24 was fairly decent, but there wasn't enough people there. And
25 when we have those kinds of workshops, people who should be

1 there don't attend. So the bridges are being built. I
2 consider that to be a bridge. I consider black and white
3 ministers meeting to be a bridge. I consider the exchanges
4 with the churches to be a bridge. I consider trying to
5 integrate the curriculum a bridge. Bridges are being built,
6 but we're planting the seeds now. I think that it will be a
7 while before we see a fruition. Then when things come up
8 that are difficult to handle, it sets us back. That
9 community in Springfield has been set back a little bit, and
10 a lot of things are going to have to happen down there to
11 bring that community back together. So I think more bridges
12 are being built. I think that we've got a ways to go yet as
13 indicated by the phone calls that have been received since
14 that article in yesterday's paper.

15 MR. BARNES: If you would--I would suspect
16 that you'll follow up on this, Bobby. Make sure we
17 get your recommendations after your October 15th
18 meeting.

19 MR. WASHINGTON: Sure. I'll be glad to send a
20 copy.

21 MR. BARNES: And hopefully we can incorporate
22 those in our report.

23 MR. WASHINGTON: I would be glad to. It would
24 be my pleasure.

25 MR. ZIMMERMAN: Thank you very much.

1 MR. DOCTOR: One other question. Maybe a
2 couple other questions, Mr. Chairman.

3 MR. ZIMMERMAN: I understand.

4 QUESTIONING BY MR. DOCTOR:

5 Q Mr. Washington, you have indicated that you are all
6 in the process of holding these town meetings. I'm rather
7 struck and impressed by that to be honest with you because we
8 didn't find that going on in Greenville and Charleston. But
9 on the other hand, I'm compelled to ask you what sort of
10 information are you receiving from the folks who are
11 participating in these town meetings particularly as it
12 relates to the question of racial tension?

13 A What is becoming clear is the distance between the
14 races. But a lot of articulation that we're receiving is
15 jobs. Not being able to get jobs that they would qualify
16 for. That's a major thing. Another thing that comes out a
17 lot is that in stores, not just the Columbia Mall, but
18 downtown, Dutch Square, the various malls around Columbia, in
19 stores that blacks are scrutinized and watched and followed
20 more than whites are. That they are watched closer which
21 gives rise to an uncomfortable feeling with regard to
22 shopping. Also that the races don't mix as adequately as
23 they should. For example Autumnfest in Columbia and Mayfest
24 are basically attended by white people. The NAACP has a
25 dinner. It is 98 percent black. The Urban League has an

1 annual dinner. It is 95 to 96 percent black. The races
2 don't come together to talk things through. And a lot of
3 what's being said in town meetings is that whites don't
4 understand blacks, are not sensitive to the needs and
5 aspirations of blacks, and therefore it gives rise to
6 uncomfortable feelings. Also there still are problems with
7 regard to law enforcement. Blacks being harassed and
8 whatnot. These are problems that we do work on with the
9 sheriff's department as well as with the police department.
10 It's not just against the sheriff's department. But that
11 blacks are harassed at a faster rate than whites in the malls
12 and driving along, you know, being stopped for a speeding
13 ticket or some kind of, you know, driving citation. We are
14 not getting in the town meetings a lot of responses with
15 regard to the larger picture. With regard to institutional
16 examples of racism. There are more examples that can be
17 controlled at the local level like the scrutinizing in stores
18 and access to jobs and those kinds of things.

19 MR. BARNES: I understand that Chief Austin
20 had been following your town meetings in the press.
21 And he has had a very meaningful role. One of the
22 things that he has done, and he has done many
23 things. I would like to think, I hope in your
24 report you emphasize the things that he has done
25 for the city. Having been a part of Columbia for

1 many years, I know it hasn't always been that good.
2 But he has set up police substations in parts of
3 housing projects for instance and put his offices
4 in parts of town that are not, they probably
5 wouldn't live in otherwise.

6 MR. DOCTOR: Community policing.

7 MR. BARNES: I hope that those are
8 incorporated in your report.

9 MR. WASHINGTON: Sure.

10 MR. BARNES: I really feel in a sense, Bobby,
11 that his Community Relations Council has done our
12 job for us. If we can get the benefit of your
13 recommendation to these four forums that you had
14 here in Columbia it would do us a great deal of
15 good.

16 MR. WASHINGTON: We had a few hot issues that
17 came up in the forums. But the forums were held
18 right after the Rodney King situation. So a lot of
19 it centered around that and law enforcement and
20 justice. But there were some hot issues that
21 occurred in our community. One was the drinking
22 ordinance. I don't know if you're familiar with
23 that last year. That was a hot issue. And the
24 other was the closing of black businesses versus
25 white businesses with regard to drugs and those

1 kinds of things. But the drinking ordinance caused
2 a lot of problems in the community. I think we've
3 turned the corner on that now. But there are
4 problems that come up from time to time.

5 CONTINUED QUESTIONING BY MR. DOCTOR:

6 Q For the sake of the record, would you explain what
7 the drinking ordinance is about?

8 A Last year--I'm thinking last year--our solicitor's
9 office wanted the county to pass an ordinance to outlaw
10 drinking in public places on public property and whatnot.
11 And it turned racial. Of course the racial slant has been
12 taken off of it. But an example was around a lot of stores,
13 a lot of black people go after work and congregate and hang
14 and drink beer or have a few drinks and relax and whatnot.
15 And that was going to be outlawed. Some statements were made
16 that we're going to enforce this mostly in the black areas
17 and not in the white areas. And that statement should not
18 have been made because the drinking ordinance is to be
19 enforced all over the community. The question was that a lot
20 of whites have clubs to go to after work and drink so
21 therefore they will not be on the streets with beer in their
22 hand and whatnot. Another example was but when Carolina had
23 football games, that people drink from car trunks and all, in
24 the streets and all. So why don't you go over there and
25 arrest them. Why go down the road for one mile and arrest

1 these black people in front of this building. And so that
2 turned into a real big issue in Columbia last year. But I
3 think we've turned the corner on that. I think that this
4 ordinance is enforced in an even manner all over the county.
5 But that caused us some problems in this community last year.
6 But the solicitor was very cooperative in working with us. I
7 met with him directly. We work on many issues together. I
8 made him realize that it didn't have the appearance of being
9 sensible and of being even, and he realized that. And he has
10 made public statements since then to overcome that. And I
11 think we're on the right track with that. Another hot potato
12 was the proposed curfew. A curfew was being proposed by
13 County Council. And that turned racial at one point. Of
14 course that is off now. The curfew, that's kind of even
15 behind the back burner. But that took on a racial overtone
16 as well. And all of these things that happen in the
17 community from time to time, it's marvelous to have a network
18 where we can come together as civilized human beings and talk
19 these things through. We can't just go around fighting with
20 one another and killing one another. There will always be
21 problems. I believe that as long as we have people, we will
22 have human problems that we've got to work ourselves through.
23 And as long as we can keep the lines of communication open,
24 we can do it. This gets back to integrating that curriculum
25 and having the church exchange members and having the

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1 diversity training at the workshops. When you do that,
2 you're making people get to know one another. And if I know
3 you, I am less likely to offend you unless I'm just a rotten
4 person to the core from birth. That's different. But the
5 better I know you, the less likely I am to offend you. I can
6 appreciate your culture. I can appreciate your history. And
7 the only way I can appreciate your culture and your history
8 is by me knowing you. And that is why we are recommending
9 these things to occur in the schools and in the churches and
10 at the work site.

11 FURTHER QUESTIONING BY DR. KIMPSON:

12 Q Jesse, you've mentioned something that troubles me.
13 And that is you have been cut by \$50,000. Now if I remember
14 correctly, the Greater Columbia Community Relations Council
15 is sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce, the city of
16 Columbia, Richland County and at one time we got a little
17 support from Lexington County because in Metropolitan
18 Columbia, a lot of people live in Lexington County. Now are
19 you getting support--because I know Lexington County calls on
20 you a lot.

21 A Sure.

22 Q Do you get any kind of support from there, and are
23 all of these entities cutting you, or just some of them?

24 A We receive no support from Lexington County. None
25 at all. And I think that stopped before I arrived at the

1 Community Relations Council. I'm in my third year there. We
2 receive no support from Lexington County. We have been cut
3 by Richland County. That's the only entity that has not--

4 Q So the city of Columbia--

5 A --cut us. Exactly.

6 Q Just the county?

7 A Just the county. And that's to the tune of
8 \$50,000. But we are called upon by Lexington County. When
9 Brookland-Cayce had a racial fight at school a year or so
10 ago, the superintendent called me directly and asked would I
11 come over and meet with them. The fight was so bad, and so
12 law enforcement was called in. And it was a racial fight.
13 And as a result of that, we put together a biracial task
14 force of students to meet every month even when there's no
15 crisis going on. To answer your question, we are called on
16 by them. We receive no support from Lexington County
17 financially. We've been cut by Richland County \$50,000. Our
18 other sponsors are as they were.

19 MR. ZIMMERMAN: Thank you very much, Mr.
20 Washington. I just wanted to say that it's ironic
21 that throughout your testimony you've made many
22 references to the effects of institutionalized
23 racism. And one key observation that you made was
24 that when you have meetings such as the Human
25 Relations Council meetings or whatever or such as

1 this public hearing, you have very few people show
2 up. And it's not until something happens, then we
3 all start to react. We're going to have to start
4 acting. Certainly if you start acting, start
5 talking to one another, start understanding one
6 another, then we are able to provide the
7 preventative method rather than the curative as far
8 as race relations is concerned. That's very
9 important if we are to really understand that this
10 nation must move forward rather than backwards.
11 Thank you very much.

12 MR. WASHINGTON: Yes, sir.

13 MR. DOCTOR: Thank you.

14 MR. ZIMMERMAN: Next I would like to have Mr.
15 John Delgado. I don't think he's here yet. Next
16 we'll have Mr. David Dillard who is with the South
17 Carolina Black Media Group, Incorporated. Mr.
18 Dillard, would you come forward please?

19 If you wish you could state your full name
20 again and what you do.

21 MR. DAVID L. DILLARD SPEAKS AS FOLLOWS:

22 MR. DILLARD: I'm David Dillard, and I'm a
23 former writer for the South Carolina Black Media
24 Group, but they elected me to speak on their
25 behalf, and I agreed to do that. But I was a

1 writer for them for a few years. I would just like
2 to speak about the black press in general and the
3 way it handles race relations. I think over the
4 years it's changed its focus. There were a lot of
5 racial issues that are covered, and some would say
6 the black press only deals with racial issues. The
7 black press normally takes an issue and looks at it
8 from the black perspective. It could take the same
9 issue, and if Mayor Coble was somewhere, and Chief
10 Austin was somewhere, the mainstream paper may
11 focus on Mayor Coble, and the black press would
12 focus on Chief Austin more so. That's the normal
13 role. To give blacks a positive light, not
14 necessarily to incite race relations or to project
15 any race relations. But I would say over the years
16 we have covered more issues dealing with what good
17 blacks are doing instead of who went to jail today.
18 Because the black press normally stays away from
19 that because you can read that in the daily papers.
20 So the black press doesn't really cover those
21 issues a lot. Although we did run extensive
22 stories on the Springfield shooting incident with
23 that chief, we ran some issues on the West Columbia
24 police chief and we've also dealt with some racial
25 tensions in Columbia as well. But I would say

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1 those stories have toned down a lot, and we're
2 really dealing with a lot more of the positive
3 light and trying to show blacks in a more positive
4 light. But I would say from a personal standpoint
5 of racism, I think that normally when groups like
6 this come together and meet, it's the wrong people
7 here. We have the majority of people here who are
8 concerned about race relations and who are not
9 really racist themselves. I think that the
10 racist's elements needs to be here. The elements
11 of concern need to be here. These meetings are
12 normally for good people who leave with solutions
13 to handle them. But when we go outside, we would
14 see elements of skin heads, we would see clan
15 members, we would see the Nation of Islam, we would
16 see others. Maybe the Black Panthers or anything
17 like that. And they're not here. They are not
18 represented. Those are the groups that need to be
19 represented. When we talk, we're just talking
20 about it, and we know how to deal with it. But the
21 ones who have those problems are not here to voice
22 their opinion so we can really deal with the issue.
23 In terms of the newsroom, I was talking to a black
24 female reporter a couple of weeks ago who works for
25 a daily paper, and she told me they had race

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1 relations. They have little meetings that deal
2 with that. But one of the things that they face
3 was when the black women got together and wanted to
4 talk about racism, they had the white women there,
5 and they all discussed it, and the issue really
6 never got resolved because when they were talking
7 about the problems of females, it became sexism
8 instead of racism. So when they took it to the
9 management, they resolved the issue of sexism. And
10 a few weeks later, the black women are still having
11 this problem because racism never got dealt with.
12 The focus changed. And we need to stay focused.
13 If we're going to deal with racism, then we need to
14 deal with racism. If we're going to deal with
15 sexism, we need to deal with sexism. Or deal with
16 whatever the issue is at hand. And a lot of that
17 is our own stereotypical view. Me, I'm a 22 year
18 old black man. If everybody doesn't know that, I'm
19 a young black man. And when I go into places, I do
20 it sometimes on purpose. I would have on blue
21 jeans, a Malcolm X shirt, an earring in my ear, and
22 I get treated like a hoodlum even in black places.
23 I've went to all black places, and I've got treated
24 the same way until they find out who I was. Then
25 oh, Mr. Dillard, I'm sorry. And that's a problem

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1 that even blacks have on each other. And I do that
2 sometimes on purpose just to see if I would get
3 treated that way. And it happens. So I would just
4 say that we need to pay attention to a lot of the
5 subliminal views when we're dealing with law
6 enforcement. Like the Ice T Cop Killer issue.
7 We're looking at a song inciting violence against
8 law enforcement. Black men inciting violence. And
9 that's really not the intention of the song. The
10 song became political. But Ice T had, he was
11 dealing with a social problem of law enforcement
12 harassing black men. And that's true. But the
13 politicians got on it, and it became political, and
14 we loss focus of what the real issue is. There's a
15 serious social problem with that. And that's what
16 we need to deal with. Sure maybe the song
17 shouldn't say that, but that shouldn't be what's
18 blown up. We need to deal with why the song was
19 written.

20 QUESTIONING BY DR. KIMPSON:

21 Q Let me ask you a question about that since you
22 brought it up.

23 A Yes, sir.

24 Q Sister Soldier, and she came under the, got into
25 the media. And I personally, this is my personal belief,

1 that some of the things she said in there would hurt black
2 people in that black people have no ammo or whatever to go
3 against the police. And it appears that she says, you know,
4 kill them, this kind of thing. It seems to me that this
5 incites people with very little defense to go off with
6 something they know they can't hit. Now how do we handle
7 that? Now I know it was blown up. But it seems to me that
8 young blacks in the street might take that as there's a
9 policeman out there with guns and everything else, and you've
10 got nothing, but you're going to kill policemen. It seems
11 that that's a setup for people who are young and
12 impressionable.

13 A I would say as a person who just moved out of the,
14 quote, unquote, ghetto, the young black men see the police as
15 thugs in uniform. A gang whose color is blue. You're the
16 biggest gang on the street. I can go anywhere I want, I can
17 get anything I want, I can make you do what I want you to do,
18 and you can't say a thing about it. So what happens is this
19 gang over here, they're treated like any other gang. I'm
20 going to get my guns, and if they come on my territory, we're
21 going to battle, and me and my people are going to be ready.
22 I understand your question, but I'm trying to give some
23 incite into how that young person thinks. And when you're
24 living in those conditions, and I know firsthand because I
25 just moved out of that area, what happens is you can hardly

1 eat, you don't have a car, you're living so bad that you
2 don't really care. I may die tomorrow anyway. That's the
3 attitude. So I mean for the ones who may be unwise to say
4 the least to battle an army of men who are going to call for
5 reinforcement before they go into the area anyway is just
6 simply unwise. But a lot of them don't care. I don't have
7 anything to live for anyway.

8 QUESTIONING BY MR. ZIMMERMAN:

9 Q I want to ask you something. Since you represent
10 the Black Media, Incorporated, the South Carolina Black
11 Media, Incorporated, I've known several black newspaper
12 companies or publishers as well as radio broadcasting
13 corporations which have failed because they were not able to
14 get the support from the white community as far as
15 advertizing is concerned. Do you see that as a problem, and
16 is it racist, or is it racially motivated?

17 A I don't know if it's racially motivated, but it is
18 a serious problem. In looking back at some of the older
19 editions of the paper, they were real hard core, real serious
20 black issues. And in looking at them now, they're kind of
21 toned down. And the reason is always because of advertizing.
22 In order to stay in business, we don't really deal with those
23 serious issues like we used to. And then I was talking to
24 the sales manager about that once before. Why don't we get
25 more advertizing, and he said the attitude is basically this.

1 I own the store. You've got to eat. You're going to come in
2 and buy from me anyway. I don't have to advertize in your
3 paper. And for the most part, that's true. So I would hate
4 to say that that is racism, but that is a very serious
5 problem. That's the way they look at it. Black people are
6 going to buy from my business anyway. They have to eat, they
7 have to wear clothes, they have to do everything that
8 everybody else has to do, and I don't really have to
9 advertize in that paper if I don't want to unless I feel like
10 it.

11 QUESTIONING BY MR. DOCTOR:

12 Q Mr. Dillard, we've held a number of these meetings
13 not only here in the State of South Carolina but in other
14 states as well. I was particularly struck by something that
15 took place down in Jacksonville some months ago. Back in
16 July to be exact. In that particular meeting, it became
17 clear to us that the unemployment rate for young black males
18 between the age of 18 and 24 I think was somewhere close to
19 70 percent. At least that's what we were told down there. I
20 think statistically speaking, if you look at most of the
21 major urban centers in the country today, the unemployment
22 figures for young black males between the ages of 18 and 24
23 ranges somewhere between 40 and 70 percent. I don't know
24 what the figures are for here in Columbia, but what sort of
25 impact in your opinion does that have on the overall question

1 of racial tensions?

2 A It has a serious impact. One of the pieces that we
3 have been working on in terms of BMW coming to the state is
4 real good, but why the upstate. The upstate is rich. Why
5 didn't they come to Barnwell or some of the counties who have
6 been at an 11 percent unemployment rate. Why did you go up
7 to the upstate where there--and I'm from the upstate. The
8 unemployment rates are always the lowest in this state. They
9 don't need anymore money up there. Why didn't they come to
10 some of the black communities.

11 MR. ZIMMERMAN: The Low Country.

12 MR. DILLARD: The Low Country, yes, sir.

13 A And that's a piece that we have been working on
14 because we need the money too. And these are the biggest
15 areas that are unemployed, and you go the places that really
16 don't need it.

17 Q I've got a couple of other questions. For one how
18 would you describe racial tensions in South Carolina? Are
19 they good, are they bad? What are they? And then secondly
20 how would you describe racial tensions in Columbia?

21 A Overall I would say racial tensions throughout the
22 state are pretty good. I don't think they are as serious as
23 Los Angeles or any other cities. I don't think we have a
24 major problem. And I don't think we have a serious problem
25 in Columbia either. I think it has the potential to grow

1 into one, but I don't think it will ever happen. I don't
2 really think that the people in this community are going to
3 let it get that far. As long as there's an issue being
4 brought up about racism, somebody would normally deal with
5 it. And that's one of the roles of the black press that we
6 try to play. To raise that issue. Because some people may
7 not even know or might not have really thought about it that
8 way. They may not have thought that there's a black press
9 that carries some good information that we could learn from.
10 And they may not mean any harm. That's just our role to try
11 to tell you that there is an issue here, and you need to deal
12 with this issue as well.

13 QUESTIONING BY MR. BARNES:

14 Q As Jesse Washington had talked earlier, and he
15 followed through--we kind of set a precedent here. We were
16 trying to come around after describing the problems that have
17 created and have resulted from racial tensions to try to look
18 at possibly some solutions. I'm not that familiar with the
19 Black Media. I wish I were more familiar with it. But maybe
20 you could help me understand. How do you feel the Black
21 Media can help improve race relations? How can they help
22 build those bridges and improve communication and build those
23 bridges between what is now a white and black community? Do
24 you have any thoughts on that?

25 A I think by presenting blacks in a positive light

1 which is the role of the black press. And by doing that
2 black people who will read our paper will see that there are
3 some blacks doing something, and hopefully it will encourage
4 them to want to do for themselves and to want to be a
5 productive person and citizen in society. And then when it
6 raises up the black people, it can go to the white people and
7 let them know what we are doing, how we think we can resolve
8 these issues and how we can come together and deal with it.
9 Because like my opening statement, the people in this
10 audience are not the problem. The problem is not here. And
11 we need to deal with the problem elements and then help the
12 problem elements and build them up and bring them into these
13 forums so that we can deal with it effectively..

14 Q Do you see anyone--I know there's a lot of talk
15 about how the so-called white or non-black media and other
16 institutions should relate better to blacks. How can the
17 black institutions--and there are becoming more every day.
18 The Black Media, Black United Way and other organizations.
19 How can they relate to the white community in a positive way?
20 I understand what you're saying about relating to blacks.
21 But how can they relate to the white community in a way that
22 is not racial let's say rather than racist?

23 A I would say to stick with the journalist techniques
24 of presenting an issue and not getting subjective and trying
25 to make this person look bad. If the person looks bad, then

1 just present what they did to make them look bad. Don't
2 twist it and make them look racist. Just present the issue.
3 And if there is a serious issue that's affecting black
4 people, just present that issue fairly and squarely.

5 MR. KIMPSON: You took my question almost.

6 QUESTIONING BY DR. KIMPSON:

7 Q I did an unofficial survey down at the newsstand,
8 and I have been watching cars. I never see a white person
9 driving a car with a sticker from a black radio station. I
10 have not yet. I stood at the newspaper stand where there
11 were black papers. There was Ebony, and there was Jet. And
12 I saw one white person pick it up. I saw black people
13 picking up everything. I saw one white person pick up a
14 black paper. I wonder whether it's they don't want to, it's
15 not familiar, they don't think that there's enough--I just
16 don't understand. You just mentioned--and you're my friend.
17 We go way back. You said I'm not very familiar with the
18 Black Media.

19 MR. BARNES: I can almost see Redfearn Dew
20 sitting there in the chair.

21 Q I wonder what you think the media then--and that
22 was Rudy's question I guess. How do we get black folk--even
23 if it's black history, we get very few white folk who will
24 read anything that's black. It doesn't make any difference
25 how good it is. And I wonder how do we do that? What do we

1 do to try to improve that?

2 FURTHER QUESTIONING BY MR. BARNES:

3 Q Can I make a suggestion to you? Maybe you can
4 respond to it. I haven't--and again I'm not a big reader of
5 these black publications. Maybe I should be. But I haven't
6 seen one yet suggest, and maybe they have, that bridges be
7 built between the white and black community. It seems to be
8 a tendency to promote separatism. And I think that
9 contributes to the kind of racial tension we're talking
10 about. Now maybe in the long run it will help by building up
11 those in the black community. But in the short run, it tends
12 to deepen, to build the wall higher or to deepen the chasm as
13 you might say between the races. If the black media could
14 devote some attention to the bridge building in some fashion,
15 I think it would seem to me to go a long way. And maybe I've
16 missed something that's already there if it's along those
17 lines. It may help with what Milton was just talking about.
18 Do you know of anything like that?

19 MR. ZIMMERMAN: Are you saying that most of
20 what is in the Black Media usually is inflammatory?

21 MR. BARNES: No. I'm not that well read.

22 MR. ZIMMERMAN: Okay. You're not suggesting
23 that. Okay.

24 MR. BARNES: But not having seen anything that
25 would encourage a more integrated community, what I

1 would call building bridges between the white and
2 black communities in our cities and in our
3 communities. It may be there. Maybe I missed it.
4 And that would be my problem. If you could help
5 direct me to that. I think if we had something
6 like that, if we had a black publication that
7 focused on improving race relations, we might find
8 more interest in the Black Media by white people.
9 But as long as it's got an image--and I guess I'm
10 speaking as the white guy here at the table. As
11 long as the black publications at least are
12 perceived to be for the blacks as a separate
13 community and group, you're not going to get white
14 people that are too interested other than the
15 politician that wants the black vote or somebody or
16 the merchant that wants to improve the black
17 clientele for his business. You'll get those. But
18 for the average white person, especially one that
19 doesn't care about black people, you know, will
20 just leave them there.

21 CONTINUED QUESTIONING BY MR. BARNES:

22 Q Do you think it's possible for the Black Media to
23 relate, while addressing the black leadership, could they
24 also relate to the white community in a positive way in
25 talking about building a better race relation?

1 A Sure. And there are a lot of stories devoted to
2 that, but they're not the main focus. The focus is to serve
3 the black community and to try to show the positive side of
4 blacks in the community. But that doesn't mean that you
5 cannot show any white issues, cannot show any issues where
6 we're working together. But the focus of it has primarily
7 been to show blacks in a positive light because when we pick
8 up the other papers, you would see the black man handcuffed
9 coming out of the courthouse in shackles. And the black
10 press just wanted to show a different side of that. But I do
11 think that that could.

12 Q You mentioned you covered Chief Austin. I don't
13 know of any better diplomat, any better proponent, better
14 race relations than Chief Austin. And that may be the way
15 you ask the question. By taking people like him and holding
16 him up, you're certainly promoting, I think, better race
17 relations. He's in that category.

18 FURTHER QUESTIONING BY MR. ZIMMERMAN:

19 Q Maybe what you need to do is explain a little more
20 in depth why the Black Media has come about and why the black
21 publications have come about. I think you touched on it a
22 little bit in terms of looking at what the white media does
23 to the black people. You said something about the fact that
24 you want to serve the black community. Why is that necessary
25 by you? To be done by you? Why is it necessary for your

1 publication to do it or a black publication to do it?

2 A Okay. I think the black press is following up it's
3 credo from when it began back during slavery times. Black
4 press had to be started to present the black issue. And I
5 think what happened was the organization just didn't want to
6 die and wanted to keep the black press alive because it was
7 one thing that was ours. It gave us a chance to write
8 stories, it gave us the chance to have a voice, and it was
9 the voice of the black community that you didn't ordinarily
10 have. And it's still needed today because if we didn't have
11 the black press, if everything gets integrated, something is
12 going to be pushed off to the side. So the black issues will
13 probably end up on the back pages. With the black press,
14 there may be a story that runs in the same, in one of the
15 majority of the papers, but I've noticed, I've looked at some
16 of them, and they were on the back pages. And in the black
17 press, it maybe towards the front if not the front page.

18 Q So you see it as being necessary?

19 A It's still necessary.

20 MR. ZIMMERMAN: Okay. Thank you very much,
21 Mr. Dillard. I'm going to give the order in which
22 the next three panelists will come. At this time I
23 would like to have Mr. Morris Blackman from the
24 University of South Carolina come followed by
25 Councilwoman Harriet Gardin Fields and then Mr.

1 Kevin Alexander Gray. Mr. Blackman is from the
2 University of South Carolina. If you want to
3 introduce yourself, go ahead, sir.

4 MR. MORRIS BLACKMAN SPEAKS AS FOLLOWS:

5 MR. BLACKMAN: Well like me thank you for the
6 opportunity--is this live? No. Yes. Okay. For
7 the opportunity. My name is Morris Blackman, and I
8 teach at the University of South Carolina, and I
9 also am the president of a consulting firm here in
10 Columbia. And I appreciate the opportunity to
11 speak with you. I'm particularly interested in the
12 fact that you are concerned enough about this issue
13 to be investigating it. And I hope that this will
14 continue. I'm glad that I had the opportunity to
15 hear the previous speakers. I wish in some ways
16 that instead of a one-person response that there
17 was really a discussion dialogue because ultimately
18 I think that would be even more fruitful than this
19 kind of dialogue which I think creates a slightly
20 different set of responses. My own experience in
21 looking in the community is that we can't obviously
22 explain what happens here in Columbia, South
23 Carolina simply by what happens in the state or
24 simply by what happens in the region. But as I'm
25 sure, as I know you're all aware by what's

1 happening nationally. In response to some of the
2 questions that you raised with Jesse Washington, I
3 was struck with the notion that it's pretty obvious
4 to me that racial tensions have increased in this
5 country at the same time that things are getting
6 better. I think to be able to say that things are
7 getting better and things are getting worse at the
8 same time is not a contradiction. It's just that
9 some things are getting better, and some things are
10 getting worse. If I look over the history of this
11 country over the last 10 to 12 years, it seems to
12 me that we have begun through the public sector in
13 part to prize intolerance rather than tolerance.
14 And put it in a different form, we have learned to
15 tolerate intolerance and to be intolerant of
16 tolerance. And I think that's a great shame. And
17 I think that the underlying themes of division and
18 divisiveness in the country have led us to
19 culminate in the kinds of comments that came out in
20 particular, and I'll put it in partisan terms. Not
21 because I see it partisan issue, but because that's
22 where it was raised. But as a cultural war. And
23 in terms of the cultural war, I think it's fairly
24 clear where people come down. To divide the whole
25 idea of separating people, of making divisions in

1 the country, of seeing different classes of
2 citizenship I think creates a climate in which it
3 allows people to vent their prejudices, their
4 biases and their lack of concern for one another.
5 Jesse spoke about racism as personal and
6 institutional. And you I think very appropriately
7 reminded him in several places that even many of
8 the personal things he talked about were really
9 institutional. I would like to add another split
10 or way of looking at racism. It seems to me it's
11 also important to understand the difference between
12 racism by intent and racism by consequence. And
13 while those are related to the notions of personal
14 and institutional, there are some differences. I
15 think the ones where they deal with intent are far
16 and away the easiest to deal with either because
17 you can know who people are and you just decide not
18 to relate with them or you know in advance where
19 they're coming from and you know how to deal with
20 them. The biggest problem it seems to me often
21 comes from what I call racism by consequence.
22 These are the folks that say no, not me. No, I
23 don't feel that way. And yet so many of us grow up
24 with biases. I was reflecting as I was sitting
25 back there on my own background. In 1956 I

1 remember, in the fall of '56 just prior to the
2 election sitting in a classroom in Portsmouth,
3 Virginia in a high school in a course of American
4 government where we had just finished reading the
5 Declaration of Independence, and we were reading
6 the Constitution. And I had a history teacher who
7 basically said if those people ever come into this
8 school, I'll quit tomorrow. And I can remember
9 then sitting there thinking we just finished
10 reading the Declaration of Independence and the
11 Constitution of all of these ideas. How can this
12 person who's teaching US government talk this way.
13 I thought that was incredible. And I think when I
14 look at that and I look at the society that I grew
15 up in, in a segregated community, and I look at
16 where we are today, I see enormous strides. On the
17 other hand I also see that there has been a
18 tremendous amount of submerging or maybe repression
19 of a lot of issues that it seems to me have got to
20 be dealt with as well. I find myself very strongly
21 in agreement with Jesse's notion that we need to
22 deal with attitudes. And I think that that's
23 absolutely crucial. But I had the opportunity to
24 moderate that first town meeting session. And I
25 remember some comments that some people made there

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1 that I found were very telling. And that is the
2 importance of the conditions. Not just in the way
3 of institutionalized racism, but in the form of
4 social class distinctions we have in this country
5 and in the lack of support for social conditions
6 which make it very difficult for people to rise out
7 of their conditions. One young man who was
8 extremely articulate at the first town meeting
9 stood up and said look, for many of us here, the
10 issue is we don't need more dialogue. We don't
11 need to understand more from you. We don't need
12 for you to understand us more. What we need is to
13 change the conditions. We've talked this out a
14 zillion times. Every time there's a crisis, we get
15 together and we have dialogue. The question is
16 what comes after the dialogue. Now it seems to me
17 therefore that the issue of responsiveness is
18 really crucial. One of you made the comment--I
19 believe it was you, Mr. Zimmerman--who said
20 something to the effect that it takes a crisis to
21 act. And we see that all the time. As soon as the
22 crisis is gone, we pull back. I've seen that in my
23 lifetime over and over again. I'm proud to have
24 been involved in a project here in Columbia which
25 we think is the first in the nation. Working with

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1 the Urban League. The Urban League and the local
2 private business, a large corporation, were
3 involved in the development of a Minority
4 Professional Development Program. And the purpose
5 of that program was to take black managers who had
6 potential and to work with them to help them to
7 understand better how to deal with a corporate
8 community that was not in fact white in style or in
9 culture but--excuse me. Black in style or in
10 culture but was white. What to do with it and how
11 to work in it. It received tremendous support from
12 the business community for the first year. The
13 second time around it received support. I'm not
14 sure what will happen in the third time around.
15 Now there was a lot of hoopla about it. Everybody
16 was very proud of it. The participants who went
17 through it found it extremely valuable. The
18 corporations that had been involved all said that
19 this was useful, that it helped inside their own
20 business's productivity, etcetera. But there's no
21 crisis to continue to generate it. And I think
22 that if we want to look at a lot of this, we have
23 to begin ourselves not only on this issue but on
24 many issues in our society to begin to ask the
25 question how do we become proactive. What do we do

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1 to stimulate people to understand that you can in
2 fact preempt crises. Because I think that's a
3 serious issue in the state. The gentleman who
4 spoke for the Black Media said that he thought that
5 things were not of a crisis point here in South
6 Carolina, and I would agree with him at least from
7 what little I know of it. Or here in Columbia. I
8 think there is an incredible amount of goodwill
9 among blacks, especially among very poor blacks, in
10 the Midlands area, because I'm more familiar with
11 that, given the conditions under which they live.
12 It's absolutely extraordinary. Afterwards perhaps
13 some of you can share the Arthur Town scenario or
14 what some folks have gone through and what they've
15 not received in terms of the responsiveness of
16 government. What I found in conducting some focus
17 groups--let me share one in particular--was a focus
18 group with a low-income rural area here in the
19 Midlands, largely young black women. It was in a
20 study looking at what's happening and the problems
21 with our children under Kids Count, if you're
22 familiar with the Kids Count project. After
23 spending two hours with these people about how they
24 viewed the problems and what was going on and what
25 they thought was important, one of the things that

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1 they pointed out was that the particular project
2 that they were involved with which had to do with
3 day care, day care which provided really good
4 opportunities for their young children and also
5 provided some parenting skills for them and also
6 provided them with an opportunity to perhaps pursue
7 some other skill developments that they could go
8 out and be employed in the market. The well known
9 County Council that has already--that was spoken to
10 that cut the Community Relations Council also chose
11 to cut some of the funding here. And in cutting
12 some of that funding, the response from the focus
13 group was quite interesting. What they said was
14 we're quite sure that if we were white or we had
15 some other folks here, this wouldn't have happened.
16 It was interesting to me because after an hour and
17 twenty minutes or an hour and a half of a focus
18 group, nothing had come up which had indicated a
19 concern about racism per se until that issue came
20 up. And it was a very mild presentation. It was
21 not presented with anger. It was presented with a
22 kind of reservation. And it was presented with a
23 concern about seeing something done in a sense of--
24 I wouldn't want to say hopelessness. But a sense
25 of reaching out and asking for hands to help to be

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1 lifted in order to be able to go beyond this.
2 Unfortunately the response thus far has been not to
3 be responsive. I mention that because it seems to
4 me that there are fundamental changes that
5 government can make in setting conditions which
6 affect certainly the institutionalized set side of
7 racism so that the kind of scenario of someone who
8 graduates equal with someone else does have access
9 to financing, does have access to jobs and has
10 access to health care and education and all the
11 kinds of things that are necessary as children are
12 growing into mature people. It seems to me also
13 that we need somehow or another in the days to come
14 to stimulate more responsiveness from the private
15 sector. I have been privileged in the last few
16 years to be involved in an effort that in fact one
17 of you four is involved in which is a coalition of
18 blacks and jews in South Carolina where we have
19 been meeting off and on now for some four years?

20 MR. BARNES: Four years.

21 MR. BLACKMAN: About four years in an effort
22 just to generate dialogue, just to exchange some
23 understanding. About three or four years ago at
24 one of our religious holidays at Passover, a group
25 of us got together and shared in the Passover meal

1 and celebration in order to share some of the
2 cultural understanding, in order to create and
3 submit some ties so that we would be able to
4 understand each other better. This works extremely
5 well. But the problem is it only works for the
6 people who are involved in it. It's spill-over
7 effect is very limited as is the dialogue. I find
8 in the communities in which I have contact and the
9 communities in which I walk very differential
10 responses to the racial issue. In the community in
11 which I happen to live, we recently had a black
12 family move in. And we had two or three folks on
13 the street who acted like the stock market had just
14 crashed in the 1930s. Now what I think however was
15 different between their reaction today and their
16 reaction perhaps 10 or 15 years ago was after they
17 did that and after several of us in the
18 neighborhood did not pick up and continue or allow
19 that to continue, they have now shut up at least in
20 front of me, and they have not moved. And I think
21 that's an important difference from what might have
22 happened 10 or 15 years ago. But the fears are
23 there. And the difficulty is I think that in a lot
24 of the white community, the fears that exist are
25 not specific fears. They are diffuse fears. And

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1 because they're diffuse fears, they're very
2 difficult to disabuse people of them. If you have
3 a specific fear of something, you can attack it.
4 You can talk about what it is. You can show people
5 why there's no legitimacy to it. But when it's a
6 diffuse fear, it's very difficult to attack it.
7 And especially when there's not a substantial
8 amount of interaction. So I guess if I want to
9 pull a lot of this together, because in some ways I
10 suspect we could spend a considerable amount of
11 time talking about it, I want to suggest that I've
12 seen in the Columbia community in the roughly 20
13 years now that I've been living here what I
14 consider to be very good overall racial relations
15 at the same time that I have seen very deep-seated
16 racial tensions. And I think that the community
17 works well together generally speaking when a
18 serious issue comes up. What I don't see is I
19 don't see the community reaching out. And I think
20 this comes in a lot of forms. The Minority
21 Professional Development Program that I mentioned
22 to you before I think is wonderful. But basically
23 what it involves is it involves working with blacks
24 understanding how to deal with whites. But what we
25 were not able to do in that program was to get

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1 white corporate executives to understand how to
2 deal with their black employees. I was thinking
3 when you asked the question from the gentleman from
4 the Black Media what can the Black Media do, I was
5 thinking it would seem to me when one's talking
6 about a minority in the community, the first
7 obligation is on the part of the white press, if we
8 want to refer to it that way, not the black press
9 to begin to reach out. It seems to me that one of
10 the things that can be done is every time somebody
11 is picked up for some crime, they don't have to say
12 a black so-and-so and go into it would be one big
13 move right there. And I think one of the things
14 that could happen would be for people like yourself
15 to pick up the telephone and call Gail Fallon and
16 say, you know, we need for you to begin to reach
17 out to the black community, and we need for you to
18 begin to reach out to the Black Media. Because I
19 think that is the kind of step where it has to come
20 from. And I think what all too often happens is an
21 expectation that it's the black community. That a
22 group of whites will get together and listen what
23 the blacks have to say, that we'll engage in
24 dialogue, we'll all have to understand each other,
25 and then when we leave, as this one young gentleman

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1 said, very little takes place. So it seems to me
2 that education is essential, it seems to me that
3 dealing with the business community is essential
4 and it seems that religion is essential. But when
5 it comes to the notion that Jesse raised that
6 perhaps you can't legislate morality, but you
7 certainly can legislate a difference in conditions.
8 And I would hope that you wouldn't let the
9 government off the hook for one split second
10 because it seems to me that one of the ways you
11 change things is you do change those conditions.
12 When you give a Civil Rights Act, it says you're
13 going to have people who are exposed so that when I
14 grow up as I have, I see black people in front of
15 the counter buying expensive things, and I see
16 black people at a counter and it's not simply
17 serving food, that makes a difference. But frankly
18 while I can reflect on the difference I've
19 experienced, more important is the difference that
20 I see that my seven year old and my two and a half
21 year old are brought up with. And that kind of
22 role modeling and experience comes through
23 legislation. I don't want to oversell the
24 legislative side. And I don't think it by itself
25 generated morality. But I think it's an essential

1 and necessary component along with the education,
2 the business, the religion and all the other kinds
3 of efforts. So I guess in summation I think this
4 is--actually I have one other thing if I could that
5 I wanted to say. We had an incident here that some
6 of you may be familiar with where--which is a
7 political incident--there was a pamphlet, a
8 newsletter, put out by the Montgomery, Alabama
9 Young Republicans Club. Are you all familiar with
10 this? It had a picture of the Clintons. The three
11 family members, Bill, Hilary and their daughter,
12 Chelsea, and Reggie Jackson from Camden, South
13 Carolina. And it was a pretty obvious and blatant
14 use of racism. And there was a response. There
15 was an immediate response here in Columbia, South
16 Carolina. Now this was a partisan, this became a
17 partisan political issue. And in the context of
18 that partisan political issue, there was a press
19 conference that got good attention across the state
20 in both the print and the electronic media. There
21 were very strong and sharp statements made by both
22 blacks and whites about the need for this not to
23 happen and not to continue, and it even led to what
24 I think is absolutely unprecedented which is the
25 governor of the state apologized which I found to

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1 be absolutely incredible. What this illustrates to
2 me is the best and the worst of what we have in the
3 system. And maybe it's even more than that. It's
4 the worst because it happened. It's the best
5 because it showed that if people, if good people
6 stand up and do something, something can happen.
7 But it also illustrates that it takes a partisan
8 campaign and the kind of attention that that was in
9 order to have that reaction. I can't help but
10 wonder how many incidents somehow comparable to
11 that take place but outside the context of the
12 major political campaign where people don't stand
13 up. So if you can find a way to get people to feel
14 more strongly about standing up and can promote
15 that in folks, I think that would also go a long
16 way to providing a role model for the fact that we
17 would become in this society intolerant of
18 intolerance and tolerant of tolerance. Thank you.

19 QUESTIONING BY DR. KIMPSON:

20 Q I certainly agree that we can't let the government
21 off of the hook. You can't change people's attitudes by
22 legislation but you can lay the groundwork. And that brought
23 to mind, you mentioned the education. Dr. Palm at the
24 University of South Carolina in his effort to try to meet
25 more black folk invited I guess about 50 to 100 black persons

1 down there, and he had his top staff to introduce to us. I'm
2 sure he was somewhat embarrassed because out of some 40 more
3 top staff, there was not one single black. Not one. We're
4 talking about deans and heads of divisions, etcetera. And of
5 course after he thought about it, he was embarrassed. But
6 when he was asked about it, his explanation was that
7 something to the effect that well, you know, blacks have not
8 had the kind of education, they have not always been
9 academic, which really brought to surface some real I think
10 racism. And we had some persons in there who came from PhDs,
11 etcetera, who had applied. But in keeping with that, in your
12 mentioning education, what is your response? We're clamoring
13 for now voucher, selection, choice, this kind of thing. What
14 do you think that will do to us?

15 A Let me rapidly digress on one thing you said about
16 not legislating morality but legislating. One of the things
17 about legislation is that legislation can force people to
18 control their prejudices. And that is extremely important.
19 It may not change their attitude, but it will certainly
20 affect how they will reflect that attitude. And that's
21 terribly important. In my judgement, and I take this to be a
22 real softball, because I think you know where I come from on
23 this. I don't think we're talking about choice. I think
24 we're talking about destruction. And it seems to me that in
25 a free society, that education and quality education is an

1 absolute requisite and that the programs that are being put
2 forth, particular the voucher programs and the ones that are
3 being touted especially right now into the educational
4 revolution, are disastrous for public education and
5 ultimately for private education. It's a reestablishment of
6 an elite system. It's a reestablishment of stratification.
7 They're going to be along a whole series of lines. Black,
8 white will only be one of them. It will be class lines, it
9 will be race lines, it will be ethnic lines. I mean it will
10 be all kinds of things that it will be too. The problems
11 however--let me share an experience with you about how this
12 happens. We have at the University of South Carolina
13 something called the South Carolina Scholar. There are ten
14 of them roughly a year. It's the most prestigious
15 undergraduate fellowship that's given. It is full, I think
16 it's full expenses and includes some additional support so
17 you can buy books and things like that. It's a combination
18 of an academic achievement as well as a leadership award.
19 It's taken very seriously. And I was fortunate to serve on
20 the committee for years that interviewed for it. I remember
21 it was about 10 or 12 years ago that we had interviewed a
22 young black woman who was absolutely superb. She was top in
23 her class, she had obviously straight As, understood what she
24 had done just beautifully. But she had done very poorly on
25 her college boards. And when we sat down and evaluated her

1 record, part of the problem was very simple. The school
2 system in South Carolina that she went to simply did not
3 offer courses that were in truth at a high school level. I
4 mean basically what they did is they topped off somewhere
5 around high freshman and sophomore year in terms of what a
6 good school would offer. The result was she was not prepared
7 to handle the work at the University. That meant that she
8 was not eligible to be able to receive the Carolina Scholar.
9 On the other hand, she did not meet a profile which would
10 allow her to qualify for some kind of support for remedial,
11 in that disgusting term, education and so on. This is a
12 person who in part got lost in the cracks. And that's part
13 of the way the system works. The more we go to voucher and
14 this false notion of choice, the more those kinds of things
15 are going to happen, and the more we're going to end up doing
16 is greater stratification in society. I think that there
17 are people of goodwill who believe that that kind of
18 competitiveness is useful, and there's not doubt that there is
19 enormous improvement needed in the educational system. But I
20 think this is a place where a combination of goodwill and bad
21 intentions are combining to lead us down a real bad primrose
22 path.

23 MR. DOCTOR: I have a publication here that
24 was done by the Commission on Civil Rights back in
25 1970 entitled Racism in America. It seems to

1 define racism, and it talks about what Jesse talked
2 about. Individual racism, institutionalized
3 racism. But it also talks about what you talked
4 about. Intended, unintended, conscious,
5 subconscious. All sorts of forms of racism. I
6 would like to recommend this publication. It's out
7 of publication now. And this is the only copy I
8 have. Perhaps at some point we may reproduce this.
9 But I would like to recommend it to you all for
10 usage in remaining town meetings that you're going
11 to be having. I have found it to be a very, very
12 good publication. As a matter of fact, I've tried
13 to get my agency to reproduce it to no avail at
14 this point. But it's an excellent publication. It
15 talks about racism in America and how to combat it.
16 I highly recommend it to you.

17 QUESTIONING BY MR. ZIMMERMAN:

18 Q One thing I want to make sure I heard you clearly.
19 You said you felt like race relations in Columbia were good
20 but there was some racial tension?

21 A I think there are substantial racial tensions. And
22 I think--

23 Q Could you be a little more specific?

24 A Well in various neighborhoods. I think there are
25 neighborhoods in the community where there is a feeling that

1 nobody gives a dam, that the community isn't going to respond
2 and that it's a kind of tinderbox. It's not that anybody is
3 sitting there saying let's blow off Whitey. I don't think
4 it's quite at that point. But it certainly is at a point
5 where some incident could spark I think that kind of a
6 response. I'll share with you, I have a graduate student who
7 spent an evening in one segment in one of the communities,
8 and he came back, and we talked about it, and he was
9 absolutely astounded. He said I had no idea that there was
10 this kind of anger and that the situation was as volatile as
11 it is in the community with the kinds of feelings people
12 have. I think part of that was simply that he walked into a
13 situation where, as he said, he had no idea, because I don't
14 think most people don't, that there are some communities
15 where there are folks who are very angry. But I think in
16 general that's not the case. I think in general in Columbia
17 there has been incredible willingness to work in the
18 community where tensions have occurred. We've had some
19 incidents in this community that seems to me if they would
20 have occurred in a lot of other places, we would have had war
21 including an incident with our county sheriff. So I mean I
22 think in a lot of places for good or for ill would have been
23 incredibly explosive. I think it's a real testament to the
24 community that it's been able to do the kind of work that
25 we've done. And I think that Jesse has done a great job and

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1 Milton did a great job before him in working in that small
2 area. But I also have to say that the first of those town
3 meetings was held in a black church. And if Jesse's still
4 here, I don't want to put him on the spot on this, but if we
5 were to count up the number of people from the sponsoring
6 organizations who were there at that first town meeting, we
7 wouldn't need one full hand from the white community. And I
8 think that spoke volumes too about who wants to hear from
9 this dialogue. So my feeling is that while there are
10 important things to be done in the black community, there's
11 extremely important work that has to be done in the white if
12 we're talking seriously about race relations. And it can't
13 be simply looking at the immediate crises.

14 QUESTIONING BY MR. BARNES:

15 Q I didn't want to bring it up because somebody else
16 might have. One area in which there has been some progress--
17 maybe some people wouldn't count it as very much--but in the
18 social area is that Columbia now has a club, the Capital City
19 Club, which I know 12 or 14 years ago that was a major issue.
20 You know, we didn't have anything--even Jews weren't even
21 able to get into the clubs that were here in town. I think
22 it had a lot to do with the kind of leadership that we've had
23 in this city and the Community Relations Council. But it now
24 has a club, a very well-respected club. And I think that's
25 the key. The people who have joined are not just people.

1 They are top people in the city. And that to me represents
2 something very significant that's not often noted in the
3 city. How would you see that?

4 A I think there's a lot of truth to that. We have
5 two clubs. One club that kind of got shoved into opening its
6 membership and one that started with that principle. But we
7 also have other clubs in this community that are about as
8 closed as you can be which are not too far down the road from
9 here and not too far down from where I live where Milton and
10 I are both welcome to come in the back door.

11 MR. KIMPSON: Well I think, you know, I have
12 to add to that that I guess the interesting things
13 about those clubs, that we've got people who would
14 join that club over there that we can join but also
15 be a part of that one that we can't. But Morris, I
16 want to mention something that you talked about
17 with the volatile community. I was down in that--
18 in fact my son went down there, and they thought it
19 was me because it said Kimpson. And I got all the
20 credit, and I had to tell them it was my son. But
21 the thing that is disturbing to those people in
22 Arthur Town was that when the city of Columbia
23 talked about annexation, the business community led
24 the charge, not the annex. These are people that
25 live with businesses all around them including the

1 State newspaper. Annexation for that community
2 would be somewhat of a liability I guess when you
3 look at it. But they were very surprised that
4 these big businesses that are members of the
5 Chamber of Commerce, and they sort of came together
6 and said no, no, no, no. And going back to the
7 Community Relations Council, Senator Hyman Rubin
8 and I fought the battle for the private clubs, and
9 also we fought the battle along with a lot of other
10 people 25 years ago to get some sewage and water in
11 Arthur Town, and we're still saying it. That's why
12 they've become disillusioned.

13 MR. BLACKMAN: For good reason.

14 MR. ZIMMERMAN: Thank you very much, Mr.
15 Blackman.

16 QUESTIONING BY MR. DOCTOR:

17 Q Could we get for the record your official title
18 please?

19 A Yes. I am the associate director of the Institute
20 of International Studies at the University of South Carolina
21 and president of MJ Blackman and Associates, Inc.

22 FURTHER QUESTIONING BY MR. BARNES:

23 Q And for the record, Morris, you're not going to
24 suggest that a political partisan system can solve this
25 problem that we're talking about are you?

1 A For the record, Lord, no. What I was suggesting
2 out of that was that when it was expedient for reasons--where
3 the agendas met, mainly it was a partisan agenda met, it
4 worked very well. But it's precisely the point that what it
5 showed is that it takes a lot more than simply the incident
6 itself. I believe if it had been a nonelection year and that
7 kind of thing had happened, you might have had some people
8 who would have expressed outrage. Everybody engages in media
9 bashing. There's no doubt in my mind that if the same group
10 of people had called the press conference, even if we would
11 have stood on the State House and done it, the media wouldn't
12 have shown up. Most of them wouldn't have shown up. And it
13 would have never gotten the coverage.

14 MR. BARNES: My experience has been, and maybe
15 you would share it with me, that it seems like
16 every time we come around to election time in South
17 Carolina, racial tensions go up because politicians
18 have a tendency with their vested interest in
19 maintaining the racial status quo to make sure they
20 activate the racial issues to get their voters out
21 to vote. I was once partisan. I am no longer
22 partisan. But that's one of the frustrations I
23 experienced. I think with partisan politics, both
24 sides benefit or have in the past from racial
25 polarization and therefore contribute either

1 knowingly or unknowingly to racial tensions. It
2 probably serves some useful purpose. But I'll take
3 Jesse's opinion in a minute. That nonpartisan
4 approach. And you're involvement with that does
5 more to help alleviate these tensions than the
6 partisan process.

7 MR. BLACKMAN: Well the one thing that I want
8 to suggest to you though is that if you look at it,
9 it's also an opportunity if it's properly utilized
10 that is to say if you know that's the way in which
11 you can get the merging of agendas, then there's a
12 way to use that process positively in order to
13 raise these issues and bring them to the forefront.

14 MR. ZIMMERMAN: Thank you very much, Mr.
15 Blackman, for that insight. Now we have Ms. Fields
16 if you will.

17 MS. HARRIET GARDIN FIELDS SPEAKS AS FOLLOWS:

18 MS. FIELDS: For the record I am Harriet
19 Gardin Fields. And it is spelled H-A-R-R-I-E-T.
20 My maiden name is G-A-R-D-I-N, none hyphenated, my
21 last name is F-I-E-L-D-S. I reside at 412 Juniper
22 Street, Columbia, South Carolina. I'm a member of
23 Richland County Council representing District 3.
24 And my profession is that of an educator and a
25 counselor and a consultant. And I need to first

1 state that I'm here today as a private citizen.
2 The comments that I am about to share with you are
3 mine, they are my thoughts, they are from collected
4 information and impressions. They do not represent
5 any policy, procedures or recommendations of
6 Richland County Council. So I am now disclosing
7 for the record to be sure we clearly understand.
8 And because I'm very emotional about this issue, I
9 have attempted to deal with it from a prepared
10 statement which is something I do poorly and seldom
11 do. First racism and isms are well and prospering.
12 It's my personal feeling that a great deal of
13 racism and isms are caused at this time by
14 political policy. But those of you who either
15 lived in South Carolina most recently or lived here
16 some time ago, which all of us have been together
17 at some point in the last quarter of the century,
18 Lee Atwater, a deceased South Carolinian who used
19 racial polarization for political advantage. His
20 use of the racial polarization was successful in
21 his quest of parting politics and capturing the
22 White House. However Lee Atwater forgot how to
23 develop a healing process. And there are those who
24 would say that he attempted to do that on his dying
25 days. But let us also remember that by the nearer

1 we're our death, we repent for many things that
2 we've done in life or we feel that we've done in
3 life. And that is not nearly as effective as when
4 he was as a living, whole citizen. It is my
5 opinion that a lot of the racial tensions that
6 exist in this country today and in the world are
7 based upon some of the tactics that were used by
8 Lee Atwater. It is now fashionable to be racist
9 and to exclude any who classically are not blonde,
10 blue eyed and with blonde hair. So all of you who
11 sit there would be excluded including you, Mr.
12 Barnes. I don't believe we have enough blonde
13 hair.

14 MR. BARNES: I don't have enough blonde hair.

15 MS. FIELDS: Today America is graying. The
16 world is browning. And many Europeans, South
17 Carolinians and Americans are afraid that they will
18 be relegated to minority status. Many European-
19 Americans and European-South Carolinians are fully
20 aware of what minority status means by virtue of
21 the fact that they do everything they can to keep
22 minorities as under-classes. And basically in
23 South Carolina our minorities are of African-
24 American decent, negro, black or were former--
25 ancestors were former slaves. But let us also

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1 remember that we have other minorities aside from
2 them that are in South Carolina who are very much
3 excluded, who are very much made to feel if they
4 are a window pane that does not exist. In the
5 Midlands of South Carolina, these facts are
6 evidenced by the number of murders that have been
7 done in the name of the law by European-American
8 chiefs and deputies. By the fact that in most
9 instances they go unpunished. They may make the
10 paper, but it's quieted down shortly. The rage
11 still exists in the community, but the forum is not
12 there in which to solve that. There are very often
13 that these things are not done because when
14 questioned we are told that African-American males
15 were either perpetrators or unruly or had a gun.
16 The guns may never appear in an inquest or an
17 investigation. Many times there are no
18 investigations, thusly no questions. The fact that
19 these situations exist calls for increased racial
20 tensions in the African-American communities.
21 Those persons who are 60 and above remember the
22 Lynches. Those in their 40s remember those who
23 lost their life during the Freedom Rise, the March
24 from Selma, Montgomery, etcetera. Many of us in
25 our 40s remember the Pink Palace in downtown

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1 Orangeburg, South Carolina. I think three of us
2 know a lot about the Pink Palace. And some of the
3 others of you may have just heard of it. And in
4 case you don't know what we're referring to as the
5 Pink Palace, it was the jail that housed many
6 during the Civil Rights Movement. Ladies and
7 gentlemen, we are now--I'm sorry. Those among us
8 in their 20s and 30s have heard about the '30s and
9 the '60s. We are now in the '90s, and there is a
10 resurgence. Those European-Americans in their 20s
11 and 30s have heard of the '30s and '60s and feel it
12 is time to resurrect the majority European place in
13 this world. The aforementioned items are some of
14 the causes of racial tensions in America and are
15 stressed due to the economy. When we have a
16 depressed economy, everybody looks for a way to
17 feel better. And anyway we could feel better, we
18 do that. Americans cannot control the deficit. At
19 least I don't know any of us who sit in this room
20 who can control the deficit at this time. But we
21 can create racial tensions. Many who have bought
22 into the racial policies are unaware that they are
23 racist. Especially the younger generation. For
24 this youngest generation it is felt in my opinion,
25 by European-Americans, the African-Americans are

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1 not discriminated against because they have access
2 to kindergarten, schools, hospitals, hotels,
3 restaurants, etcetera. The youngest have not lived
4 long enough or experienced enough to know the facts
5 of racism. The Rodney King incident, the Saluda
6 swimming pool, the shootings in the surrounding
7 counties have caused racial stress that may or may
8 not have been perpetrated in Richland County. Many
9 young adult African-Americans do not realize the
10 progress and because of the economy can only see
11 the negatives. The Greater Columbia Community
12 Relations Council was cut in their appropriation by
13 Richland County 50 percent of their budget which
14 is--we didn't cut them all out, but we cut out 50
15 percent of the half that we supported. Which
16 signifies that from one aspect in one area that
17 there is no racial problem. But the other segment
18 of the community feels that this indicates
19 insensitivity to the fact that there are racial
20 tensions in our community. The questions are very
21 clear. Where do we go from here, how do we change
22 the racial tensions. There was once a belief or a
23 campaign in America that stated that America was a
24 melting pot. We've all lived long enough to know
25 now that that is not true. Then we have been

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1 campaigning for accepting diversity. We also know
2 that that too is not true. African-Americans do
3 not fit either of these campaigns, thusly it causes
4 for racial tensions. The state of race relations
5 and race tensions exist, and there are less
6 resources to work toward those resolutions. It is
7 probably not a desire nor priority in terms of
8 policy. But let us understand if we go back to the
9 '60s and the '70s or the results of the '60s and
10 '70s, we have spent an awful lot of time with
11 trying to have community relations. We had the old
12 EASE projects, the elementary and secondary
13 education grants, the race equity grants from the
14 Office of Education which was then the old
15 Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Now
16 we have very few if any of that left. If there is
17 anything to be done toward the tensions in America,
18 it may be gender, male versus female or female
19 versus male, however you want to deal with that.
20 So therefore that segment of the training that was
21 developed and that was given to the teachers at
22 that time no longer is done. Probably most of us
23 who worked in those areas can't replicate the
24 materials that we developed. That has a lot to do
25 with the race relations in America. And you can

1 talk about somebody moving in the neighborhood.
2 Because of today's economy, if I moved next door to
3 Rudy--and Rudy, I would sure have a hard time
4 moving next door to you--probably your neighbors
5 who probably could afford to move would move
6 because of their investment and they couldn't get
7 their money back out of it. So here again the
8 economy impacts that. But the thing I thought
9 about sitting here listening to all the comments
10 that were made, when I thought about health,
11 education and welfare, if we ever think about it--I
12 never thought about it--the health departments or
13 the health programs exist to take care of the less
14 fortunate who are considered to look like me.
15 Education, public education is supposed to take
16 care of the less fortunate. Who some people now,
17 when we talk about the voucher system, feel that
18 they just need a little bit of help to have this
19 school over here who teaches them more superbly.
20 But what happens if you never meet a person whose
21 culture is different from yours. And welfare. We
22 all know who we say. We talk about the Cadillac
23 Queens and the unwed mothers. We will never get
24 any--this economy will never get any better unless
25 we deal with the issue of race relations. I don't

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1 care if you owned General Motors. Unless everybody
2 in the country buys some of your product, you're
3 not going to have a product to sell unless you can
4 sell it out of the country. And our cars don't fit
5 a whole lot of streets. In Germany they're not
6 fast enough and can't withstand the temperatures.
7 In Japan they're too big to go down the highways.
8 So where does that leave us. You know, we talk
9 about legislating morality. We in my opinion
10 cannot legislate morality. However we can provide
11 the legislation that provides the funds that
12 provide the people who help us to begin to
13 understand either other, that provides the
14 opportunities to help us to understand each other.
15 In the South at one time while we had a lot of
16 tensions and there was the situation of talking
17 about people knowing their places, at least the two
18 races knew each other. Today we don't know each
19 other. I formally lived in a small town, and I'm
20 probably very sad to say this, but we used to--and
21 should not say it in this way, but I'm going to say
22 it. We used to kick butt any day of the week that
23 we wanted to. And we got kicked any day of the
24 week that we wanted to. Because we had to walk
25 across town to school, and they had to walk across

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1 town to school. And the days they decided we
2 weren't going to walk on the sidewalk, unless we
3 fought and won, we didn't walk on the sidewalk.
4 The days we decided they weren't going to walk on
5 the sidewalk, unless we fought and won, unless they
6 fought and won, they didn't walk on the sidewalk.
7 Well by the time we got to a certain stage in our
8 life, we had gotten rid of the anger and we had
9 fought and we kind of could sit down and laugh.
10 And I even have one acquaintance who now lives in
11 Tennessee that about once every five years we
12 update each other in person. We're both in the
13 same profession. And for about 20 years, we never
14 saw each other. And our paths just crossed. But
15 today when we go back and our children look at when
16 they went to school and who they went to school
17 with, they did not deal with it. We don't fight in
18 schools anymore because that's savage, you know.
19 When you contain anger and you repress and suppress
20 people so long, that in my opinion is a part of the
21 cause of the violence we have. Because when they
22 finally explode, they are more violent. And so a
23 lot of what once upon a time began our moving
24 forward is no longer there. My comments are not
25 meant to be partisan. They are not meant to be

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1 critical. And I'm sorry to have had to made them.
2 But I have to. If I'm going to take the time to
3 come and share with you, I think I have to give you
4 what is in my heart. Thank you very much.

5 (Marianna W. Davis, PhD, enters room.)

6 MR. BARNES: Can I say one thing?

7 MR. ZIMMERMAN: Before you ask Ms. Fields any
8 questions, I want to just acknowledge the presence
9 of one of our advisory committee members. I would
10 like her just to introduce herself to you briefly
11 for those of you who don't know her.

12 DR. DAVIS: I'm Marianna Davis. I live here
13 in Columbia.

14 MR. ZIMMERMAN: She's an educator and one of
15 the persons who have been out there in the trenches
16 in the Civil Rights Movement and fighting for the
17 rights of women as well for many, many years.

18 MS. FIELDS: So we now have four council
19 people in here.

20 MR. ZIMMERMAN: Right. Okay.

21 MR. BARNES: I just wanted to say one thing.
22 Bobby may not appreciate Harriet's position, but we
23 go way back to the Bethlehem Center and some other
24 activities back in the city. But there's a world
25 of difference between County Council in which the

1 city is located. , Jesse and Morris to some extent
2 were talking about the city. It's not without
3 problems. But when you look at City Council, which
4 I have some little part a few years back--

5 MS. FIELDS: Are you ready to come to County
6 Council?

7 MR. BARNES: But you don't have the same
8 racial hostility there that you have on the County
9 Council where Harriet is. Now continuing her
10 street fight, it's just an extension of the old
11 days. You need to understand I think that's a
12 major distinction. I've never quite figured it
13 out. Why it's like that. Maybe it's part of
14 partisan politics. I don't know.

15 MS. FIELDS: You need to come sit with us.
16 You need to come back in Richland County and sit
17 with us. You might can help us a lot.

18 MR. BARNES: Well I see enough of you on TV.
19 And that's why I'm up in Newberry County. But
20 that's a very important factor, and it used to be
21 acknowledged. That while you're representing in
22 many ways the same area, the acrimony level at the
23 County Council is much higher than that at the City
24 Council. Especially when it comes to racial
25 issues. I'm not real sure why it is. But it's a

1 major thing. I frankly appreciate very much your
2 comments.

3 MR. DOCTOR: Maybe that speaks then to why--

4 DR. KIMPSON: Well--

5 MR. DOCTOR: I'm sorry. Just a brief comment,
6 Milton. Maybe that speaks then to why Ms. Fields'
7 assessment of racial tensions in the area has been
8 a little bit more critical than some of the others
9 who have appeared before the committee.

10 QUESTIONING BY MR. DOCTOR:

11 Q While I have the floor, if I may, Ms. Fields, can
12 you offer us some reasoning as to why your comments have been
13 a little more critical than some of the others on the
14 subject?

15 A Well I tend to chose to say what I feel and what my
16 assessment is and what I have to live with and what I hear
17 the people say. I spend the summers spending two nights a
18 week working with the kids on midnight basketball, and I got
19 ready to go to one park this summer, and my kids told me
20 we're not going. And finally when I got there, with the few
21 that was there, three little boys told me we're going to ride
22 with you. I said okay. You know I'm the last one to leave.
23 They said at night you're not. We are all leaving at the
24 same time. And they said because we're not going to fight
25 tonight. And my position is we don't ever fight in my

1 opinion. But they said every time we come over here, we get
2 in trouble, and we're going with you. I mean so it's just
3 that I don't think we have as many programs. The county is
4 more diverse. It has more problems. Because we have major
5 communities without sewer. We have communities that have
6 problems with quality drinking water. We have communities
7 that still live worse than pre-1930. And our attitude is
8 sometimes that they don't need to live any better. And one
9 person had the nerve to tell me one day well if they're in
10 that bad of shape, why don't they just move to the city.
11 They don't need sewer in Arthur Town. They need to abandon
12 it. Not understanding the pride of the ownership of the
13 property, the generations that have lived there, the
14 accomplishments that have been made there by the families
15 that are there and the fact that many of them began there and
16 it is a very sentimental beginning. And there's no reason
17 why today that any sizeable community in Richland County
18 should not have sewer and safe drinking water other than
19 political. I'm not so sure that it's all economic. I mean
20 the economy has something to do with it. But anything we
21 want to do, we figure out how to do it. We have county-wide
22 fire service. We may not all have all-paid stations. We're
23 reduced to ISO ratings of communities. If you can do that--I
24 mean it's real important to put out a house that catches
25 afire. But on a daily basis do we put out more fires or do

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1 we flush more commodes. Do we drink more glasses of water or
2 do we put out more fires.

3 DR. KIMPSON: I think to be fair, the problems
4 that Ms. Fields is talking about involves democrats
5 and republicans. It doesn't make any difference.
6 They have neglected these areas. Any really there
7 is no excuse other than these are impoverished
8 areas where basically black folk live. Ms. Fields,
9 I want to gather something. And I think Ms. Fields
10 is more critical simply because if you serve on
11 that County Council now, you can't be but. I've
12 been disgusted, and I'm still disgusted. But I
13 read an article the other day that says any
14 democracy in any civilized area, if it's going to
15 be successful, it has to have two basic things if
16 it's going to survive. That is a healthy, educated
17 population. And if you neglect either one of
18 those, it may take it years, but it will crumble.
19 That's what's happening to America. That's what's
20 happening to South Carolina. And it's much more
21 pronounced since the Reagan administration.

22 NUN FROM CROWD: Amen.

23 DR. KIMPSON: Emphasizing itself down through
24 the Bush administration. Now the County Council,
25 especially a big portion of it, are puppets of

1 those administrations. Now in Richland County,
2 when you talk about education and health, the
3 County Council has just about abandoned--they've
4 cut the school system, the very best thing we've
5 got. Harriet fought for them. They cut the health
6 system.

7 MS. FIELDS: And the business community
8 provided the furniture for the new Health
9 Department. People paid taxes for it for years.
10 And we said we couldn't use the tax money to
11 furnish the building.

12 QUESTIONING BY DR. KIMPSON:

13 Q I'm going to ask you since there is thank God
14 Almighty some change on the Richland County Council, how do
15 you see the health and education? Do you see a chance for
16 any change there?

17 A I think if we work at looking at all the issues and
18 perhaps look at zero-based funding and prioritize the needs
19 of Richland County and go to the citizens, I think we can
20 have a change. But I think we sit up there and want to make
21 the determination as to how you pay taxes and what you're
22 going to pay and you do not understand why you're going to
23 pay them and why it's necessary, I think we're going to have
24 chaos, and probably some of us all will be gone. A lot of
25 our problem in my opinion is that citizens do not understand

1 what is done with the money. They think everybody goes to
2 Los Vegas to a great convention and takes all the county's
3 money and gambles with it, and then we come back and just
4 decide well we need five more million dollars, so we divide
5 that by 285,000 taxpaying citizens of Richland County, and
6 there goes your taxes. And it's not exactly like that. But
7 I think we need to look at the way we do things, and we need
8 to look at funding diverse issues. We've had for the past
9 two years an idea or a feeling that we should not take care
10 of health and welfare. That that's not our role. Whose role
11 is it. The citizens should volunteer. We've about
12 volunteered out about everybody, we've taxed everybody out,
13 we've gotten all the money you've got, and now you're trying
14 to stay in your house. You know, we just can't keep on.
15 We've got a lot of things that we really need to do that deal
16 with the welfare of all of the citizens. If we have a
17 malaria outbreak in Richland County, it doesn't matter how
18 much money you've got or where you live. If you get malaria
19 and we can't, and you don't get the materials early enough,
20 or you can't buy the medication, you're going to die. And if
21 somebody else in your house gets it, you're going to die.
22 But, you know, some of us don't understand that the Health
23 Department is not a place just for poor African-American
24 people. That other people receive services there too. Thank
25 you.

1 MR. DOCTOR: Thank you.

2 MR. ZIMMERMAN: Thank you very much. Thank
3 you, Dr. Kimpson, for getting that response from
4 our audience. I knew we would get one sooner or
5 later. Is Mr. Gray here of the American Civil
6 Liberties Union? Okay. If no more schedule
7 panelists are present, then I would like to ask for
8 any comments from our attending audience. Yes.
9 Come forward.

10 BARBARA BROWN: How many people are on your
11 advisory committee?

12 MR. DOCTOR: How many people are on the
13 advisory committee?

14 BARBARA BROWN: People that would fill all
15 those chairs there?

16 MR. DOCTOR: No, they wouldn't fill all of
17 these chairs. The room was not set up the way we
18 asked them to set it up. And that's why you see
19 all these empty chairs.

20 MR. BARNES: But there are more.

21 MR. DOCTOR: But there are more members of the
22 committee.

23 BARBARA BROWN: How many more?

24 MR. BROWN: Oh about six more.

25 MR. ZIMMERMAN: Not quite. About three more.

1 BARBARA BROWN: Why aren't they here?

2 MR. BROWN: I can't answer that.

3 MR. ZIMMERMAN: For various reasons. Two
4 asked to be excused for other commitments, you
5 know, in their professional field. And the others,
6 we don't know why they're not here.

7 MR. BARNES: No crisis.

8 MR. ZIMMERMAN: There are about nine active
9 members.

10 MEDIA REPORTER FROM AUDIENCE: How many of
11 those are African-American?

12 COURT REPORTER: Wait a minute. They're going
13 to have to tell me their names if you want them
14 identified.

15 MR. DOCTOR: We don't want to get into this.
16 But I can assure you that there is a significant
17 number of African-Americans on this committee. If
18 I would have to guess off the top of my head, I
19 would say--

20 MR. ZIMMERMAN: One, two, three, four. Four.

21 MEDIA REPORTER FROM AUDIENCE: We can have a
22 list afterwards with of all the members' names?

23 MR. ZIMMERMAN: Four out of nine.

24 MR. DOCTOR: We can tell you who they are, but
25 we can't give you a list.

1 MEDIA REPORTER FROM AUDIENCE: Oh.

2 MR. DOCTOR: We are prohibited from doing that
3 because the list has the names and their telephone
4 numbers on it. We can't release that.

5 MR. ZIMMERMAN: There are five. I'm sorry.
6 There are five. Are you ready? State your name
7 please.

8 MR. WILLIAM GRIFFIN SPEAKS AS FOLLOWS:

9 MR. GRIFFIN: My name is William Griffin. I'm
10 in a small business in Columbia, South Carolina. I
11 was sitting here listening to a lot of input that
12 was put in the situation about the racial problems
13 in the US and in South Carolina and in Columbia,
14 South Carolina. One of the reasons I think is one
15 of the major problems with racism in this country
16 is basically based upon the economics and the
17 finances of the white and the black. And racism is
18 very critical in Columbia and a lot of other places
19 in this state basically because a lot of people are
20 not coming forward and letting their anger out and
21 what they have to live and work with every day.
22 And those people which are the poor, disadvantaged
23 and economic people out there who are in the work
24 force, they have to work under a lot of racial
25 conditions because they cannot come forward and are

1 afraid to come forward because it may jeopardize
2 their work, where they work, and different
3 entireties in different businesses. For example
4 like myself. I work, I have a business in a place
5 that's owned by the State of South Carolina. And a
6 lot of racism goes on at this place. But everybody
7 that's worked there takes whatever racism is put
8 upon them and don't say nothing about it. And they
9 just continue on year after year after year. So
10 today I just happened to read the paper, and I saw
11 that you was having this, so I thought maybe I
12 would come here today and talk to someone that
13 maybe can help me see if we can solve the problem
14 at this place where I have my business that maybe
15 will help make things a lot better. Because these
16 people that is controlling doing all the things--
17 excuse me--they are very high officials. For
18 example they seem to me to try to provoke the poor
19 people from trying to gain any economic advantage
20 in the business world. They do everything that
21 they possibly can to keep a person like myself from
22 growing within my business. But therefore there's
23 white people that's located out there where I am
24 that have businesses like I have, and they've been
25 in business before. And they tell me what I can't

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1 do whenever they let the white people do anything
2 that they want. They watch me, they police me to
3 do everything that they want me to do. And then I
4 confronted them, and I said why do you make myself
5 and other people like me do these things when you
6 let the white people out here that have businesses
7 just like mine get away with it. But you control
8 us. You don't want us to grow to become
9 economically to help ourselves. And I feel that
10 that's one the problems in America right now today.
11 Poor people in this country which is the backbone
12 of this country, they are being deprived the right
13 to be able to get out there in the financial world
14 and try to make something of themselves. You've
15 got a lot of small businesses that are out there
16 that they can make it in this world if we get some
17 type of input from the white people to help us make
18 it. Because in my type of business that I have
19 myself, I have a, I mostly deal with black people.
20 That's most of the business that I get. And the
21 type of business that I'm in, the white people have
22 everything in one ball. And a lot of people told
23 me even before I went in it. They said you're
24 going to have a hard time. They said they have a
25 monopoly on the type of business you're in. They

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1 said if you look at it, there's not one black man
2 in that type of business in the State of South
3 Carolina and only one in the southeast. And they
4 have control. And they'll make it very difficult
5 for you to get a foothold within that type of
6 business. But I challenged it anyway. And I'm
7 still challenging it. It's just like they told me.
8 It's very difficult. Because people that control
9 this type of business, they're all to themselves
10 and filtrate and make things so difficult for black
11 people to try to get their foothold to do anything
12 in the society. And that's one the reasons that I
13 was saying that the economic of the black people in
14 this country and in South Carolina and in Columbia
15 is basically based upon finances. Money. I heard
16 you all asking the news media man why he feels that
17 people don't buy as many as his papers or whatever
18 as they do the State Record or whatever. The main
19 reason is because that black media paper cannot get
20 that exposure that the State has because they don't
21 have the money. They don't have as many people to
22 represent them and go to all these different other
23 places and put people into their paper. That's one
24 of the main reasons why he's not getting exposure.
25 That's why you'll find that a lot of people who go

1 to the newsstand, they'll pick up the State paper
2 instead of the black news. Because the things they
3 have in there, they can only make a certain amount
4 of coverage. Only. If you look at a State paper,
5 they have a lot of different sections. They have
6 the Community section, they have the Sports section
7 and then they have state news and then they have
8 the national news. But then you look in black
9 news, and you don't see all this basically because
10 they don't have the financial resources to do all
11 these things to put on the newsstand so that
12 someone will be interested in their paper as well
13 as they do the State. It's very limited what's in
14 there for them to read. If you look in any paper,
15 you'll find out--like football tonight. If you
16 look in the State paper, they'll have games covered
17 in Irmo, Richland Northeast and all that. A lot of
18 these people--white people got kids that are
19 playing. Black people have got kids that are
20 playing. And I bet you if you look in the black
21 news media, you won't find all this. They don't
22 have the money and the resources to send people all
23 of these different locations like these other
24 people that are financing are to get all this
25 information compiled and put in the paper in order

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1 to get them around and circulating. It's a very
2 limited place where you can find these papers. I
3 mean it's very. The only most of the places that
4 you're going to find the black newspaper anywhere
5 would probably be in a small black business
6 somewhere that many people don't go. Maybe the
7 State, the newsstand down here, that's the only
8 other place I basically see it. But if you go to
9 Kroger or Winn-Dixie, you don't find no stand with
10 black newspaper sitting there beside the Wall
11 Street Journal and all of those.

12 QUESTIONING BY DR. KIMPSON:

13 Q Let me ask you a question if I may. How would you
14 describe racial tensions in South Carolina and in Columbia
15 most specifically.

16 A How I would describe it would be just like I said
17 previously. It is very critical. Critical. More critical
18 than you all realize that it is. Just because I simply say
19 there's a lot of tension that's on a lot of people that
20 they're just not letting it out. They're keeping it in. I
21 guess it will be something like the Clarence Thomas
22 situation. They said after that came about, a lot of women
23 stepped forward and let a lot of things revealed that have
24 always been there within them that their keeping to
25 themselves. So you have the same situation going on with the

1 racial among black people in this country. And just like I
2 said, and let me simply tell you, the biggest people that
3 suffered in this country in that regard--this has been an
4 economic time--is the poor people. And the poor people are
5 the backbone to this country. They are the ones that
6 produces the work and gets things done. When the times come
7 in jeopardy for their jobs and so forth, they're afraid to
8 come forward or to do anything. Just like I think I heard
9 Dr. Blackman said. If a certain incident that had happened
10 here in Columbia would have happened in a different area,
11 there would have probably been a big uprising. But the reason
12 there wasn't no big uprising was because most of the people in
13 Columbia, they're kind of laid back and are afraid to come
14 forward and reveal how they feel about what's going around
15 here and are living with it, you know. I've been dealing
16 with different people around here in the time that I've been
17 in business, and I've been in several small businesses in my
18 time since I've been in Columbia, and everywhere that I go
19 with everybody I deal with, I have to cross a big hurdle to
20 get my message understood. I've had a lot of people that
21 have been in high-top positions tell me, they say well while
22 the other blacks are not saying it. Why do you want to be a
23 problem. I said well I want to be a problem because I said I
24 understand right from wrong. I said what you're doing is not
25 right. And I will stand forward and let you know that what

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1 I'm doing and what you're doing don't coincide together.

2 QUESTIONING BY MR. DOCTOR:

3 Q I have two questions. Number one, I was just
4 curious. What is your business?

5 A My business, I'm the in wholesale of produce and
6 vegetables.

7 Q The other thing you mentioned, could you give me an
8 example where whites are given an advantage over you? You've
9 mentioned that, you know, they get the deal and you don't.
10 And I believe I know what you're talking about. But just
11 give me a example?

12 A The example is this. There's a number of example.
13 One of them I will say is this. They always had a thing, a
14 buddy-buddy system is number one. You know, if I know John
15 and John knows Peter and Peter wants something and he knows
16 John's got it, he goes and buys direct from John because he
17 knows John's got this. Okay. So therefore other people who
18 are out there that's in the same type of business that I'm in
19 are out there, and most of the time it's like this. When you
20 deal with produce and vegetables, mainly the big part about
21 your business is having a good quality. But then you can
22 have quality. And you've got quality here. But what can you
23 do with it if the people out there won't buy it. You ain't
24 got nobody to buy it. I only have to deal with people daily
25 that come to my place to buy from me. And very few people--

1 I've had a couple of white businesses that couldn't make a
2 run or something like on one of the Sundays or something and
3 they don't work, I work. And then I've got, you know, a
4 couple of things like that. But basically most of all them,
5 they've been in the business so long, and they know all the
6 nook and crannies about the business, and they keep you
7 blocked out. You just cannot get in it one way whatsoever,
8 you know. And I mean not only--you see the people that
9 control where I'm located at, they even themselves put you in
10 the position where they make it so difficult for you to even
11 function as a business themselves, you know.

12 MR. DOCTOR: Any other questions?

13 MEDIA REPORTER FROM AUDIENCE: Could I ask him
14 something?

15 MR. DOCTOR: I beg your pardon?

16 MEDIA REPORTER FROM AUDIENCE: While he's
17 still here, could I ask a question?

18 MR. DOCTOR: Okay.

19 MR. ZIMMERMAN: Yes. Sure.

20 MEDIA REPORTER FROM AUDIENCE: He's brought up
21 something that I think is very much a topic of the
22 day. And that is the African-American farmer. The
23 fact that this is a dying race of people. Is this
24 something in the commission that you all are
25 looking at? As well as the small businesses and

1 the inability to get loans, is there also, is it
2 going further into looking into the agricultural,
3 the small farmer?

4 MR. DOCTOR: Well this is something we've
5 looked at for a number of years now. And as a
6 matter of fact, we've done some publications. One
7 that comes to mind is titled the Decline of the
8 Black Farmer. Clearly there is, there are
9 diminishing numbers. And as far as black farmers
10 are concerned, those numbers tend to diminish every
11 year. It's not something we've looked at in recent
12 years. But we tend to monitor as best we can
13 anyway those numbers. I couldn't tell you what
14 they are today, but I could assure you that they
15 are much less than what they were last year and the
16 year before and the year before that. If that
17 answers your question.

18 MR. ZIMMERMAN: If you need some updated
19 material on the black farmer in South Carolina or
20 the southeast, if you would contact Penn Community
21 Service Center on Saint Helena Island, South
22 Carolina, Mr. Henry Campbell. And they have all
23 the latest information on the black farmer and the
24 status of the black farmer. And it's very
25 appalling as to what has happened as far as the

1 black farmer is concerned in South Carolina and in
2 the southeast based on what they perceive as
3 racism.

4 QUESTIONING BY MR. ZIMMERMAN:

5 Q And I wanted to ask you, when you started out, you
6 were saying something about money. In your view do you see
7 racism as a result of economic or economic a result of
8 racism?

9 A Racism is a result of economics. Of finances, you
10 know. Money, you know. Everything that evolves around in
11 this country and in this world is money. I mean, you know,
12 everywhere. I don't care if you go to Europe, Asia or
13 whatever. Everything is right around money. Money controls
14 everything. Money is power, you know. And it's basically
15 simply this. The white man knows if he keeps money out of
16 our hands, we will not gain no power. How can we help
17 ourselves if we don't have no money. Who's got control in
18 this country. The white man. Well why. Because he's got
19 all the money. Why does he have all the money. He's got the
20 power to control. He controls our lives, what we do and how
21 we do it. If he sees a black man trying to get somewhere
22 financially, if he goes into his own business or whatever,
23 they try all their best to put him back down in his place if
24 they can help it. But any time, if you notice it--now you
25 watch it. Whenever you see the white society get with a

1 minority business and help him and push him, see how that
2 business succeeds. That's the one you see being in the
3 limelight in the news how successful their business is. But
4 you see the ones that don't get no help whatsoever from the
5 white people. They're the ones that's out there suffering,
6 falling, can't make it, losing their homes, losing their
7 land, their family. It's terrible. All because they cannot
8 provide something to make life better for them. Money makes
9 everybody live happily if they've got money to get the
10 majority of the things they want and need for their families
11 and themselves. You all know for you-all's self. Just say
12 for example if someone would come in here right now and you
13 all would be laid off and you lost your job and you cannot--
14 you've got to go out there and scuff and fight and pick up a
15 minimum wage job or whatever and try to make it. You would
16 be in turmoil. And I mean it. And later on you're going to
17 have frustration, because you've got to blame something for
18 doing this. And who's doing this is the one who controls.
19 The power, the money. That's what it is.

20 MR. ZIMMERMAN: That's what I meant when I
21 asked, when I said economics, with the general.
22 But I meant the economics of the black man.

23 DR. KIMPSON: I want to confirm what you've
24 said. I went in the radio business. Of course a
25 group of us blacks wanted to purchase a radio

1 station. And we could not get the financing. We
2 had more I guess potential than the next group I
3 went with. The next group consisted of two whites
4 and me as the black. We had no problem getting the
5 money. No problems at all. But when the group of
6 us black men--so it kind of confirms what you're
7 saying. It appears that for the black man to get
8 the kind of capital he or she needs is that they've
9 got to link up with somebody white. And I was
10 scared the amount of money we got when I was linked
11 up with my white soul brothers. When it was all
12 black soul brothers, we couldn't get more money.

13 MR. ZIMMERMAN: What is a bank?

14 MR. DOCTOR: That's just interesting--

15 MR. ZIMMERMAN: What is a bank? An
16 institution.

17 MR. DOCTOR: It's interesting that you would
18 bring that up. The Justice Department very
19 recently entered into a consent decree with a
20 mortgage lending company out of Atlanta. You may
21 all have heard something about this. But it's a
22 precedent-setting case in which the Justice
23 Department has literally gotten that particular
24 mortgage company to agree to make available I think
25 some million, at least a million dollars to some 48

1 different black loan applicants who obviously were
2 discriminated against in their efforts to obtain
3 monies from that particular institution. We have
4 looked at this same kind of problem, the lending
5 practices of financial institutions. For example
6 the redlining practices. And Atlanta of course--in
7 Atlanta the Atlanta Constitution, the Atlanta
8 Journal, did a big expose on this very subject and
9 critically looked at statistics from a number of
10 different situations and concluded that there was
11 wide-spread discrimination by financial
12 institutions in their lending practices.

13 MR. ZIMMERMAN: Again we see institutionalized
14 racism. And that's one of the biggest problems
15 with the black farmer.

16 MR. DOCTOR: That's a classic.

17 MR. ZIMMERMAN: They can't get the money from
18 the banks.

19 MR. GRIFFIN: Then again. I want to put this
20 in too. I believe this is a good example. You can
21 look at the Small Business Administration. I never
22 got a loan from the Small Business Administration.
23 But, you know, I have looked into it and so forth.
24 And the thing I have found, they always say in
25 their statistics that 75 percent of the small

1 business people that get a loan from the SBA
2 normally fails. Okay. And one of the reasons
3 why--I did a little research. The Small Business
4 Administration is simply this. And I've heard a
5 couple of white people talk many times in different
6 meetings I have been in, you know, that they said
7 that if you're going to borrow any money, you know,
8 borrow lots of money. Don't borrow just a small
9 amount. Just enough, you know, to get by. Borrow
10 much more than what you need in order to make it.
11 And the thing that I found out when I was at the
12 Small Business Administration trying to, I was just
13 trying to see how they worked, you know, other than
14 what I heard people say. And the thing that I come
15 to find out, with the amount of money that I had
16 suggested to them that I needed and so forth--I did
17 all my paperwork and whatever and told them exactly
18 what I would need--they took that and cut it 25
19 percent. I said this is what I project to give me
20 for the amount of money I need in order to operate
21 for three or four years, you know, until my
22 business gets going. And then they said no, you
23 don't need this amount. They said you don't need
24 that for 100,000. You only need 75,000. I said
25 well I see why the majority of the people who apply

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1 for loans with you all, they're being
2 discriminatory by the amount of money that you all
3 allowed them to have. You all are making them fail
4 anyway so you can take their land and their home
5 and whatever. And the majority of these people
6 that are doing it, that are getting these loans,
7 are small black people. The minority and small
8 businesses. They're the ones that are losing
9 everything just basically simply because of such
10 practices as that.

11 MR. DOCTOR: Thank you very much.

12 MR. ZIMMERMAN: Thank you.

13 MR. DOCTOR: Is Mr. Gray here?

14 MR. ZIMMERMAN: Mr. Kevin Gray?

15 MR. ZIMMERMAN: Okay. I want to wrap this
16 meeting up. Do we have any other comments from the
17 floor?

18 DR. KIMPSON: I would like to hear from
19 Reverend Darby back there.

20 MR. ZIMMERMAN: Come forward and introduce
21 yourself to the general body.

22 (Mr. Rudy Barnes, Jr., Esquire, leaves
23 meeting.)

24 REVEREND JOSEPH DARBY SPEAKS AS FOLLOWS:

25 MR. DARBY: You were my friend, Mr. Kimpson.

1 My name is Joseph Darby, and I am pastor of St.
2 Phillip AME Church in Eastover. I also wear a
3 couple of other hats that would probably be
4 irrelevant. One of those is as president of the
5 Greater Columbian Faith Clergy Association and as
6 vice-president of the South Carolina Christian
7 Action Council which is our state's major
8 ecumenical body. I would simply echo much of what
9 has already been said. We need to explore the
10 problem. There is a problem of racial tension in
11 our community and in our state. I think that
12 statewide it might be a bit more severe than it is
13 locally. It might be more pronounced than it is
14 locally. I think that the causes for that problem
15 are many. Some of that should be blamed on the
16 politics of the last 12 years which I believe have
17 been divisive. Some of it is I believe systemic to
18 the way that America operates. Some of it is
19 because we do have legislation that addresses bias,
20 but legislation cannot change attitudes at all
21 times. I believe if anything were to help, I would
22 reflect on a couple of things. One of those is I
23 had the opportunity recently to participate in a
24 biracial panel sponsored by the State newspaper.
25 And one of the things that I learned from that

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1 panel was that everyone with the exception of one
2 lady who simply needs a lot of prayer, that
3 everyone else came away from that I think changed
4 and improved and with more insight because we were
5 in a situation where we were forced to have to go
6 beyond just accepting and actually look to learn
7 each other a little bit better. I believe that if
8 there is to be an improvement in our racial
9 climate, if economically there is to be more
10 equity, if as people we're able to deal more
11 effectively with each other, then we have to go
12 beyond the point of preconceived notions and make
13 the extra effort. Mr. Barnes when he was here
14 mentioned black publications and what needed to be
15 done. And I laughed to myself because I grew up
16 reading the State newspaper before the State
17 newspaper knew there was a Booker T. Washington
18 High School or a South Carolina State College, but
19 I did not refuse to read it because the news did
20 not apply to me. I was a part of that society, so
21 the news was relevant. I believe that black
22 American and every other minority group is a part
23 of the society. So an extra effort is going to
24 have to be made I think by people across racial
25 lines to understand each other. There are efforts

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1 being made toward that end. The Christian Action
2 Council along with the Palmetto Project is in the
3 process of doing what I think Jesse mentioned in
4 his comments. Trying not only to get people of
5 varying races to visit each other's churches but
6 also to pair families together so that people will
7 actually sit down, talk together, eat together and
8 know each other, and from that learn to appreciate
9 each other more. To a great degree that's going to
10 be preaching to the choir, because those who
11 participate are those who are going to be willing
12 to make the effort. But I believe if that kind of
13 thing spreads enough that it becomes the rule
14 rather than the exception, and then we would be
15 better off. That would be my comments.

16 DR. KIMPSON: Thank you, Reverend.

17 MR. DOCTOR: I appreciate that.

18 MR. ZIMMERMAN: Yes. Thank you.

19 MR. DOCTOR: Todd?

20 MR. TODD EWING SPEAKS AS FOLLOWS:

21 MR. EWING: Yes. I can't keep my mouth shut.
22 My name is Todd Ewing. I'm a consultant, and I do
23 training in consulting in this very issue of
24 diversity. I think that's where we met, Milton. I
25 can't remember. Maybe we met before that sometime.

1 DR. KIMPSON: Right here I believe was the
2 first time.

3 MR. EWING: I believe so. I believe so. And
4 I want to just say a little bit about myself before
5 I make a few comments. I know it's getting late
6 and you all want to go home and you've been here a
7 long time.

8 MR. ZIMMERMAN: Go ahead.

9 MR. EWING: I grew up in Minnesota. I'm not
10 from the South. I grew up in a state that has
11 about--some of you have probably already been
12 there. It's very cold in Minnesota.

13 MR. ZIMMERMAN: That's why you don't have many
14 of them.

15 MR. EWING: There's not many black folks in
16 Minnesota. In the entire state of Minnesota, you
17 have about 60,000 black folks, and those are mostly
18 concentrated in the Minneapolis-St. Paul area. I
19 grew up with racism. Similar to many other people,
20 I grew up in a situation. I found out after I was
21 of age that the very first place that I lived in my
22 parents had to get the NAACP to get us to be able
23 to move into that house. The very year I was born.
24 And so I grew up in essence from the day I was born
25 fighting racism. And I grew up in a predominately

1 white environment in Minnesota as I've said. So I
2 experienced I think what you would call the evils
3 of racism literally on a daily basis. It wasn't
4 something that came my way every now and then. It
5 was literally on a daily basis. You can imagine in
6 Minnesota at that point in the 1950s and '60s where
7 folks had not even seen black people in many cases.
8 And that's something to really think about. To
9 live around people who may not have had interaction
10 or contact with black people until they got in
11 college. Now I've talked to a lot of people who
12 are from the South, and they can't imagine that
13 experience. Because at the very least whether the
14 situation was equal or not, there were contacts.
15 Maybe on an unequal basis, but at least contact
16 between whites and blacks. But in Minnesota you
17 could come to college--and I worked at a
18 university. And I taught many students who said
19 the first time they ever talked to a black person
20 was when they came to college after 18 years. You
21 can imagine the climate. And I'm trying to just
22 paint a picture of the circumstances that I grew up
23 in. I moved here to South Carolina seven years
24 ago. I moved here from an experience of working at
25 a university in Minnesota where my job was to

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1 sensitize the university and community to racial
2 and cultural differences and how to bridge those
3 differences. I spent about five or six years doing
4 that. Actually I spent about eight years doing
5 that. When I moved to South Carolina, I was so
6 frustrated after dealing with that experience for
7 eight years that I decided that I did not want to
8 get back into this business of training and working
9 with racial and cultural diversity again. However
10 after about three years here, the way things went,
11 I ended up back in the same business. So since
12 1987 I have been working with racial and cultural
13 diversity issues all over the State of South
14 Carolina. I've literally met with hundreds of
15 teachers, done some work with the Department of
16 Corrections, at least half of the state agencies,
17 many small businesses, many students in terms of
18 what's going on with racial issues. And I say
19 that just by way of background because I think as
20 I--I had to leave, and I apologize for having to
21 leave. But my daughter's in a school where she
22 decided last year after the Rodney King incident
23 that that school had to do something about race
24 relations. So she formed a cultural awareness task
25 force and talked to the principal, and the

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1 principal agreed that during this entire year
2 they're going to have culture awareness activities
3 and racial awareness activities for the entire
4 school for the entire year. And I was very proud
5 of her. But I had to go there and meet with her
6 and come back. So I missed some of what was said.
7 But before I left I was concerned about the fact in
8 my mind of how deep that this issue goes. And I
9 know you all know this, because you've been dealing
10 with this longer than I have. I think most of you
11 all are older than I am. I feel that anyway.

12 MR. ZIMMERMAN: Yes.

13 MR. DOCTOR: Well at least three of us are.

14 MR. EWING: At least three of you all are.

15 All right. But I want to say this. When we do
16 these training seminars, and I want to echo what
17 Reverend Darby said too. When we do these training
18 seminars, people have the opportunity to sit and
19 really express their true feelings not just their
20 superficial feelings. And when we have two or
21 three days to do it, it's very interesting the kind
22 of things that we find. But in terms of the
23 question that keeps coming back, how are race
24 relations in South Carolina, what are the racial
25 tensions like. I heard one gentleman say that he

1 didn't feel like it was that bad, and I have to
2 disagree. And I'll tell you why. I'm disagreeing
3 from the standpoint of not what I said but what our
4 participants have told us. I want to just share
5 one question that we ask our participants. When we
6 have a two- or three-day session, we break the
7 groups up into for a period of time into a group of
8 blacks and a group of whites. My business partner
9 is white, and she goes with a white group, and I go
10 with the black group. There's three questions we
11 ask these groups to answer. We ask them how they
12 see their own culture, because we want people to
13 recognize that they have a culture and what that
14 culture is and what are the kinds of ways that that
15 culture manifests itself. So we ask them to answer
16 the question how they see their own culture. The
17 second question we ask them to answer is how will
18 they see the other culture. And the third question
19 we ask them to answer which is very enlightening
20 for us, and it's been very enlightening for us, is
21 how do they think that they're perceived by the
22 other culture. Understand that you have a white
23 group answering the questions by themselves and the
24 black group answering the questions by themselves.
25 And then they come back together, and they share

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1 the information. That way nobody is on the spot
2 individually. But as a group they share what the
3 answers are. And what we've found--and this is to
4 a seminar. We can't do it every seminar because it
5 takes a day or two to get to that comfortable where
6 they will be honest. But we find that at least 95
7 percent of how each group sees or thinks that they
8 are perceived by the other group is negative. And
9 they're being very honest. They perceive--whites
10 perceive that blacks see them at least 95 percent
11 negative and vice-versa. And the truth of the
12 matter is that in many cases it's not quite that
13 bad, but it's at least about 85 percent negative
14 that the one group sees the other group. Now when
15 we asked the question how do you think you're
16 perceived by the other culture, most groups list in
17 a rapid fire order all the negative things. And we
18 have to literally pull teeth to get people to say
19 well don't you think the other group sees you in
20 any way positive. Well they may sit there, and
21 they say well maybe they see us as, and whatever.
22 But the point I'm trying to make is in their mind,
23 they think they're being perceived by the other
24 group in primarily negative ways. Now to me that
25 says that there's tension. If I think the other

1 group perceives me in negative ways, and I'm
2 constantly interacting with folks that I constantly
3 believe see me in a negative light on both sides,
4 nobody can tell me there's not racial tension. You
5 can go back to the work place and you can go back
6 to wherever you are and smile and be happy, but
7 when the push comes to shove, that's how you think
8 you're being perceived. I say that's racial
9 tension. And I say all it takes is a minor
10 incident for people then to become upset. And I
11 want to just say another thing, and then I'll leave
12 it. It's very interesting, because somebody said
13 we're preaching to the choir in these situations.
14 I was in North Carolina last weekend, and we had a
15 race unity meeting in the city of--what city was
16 that. I can't even remember what city it was right
17 now. But I moderated a discussion.

18 MR. DOCTOR: Central? Central, North
19 Carolina?

20 MR. EWING: No. Where was that.

21 MR. DOCTOR: Raleigh? Durham?

22 MR. EWING: I guess I was around Charlotte,
23 North Carolina.

24 MR. DOCTOR: Charlotte. Okay.

25 MR. EWING: I believe I was just outside of

1 Charlotte. And it wasn't in--it was outside
2 Charlotte. But I moderated a discussion. And I
3 believe there were three people on the panel. And
4 one of them was Mr. Gant from that area. And he
5 said or somebody said the same thing. That they
6 thought they were preaching to the choir. And
7 somebody raised their hand, and they said we may be
8 preaching to the choir, but the choir needs a lot
9 of practice. And I thought that was a very
10 interesting observation. Because in fact as I sit
11 in the seminars and listen to people talk about
12 people who are supposedly in the choir, it's been
13 my experience over doing these seminars now
14 probably for the last 10 or 12 years altogether
15 that if all the people in the choir were doing what
16 they needed to be doing, we wouldn't be having the
17 problems we're having. So all those choir people
18 who are people of goodwill and enlightened, if all
19 those people in the seminars--just the seminars
20 I've done in my life--stood up for what was right
21 and pushed things forward, then we'd be okay. So
22 I'm as concerned about the choir as I am for people
23 who are outside the choir. And I think we have to
24 deal with folks in the choir. Now I don't want to
25 offend anybody. But I think part of what has to

1 happen in this city is that the leadership who some
2 would call part of those people in the choir and
3 some would say some people aren't in the choir need
4 to come together. Not just talk platitudes, but
5 come together and get a common vision for where
6 they want to go with race relations in this city.
7 I don't mean just one group over here by themselves
8 or a Community Relations Council and the NAACP. I
9 mean the leadership of these folks coming together
10 to create a common vision among themselves so they
11 can explore their own attitudes about racial things
12 not assuming they've got it together. Milton knows
13 what I'm talking out. Because when I listen to
14 Milton talk, he talks very straight. And he knows
15 that everybody is not in--they may be good-willed
16 people, but Martin Luther King talked about the
17 sincere intentions of uninformed people can be
18 dangerous. And I believe a lot of times we've got
19 the sincere intentions of some people, but they're
20 uninformed. The leadership in this town I believe
21 needs to come together and sit together for two or
22 three days like they recommend that other folks do
23 and create a common vision. Where are we going
24 with race relations, how are we going to create
25 racial unity in the city and what the different

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1 arenas of this city have to do. But the only way
2 they're going to do that is if they have some
3 common understanding. And I don't think we have
4 that. I don't think we have a common vision in
5 this city of where we need to go for race
6 relations. The vision is general. It needs to get
7 better. That's not good enough. That's not a
8 clear enough vision to get race relations. We need
9 to get better. We need to communicate more. We
10 need to talk more. That sounds good. But that's
11 not good enough. That's not specific enough. That
12 is not a strategy. Now if you're in business or
13 you're in any situation, you wouldn't leave the
14 business by saying we've got to make more profit.
15 You would get very specific as to how you have to
16 do that and who has to do what and how that's going
17 to perceive. I don't believe that we have that
18 kind of vision in this city or most cities. I
19 don't believe most institutions have that. I don't
20 think the schools have that. I think there's very
21 general statements made about what we have to do
22 with race relations. But if we took it like we
23 would take a business, we wouldn't leave it that
24 general. We wouldn't say we have to have meetings
25 here and there and talk and make recommendations.

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1 In any business that wouldn't make it. You would
2 get judged and you would get looked at and you
3 would say what are your goals, what are your
4 objectives. And in a period of time, you would see
5 if you're attaining objectives. If you're not
6 somebody would be--you know what I'm talking about.
7 Somebody would be in trouble. So my main request,
8 and I don't know what influence you have or what
9 kind of recommendations that you can make, is that
10 the leadership of this city, whoever those people
11 are, come together for a day or two or three if
12 they take this race issue seriously, and I think
13 it's very serious, and create a common vision for
14 where we need to go and to make that known to
15 everybody. That makes a statement. That makes a
16 statement. If they make that kind of statement,
17 these rooms will be filled. If they don't make
18 that kind of a statement, then these rooms will
19 never be filled unless as Jesse said there's an
20 incident. So I make that recommendation as just
21 one thing that I think needs to happen if we're
22 going to proceed with effective race relations in
23 this city.

24 QUESTIONING BY DR. KIMPSON:

25 Q I think the observation was made earlier I believe

1 by Mr. Doctor that everywhere we've been we've invited the
2 governmental structure. And with few exceptions like for
3 instance Harriet Fields was the only elected person. And I
4 have a feeling that our governmental structure tends to avoid
5 it unless they can see some benefit out of it.

6 A Absolutely.

7 Q And we had the media person to suggest that we also
8 needed to expand to invite some of the groups that are not
9 necessarily so well accepted. Are you suggesting--and of
10 course you did one for us in the higher education.

11 A Right.

12 Q Are you suggesting we need to be more specific as
13 far as making sure--like I would have liked to see the
14 members of at least the Richland County and the Lexington
15 County delegation here. I would have liked them to see us.
16 Even invite the governor, the school board. Because I think
17 you make a point. If these persons, if you don't start with
18 these persons--I used to be a state supervisor. And I had a
19 philosophy that proved me to be right. I could go into a
20 school, and I could spend 30 minutes with the principal. I
21 didn't need to visit the school. And I'll bet I'll come
22 within five percentage points of saying what the school is
23 like. So you are saying then that we really need to make an
24 effort to get these persons who have been elected as our
25 representatives such that we can get them in the right trend?

1 A That's right. Get them in because--

2 Q Now what are some of the ways other than just the
3 normal where you would suggest doing that?

4 A In terms of getting them to come, I don't know. In
5 terms of what would happen when they get there, let me just
6 tell you my experience. When people do come together in that
7 arena, my experience is that when that does happen, it's
8 amazing how much people realize that they don't know and
9 don't understand about this issue. People that have been--
10 like the gentleman that was here that was talking about the
11 black magazines before and the whole business. He was saying
12 things like well I guess I don't read too many black
13 magazines. Well had I been in a session with him as a
14 participant, I would have had the opportunity to ask him why
15 as a person who's enlightened and wants to know about black
16 issues. If I want to understand issues, I have to at least
17 read some publications and get some information. And you see
18 in a seminar people begin to look at what are these issues
19 and begin to understand how subtleties of our racial things
20 tend to affect us. I think what ends up happening with
21 leadership, and it's part of the western thinking. We think
22 either we are prejudice or we aren't prejudice. Do you know
23 what I'm saying? It's either I am prejudice or I'm not. The
24 average person isn't going to wake up in the morning and say
25 well, you know, I'm a prejudice person. They aren't going to

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1 do it. They think they're on the side that's not prejudice,
2 you see. And see, what they have an opportunity to do in
3 these sessions, leadership people and all people, even if
4 they come there reluctantly, they have the opportunity to
5 see. Well it's not just a question of it. And I've heard
6 Milton talk about this before too. It's not just a question
7 of whether I hate blacks or love blacks. There's a whole
8 bunch of stuff in between it. And let me just give you an
9 example of what I'm talking about because this is what
10 leadership and people begin to find out when they come
11 together. Well you know they may feel like leadership as
12 they talk about these things or anybody, they may all say
13 well we think we should be integrated. We should all be
14 able to go to the same schools. All right. Does that mean
15 I'm not prejudice. No. All right. I may be okay in that
16 end. I may be okay with the fact we can all go to the same
17 school. I think we should all be able to vote. Does that
18 mean I'm not prejudice. No. I think we should all be able to
19 work wherever we want to work. Does that mean I'm not
20 prejudice. I think the best person who's qualified for the
21 job should get the job. Does that mean I'm not prejudice.
22 None of that stuff. Because you know what. The bottom line
23 is everybody draws their line somewhere. The very same
24 people that I said everybody should have the right to vote
25 are the very same people who would never vote for a woman or

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1 a black president. Okay. They draw their line somewhere.
2 You see. And people don't realize it. People don't realize
3 how subtly these racial issues come up until they get
4 together and talk about them. Then they begin to understand
5 what this gentleman was talking about back here before. What
6 ends up happening, and I want to just speak to that. I've
7 listened to Milton a long time. I keep mentioning him. But
8 I've listened to him talk many times, and he has some good
9 stories about how this racial stuff manifests itself. But
10 what ends up happening is people do still generally think
11 even if deep down inside they wish things were equal, they
12 still think blacks are complaining too much. They really
13 think that things have gotten that much better. Basically if
14 blacks have that opportunity and really if they would just
15 work harder, they really could make it. That really the
16 doors are pretty much open. Now deep down inside a lot of
17 folks realize that or think that. But until they can get in
18 and discuss it and discuss the subtleties, they don't realize
19 that's not true. We know about the bank loans. That's
20 obvious. We know about some fairly obvious things. But we
21 don't know about the subtle day-to-day things. You take a
22 black man. A black man told me this story. We were talking
23 about people. Do they see color or not see color when
24 they're dealing with folks. He said you know I'm a black
25 man. I'm a supervisor where I work. And he said that

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1 everywhere I go, he said, I'm a supervisor, and I travel the
2 state with a white man. He said I've done this for five
3 years. He said everywhere I go people always walk up to the
4 white person as if they're the supervisor. He said both
5 black and white do that. Now I always ask the question in
6 the seminar--I tell that story in the seminar. Do you know
7 what I ask folks. I say now take yourself. You're this
8 black man. Now what is your option when that happens to you
9 all the time on a daily basis. This is just one thing. One
10 incident now in his life. This has been going on for five
11 years he said. I said what is this black man's option. Well
12 he can call it to these peoples' attention that are
13 exhibiting this behavior and say why are you walking up to
14 the white person. Why didn't you consider I might be the
15 supervisor. You know. He could call that to his attention.
16 You know that's going to open a can of worms isn't it if he
17 suggests even that they might be prejudice. Right. Now
18 that's one option he's got. He's got to decide if he wants
19 to take on that battle with these people to open their eyes.
20 The second option he can do is he can keep his mouth shut.
21 All right. Well when you keep your mouth shut too much when
22 you're receiving these insults, you get a lot of tension.
23 Right. And this builds up barriers. So somewhere along the
24 line it's going to come out because you're sitting on these
25 feelings. So you've got the option, one, to bring it up.

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1 And you're going to get a lot of tension. And you know
2 people are going to say when you bring it up why are you
3 being so sensitive. You see. Now if he keeps it to himself,
4 somewhere along the line somebody is going to come up to him,
5 and they're going to say something fairly innocuous, and he's
6 going to explode because he's been sitting on these feelings
7 that have been happening, and he didn't want to bring them up
8 because he didn't want to go all through these changes. Do
9 you know what they're going to say to him in that case. Why
10 are you being so sensitive. Now he's got another option. He
11 can go to his black brothers and sisters, and he can say, he
12 can say, you know, so-and-so is happening and, you know,
13 these things are happening. Do you know what people are
14 going to say. Why are you separating yourself. Do you see.
15 What is this man, what is this individual supposed to do.
16 When people tell him, he's just supposed to take it. All
17 right. Well why don't you bring it up. If he brings it up,
18 he's in this situation. If he keeps it to himself, he's in
19 this situation. If he tries to talk about it with his black
20 brothers and sisters, he's in this situation. Do you see.
21 And so these are the kinds of things that people deal with on
22 a daily basis. And people have to have an opportunity to
23 understand what people go through just to live and just to
24 try to make it. Both whites and blacks. They do become more
25 sensitive. They do become more understanding. They realize

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1 that it's not just one group saying and making up things.
2 And then whites realize the blacks aren't just these people
3 who are crying for things. And blacks realize that all these
4 whites aren't just people who are out to get them. That they
5 are victims of the system in some senses just like they are.
6 But if they don't have that opportunity, and I'm going back
7 to leadership. If leadership doesn't have that opportunity
8 to explore this on a very deep level, then we come up with
9 very superficial solutions, and they don't realize how deep
10 it goes. And then when they apply the solutions, a lot of
11 times they're not even the right solutions. You see. And
12 when you can understand the depth of this problem, then you
13 might be more inclined to say yes we do need to push this
14 stuff in education like Jesse was talking about. We can't
15 wait on this curriculum. But if you don't have that
16 understanding on a deeper level, the bottom line is you think
17 the stuff is just superficial.

18 QUESTIONING BY MR. ZIMMERMAN:

19 Q So what you're proposing is that we make certain
20 that the leadership in this community is given the
21 opportunity to say what they have to say?

22 A Together with other leaders. Black and white
23 leaders come together and explore what these issues are
24 together in a kind of a guided way. And I'm not--you know,
25 I'm not here promoting my business. I don't care if you use

1 me or not. I just know that if there's no common vision,
2 then we're not going to get anywhere with this issue.

3 MR. DOCTOR: We did suggest that.

4 MR. CHAIRMAN: I was going to say that we
5 attempted to do that.

6 MR. DOCTOR: We definitely attempted to do it.
7 But it's not only something that is peculiar to
8 South Carolina.

9 MR. EWING: No. I know that.

10 MR. DOCTOR: We tried the same thing in
11 Florida. We were in Gainesville. Interestingly
12 enough a black leader there. We were in
13 Jacksonville. The mayor did send somebody from his
14 office from that situation. But we were in
15 Greenville. The mayor didn't show up and didn't
16 send anybody. In Charleston the mayor indicated
17 that he had another commitment but didn't send
18 anybody. The same thing has happened, the same
19 thing happened in a number of other cities that
20 we've been in. So it's not something that's
21 peculiar to South Carolina.

22 MR. EWING: No, it's not.

23 DR. KIMPSON: I think the part that's
24 interesting though, in Columbia we have a fairly
25 representative numbers of blacks who didn't show.

1 MR. DOCTOR: Yes.

2 DR. KIMPSON: Who didn't show.

3 MR. ZIMMERMAN: I wondered about that too.

4 DR. KIMPSON: We have senators,
5 representatives, councilmen, city and county. We
6 have a mayor--we do have a mayor that I think is
7 very sensitive. And it's unusual for him at least
8 not to have a representative. And I think going
9 back to something that Todd, you--I think we have
10 been lulled into complacency. Oh, you know, we've
11 got everything. And just out in the highways and
12 byways, people are fixing to explode. I think
13 they're going to explode simply because many of the
14 persons who they felt were adequately sensitized
15 have just forgotten about this thing.

16 MR. ZIMMERMAN: And we're still preparing for
17 reaction rather than action.

18 DR. KIMPSON: Yes.

19 MR. ZIMMERMAN: If something had just happened
20 in Columbia last week that was very explosive as
21 far as race relations were concerned, I would be
22 certain that this room would be filled today.
23 That's unfortunate, you know, that we have to wait
24 until that kind of thing happens. We want to be
25 reactionaries rather than actionaries.

1 MR. EWING: One suggestion, and then I'll get
2 off. Did you want to say something?

3 DR. KIMPSON: I just wanted to say something.
4 The gentleman said about black businesses. I have
5 had a black friend who had a service station. And
6 I mean you wouldn't know. And he was, you know,
7 somebody was messing up because he's about as white
8 as anybody could be. But the black--his wife was
9 as black as I am. And he started his wife to
10 working inside the service station. And as whites
11 came and he would say oh well that's my wife, you
12 know, his business closed up. The fact that oh boy
13 I thought this was a white business. But they just
14 would not patronize. And that, that says something
15 about the black man when he goes into business,
16 that for the most part--it goes back to election of
17 a black person across this state. I'll say this,
18 and then I'm though. When I was executive
19 assistant to Governor Riley, Governor Riley was a
20 statesman, let me tell you. And he said that if
21 you're committed to find, you can find. If you're
22 committed to finding females, you can find them.
23 If you're committed to finding blacks, you can find
24 them. And his top administration reflected the
25 diversity and the percentage in this state. He had

1 a way of--I was an executive assistant. He had a
2 way of once about twice a year, he would invite
3 just you as an executive and your family to have
4 dinner with he and his family. And you would sit
5 around and talk. We would have all of our children
6 there. So after lunch, after dinner, and we all
7 went into the Drawing Room. All. The entire. His
8 family and my family. And, you know, he and I
9 started traded war stories about growing up and him
10 in Greenville and my in Calhoun County. And as we
11 talked, you know, boy I was pretty good, and he was
12 pretty good. In fact I got him to learn to sign a
13 black gospel tune. But anyway going home my
14 youngest son who was about at that time I guess
15 about seventh or eighth grade, he said, Daddy, you
16 know, I really enjoyed that. He said do you know
17 one thing. You've had as many experiences as the
18 governor. Yes, I said. And then he hit me and
19 killed me dead. He said well Daddy, how come
20 you're not governor. And you know, I finally had
21 to tell him. I said son, I want you to get
22 yourself ready because Abraham Lincoln said you
23 study and prepare yourself and one day when your
24 chance comes you shall be ready. I said but it
25 doesn't make any difference how ready I am. The

1 fact is in South Carolina if I were the most
2 qualified, if I were Jesus Christ, I couldn't get a
3 majority of the people in this state to vote for
4 me. Now that tells us something just like it tells
5 us, Bobby, about the confederate flag. Can you
6 imagine a state glorifying the biggest defeat
7 they've ever had. And you've got white and you've
8 got black people, and you can't get from the
9 governor's democrats or republicans from
10 legislatives, whites basically, to even have the
11 guts to say we ought to put it down. Now you're
12 talking about tension. You're talking about we've
13 got somewhere to go. We've got somewhere to go.

14 MR. DOCTOR: Let me take you back on some of
15 what you've had to say. A couple of things. We
16 get from communicators time to time in Atlanta
17 about certain kinds of potential hot spots, hot
18 issues, that are developing around the region. And
19 recently something came across about this related
20 to the Citadel situation. The Citadel situation
21 and the refusal on the part of Citadel officials
22 apparently to allow female veterans to enroll in
23 classes as is the case with male veterans in day
24 classes at the Citadel. They made it very, very
25 clear that before allowing females to do so, they

1 would shut those classes down. I think it's
2 interesting to note that they also in another
3 article--I had three different articles. Another
4 article said something about the confederate flag
5 and the signing of Dixie. And then a third one--
6 all of these tie in together. The third one said
7 something about a black freshman cadet who refused
8 to sing Dixie, and when he came from the shower one
9 night discovered a noose hanging from his bed. Now
10 that took place this year.

11 MR. ZIMMERMAN: Just recently.

12 MR. DOCTOR: In 1992 in South Carolina. Now
13 that says a lot to me.

14 DR. KIMPSON: It says a lot.

15 MR. DOCTOR: Because first of all it's a
16 state-supported school. Okay. It's a state-
17 supported school. Not only is it a state-supported
18 school, but the US Government has vacillated on
19 that question of whether or not women should be
20 allowed to enroll in the Citadel. And clearly that
21 should not even be an issue. But the thing that
22 bothers me today is that we were in Charleston,
23 South Carolina, and we have a number of folks come
24 in and say to us that racial tensions in
25 Charleston, South Carolina were on the increase.

1 Okay. That they were on the increase. And
2 interestingly enough we had some folks who
3 questioned that as they questioned that in
4 Greenville. You touched on a word that I am
5 particularly fond of, and that's commitment.
6 Commitment on the part of leadership, governmental
7 leadership particularly, at the national level, at
8 the state level and certainly at the local level.
9 If you don't have that commitment, and if you don't
10 have that leadership with that commitment rather,
11 then nothing very much is going to happen. I think
12 the problem we're facing today is a lack of
13 commitment. A lack of commitment. In the '60s
14 interestingly enough, there was commitment, and we
15 saw it reflected in the actions that were taken in
16 Washington. The 1964 Civil Rights Act, the 1965
17 Voting Rights Act, the 1968 Fair Housing Law. We
18 saw the commitment. We saw the leadership. And so
19 it bothers me not just enough to say that the
20 mayors don't show up. I think they send a terrible
21 message. It's not so much that they don't show up.
22 It's so much, it also suggests to me that there's
23 not enough interest in this particular subject to
24 at least send a representative if they can't make
25 it personally.

1 MR. EWING: Well you've got your news media.

2 MR. ZIMMERMAN: I think that's what Jesse
3 Washington talked about earlier about attitude.
4 And changing the attitude.

5 MR. DOCTOR: Commitment.

6 MR. ZIMMERMAN: And attitudes to be changed
7 from leadership from the top down. And then you
8 get that commitment. And then you get that example
9 being set. But when you see our leadership in
10 South Carolina acting the way they act when it
11 comes to racial issues and whatnot, then you have
12 the kind of followers that do what they think is
13 acceptable. And that's where you get racist acts
14 being perpetrated against them.

15 MR. DOCTOR: Like young cadets at the Citadel.

16 MR. ZIMMERMAN: At the Citadel, their cadets
17 act the way the leadership does.

18 DR. KIMPSON: But the president at the Citadel
19 now--for a change the president at the Citadel said
20 we will play Dixie, and we will, you know.

21 MR. DOCTOR: That's the point.

22 DR. KIMPSON: But before the president was
23 sort of--here we've got a new president. A young
24 man.

25 MR. ZIMMERMAN: He says we'll do it.

1 DR. KIMPSON: Says that we'll play Dixie, and
2 we'll wave the confederate flag. So what do you
3 expect the young racist cadet, if my leader says
4 that--

5 MR. ZIMMERMAN: To do it. Yes.

6 DR. KIMPSON: And when we get the legislators
7 up here that says I don't think the confederate
8 flag is significant enough for us to be--you see
9 that's the biggest insult for me who is an
10 honorably discharged veteran of the Korean War, and
11 I walk into my State House where I've worked down
12 there for six and-a-half years, and we're proudly
13 flying the flag that represented slavery to me.
14 And I can't even get my leadership to--

15 MR. ZIMMERMAN: I think it's an insult to all
16 of us.

17 DR. KIMPSON: It ought to tell you something
18 about South Carolina.

19 MR. ZIMMERMAN: I think it's an insult to all
20 of us as a people because we sing and we pledge
21 allegiance and we talk about one nation
22 indivisible, you know, under God. And then you
23 talk about a South and a North America, you know.
24 So you're dividing the country when you talk about
25 that, you know. And we're supposed to be one

1 nation under God you see.

2 MR. DOCTOR: That concerns me.

3 MR. EWING: Could I just say one thing. I
4 want to hit this leadership thing. Because in the
5 organizations that we've worked with--I'm not going
6 to name any names except for one because it's a, I
7 think it's a positive example when the leadership
8 gets involved and they get a common vision. One of
9 the groups that did it was the Department of
10 Corrections. Their whole leadership got involved.
11 We were doing some training out there from the top
12 person on down.

13 MR. DOCTOR: But you've got committed
14 leadership out there.

15 MR. EWING: So you had committed leadership
16 now.

17 MR. DOCTOR: That's the difference.

18 MR. EWING: And then what ended up happening
19 is we went to a facility which I won't name where
20 we trained everybody from the warden on down. So
21 everybody in the facility. But they knew that the
22 warden went through the training you see. Now
23 that's a rarity. But that made a difference when
24 they knew that the warden and everybody on down
25 went through the same kind of training. Then they

1 said these people are serious. The one other
2 suggestion that I want to make, and this is getting
3 back to the religious thing that Jesse mentioned,
4 and I almost forgot this. I happen to be a member
5 of a minority religion in South Carolina also. I'm
6 a member of the Baha' I Faith. And as a member of
7 the Baha' I Faith, the central teaching is this
8 whole unity and oneness. And I want to share
9 something that was done that I think we could do
10 here in South Carolina. I'm also on the national
11 governing body of the Baha' Is of the United States.
12 And we commission. We worked with the Human
13 Relations Commission in the city of Chicago, and we
14 did a study. We did a survey in certain
15 neighborhoods in that city. Because what we
16 decided, what we looked at was the fact that we've
17 studied conflict for so long, and we're good at
18 that. There's all--and they went to do some
19 research, and they found out there's hundreds and
20 thousands of studies on conflict. On racial
21 conflict. But very few studies on racial unity.
22 So we know how we build conflict. But we don't
23 know how we build unity. And so what they did is
24 they commissioned with the Human Relations
25 Commission down there, and they did a survey in

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1 • certain areas of Chicago. You know how racist
2 certain areas of Chicago can be. We went to
3 certain neighborhoods. And what they did is they
4 found what they call models of unity. They found
5 groups racially, religiously and ethnically who had
6 come together and overcome racial concerns. And so
7 what they did is they put it in a survey that is
8 called the Models of Racial Unity Study and
9 identified the key components of what helped people
10 build unity. Now they thought that that was a good
11 start. And that study's been published. And
12 everywhere we go with it, we've got universities
13 and we've got people all over the country saying we
14 need to do that. We need to study where are the
15 models of unity, where are places so we can decide
16 and figure out what it takes. And then we can
17 start promoting those kind of things where people,
18 real, live examples of people who had to deal with
19 this and create unity. And there's more studies of
20 this going on. There's one that's going to happen
21 down in the Atlanta area in the next couple of
22 months through this Carter project which is another
23 example of what happens when people don't come
24 together. Right. With the secretary resigning.

25

MR. DOCTOR: I predicted that.

1 MR. EWING: But you see that's a case. That's
2 a case in point where you get folks together
3 working for something, and then there's racism, and
4 they feel right within the group.

5 MR. DOCTOR: Well I think Jimmy Carter has the
6 best ideas and the best intentions. But when you
7 go out and put some of the people he put in charge
8 of that program, people who have a history of being
9 unresponsive to the black community, then you've
10 got to raise questions about the judgement
11 surrounding that particular effort.

12 MR. EWING: Yes. That's the whole story in
13 itself.

14 MR. DOCTOR: And I predicted that was going to
15 happen because I worked with some of those
16 individuals in the past. I was surprised, totally
17 surprised, when he appointed them. I would be more
18 specific, but I don't want to mention any names.

19 MR. EWING: I understand. Thank you for your
20 time.

21 MR. DOCTOR: But I don't want to mention any
22 names.

23 DR. DAVIS: I apologize for being late, but I
24 couldn't get away from school. I'm a school
25 teacher by profession having taught--this is my

1 34th year. Having taught on the college level for
2 23 years and--

3 MR. DOCTOR: One of the best in the business
4 too I might add.

5 MR. ZIMMERMAN: That's true.

6 DR. DAVIS: And now I've decided to go back
7 into public schools. So I'm teaching at a high
8 school. A public high school here. I was supposed
9 to stay two years, and this is my sixth year. And
10 so I just assumed that I'll get something from it
11 that I can write that will help others. But what
12 appalls me, what I've seen so far, and I'm at that
13 stage in my profession where I can, I think I can
14 say whatever I want to.

15 MR. DOCTOR: I think so.

16 DR. DAVIS: I think that we need to realize
17 that there's a lot of racism in the classrooms of
18 our schools at the elementary level and at the
19 secondary level. And I don't care how many
20 seminars you have for adults. If you don't take
21 care of some of that during the formative years of
22 children, you know, it's hard to teach an old dog
23 new tricks. I think that if we don't do something
24 about that, we can have seminars upon seminars upon
25 seminars, and I'm not so sure it would do much

1 good. I think that in the early years and in the
2 elementary schools we ought to be teaching multi-
3 cultural materials. I think we ought to have areas
4 where you have a lot of white students and white
5 teachers, you need to bring in African-Americans
6 once a week and vice-versa. And I'm feeling a
7 little peeved right now. And that's why I was so
8 quiet. Because I had a white assistant principal
9 to walk into my room and say before the students
10 what I better do. And of course I'm the only one
11 in my school holding a PhD degree and 34 years of
12 teaching and I lectured at Harvard this summer and
13 will be doing some things at Harvard this year.
14 And so I was trying to figure out why he would feel
15 it necessary to come into my classroom and say that
16 in front of my students. It was a case where a
17 young man cursed at me yesterday and I put him out,
18 and of course I'm an old-fashioned teacher, and I
19 said you can't come back. You just can't come back
20 you see. And so this man came into my room and
21 said you will take him back, and you will do what I
22 say to do in front of my students. I'll deal with
23 that Monday. But I'm saying somewhere down the
24 line he's confused about what it is to be an
25 administrator and how you show respect particularly

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1 in front of--I have all black students. And I said
2 he's saying to my students that because I'm male
3 and I'm white, I can do this to a black female in
4 front of you, and there's nothing she can do about
5 it. So now I've got to figure out over the weekend
6 in addition to what I will do what else can I do
7 for my students you see. And if that happened to
8 me, and if I'm representing what is supposed to be
9 very good in my profession--I have my degrees and
10 my experience and I write and I teach and I lecture
11 and I do all of those things--then what's happening
12 to the other teachers who aren't as competent. Do
13 you understand what I'm saying. And if that's
14 going on across the district and then across the
15 state, we're in trouble. And I tend to think it
16 may be going on.

17 MR. ZIMMERMAN: Again an incident of
18 institutionalized racism. A white male versus a
19 black female. Acceptable for years. But because
20 Dr. Davis is the type of person that she is, I know
21 she won't allow it to go without--

22 MR. DOCTOR: She'll deal with it.

23 MR. ZIMMERMAN: --some kind of response that
24 she can live with and certainly others in her
25 position. When I say in her position, I mean

1 racial minorities as well as sexual minorities.

2 DR. DAVIS: Yes. Of course I must do
3 something that won't be closed shop. And that's
4 something I have to figure out. What can I do that
5 will help those other teachers who are also
6 suffering in that way.

7 BARBARA BROWN: Can I take about five minutes?

8 DR. DOCTOR: Yes. Ms. Brown? Ms. Barbara
9 Brown?

10 BARBARA BROWN: Yes.

11 MR. DOCTOR: She traveled all the way from
12 Sumter, and she wanted to make some very brief
13 comments.

14 MR. ZIMMERMAN: Sure.

15 MR. DOCTOR: Ms. Brown, come forward.

16 MR. ZIMMERMAN: Certainly.

17 MS. BARBARA BROWN SPEAKS AS FOLLOWS:

18 MS. BROWN: Well actually I was not going to
19 make anything because I think everybody's said a
20 lot. And it's all been very interesting to listen
21 to. But I was prompted to share this in trying to
22 share what I thought might be good to share.

23 UNIDENTIFIED MAN FROM AUDIENCE: Talk louder
24 please.

25 MS. BROWN: My name is Barbara Brown, and I'm

1 a county agent with a program called Visions for
2 Youth in Sumter. And that's a collaborative
3 program that's done jointly with both the South
4 Carolina State University and Clemson University.
5 And our charge is to make things better for kids
6 five to ten years old. We have a community-based
7 Visions for Youth Council that has developed a
8 Visions statement and have identified about eight
9 priority needs. One of those needs as an objective
10 is that we want our children to value and
11 understand the diversity of our multi-cultural
12 community and how they fit into it. That's how
13 it's stated. Okay. There's--I'm not going to go
14 on about how we're developing that. But as a thing
15 I prepared for an intro to a grant actually it
16 states some of the things that we've encountered in
17 Sumter. And in a way it's actually a positive
18 note. But I think it does respond to some of the
19 things you bring up. And if I may just read it.
20 It will be real brief.

21 MR. ZIMMERMAN: Quite certainly. Go right
22 ahead.

23 MS. BROWN: And this is a bit of a story
24 actually, but it's true. It was a Tuesday morning
25 in the summer of 1992. I sat on the grass with

1 children all around me. Two precious little black
2 girls sat on my lap. One was about five years old
3 and the other about eight. We were watching a
4 video on my office's portable VCR. The long
5 extension cord ran from the nearby low-income
6 public housing apartment across the grass to the
7 folding chair that was supporting the VCR. I was
8 part of the summer Feed-a-Child Recreation and
9 Experiential Learning Program. One day each week I
10 came to the housing projects. The children and I
11 were chatting. Every now and then when the
12 opportunity presented itself, I interjected health
13 and wellness messages into the conversation. The
14 video played away sharing everything anyone would
15 ever want to know about jumping rope. Then the
16 little girl says, one of the little children says,
17 where did you get those earrings, and not waiting
18 for an answer, I like your necklace said the little
19 eight year old occupying half of my lap. Then she
20 gave me a comfortable hug. Her sweet face and big
21 brown eyes looked up at me. And the young black
22 child said you shouldn't be white. She giggled and
23 wouldn't repeat the statement when I asked her what
24 she said. The next Tuesday when I arrived for my
25 Health and Wellness Program she greeted me at my

1 car with a question. Do you want to hear a song.
2 Of course I did. I was treated to six courses of
3 the world is a rainbow, black, white, red and
4 yellow. You be me and I'll be me. Yes, young
5 children think about issues of racism and race
6 relations. Fortunately the little girl in my real
7 live story had learned a song to help her figure
8 out the world and appreciate diversity. The
9 opportunity to communicate with someone from a
10 different race in a safe space provided the impetus
11 for learning. Do not all our children deserve a
12 similar opportunity. And an even more important
13 question. Without such opportunities will our
14 children grow up able to function adequately in our
15 increasingly diverse world. There are barriers
16 that limit minority children from reaching their
17 full potential whether these barriers are racial or
18 something else that has not been adequately
19 defined. But the reality is that changes must be
20 made. There are barriers. Thank you for a few
21 minutes.

22 MR. DOCTOR: Thank you.

23 MR. ZIMMERMAN: Thank you. It was very good.
24 I appreciate that. With that we will--

25 MR. DOCTOR: Let me ask you--

1 MR. ZIMMERMAN: Did somebody else have
2 anything? I would like a copy of that.

3 QUESTIONING BY MR. DOCTOR:

4 Q In your program now you are able to see that. How
5 does that or does it translate to the adults at all? What
6 I'm saying is I know informally it will because most parents'
7 children are going to say to them what happened to them. Is
8 there an informal part of that program that translates into
9 interactions with the parents?

10 A We're working on that. I mentioned the one
11 priority need that we've identified. And we are. In fact we
12 do have--it's growing dramatically. I'm really excited--
13 about 20 professors who have agreed to meet with as many
14 citizens, and that's growing too, to build a strategy that
15 will identify those things. The thought is the five to ten
16 year old children occupy an environment. So to change things
17 you have to change the whole environment. So we're
18 attempting to build a strategy that will in fact build a
19 comprehensive long-term program plan to respond to the issues
20 even though we haven't totally identified what all the issues
21 are.

22 MR. ZIMMERMAN: I think both what you're
23 saying is maybe if we could get to the children, to
24 get attitudes changed and whatnot early, then maybe
25 they will lead rather than having the parents lead.

1 MS. BROWN: Well my personal opinion is you
2 have to get to it all. You do have to get to the
3 top leadership that the gentleman was talking
4 about, and you have to get to the children. But
5 the citizens of our society cannot sit back and say
6 well we must get our leaders committed. We as
7 citizens can be committed, and that in turn can set
8 the impetus for leadership to lead. We are a
9 government of the people presumably. Thank you
10 all.

11 MR. ZIMMERMAN: Thank you very much. With
12 that we--

13 MR. DOCTOR: Did anybody--

14 MR. ZIMMERMAN: Does anybody else have
15 anything?

16 DR. KIMPSON: Is there anybody else who had a
17 burning question?

18 MEDIA REPORTER FROM AUDIENCE: I would just
19 like to know if you would like to make any comment
20 on this afternoon? A final comment? I know it's
21 late.

22 MR. DOCTOR: It is indeed late.

23 MEDIA REPORTER FROM AUDIENCE: A very--whoever
24 would like to do it. Just a brief summing up of
25 this afternoon. Whether you were surprised or not

1 surprised.

2 MR. ZIMMERMAN: Well I think that when we
3 summarize this meeting, not only will we be
4 summarizing the meeting today, but we want to
5 summarize all three forums around the state. I
6 think what has happened is that we've gotten some
7 very good input from different perspectives on race
8 relations in South Carolina. We've crossed
9 cultures, we've crossed racial lines, I think we've
10 crossed class lines. And I think it's given us a
11 better perspective on our part as to how we can go
12 about trying to find solutions or making
13 recommendations for better race relations in South
14 Carolina based on what has been said to us. And
15 what has been said has come from people who have
16 experienced certain kinds of racial acts that have
17 caused us to be alarmed in some instances, and on
18 others to take a least an interest in race
19 relations, because as you've said maybe everything
20 isn't going along well or isn't going to be all
21 right later on, you know. That's one perspective
22 that many people have shared. And I think it's a
23 generalization. I think when you ask them
24 specifically why you say that, it's hard for them
25 to tell you. So I think that's just something that

1 we--or maybe that's just feeling full-heartedly
2 about the subject of race relations or be it very
3 idealistic. But to summarize I would say that this
4 Advisory Committee has appreciated the kind of
5 input that we have received, and I think that is to
6 come from, and I'll use your word, people that are
7 committed to seeing better race relations in the
8 state and hopefully a change in the attitudes of
9 those who now have certain racial kinds of
10 attitudes towards minorities and of course towards
11 females. Hopefully if we have enough forums and we
12 have enough community meetings and whatnot and
13 bring diverse groups together, there will be some
14 beneficial outcome that maybe our young people who
15 will be the leaders of tomorrow will have some kind
16 of role models that we will think of positively,
17 and we will move towards better race relations in
18 South Carolina for the future.

19 MR. DOCTOR: I would like to say, Mr.
20 Chairman, just one quick comment. On behalf of the
21 US Commission on Civil Rights, I would like to take
22 this opportunity to thank all South Carolinians for
23 the contributions either directly or indirectly
24 they have made to this particular issue that we're
25 dealing with here today. I especially want to

1 thank the participants who saw fit to come forward
2 and share with us their thoughts, their perceptions
3 on racial tensions in South Carolina. I can assure
4 you and I certainly can assure them that the
5 contributions they have made here today are going
6 to be very valuable contributions in the big
7 picture. What has been said today and what was
8 said in Greenville and certainly what was said in
9 Charleston is going to be reflected in a report
10 with findings and recommendations that will
11 subsequently end up in a national report that will
12 be made available with findings and recommendations
13 I might add to the president whoever that person is
14 going to be next year and certainly to the
15 congress. But we thank you very much for your
16 participation, your being here today, and we look
17 forward to seeing you again when we release the
18 report. Thank you.

19 MR. ZIMMERMAN: Thank you.

20 (Proceedings conclude at 5:30 o'clock, p.m.)

21 * * *

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25

STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA)
 : C-E-R-T-I-F-I-C-A-T-E
COUNTY OF RICHLAND)

I, Laura J. McCartney, Court Reporter and Notary Public, certify that a public forum did appear before me at 2:00 o'clock, p.m., on Friday, September the 25th, 1992, at the Columbia Marriott Hotel, Salon E, 1200 Hampton Street, Columbia, South Carolina; that the witness was duly sworn and cautioned to tell the truth, the pages constitute a true and accurate transcript of the testimony given at that time and place.

I further certify that I am not of counsel or kin to any of the parties to this cause of action, nor am I interested in any manner in its outcome.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and seal this the 15th day of October, 1992.



Notary Public for South Carolina
My Commission expires: 10/17/00