TRANSCRIPT OF PROCEEDINGS

' ALABAMA ADVISORY COMMITTEE
TO THE

U. S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

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VOLUME II

APPEARANCES:

Advisory Committee Members:

Rodney Max

Charlena Bray

Michael Davis

Jerome Gray

Freddi Aronov-Heilpern

Rex Morthland

Anne Shumaker

Annie Wells

George Munchus

Staff:

Jo An Daniels, Administrative Assistant Melvin L. Jenkins, Regional Director

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MR. MAX: Welcome everyone again to the second day of hearings sponsored by the United States

Commission on Civil Rights and we are the state advisory committee.

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For the sake of those who weren't here yesterday, I'd like to introduce our panel. On my far right we have Nancy Carnley from New Brockton. Next to her Annie Wells from Huntsville. Next to her Anne Shumaker from Centre. Melvin Jenkins is our regional director from Kansas.

On my far left is Mike Davis from Mobile. Next to him Freddi Aronov-Heilpern from Birmingham. Shirley Charlena Bray is due to be here. She's not here as yet. She's from Birmingham. Rex Morthland from Selma and George Munchus from Birmingham.

I'm Rodney Max and we had a very informative meeting all day yesterday and we look forward to concluding this at approximately 12 o'clock noon.

Our first speaker is going to be Jane Weeks, who is the executive director of the Alabama Indian Affairs Commission. Jane was with us all day yesterday observing and, Jane, we appreciate your time and look forward to your comments this morning.

MS. WEEKS: Thank you. First of all, I have a little amenity and I will ask also your indulgence with

my voice. I've been sick. I caught my grandson's cold and it makes me sound grouchy but I assure you I'm not.

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You all know that one of your newest additions to this panel is Ms. Nancy Carnley, who is a Creek Indian. She's MaChis Creek and she is from Coffee County, and we are very pleased about this, and I thank Melvin so much.

The first time I ever addressed this group I sort of chastised them a little bit for not having an American Indian, and I want to now thank you for this.

Now, it is a custom in our culture that when we visit with people that we expect to become our friends we come and bring a gift, so Nancy made kind of a panic call this week and instructed me to bring something that I hope she will think is appropriate from our offices.

Nancy, I'm going to let you help me.

We have an attitude in Indian country about Columbus. We were not lost and we have -- I want to show you what we have, and this is a very inexpensive item and I don't think it will abrogate the ethics of this panel to have this. 1992 is not the year of Columbus. It is the year of the American Indian, 500 years. And I would tell you that if you will notice the gentleman in the ribbon shirt seated, his vision -- he's have a vision quest and his vision is Indians taking

their full place in American society.

If you will notice, the Indians in the circle in the vision have non-Indian attire. I don't know what we've got -- we've got mostly extra larges because that's what we prefer and if that's not suitable, somebody can let me know and they should wash very well.

Now, Freddi, that's what I had in the -- she thought I had papers for you all. She was a nervous wreck.

MR. MAX: On behalf of the panel let me thank you. We very much appreciate that kind gift. Nancy, thank you for the thoughtfulness.

MS. CARNLEY: You're very welcome. That's the reason I was worried about my time this morning.

MS. MORTHLAND: Has the director said whether or not this violates the ethics law?

MS. WEEKS: The other thing is, let me assure you too, Rex, that I live under the ethics laws too. You know, I constitute what is a department head, albeit the smallest department in state government. We are probably the smallest piece of state government around. But I do want to thank you for having us here this morning.

'I have brought some prepared remarks and I'd like to give them out because you may want to reference

them as we speak.

But also as I listened yesterday, it made me very much of the lack of knowledge and the lack of accessibility about Indian country. Now, first of all, I suppose I should tell you that the definition of Indian country is anywhere Indians reside. That's the definition of Indian country.

And we have in Alabama, we have seven tribal governments that are recognized and have sovereign relations with the sovereign state of Alabama. Since the commission was formed in 1984, one tribe has achieved federal recognition, and that is that they now have sovereign relations with the United States Government in Washington, and that is the Poarch Band of Creek Indians in Escambia County, Florida.

Nancy's tribe petition was denied and will probably petition again in the future. This is not unusual in Indian country. You see, after 1830 it was the official posture of the United States Government in Washington that there would be no Indians east of the Mississippi River.

That's the reason all the western territories have western reservations, and you understand that that's a term that is unique in Indian country. It's reserved to be used with Indians.

I heard the gentleman from Nebraska yesterday reference Indian homeland in his state. You understand that the Indians whose homeland is in Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, Georgia, the Carolinas and Florida, have been removed largely to the state known as Oklahoma, which was the original Indian territory.

Those of you who are African American descent will understand that because you are familiar with what's going on as we speak in South Africa and about the dispossession of blacks of Africa homelands and how they have been mistreated, so I would expect a certain degree of understanding.

I would also tell you before I begin my official remarks there are some things I want to tell you. I have a question for you. Those of you who know the answer, like Freddi, may not answer. You are exempt from the answer to this question.

I'd like to just ask you, because we've talked or we're going to talk a little bit about stereotyping of Indians, what kind of an Indian do you think I am? You want me to walk up real close and let you look? You know when you go to pow-wows, that's what people who are not Indian do. They get up in the face of an Indian person and they say, "What kind of an Indian are you?" They would not dare approach a black American and say

how much black are you, you know. We come in degrees of color too. Okay. Well, the answer to that is I am not an Indian person, although I do have some Indian ancestry.

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One of these days they're going to dig up my bones maybe 300 years from now and discover that I have two lateral incisors that are distinctly Indian, and an anthropologist will look at me and have absolutely no knowledge of that.

In this part of the world it is extremely difficult to establish one's Indian ancestry, because of the dilution of what is known as blood quantum.

Anybody ever have -- that's how much percentile Indian you are, okay. I'm giving you some terms because as we speak you're going to need to be empowered if you're going to ever intelligently discuss our community.

Now, let me tell you why the board wanted a non-Indian person. They wanted somebody who could equate what the non-Indian perspective about Indian country was. You know that only 21 percent of all Indians in the United States of America live on a reservation? Did you know that? Most of our population is urban and rural. Did you know that 89 percent of American Indian children in the United States are taught

in public schools? See, we've all got that old John Wayne mind that they wear beads and feathers and pigtails, okay. They're dark-skinned people with dark brown eyes, okay.

You know, even other Indians think I'm Cherokee because the Cherokees had long interaction with white settlers who came here. I mean, you know, if I don't tell them -- of course, I feel honor bound to tell them. I would not deliberately pass myself off as an Indian except to fool folks like you for fun. You know, understand that, you know.

But I'm saying we have a long interaction with non-Indian culture, so therefore it's important to understand if you're going to deal distinctly -- and I have watched and admired how well you fathomed issues that were presented to you yesterday. You know, you were right on target.

I had a conversation with Ms. Wells at lunch and Ms. Shumaker about this thing about being hung up about what you call something. Let me just give you an example.

Now, we have a program called a TERO program.

I got a lot of fun about that, you know, Indians are supposed to be blood-thirsty savages, you know, TERO okay.

But it's T-E-R-O and it's an acronym for Travel Employment Rights Offices. Now, that's what it's called in the federal area.

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Alabama, I want to tell you, is the first and to my knowledge at this time the only state in the Union that runs that as a volunteer effort. The tribes, each one, have an officer for placement of people who are out of work, and it's coordinated through my office on a largely volunteer basis.

We didn't want to call it Employment Rights

Office with what we have to put up down here in the

South and the already built-in biases for doing things.

So we decided to call it and got permission from the

national offices to call it a Tribal Economic Resource

Officer, and you'd be surprised how it sold. So I think

you're right on target to be very careful.

I will tell you at the outset that the draft legislation is a good step. It has lots of flaws in it that I could see from Indian country, but I'm not going to place all of my remarks there this morning. But I did want you to have some knowledge as we begin to speak here.

Let me make one other further analogy. We heard a lady yesterday who talked about the Jewish communities. I'm very well aware of the Jewish people.

when I took this job and went to Montgomery, it didn't pay as wonderful as one would have hoped it would, and I still had some kids in college back eight years ago.

And the first person who befriended me was Mrs. Virginia Durr, and we all know Mrs. Durr, how her husband was highly involved in the Roosevelt administration and I got lots of insight from her.

In Indian country Roosevelt was a very revered man because he's the first person who made a definitive effort to settle all the outstanding court cases that were being brought by Indian people for reparation for the taking of their lands and not honoring treaties. Do you know that when this land was formed, we signed 432 treaties.

The Congress of the United States only ratified about half of those. The others disappeared and were never ratified by the United States. Did you know that also the only treaty-making powers, the reference in the United States Constitution that referenced this, Commerce and Trade was put in there because they were intended to trade and treaty with the American Indians because they never intended to enter into any more treaty arrangements with foreign powers. Now, you know, that's history. I didn't make that up.

So what I'm saying to you is that as we speak

please understand that this is a very ancient, very mistreated culture, and most of our people don't look like Indians and they don't make any apology for that, and that leads me into what I wanted to tell you about the lady who spoke yesterday from the Jewish Federation.

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The second person I stayed with -- I mean, I bounced around a lot until I made enough money to get a tiny little apartment. I had a little bitty apartment, smaller than this room. And but the second lady who befriended me was Ms. Jane Katz, who I knew from the League of Women Voters, who was a Jewish lady. And the Jewish community of Montgomery were wonderful to me. Jane died very unexpectedly several years ago and I have missed her great friendship, I will tell you that.

Yesterday the lady who spoke talked about and was asked about the resettlement of the Jewish people in this area. And it brought to my mind something that may help you to understand the struggle that Indians east of the Mississippi River have.

I remember seeing around several months ago, about Passover time, a picture. I still try to pick up the Birmingham paper, Birmingham is still home to me after 42 years. It's a habit that's long in my mind and in my soul. And it had a picture of the Jewish folks that had come from Russia, and they were celebrating

their first Passover. And many of them did not speak their language.

American Indians are like that in reclaiming their heritage. The struggle for western culture and Mississippi -- the Mississippi River is the division line, okay. The struggle for western Indian culture is to preserve that that they have, to keep the integrity of their nations, to keep their languages and not lose them. You see, our people are not language speakers. They know a few words, a few phrases. We have no real definitive language speakers.

In Mississippi there are some Choctaws, some old people, but the youth are not interested in learning this until they really become sensitized, and then they reach for all that they can get. It gives them a perspective and it makes them look like they don't know how to be an Indian, you understand. And what it means is that they're reclaiming a culture that was theirs.

One of the things that I find to be very -- I wanted to give you a quote that Felix Cohen had written in the NARF, which is the Native American Rights Fund, and he's the father of Indian law. And I wanted to give you that quote, and I didn't get a chance to contact my office this morning. I was running a little bit late from the traffic, and I wanted to give you that quote,

but I will send it to each of you if Melvin will suffer me that. I would like for you to read it.

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The gist of it is this, that since this nation began the treatment of American Indians and how we address their needs has been like the measure, the thermometer, the monitor. In other words, what they did to the Indians, they did to everybody else.

The first laws that kept people of color from bringing suit in court were implemented against the American Indians, you know. They were not without friends, but the tighter the grip became on the need or the greed and the want to have their lands and their holdings. But that's true. And even western culture Indians who are reservation-raised people sometimes hold people from this area up to ridicule, you know, however, I am happy to tell you that we now get many western people like medicine people and stuff like that.

Let me just tell you that one of the first things that flew up and hit me in the face -- and I'm going to use -- if this offends somebody, I ask you to suffer me this now because some of the things that I have to tell you and share with you this morning, you can't clean them up. They won't be perverse, ladies, I don't mean that, and gentlemen. But I mean I'm just saying some of it you just got to tell it in plane talk,

I had a letter from a guy that was in prison

nd I went to see him and he was an American Indian and

e was telling me he wanted -- in his culture -- and

nderstand that these are all nations that we deal with.

hat we have here, these tribes are pieces of nations,

ut they are still -- they still are entitled to that.

But this guy was from Oklahoma, the Creek ation, Muscogee Nation. In Oklahoma they don't call hemselves Creeks. That's something the whites stuck on adians. Did you know that? Because they lived on the anks of creeks, what did they naturally call them, the seems. But their name is Muscogee.

Anyway, he wanted to let his hair grow and he is forbidden to do so. And, of course, there is a ason that the prison was justified for that. But I concerned that they were prohibiting him from even a practice of his American Indian religion.

Incidentally, Indians are not heathens, you wall Alabama textbooks were all savages and thens. That's not true. They always acknowledge the reme Being, the Creator, is what they call him, the God, okay.

But anyway, what I began is I tried to unravel thing was, that if you were a Baptist and you were

reborn -- and you'll see now why I apologized for this - and if you were a Catholic and you wanted to go to
mass, you know, you were in pretty good shape. Or if
you were an Episcopalian and you wanted to go to church,
or Church of God, and had a profound experience, but you
by happy better not be an American Indian who wants to
reclaim his Indian, because let me tell you what the
test of being able to practice your Indian medicine is,
if you were allowed at all. And each case must decided
by court ruling, each case, folks.

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The test is if you practiced it before you came into prison. Do you hear what I'm saying? In other words, you could be the vilest person in the entire whole world, a mass murderer, and Almighty God could reach out and touch you and save your soul, and they could minister you in prison. But if you're an American Indian and you wish to claim that which is your birthright from your forefathers, you're just out of luck unless you can sue and win before you get damned or killed. You understand what I'm saying to you? There's something awful wrong with that.

We in this room do not have the power to fix everything, but I want you to know because you're the people that have been vested -- you're the people that have been trusted to understand what is happening to

people that you have to deal with.

It is so cruel and so unkind to look at folks like Nancy and say she can't possibly be an American Indian, you know.

One of the cutest conversations I ever heard was a member of my board who is a Creek gentleman, a Creek businessman. He was sitting right here and I was here and there was this great, huge Apache gentleman over here with a kind of square hat, you know, I mean hairdo and everything.

He sort of leaned across to Ron and he said,
"What tribe are you?" Incidentally that's the correct
way to inquire, you know, you don't say what kind of an
Indian are you. I hope for goodness you never leave
here and say that. I forgot to tell you that. Ron kind
of leaned back in his chair and he said, "I'm Creek."
The fellow looked at him and said, "You don't look like
no Creek I know." Ron sort of laid his fork and his
knife down very patiently -- these are patient people -they had to be. Look at what they've suffered for 500
plus years. He looked over at him and he said, "Let me
tell you something, "Fellow, if Columbus had landed in
California instead of New England, you'd look like me
and I'd look like you."

All right. Now, the official remarks that I

have for you this morning -- I appreciate you suffering me that little addendum there, because it was clear to me -- I want to tell you that what you have are my official remarks. You have a map of the State of Alabama. And I apologize -- it's of the old district lines because at the time I made up this map -- the little tight numbers on the map itself are the official 1990 census numbers, and I've added them up for you down here in the corner.

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As we speak to you today, officially Alabama's Indian population is 16,496. We are less, folks, than one percent of the population of this state, less than a half a percent, but we nevertheless are here and we are persons of color.

Now, you will notice that to the right of that there is something that says AIAC, that's Alabama Indian Affairs Commission. Now, let me tell you how we got that number. I thought 16,000, give me a break. I want to tell you, as we go along here you're going to find out that 13 systems in Alabama have 11,000 Indian children enrolled in them now. Those of you who are good in math, if you had a one child family with one mother and one daddy and you multiplied three times 11,000 children -- see, I'm telling you I know where I can put my hands on 11,000, you'd have 33,000 people

right, and we all know that Indians sometimes have very large families. Nancy can tell you about that. And we have quite a difference of figures there.

Now, this 27,700, and the numbers you see here, and me calling the tribal registries, but let me tell you what the problem with the tribal registry is. Not all tribes enroll by individual person. Some role numbers are held by families. Do we understand that now?

In other words, a number might represent four or five people. So I'm giving you still a best guess, but this is still a 118 percent increase for the 1990 census documentation over what the 1980 census was.

I have already alluded to some of the problems we have, and there is attached on the back of here, because we won't have time to get into this business, and I'm sure it puzzles everybody, about Indian government, federal acknowledgement versus state acknowledgement.

You see, we're still playing games with these folks. We are still playing games with the American Indians. We, the government entities in this nation.

And I have to say that because I'm technically paid by the state.

Incidentally, I am not an appointee of the

governor, nor am I an appointee of any member of the legislature. I serve at the complete pleasure of the board, which is controlled entirely by the American Indian vote on it. Each tribe has one nomination and there is an at-large appointment on that board that the board itself can make.

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Indian communities are extremely egalitarian.

They are very conscious of a need and they don't operate under the same kind of role -- they govern very much in the old tribal tradition, and that is they govern by consensus. They speak until everybody has sort of arrived at a common understanding. It sometimes makes commission meetings extremely long.

I have given you the charge under the commission, and that is to bring local, state, federal and other resources into focus for the implementation of continuation of meaningful programming for Indian citizens of the State of Alabama, to provide for aid for Indians as needs demonstrate, to assist Indian communities in social and economic development, to promote recognition of the rights of Indians to pursue cultural and religious traditions considered by them to be sacred and meaningful to the American Indian, and to establish a appropriate procedures to provide for legal recognition of any future Indian organization who

desires state recognition. We've done that.

Now, I know that you're sort of running short on time and I want to stop. I do want to enter -- I want you to know that I'm asking you that you enter all of this into the record. I want to tell you, since you have dealt very much with housing, I'll take just one little second and on Page 3 of this testimony, reference the housing needs of Indians.

I want to state to you flat out, straight up, for all of us grown folks to understand, housing in rural Alabama is a disgrace. Rural Indians, as well as other citizens of Alabama, live in some of the worst housing to be found, in isolated pockets on dirt roads, in pine forests, they live in South Alabama.

You'll notice as you look at our numbers that we have high concentration in deep South Alabama, but the most of our people live above us here in North Alabama.

You know, Alabama is still part of the Appalachian region, and the uppermost counties in this Alabama fall within that purview.

We are not eligible, most of us, for the Indian set asides in housing and HUD. We are trying -- we tried this year to pass a bill that would establish a tribal consortium that would address housing needs.

Indian housing in HUD is a special set-aside.

I want to make something very clear to you though, when you hear Indian housing, don't get your back up. If Indian housing is built, and it is not located on a federal reservation, its occupancy -- not its board now, but its occupancy is not restricted to occupation by Indians only. It would be Indian money controlled by an Indian board, you know, housing board, but its occupancy, as long as they fit the social and economic measure, can have poor whites, poor blacks, poor hispanics, poor Asians, anybody who fits that economic base, as long it is not built on an Indian reservation. And we only have one in this state.

I will stop now and entertain your questions in the interest of your time and I appreciate your patience with me.

MR. MAX: Thank you very much. Be assured that your testimony, all of it, will be entered into the record. Nancy, do you want to start the questioning?

MS. CARNLEY: Thank you for coming, Jane. I know you have a very busy schedule. My main question is, with having so many different tribes in the State of Alabama and the housing situation as it is, and the economic development programs that's available, do you foresee any type of future plans that maybe the housing

bill that's being discussed would help American Indians, the Fair Housing Act?

MS. WEEKS: Well, I will be very honest with you. I was not aware that the Fair Housing Act had passed until Melvin called me. I will also tell you that you that I now believe, after my conversation with Melvin, and we've talked about this -- when we put a bill in this past time, it didn't move, it didn't move at all. We were to form a consortium under that of the five tribes who are unlanded entities, and because of the HUD guidelines for the model legislation, it contained a phrase that said "issuing bonds." And, of course, this will be grant money. It has no bond issuance in it.

That piece of legislation and another piece restrict the bonding, and now I know what the senators were telling me, that we couldn't have it that way. However, I did work out a compromise with them.

But I think that that could help us enormously because particularly in Jackson County, Etowah County and DeKalb County I get complaints frequently from Indian people who have gone in to be served and cannot - and they cannot seem to make the case, you know.

MS. SHUMAKER: May I interrupt right there?
You have mentioned three counties that surround mine.

Have you had that many complaints in Cherokee County?

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MS. WEEKS: Not to my knowledge. That wouldn't be how we handle them, because normally we catalog them for -- by tribe. But I'll be glad to check, Anne, and see. You know, we talked yesterday just a little bit about the activity that has begun in Cherokee County for the Cherokees of Northeast, and it is entirely possible that I have had some and not catalogued them as a geographical area. You know, Indians don't recognize the line that the white man drew on the map, so sometimes I have to say, "Honey, what are you close to?" So when they call me so I know, you know.

MS. SHUMAKER: I'm sorry to interrupt. I was just curious.

MS. WEEKS: That's right, you're exactly right. You're right up there in the heartland of the Cherokee people. You know, we have people -- I told Anne yesterday, we have people in her area that have extremely good blood ties to the Cherokee band up in North Carolina, which in Indian country that's Qualla boundary and I bet you all never heard that. Everybody calls it them North Carolina Cherokees, but that's Qualla boundary is what that is.

And they were left behind and his chief and his two sons bought their land with their lives, because

they gave up their lives knowing that their people would be left behind.

But anyway, they came down here. The jumped lumber trains and came down here and went to work. And the reason that they can't be enrolled in that tribe is because the children were born off reservation. They made a Cherokee law that said if they had children born outside the reservation, they cannot be tribally enrolled, so they have no roles and attachment to that community.

MR. MAX: Nancy, do you have any other questions?

MS. CARNLEY: The proposed draft for the human rights commission, do you foresee any aid that this would give to American Indians in Alabama?

MS. WEEKS: Not in the form that it is drafted. There are two key things that bothered me. The governor in that draft has too much power. He has too much power. He has too many appointments. I see George smiling at me. He has too many appointments.

MR. MUNCHUS: Which governor?

MS. WEEKS: Well, that's the point. I mean -- but you see, folks like us, George --

MR. MUNCHUS: I believe --

MS. WEEKS: Yeah, but the people out there who

vote are dumb, and you don't always get a good governor.

I understand that, you know.

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MR. MUNCHUS: I believe one day we will -MS. WEEKS: Our community has no suffered, but
I'm saying to you that you cannot establish something
like this and allow the power to fall in anybody's hands
to gut it, and that's what's in this law. I'm telling
you what I read.

me. There is no mandate in that legislation, Nancy, that a person of color must serve on that board. Do you understand what I'm saying? I said you're all going to have to forgive me. I don't know how to clean this up. We got to talk right here, okay? I mean, you know, just forgive me. I'm not trying to be insulting, but I'm saying we got good folks in this room of all colors, but they were sort of picked to be here because of the mandate of this body. You know, I'm not sure -- you see, you've given a chief justice, who is an elected official -- you've given a speaker of the house, who is an elected official -- you understand where I'm coming from?

MR. MUNCHUS: Sure.

MS. WEEKS: You've got too much vested power in people who have a mandate.

Now, I'm going to tell you the other thing.

The governor gets to appoint the chair and the vice chair, Nancy, in that thing. If he does that, do you understand that he's got the major appointments, he has the power to remove anybody that don't do what he wants to do, and he's appointed the chair and the vice chair.

If it had a treasurer, you'd be in business, because he'd control the whole smear, you know.

MR. MAX: Let me interrupt you. How would you suggest that it be done? And I'm asking that as an open question. I'm very much interested.

MS. WEEKS: I have not given that a lot of thought because I critiqued this, you know, very quickly. I would certainly -- you have to have an appointment power and you have to have a removal power. I think it's good to have a chief justice involved. I don't know why you couldn't have the citizenry of, you know, all governors, all bodies know about good people. We have the NAACP. We've got the Jewish organization, the Federation. We've got good Christian organizations. We've got Church Women United We've got the Baptist association.

What I'm saying, it would seem to me, and I have to look at it again. I don't have it before me.

It would seem to me that a very important thing would be

that the people would be served by having somebody who would represent someone else. If you're going to give this thing money, you're going to have money for its board members to serve. It already provides in there that they're reimbursed their expenses when they travel for the work of this thing.

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I'm just saying it would seem to me that you don't want to give politicians all the say. You know, you've got enough civic organizations or governmental entities.

You might even want to do it -- I know that the Alabama Women's Commission does it from congressional district nominees. In other words, the seven districts that we have, each district gets to make a nomination.

Now, it's true that the governor chooses, but at least you don't have him or it or her or whoever -- now, George has made me feel bad. I didn't want -- I'm not mad at anybody. I'm just looking at this thing -- you know, when you set up something like this you have to plan that it's going to last forever, and you would hope that it would.

So is that any help to you? I mean, I haven't given you a definitive answer.

MR. MAX: Jane, would it be correct to say what you're trying to tell us if there was a mechanism

whereby the citizenry would create the pool from which the public sector could pick from that pool?

MS. WEEKS: Let me tell you something. It's smart, because I got three -- the government makes an appointment to my board. The speaker of the house makes an appointment to my board, and the lieutenant governor makes an appointment to my board. Okay, we got a built-in entre in the House and in the Senate for someone to introduce legislation to address needs. That's smart.

But they don't have the controlling vote. You understand --

MR. MAX: Sure.

MS. WEEKS: And you have to have a way to remove commissioners who don't serve, because you may get some -- you know, we had a little county down by Montgomery that had a commissioner that didn't come to meetings and they had to figure out how to get rid of him and get somebody that could come, and he had such a big job wherever he had gone, he didn't have any intentions of coming back. And they went through a whole thing there. Does that help?

MR. MAX: Sure. I appreciate that input. Any other questions for Ms. -- Annie?

MS. WELLS: It seems like education is the key to a lot of the problems associated with the Indian

issues, and there are mechanisms say through Regional In-Service Education Centers for this to be promoted, to teachers and hopefully to students.

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MS. WEEKS: Ms. Wells, I want to share this.

My board chairman is Choctaw from Washington County. He is -- I think Mr. Weaver is 61 or 60. He'll kill me if I've made him too old because men, I want to tell you, ladies, are sensitive about their age too. But he's talking about retiring. He is the first member of his tribe to get a university education. Wherein the old days when we had segregated societies, there were schools for blacks and schools for whites, there were no schools for Indians, which is one of the ways that Indians learned to pass themselves off so their children could be educated. Those who refused to go to school were taught by churches, Baptist Churches, Episcopal Churches, the Catholic Church, but mostly Baptist went down there.

We have established an Indian Children's Scholarship Fund that we raise money -- it's not money given to us. I didn't tell you how much my commission is funded for, and we serve 28,000 families. I might tell you this. We got \$191,000 this year. And that's everything, 191,000. So I'm going to tell you, this state is postured so that they just don't have any

money.

But the Indian Children's Scholarship Fund is a fund raiser that we do with an annual pow-wow every year in Montgomery. We've done that for four years, and we try to raise money in between times and it has not -- it has not built -- we just now have about \$27,000 after trying for five years to put some money in it. We had a checkoff on the state income tax form that in that tax package everybody seemed to think was so wonderful -- I wish you'd have had this on that tax reform, because I could really give you a piece of my mind about that.

But anyway, they tried to remove that in that deal, to drop all of those, including the aging commission and everything, and we successfully fought that off, all of us agencies did.

But Indians are in every single public school, and where they occur in a high incidence -- they can -- the school system can get a federal grant called a Title 5 fund, and that's those 13 systems that I referenced. And it's for special cultural enhancement. It isn't for studies, but it can include a tutorial component. It can have a tutorial component.

I want to tell you something too now. My remarks have led you to think that Indians only married with white people. They did not. They did not have a

color bias. I want to make it extremely clear to the people in this room that we have American Indian people who have African American ancestry as a dual ancestry. Indian people -- we have some folk who are very dark and who have black blood quantum, and I am very quick to tell those people -- sometimes they call my office and want to have some assistance, and I tell them they don't have to be ashamed of that, there's nothing wrong with that, you know, God made us not in -- it's in people's mind set what we are.

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MS. WELLS: One other quick though. You mentioned some northern counties. What are they?

MS. WEEKS: If you will look at that map that's on the back of there, it's right across -- I'll see if I can name them. If you'll start over on the left -- let's start on the Mississippi River now. We're thinking Indian country. You've got up there at Colbert. You've got all those right across that top tier. Then you see Madison County has gobs. You've got a bunch in Lawrence County.

Now, those numbers that you're looking at, both of the census numbers, and I may name one that doesn't show up. Franklin County has a lot. They have a lot of people up there with Cherokee and Chickasaw cross bloods. We don't have any Chickasaw formalized

governments, but you know, that little top -- that little northwest corner up there was part of the Chickasaw homeland at one time.

And moving across you've got Jackson and you've got DeKalb and you've got those counties there.

Jefferson County herself has quite a number of Indian people here.

Now, when we're talking about numbers that occur, we only have high concentrated populations in several areas, and that means that I could put you in a car and drive you from house to house and say what you are looking at is what is considered an Indian community. And that would be in Washington County, Mobile County, DeKalb County, Jackson County, Lawrence County, a few areas in Madison County.

Over by Sylacauga, Talladega County, there's quite a concentration of them. Coffee County where Nancy lives, and in Pike County.

Now, you know, there may be some few families, large families, you know.

Does that kind of help you a little bit?

MR. DAVIS: Jane?

MS. WEEKS: Yes, sir.

MR. DAVIS: Not so terribly long ago I remember seeing a news report on CBS which depicted American

Indians as being, quote, in my opinion, subhuman. Do you think that the media has done enough to bring about a mind change, a mind set change in American society or what are your feelings about the media and what has it done to I guess hopefully improve human rights as well as --

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MS. WEEKS: Michael, that's a wonderful question. We have just recently tried -- we couldn't get enough money from the state to fund it -- a program that we're calling Indian Youth 2000. It was originally our plan to train 200 Indian children a year in leadership skills and in racial pride, ethnic pride toward the year 2000 so that by the year 2000 we would have 2,000 Indian leaders who were capable of stepping into the steps of their elders.

We have done that very spottily. Where we have done it, it has worked out excellently. And I had some leftover money. We had a tiny, tiny, tiny -- I hope you'll have time to read this because I haven't talked about it -- it's a -- we have a tiny drug program and I had like \$215 and I bought a tape. You know, kids love videotapes. And it has a wonderful track on it about the media, and it starts out with the old silent films and the Indians doing this, you know, with their big eyes, you know, and these funny looking braids and a

knife dripping blood, and a tomahawk in the other hand.

And then it brought it up to modern day and how they have the drunk Indians, you know, on the reservation.

And the consensus has been that the media has reinforced wrong things about Indians, very wrong things, that they are drunkards, and it is true that Indian people -- their bodies do not assimilate alcohol. That's a health fact.

Well, okay, let's look at the recent fiasco -you all have all been so sweet and so precious, you
haven't asked me about the Braves. I mean, you know,
but I'm saying they tried to make those people look
hokey and stupid and dump.

Nobody is mad at the baseball team. Everybody wants the Braves to win, you know. But, you know, that tomahawk chop thing, you know, it does reinforce a stereotype that's wrong.

Have you ever read an Alabama history, fourth grade history book? I bet Annie has. Have you ever looked at an Alabama fourth grade history book?

MS. WELLS: When I was in fourth grade.

MS. WEEKS: Get yourself one. See, we don't have the resources in our community to monitor textbooks, but I want to tell you, I'll bet you right here with the exception of three that I know of that are

no longer used -- if they're used, I'm unaware of it -one was written by a lady from around here, Virginia
Hamilton. In those fourth grade history texts every
time the Indians won it is without exception a massacre.
They were massacred at Fort Mims. I had an ancestor at
Fort Mims who died. He was dumb. They couldn't close
the door, okay, that was war. People die in wars.

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Every time the Indians win it's a massacre and every time the non-Indian -- the whites win, it's a glorious victory. Well, those of us in Indian country know that the people -- and those of us who know history know -- that the people who win the wars write the history. And you don't write about the things that you don't want people to know about.

That's true about women's history too. You know, we were always footnotes, you know. And Indians are always the bad guys. You know, you never hear --we're into an age of environment, okay. You know, everybody's seen that commercial with Iron Eyes Cody and the tear, but you've never heard the eloquent speech of Chief Seattle -- he would have been a pacifist in today's society. His people gave their land without hardly a scrap. They seceded and he told them, he said, you know, our day has passed. You know, our time -- we don't know what the next generations that will come that

will come that will walk our ancestor's lands. It's wonderful, but they don't use it.

It is true, we've taken a beaten from the media and we'll continue to do so, because the only ones they want to see are the crazies.

MR. MAX: We really appreciate your time this morning. It's obvious that the Indian community -- your commission needs a focal point in state government to be able to communicate with, and hopefully with a good human relations commission we can do that. Thank you for your time.

MR. MUNCHUS: May I say one thing, Rod?

MR. MAX: Please.

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MR. MUNCHUS: Certainly what Jane said has been very informative to me and she's been a very good avenue for the American Indian. I'm sure you remember the situation and over our public apology, because some time ago we were pushing for the people of color to get work as contractors for the Birmingham school system, and of course the Birmingham News came out with some editorial about African Americans are minority. Of course, I never use that word minorities. I think it's very disrespectful. I always use the words "people of color".

And an American Indian women had got a

\$10,000,000 contract, and she looked like -- she looked just like you. She looked like a Caucasian woman. And some of my buddies, you know, they just went wild. And you called us on the carpet about it, rightfully so, and sensitized some of us to this image that Indians don't have blond hair, blue eyes, white skin, because I remember early on in my earlier days when I was a youth, a younger man, I guess, I dated a lady who I thought was black. I just presumed she was a sister, as we say. She was very dark, very attractive, and then one day she said, you know, I think I need to tell you something. She said I'm a Lumbee Indian. I said what say uh-oh. in the hell is a Lumbee Indian? And then she told me she was from North Carolina.

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And her brothers were coming down the next day, and she said they won't like you. And I said why. And she said because you're not an Indian.

So I think it is most important that you continue to do whatever you're doing and work on us, particularly African Americans, because we need to be worked on, because we have the same prejudicial images of American Indians, even though there's been a lot of interaction with Africans and Indians, we need to be educated, so don't ever -- and I know you won't do it -- always call us on the carpet. I mean Alvin Homes

included. An Alvin is a brother. But do call Alvin on the carpet.

And here's Robert Avery who lives in Etowah County. He's on the city council there, and he needs to be sensitized. He probably already is. But I'm just glad you came because I think that has been great.

MR. MAX: George, thank you. Jane, thank you very much. We really appreciate it.

MS. WEEKS: Thank you. Thank you, George. Thank you, ladies and gentlemen.

MR. MAX: I don't believe that Reverend Rembert is with us this morning. Is that correct? He was asked to come but I don't think he was able to make it. So we're going to skip Reverend Rembert and move on to Elise Penfield, who has been with us since early this morning who is the executive director of the Partnership Assistance to the Homeless. He may not be very visible in the community, but the issue of homelessness is very visible in the community, and we appreciate your contribution and your being here this morning.

MS. PENFIELD: Thank you. Is it all right if I stand?

MR. MAX: Sure.

MS. PENFIELD: I'm glad I can speak before Jane is leaving if she isn't following George's comments,

because next Monday there will be 30 Lumbee youth participating in a week long work camp in Birmingham with youth from First United Methodist Church in downtown Birmingham and Youth Community Church, which is a new black church in Ensley and if anyone wants to connect with some Lumbee youth, I will be glad to provide names and telephone numbers immediately following this.

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I also would like to say I wish I had been able to drop in yesterday so that I had a bit of a sense -- I could have gone home last night and edited my comments more in keeping with what you may have wanted, and I'm not sure that I have done that but I'm going to talk to you a little bit. And I'm going to talk to you as a speaker and as a supporter of the establishment of an Alabama human relations commission.

I'm doing so as a citizen of the state but also as an individual who knows that discrimination exists today and that civil rights are regularly denied. I believe that the establishment of a civil rights commission would be a symbol of our state's commitment to address the harms of the past and the residual settlement of racism which exists in our society.

I understand that Alabama is one of four states which does not have a civil rights commission. The

others, Arkansas, Louisiana and Mississippi, as I have been informed, are all southern states and just as Alabama they are states with a history of systematic discrimination through the law, based on racial discrimination.

Alabama as a state needs to develop those symbols which clearly communicate commitment to justice and fair treatment.

There are several other reasons that I support the establishment of a state commission and the first relates to my employment with the program serving the homeless.

man was killed in Birmingham. Three Skinheads have been charged with his murder. His death brought to the forefront the most extreme violation of civil rights, the loss of life, a man that many may say was mentally unstable and which has absolutely no significance. It's made our community aware of the harassment of homeless individuals, individuals who lack a home and choose not to come into shelters, but to remain outside.

As a community in response to that we learned that regular harassment had occurred since last fall, that there had been beatings and one shelter staff member suggested to me, as I was attempting to gather

information, that her entire shelter staff believed there had been two other deaths last fall related to the Skinhead movement in our community.

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Certainly this past weekend allowed Birmingham citizens and perhaps some of you across the state -- I was out of the state and don't know of the coverage -- to observe the growing reality of the movement of hate groups. And I think that that reality indicates our state's need and our community's need for a human relations commission.

I would assume that many of you have been aware of other issues relating to homeless individuals, because of the media's attention to the issue of homelessness in the last decade.

I was informed this morning that last week in response to the rights of the homeless being able to sleep in public parks, there was an article in the local paper on the rights of the homeless.

In the Birmingham -- throughout national and local press coverage one of the most popular issues to focus on has been the denial of public education. I must say to you that in the Birmingham area that has not been my experience or the experience of other shelters serving women, that children residing in shelters have had no difficulty in immediately enrolling in shelters.

But I would also say to you that I wonder if that has been the case throughout this state. All homeless individuals do not reside in Birmingham, Alabama, which does have a shelter program and systematic system that has received some national recognition and compliments in the past.

And I do believe that if there are children being denied access to public education that the existence of a human relations commission would be the place that such concerns would be raised.

The other issues relating to the homeless community that most often are talked about are in the area of housing and employment. It is for the reason of potential discrimination that the word "day shelter" is used by the -- "day center" is used by the PATH program rather than the word "shelter". I cannot tell you how many times in the last seven years I have personally had telephone conversations from potential employers or landlords in which the question would be, "What is this place?" And never is the word "shelter" used, because we know the immediate stigmatism that is assigned to homeless individuals.

Although it has not been my personal experience in gathering -- and in gathering the information, as I have talked to some homeless women who are my friends --

I have not discovered it in the last week. I did inquire of another shelter who stated that there is no question among their entire staff that homeless men have informed them regularly that when they give the address of a shelter during a job interview, the interview will end immediately.

I can tell you personally that I have talked to many women who have visited government and social service agencies in our community who report to me and to the other staff members that when they identify themselves as homeless, their treatment is immediately affected.

Racism discrimination in justice is often difficult to identify, but I understand from those who have experienced it, it is not difficult to know when you are experiencing it.

I personally believe that violation of civil rights and discrimination may be more traumatic when it is being experienced and being expressed and communicated by someone that that homeless individual or disadvantaged and poor person knows is drawing a salary is supposed to help them. That occurs in food stamp offices, welfare offices, social service agencies which function with major government funding.

Alabama and local communities need a place in

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an agency that individuals can turn to. Until my involvement in the recently established anti-hate coalition, which Rodney Max can give you much more information about than I could speak to this morning, I can assure you that individuals in this community were not aware of your existence. And there is a need for your existence to be known, but more importantly there is the need for the establishment of a civil rights, human relations commission that could act in ways that you may be limited.

As one who works with the homeless in our community, I am keenly aware that individual civil rights are denied and that discrimination is practiced, and I am keenly aware that the vast majority are not aware of any recourse that they have or that there might be someplace they could ask the state about.

I also am aware in the homeless community that shelter staff members operate in very limited budgets, do not have people to do research, do not have people to make referrals except to get food and clothing and shelter, and that they are not aware of how to advise clients to act. And I think that is another reason for the Alabama human relations commission -- another reason to establish one.

I am aware that individuals have two places

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that the federal government provides that they can go in the areas of employment and housing, the EEOC and the HUD regional office.

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I am also aware that Alabama has a fair housing law. But let me tell you that I do not believe that poor homeless individuals are aware of the EEOC office or the HUD regional office, which is located not on a bus line any longer, and that the Alabama fair housing law means nothing to them.

This state needs to establish a human relations commission primarily for the reason that it will enable a local commission to be established, which is what I believe that we need.

Although I support all federal and state legislation which will address civil rights and discrimination, I truly believe that those issues are best addressed at the local level. And I know that homeless individuals who are already ashamed of their situation and obviously may lack the ability to pursue a claim in a regional office of the federal government, may be willing to walk through a claimant's process in their local community, particularly if they are joined with shelter staff members and volunteers whom they trust.

Your proposed act contains both references to

housing and employment discrimination. And I want to move and make a few brief comments on your proposed act, but let me say that these are the result of a quick skimming rather than a careful reading.

My first concern about the act is that it refers to the state agency's ability to investigate and process claims and in my reading of the Nebraska and Missouri quick skimming of those provided by Mr. Jenkins, I think we got a serious problem of financial limitations.

It is clear that in order for a state human relations commission to function and to function as an investigatory and claimant assistance, there has got to be adequate funding. I truly do not believe that adequate funding will be awarded for a state human relations commission, and I would assume that most of you sitting there are right now feeling the same way that I am in response to the recent tax and educational award that was proposed.

I think that you need to be aware that lobbyists stopped our recent reform and that if a human relations commission is going to function against employers and landowners and property owners that there are lobbyists down there that are going to not allow it to go through.

Nevertheless, I am extremely supportive of the establishment of a state human relations commission.

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My second concern of the act seems to be that there is not enough reference and connection to what exists in the EEOC office and HUD and our own fair housing law. And I would suggest to you that one of the roles of a state commission might be to assure that those already charged with addressing discrimination and housing and employment do so and are given additional funds, if that's their problem, given education funds if that's their problem, or that the commission might take on the task of educating properly how to go through those existing offices.

As the Alabama Fair Housing Act -- my trusted resources -- and I feel sure in making the quotes of this -- tell me, and these are people that have worked in housing for most of their life -- that our current law has too many exemptions, that is generally weak legislation, that the enforcement powers are weak and that a primary concern is that the state agency, ADECA is the one that is to carry that out. My personal experience is that it has been placed in the wrong office.

Finally, I want to say that your act as it is proposed contains -- or the state act -- no, it's your

act -- contains no references to public accommodations, and that since 1986 that has been one area that I have had more information given to me by homeless individuals in which they have been discriminated against, primarily restaurants, eating establishments, fast food places, in the downtown area, that homeless individuals known as such, although they may have the money to purchase food, are requested regularly to leave and are hustled out after they finish that cup of coffee.

I don't believe that a state act should be as rigorous and tight as the federal legislation of Title 7. I would hope that you would seek ways to relate to employment practices of companies that have few employees than 15. That's based on the experience of many of the homeless women that I know oftentimes get hired by small -- much smaller operations than 15. I believe that we're a rural state and I think by your limiting employment addresses of 15 and above, you'll be making a mistake.

Finally, I don't think that the act as proposed has enough information on community relations in education, and I think that's very, very significant, and a role that an Alabama state human relations commission could make major contributions.

If we had a state commission and if we had a

local entity, there would have been someplace that citizens could have gone when we were tragically informed of the death of Vennie Rembert two and a half months ago. State and local commissioners and commissions should not only be where citizens can go to request assistance, but they should have a commitment to educate the public and to be available to assist, for example, in anti-hate legislation, which obviously the Birmingham community needs and I believe would certainly be beneficial for the state.

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Finally, although not many of you know me well but a few do, I will say that those that know me well might anticipate that my final comment on your proposed act does not adequately address the issue of women in my mind. And I do not believe in the 1990's that a human relations act can exist without your addressing the issue of sexual harassment and severe penalties related to that.

Now, in summary let me say that even with the concerns that I have with the proposed act, I am very supportive of the establishment of a state commission, first because of the significance of a symbol. I believe symbols are good and important and I think that that would serve as a symbol to say that justice and fairness are our goals and that we are doing what is

necessary to accomplish those goals.

Second, I think that a state commission -- this act will enable local commissions to be established, of which I am extremely committed to regional federal offices in the state legislature are not the best ways to monitor what is going on locally. I do believe that monitoring will best be done by a local commission.

Unfortunately, I think that many individuals have given up on the federal government. I know that since the end of the legislature there are many that are flocking around that are seriously saying they've given up on the state.

I am committed to federal and state government's role in civil rights violation and discrimination and my hope is that one day people can go back and view those entities as I did as I was forming my views on civil rights in the 50's and the 60's, which because of some of all of our experiences age-wise, I think we may have benefitted. I want that trust and faith rekindled.

But I think it is important that we admit the reality of where we are today. No longer do many individuals look to the federal government to solve their problems or to respond to civil rights violations. I think that there is still some trust in local entities

and I think that if local commissions are established and that the state and local commissions take seriously educating what their purpose is, that individuals who are experiencing discrimination and violation of civil rights will benefit.

Thank you.

MR. MAX: Elise, thank you very much. Your comments are very instructive. Freddi?

MS. ARONOV-HEILPERN: Elise, have you any way of knowing whether these violations of civil rights in the areas of housing and employment that you described are going on in Birmingham, have you any way of knowing how that is going in other parts of the state?

MS. PENFIELD: We've been trying to form a state coalition for the homeless and we just don't have that documentation. I think that that ADECA may have some information on statistics and I mean we're having trouble even counting the homeless. But so is the census staff. They said that we had half as many homeless individuals as I served in one year, so I really don't --

MS. ARONOV-HEILPERN: But in terms of the incidences of people being turned out of restaurants and their interviews coming to a stop, are those numbers being tracked in any way?

MS. PENFIELD: No. I think that if there was a local or a state entity that put together and requested in a formal way that that might occur. The reality is that the homeless is a new phenomenon and most of those agencies serving the homeless are extremely -- probably the one that I'm associated with is the most -- is the

MS. ARONOV-HEILPERN: The other question was, you emphasized your feeling that you'd like to see the work done locally. How do you foresee that each town would actually within the purview of a human relations commission mandated by the state would then --

best -- our being able to provide some documentation.

MS. PENFIELD: Did your act mandate the local commission or approve?

MR. JENKINS: Permission.

MS. PENFIELD: Permission. I think for a local commission to be effective it is going to have to come from the local communities, the grass root commitment. I look around here and see some Birmingham folks and think, you know, we've got an advantage in establishing one. I would be concerned for rural Alabama, although I think agencies such as Jane and the American Indians, if the state wanted -- we'd certainly know how to access that and probably make it more effective.

As I understand in housing discrimination,

there's no way to identify when a renter, a landlord, a home seller, just either puts a price on there, says I rented it an hour earlier. And that occurs regularly. And there are many, I think, nonprofits in the city that could probably document that if there was a place to take it that would do something.

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MS. ARONOV-HEILPERN: So your vision is that within the human relations commission that if we could get this passed in the legislature, that there would be offices in as many towns as possible?

MS. PENFIELD: As many towns and communities as felt the need. I really am, you know, a self-development nut.

MR. MAX: Thank you, Freddi. Any other questions?

MR. MUNCHUS: One thing. I'm sure you've heard of the fair employment center or fair housing center that is now established. Emily Eberhardt was here yesterday and talked about that, and they completed a research study where they did document discrimination against people of color in seeking housing. So I'm sure that if you were to network with her --

MS. PENFIELD: I've networked with her.

MR. MUNCHUS: I'm sure if this happens to the homeless people, more so probably than known.

1 MS. PENFIELD: The reality is that most of the homeless women and children who are served by shelter 2 3 programs for women are making referrals to housing 4 authorities, which probably would have less 5 discrimination than the private market. Yes, ma'am? 6 MS. WELLS: Those constructive points to include in our existing draft, are you going to leave 7 them with us? 8 9 MS. PENFIELD: I don't have an extremely clean 10 copy but I would be glad to get one and --11 MR. MAX: We've got them. The record here now 12 has them and they'll be available to us. 13 MS. PENFIELD: 14 MR. MAX: Any other questions? 15

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I will leave my rough draft.

MS. PENFIELD: It's not that rough. It's typed in double spaced.

MR. MAX: Let me ask you this. At this time whenever you have an issue that you need some assistance from some governmental agency, do you just have to go one on one yourself to representatives? You don't have a networking -- I understand there's no networking of homeless communities -- around Alabama, but you don't really have any one entity at the state level or the local level?

MS. PENFIELD: There's not an entity to go to

state-wide. There really isn't. You know, because Birmingham is the largest urban city -- there's a very good shelter coalition in this community in which we do raise issues that occur periodically. And our experience has been fairly successful. I know that a couple of years ago there was some real harassment of women at the bus station and another fast foods place, and we as a staff just went down and talked and said what's the problem, you know, these folks got a dollar, why can't they buy a cup of coffee? But it's simply dependent on whose working the shift.

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MR. MUNCHUS: So in other words, you believe in direct action?

MS. ARONOV-HEILPERN: I was going to say without anything else or any other assistance, that's what you're left with.

MR. MAX: Thank you very much. We really appreciate it. At this time I think we have with us Dr. Julius Brown. Is that right? Dr. Brown, thank you for joining us today. Dr. Brown in the president of Wallace Community College in Selma, and Melvin, if I'm correct, isn't that where we had our meetings in Selma last year?

MR. JENKINS: That's right.

MR. MAX: We appreciate you accommodating us at that time and we look forward to your comments today.

DR. BROWN: Let me say that I am fighting a summer cold and I will try not to project that to any of the members of the advisory committee of the state nor to the U. S. Commission staff. Let me also say that just in the short time that I've been here, hearing two speakers, my sense or understanding of human relations problems in the state have been enhanced, and I commend the advisory committee for holding these hearings for perhaps providing a focus for all of these concerns to be placed in perspective.

I also want to say that I've been back in the state just three years. I am located in Selma. I was not on the bridge nor did I dig the Alabama River, as some of my colleagues claim in Selma.

But having said that, I think there are at least six reasons why I wanted to come and speak on behalf of the development of a human relations commission in the state. And let me preface this by saying in the three years that I've been back in the state working as a community college president, I've been probably to every corner of the state.

What impresses me most is that there are many very fine positive relationships between people of color and white people. It always amazes me that you can go to a little town and you can go to rural communities and

people of color and whites tend to live in close proximity. That is very different from the experience I've had living in the north and in the east. And in some ways it's my feeling that this community, this state, can move forward very rapidly because there isn't that distance that you normally find in other parts of the country.

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With that said, let me express those six points as quickly as I can. I think there is a great need for a deliberate, conscious and systematic way of handling human relation problems within the state. Up to this date I think we've muddled through, we have depended on happenstance and when you do that, you really can't predict the outcome of attempting to resolve the problem. We do need a systematic way of providing input and organizing solutions to human relation problems, and I think the human relations commission can set that kind of standard and develop that kind of problem solving solution.

There is a need for an agency that is proactive and positive as it relates to good human
relations in the state. And I think that Dr. Martin
Luther King said it best when he said, "Time is
neutral." Nothing or very few things are solved just by
time itself. Unless we can be pro-active and positive

and a state say that good human relations are important and fulfill our highest ideals and goals in terms of humanitarian relationship, then we leave a vacuum for others to define humanitarian or human relations in this state. And I don't think we can afford to do that.

Again, I feel that we cannot be neutral. We cannot let human relations solve themselves. There's a great tendency for those relations to go sour and be negative. So I think an agency which is active and positive and says to our citizens that we can live together positively and we can grow and develop as a united people, respecting the rights and the individual differences that exist, but yet we're all Alabamians, we're all Americans, and we have certain basic rights and the ability to live together, is one of those things that's important in the state.

I think the establishment of a human relations commission would send two messages, one within the state and one to the outside. The inside message is that you don't have to leave Alabama to live a good and productive life, that you will have a chance to develop your skills and abilities, that you will have a chance to live in peace and have the quality of life that some right now seek in other parts of the country. We need to send a message to our own citizens saying that.

The outside message is that Alabama is a place or should be or can become a place of fairness, a place where corporations, business and organizations can come to us and not only experience the growth of their companies and organizations but can take advantage of the many resources and opportunities that exist in Alabama. That's very important for all of our citizens, and I would say to you that most people tend to think of the Chamber of Commerce or other types of organizations who would have those kind of concerns.

But as an African American and as a citizen of Alabama, I'm very concerned that we have a great and positive business climate because that way my son and daughter can get a job. That way the youngster who was in difficulty can get a job. That way young people will feel that they have a future. It's so important as an educator to have young people feel that they can make it, that they can achieve. That's the way we get them to go to school and that's the way we get them to do homework and et cetera, et cetera, et cetera.

So that message to the outside is extremely important, just as important as the message to the inside. And the human relations commission can send that message.

Four, in spite of Alabama's spotty record on

race relations, there exists in this state many fine and genuine positive relations between blacks and whites, and I indicate blacks and whites because those are the major categories.

And again, as I travel around the state, and as I talk to Alabamians, it is always amazing to me how families of different races have known each other, have worked together, who have supported each other. We tend to hear the negatives and the positives are not often shared.

I have relatives who have gone on to school and sometimes we would ask, well, how did that happen 30 years ago, 40 years ago, when things were so bad? Well, it happened because there was a family who happened to have been white had more resources, gave some assistance to a black family, and wanted that family to do well.

We have a lot of that happening and it doesn't make the newspapers. But we have a basis for good relations. We're not all negative. That's what I found as I've gone around the state.

Five, the proposed commission would help the state to better focus on its most valuable resource, its people.

As an educator I've seen so many of our brightest and most educated citizens and students leave

for greener pastures and for more friendly environments. We are losing a major resource.

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When youngsters feel that life can be better and they can achieve better somewhere else, we lose a tremendous resource. We lose some of that ability to solve our problems. We lose some of that ability to make us the kind of state we want to be.

One of the most painful things for me in coming to Alabama is to have two young adults who fortunately are college educated but they basically are going to have to find jobs and pursue their careers in other parts of the country. And that's very painful to me as a parent.

Increasingly the race relation aspect of it is not as difficult but we still have the problem with this not being a state where new industry, new jobs, new opportunities are being developed. A lot of it goes back to race relations but we also are in a position where we lose our best assets because of lack of opportunity.

Six, by taking forward looking measures such as establishing a human relations commission, Alabama can become a leader in human relations and enhance the quality of life for all of its citizens. We can begin to reverse the trend to see Alabama as a problem state,

but rather see it as a place which is truly, truly open for business and human development.

Those are just my comments. I want to say that I'm really privileged to be able to come and speak on behalf of a human relations commission. I again commend all of you who work in Alabama for positive human relations and if I can answer any questions or respond to any comments, I'd be glad to do that.

MR. MAX: Dr. Brown, we very much appreciate your comments. Anne, do you have some questions?

MS. SHUMAKER: Yes, if you don't mind. I again say thank you for coming. We appreciate your support on the establishment of an HRC, and I'm very glad to note your optimism. It's good to hear that. We don't always hear that so much, particularly in terms of the possibility of progress in human rights. I'm glad to see some light at the end of the tunnel in the views of a lot of people.

Do you think that Selma with the recent problems that have been investigated there could have benefitted from an HRC if one had been in place?

DR. BROWN: Yeah. No question about it. And
I'd like to support the previous speaker who talked
about local human relation organizations. My
impression, having lived through that situation, is that

a human relations committee, council, whatever the local term would be, would have been very helpful because it would have constituted a third party where mediation, discussion, and the solving of some of those problems could have occurred.

Having worked on a number of committees to try to solve the problems in Selma, at some points it just simply got to ego, I will not change my position. There had to be an awful lot of pressure to bring about change in very hard taken positions.

I think a human relations commission could provide a third party, a kind of neutral ground where discussion can occur, and even more importantly, where communication can be maintained, because I think many of the problems grew out of the lack of communication.

Some things have happened in Selma which will help in the future, but I think as that problem emerged there was no communication vehicle. There was no advocate for good relations in that community, and I think that hurt Selma.

MS. SHUMAKER: On that line, perhaps a little deviation from our topic here today, for my own benefit, how do you think the situation in Selma a couple of years ago has affected your specific community college?

DR. BROWN: Well, I don't think it's had much

of an effect for the following reasons. The senior staff of the college and myself, we talked about the situation as it emerged, and we were determined that Community College would be an open, fair, positive place in terms of race relations in Selma. And with that commitment we feel that that actually happened.

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We have grown by about 500 students over the last three years. We have gotten fairly substantial gifts from the community. We had a foundation of about \$500 and we now have about \$130,000. So in many ways our activities were not hurt. But it was because we took a fairly positive pro-active position that our institution would be one of fairness, and we receive students from the public schools, the private schools and in Selma they're all white, but as students come to us they're first and foremost a student and we want them to succeed, and hopefully that is a good formula.

MS. SHUMAKER: Again for my own benefit, how was your cooperative situation with Judson College in Marion going or is that still underway?

DR. BROWN: Yeah. We established an articulation agreement with Judson about a year ago. A fine institution. Some people in the community said how can you establish an articulation agreement with a women's college, doesn't that discrimination against

men? And my response was that over 55 percent of my students are women and I think I have to do something for my women students, and other colleges will receive men.

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So it's worked well. They are -- you probably know they're in a fund-raising campaign and it's a positive relationship.

MS. SHUMAKER: I'm glad to hear that. Again, thank you for your positive statements and thanks for looking on the bright side.

DR. BROWN: Well, let me say this. Unless we have a vision for Alabama, unless we can look into the eyes of our young people and say that somehow it's going to be better and we work toward it, I guess we should just close shop. And as an educator we just have to have that kind of vision for them. And it pays. It does pay. We're very proud that three of our students in our technical program won at the state competition. They're going on to national competition in Louisville, Kentucky, and that's the first time that's happened in the State of Alabama for the VICA competition. So we keep dreaming and hoping and sometimes it happens.

MR. MAX: George?

MR. MUNCHUS: Well, Dr. Brown, I appreciate your coming here. I think it's great, particularly

given the history of college presidents in this state.

A very few have been strong advocates of human rights.

In fact, many of them violate human rights on their campuses daily.

One thing I wanted to ask you, what role do you see, if any, the education community, the two-year colleges and the four-year colleges playing in this, because universities tend to do little or nothing in this area, and I think your college has come out front, at least you're here -- I'm sure the others support it but do you see a role for the universities, two-year or four-year, in anything with human relations outside of the classroom?

DR. BROWN: Well, I would certainly think so because the two-year system exists in 32 locations throughout the state. So I think they're critical institutions. I think most are involved in economic development, most are involved in community affairs. I think wise college administration will be active and supportive because in almost every case there is some diversity on their campus, so the university or the college cannot close its door and be oblivious to what happens in the community. And I think it's important for college presidents, college personnel to be involved in a positive supportive way in all aspects of the

community. We certainly do that in Selma.

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MR. MUNCHUS: I commend you.

MR. MAX: Very good. Any other questions?

MR. MORTHLAND: I'd like to say many things about Dr. Brown, but the discussion this morning has been on racial issues. I'd like to say that in the community college field he is a true educator and is not a political appointee, which is in my inexperience in it but some observation from the time they were established, many of the presidents of these institutions were selected on bases other than their educational background. He and I spent a very, very interesting hour out in the parking lot one time when he was looking for something and I had been working on the weekend and ran out and we started to compare notes. And he's done a great deal in the college and Wallace Community College is truly a collegiate institution. Ιt is not a parking place for people who want to spend another two years in something and stay at home before they have to go to work.

MR. MAX: Very good.

DR. BROWN: Thank you.

MR. MAX: Charlena, did you have any questions?

MS. BRAY: Yes. We've heard some comments that

-- well, first, knowing that with the formation of a

human relations commission -- I mean there's money, it's going to cost money to do it. And we've had comments that certainly in this state education is very, very important and what we need is money for education and that should come first and maybe if that's done, then we can think about a human relations commission or something along that line. How do we respond to that?

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DR. BROWN: All right. I think the need for additional funds at the elementary and secondary level is very real. I also feel that even as an educator I have to recognize that there are some problems over and above education. For example, if children are not nourished or fed, it's going to be very difficult for educators to teach. If students have significant medical problems, it's going to be very difficult for educators to teach.

They're interrelated. If you have a community which is divided, an adversarial, the quality of your education is probably going to be less than in that community where people are working together, where they take pride in their school, where they want it to be successful.

And let me give just another quick example. I have seen two Boy Scout troops in the Selma area, one where parents are not involved and don't take interest

and very few things happen. I saw a corresponding troop where the parents got involved, they did all kinds of things, they had all kinds of resources. But it wasn't because of the Boy Scout organization giving one more than the other. It was because of the parental participation, the feeling by the people in the second troop that it was worthwhile, and they made contributions. They made it important.

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Now, the reason I think human relations is so important is that with that kind of unity and common goal, I think you will see more school millages passed. I think it will have a direct impact on local education. I think you will see more people feeling that schooling is important as a state resource.

So certainly education needs to be funded at a higher level but people getting along with people I think is just as important, and I suspect that the funding for human relations will not be significant when you compare it to the funding for education.

MR. MAX: Freddi or Mike, any other questions?

I have one question. Dr. Brown, you work with students every day and in your community college I realize there's various associations. Is there any entity, any association where by students at the college level have an opportunity of communicating, dialogueing? Now, I

realize within a school system there's a student government association. An example, right now at the high school level we have an Any Town going on we've been told of where blacks and whites and Christians and Jews get together for a week's period of time. Now, that's a camp. But is there at the higher education level a means for blacks and whites and Christians and Jews to get together state-wide?

DR. BROWN: Yeah. There are a number of organizations which are related to education and career development. For instance, VICA is Vocational Industrial Clubs of America. What it does is celebrate success and achievement in those technical fields. And they will have state competition, national competition. They will have meetings and so on. And what we do at the college is try to get all of our students who are in a particular field involved with the organization, and thereby you create not only career awareness but some human relations experience.

We have Phi Beta Kapa which is the honor society, and our institution happens to be 65 percent white, but the young lady who is the head of Phi Beta Kapa this coming year happens to be black. She is an outstanding student. She had the interest and we attempt to create those kind of opportunities, so that

not expanded that to the community college. My own feeling is that you can achieve a lot of that through your existing organizations if you work to make sure that everybody feels welcome and can be a part of it.

MR. MORTHLAND: One last question. In your curriculum itself is there a human relations course?

DR. BROWN: We at the present time do not have a human relations course. However, if you had a human relations commission and developed a curriculum or a course, we would certainly consider it.

MR. MAX: Thank you very much.

MR. MORTHLAND: One more question before we leave that. I'm not aware of the need for a special organization at the school because it's my observation, and I don't get out there as often as I'd like, but it's my observation that this is practiced throughout your entire curriculum all day long. When I'm out there I see whites and blacks getting alone very well, and I don't get the repercussions or the rumors of your -- we've heard some of them --

DR. BROWN: Let me respond to that. I spoke a little bit about it before. If you remember that I work at a college called Wallace Community College in Selma, Alabama, and I happen to be an Afro American, we have to work diligently to make sure that people are included,

youngsters of various faith and races have an opportunity to grow together. That's another part of what's important about their education. And that really is, 't written on the board but it's embedded in the organizations and student development, which helps them to not only learn their skill but be able to work with a variety of people.

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One of the things that we get back from employers often is that a person cannot get along. They have the technical skill but they can't get along with other people.

MR. MAX: Let me ask you -- and that sounds like a great program. The primary purpose of that program is vocational orientation. Is there an association or organization that's put together among students for purposes of human relations or promoting human relations or race relations?

DR. BROWN: We don't have one exclusively for that purpose at the college, and I'd probably have some difficulty with that at the college. I will say that in Selma there is an organization called One Selma Youth and it's an outgrowth of the adult One Selma.

DR. BROWN: That's the high school level and we provide facilities for them to meet and so on. We have

MR. MAX: Is that the high school level or --

and we don't have anything that's all black or all white. We just agree among ourselves and set that as an institutional goal that we never have anything that's totally one race or the other, because that tends to feed into exclusiveness and so on.

Now, we're having some difficulty with basketball but we keep trying.

MS. WELLS: I just wanted to comment, it's just been my observation over a number of years that when the ratio between say black and white, if it's a small percentage of whites and a larger percentage of blacks, there usually -- there are few problems and vice versa. But when the percentage increases, almost 50-50 or like you said, 35-65, it appears that there is more -- there are more problems, more competition for the same kinds of things and that sort of thing. I don't want to be negative but that is something that appears to be the problem, when the percentages are almost equal or nearing that.

DR. BROWN: Well, as an administrator I think the philosophy of your administration is extremely important and if I were at a school where it was let's say 90 percent African American and ten percent white, I would have an obligation to serve that majority well but also make sure that my ten percent white students have a

fair and a decent opportunity that they can exist in peace and they be included.

MS. WELLS: And that's what is usually found, exactly that. And vice versa.

DR. BROWN: So again, I think the administration sets the tone. And I don't think it has much to do with buildings or even the amount of resources, it's how the administration sets the tone and go from there.

MR. MAX: Thanks very much. We really appreciate it.

Before we take our break, Ms. Weeks, did you have an additional comment to make?

MS. WEEKS: Yes.

MR. MAX: We wanted to give you that opportunity.

MS. WEEKS: I want to mention one thing to you all. When you cut short testimony, you leave out something important and I want to make one comment.

MR. MAX: Go right ahead.

MS. WEEKS: We almost got to it and then we digressed and I'm sorry. There was included in your mail-out packet a bill that was passed this past legislative session about the status of minorities about Indians and the scheme of minority status in the State

of Alabama, and I wanted to tell you that I have two concerns.

One is that in your draft legislation if you use the word "minority", please Lord, define it. Let me tell you what has happened and why that bill was necessary that it be passed, because I am sure that you are all innately curious about it.

MR. MAX: Yes.

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MS. WEEKS: In Alabama, because of the lawsuits in the past that were to remedy situations that were brought to the floor by the black community -- we are very beholding to black people for sensitizing this area for the need for this kind of legislation. But when those suits were brought, the court remedies that were issued were issued for black only remedies, which has caused the following to occur:

In the State of Alabama's hiring practices when the lawsuits were brought and the remedy was sought for state hiring practices, it is true now that blacks get preferential treatment, not minorities. It doesn't do anybody any good to put American Indian, although it is clearly shown on a state hiring employment application. It is also true and it may have been remedied -- I have not checked it this year -- because they promised me they would do it -- they used to only count in the

secretary of state's office -- you remember I testified to that once before this body -- that the only people of color they tracked on the voter registrations in Alabama because again of court orders that they kept them -- and they only counted black citizens to see how many people of color were registered. All others were presumed white.

Okay. I once sat in a courtroom in Montgomery, Alabama, three years ago and saw a federal judge lean across a table because Indians had co-joined in a black lawsuit about a school board problem and he said, "Where have you Indians been?" And the chairman -- the Choctaw chairman said, "Sir, we've always been there, we've always lived there." I mean, you know, he didn't know why this man didn't know, you know. I mean, it was really strange.

But the other thing is that we find -- let me just tell you one other thing that has started.

Recently I get complaints now from -- and if we had such a commission as you are addressing, even unto the local extensions we would have this remedy -- I get -- there is a thing around called majority to minority transfer, and it has to do with schools. And it means that in a significantly majority, say an all white school, if a child of color wished to transfer, she would be allowed

to transfer into the white system.

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What happens then is that when an Indian transfers, what we have found out is, that the schools have taken this because even though it calls it a minority transfer right, it is implemented black only.

See, to me that's wrongful even for black people. I mean, that makes you all that tries, you know, make you all seem like you're going for something that you're not. I mean, you all just want the system cleaned up, unless I'm badly misinformed. Okay.

So what I am saying is that what we had to do was -- and I will tell you that the first bill we drafted at the commission and the intertribal council for this bill that you saw that has been passed and signed into law, we were -- I don't want to use the word threatened -- we were advised by the state personnel director that if we put that bill in, they would fight us, because it would disturb their already in-place planning -- we're talking about quotas here, okay. We're back to that again. And I understand -- but I did want you to understand the necessity for that and that in this time frame, you know, we've come a long way but we haven't come as far as we need to be. And in order to try to help our folks, we felt like this was an appropriate remedy, and I asked for this extra time, and | I thank you.

I have another appointment and I was trying to rearrange it when she came and got me, but I did that want that entered into the record so that you would understand about that and understand that there was a significant need for that.

So my comment then further from that is on the draft bill. If you use the word and verbiage "minority", please Lord, please define it to include all persons that need to be under that banner and do not allow people to segment us further and punish us further and penalize us further than what we've already been.

Thank you, ladies and gentlemen.

MR. MAX: Thank you very much for your additional comments. All right, we're -- yes, Dr. Brown?

DR. BROWN: It seems to be a morning for additional comments but I think it will take me about 60 seconds.

I understand the necessity of a compliance organization. What I would hope though is that as you develop a human relations commission that you also develop the advocacy part of human relations, and this is the example I'd like to cite.

I believe there are many presidents -- I

believe there are many heads or superintendents who would like to have some assistance in trying to deal with human relations problems. Right now they don't have anywhere to turn to.

I would hope the human relations commission perhaps in a year could set up workshops or opportunities to deal with typical problems at the university setting and bring in presidents, bring in university administrators so that there could be some insight.

And it's like medicine, I think prevention is much more important than cure. So as you think about the human relations commission, I hope it will have that kind of advocacy function also.

Thank you.

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MR. MAX: Very good. Thank you for the additional comments.

At this time we're going to take a quick break and then we'll go into our second phase of the morning.

(Break.)

MR. MAX: Next is Mary Jones from the City of Birmingham. Mary, we're glad to have you with us this morning. I want to say this about Mary, I've been working with Mary for the past six or seven years now.

She has made us very cognizant of the place of women in

our society. Just the nuances that we don't normally think about, Mary makes you think about, and I appreciate that, Mary, I really do.

MS. JONES: Thank you, Rod.

MR. MAX: Mary is here representing the City of Birmingham, who happens to have a commission on the status of women, and Mary heads that up and we look forward to your comments this morning.

MS. SHUMAKER: And she has a beautiful collection of buttons that I just had fun reading.

MR. MAX: Every time we see her -- she has new bùttons every day.

MS. JONES: But now you didn't tell them what you guys did on was it last Saturday, of the men in blue? Can you believe they stood there and looked at all those women out there with blue uniforms on and said we are so proud of the men in blue.

MS. SHUMAKER: So these men in blue --

MS. JONES: The police. Thank you very much for inviting us and for convening this group and your efforts to bring a human rights commission to the State of Alabama.

America's future will depend in part on how well we as a people seek ways to better understand, communicate and respect each other's culture and

heritages. We have reached a point in history where we cannot continue to deny the problems of racial hatred.

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According to one writer, true harmony and peace comes from clear, open, honest and shared responsibilities. At no time in our history has there been a more appropriate time than now to seek to establish a human rights commission for this state.

In the wake of Los Angeles, thoughtful and fair-minded Americans demonstrated a willingness to revisit their whole concept of equal opportunity of fair employment and promotion, color-blind justice, equal access to resources and the whole kit and caboodle of what it means to be an un-hyphenated American in this land of the free and home of the brave.

As dark and tragic and Los Angeles was, it carried with it the potential for this nation to achieve what it has never been successful at doing, putting its sorted past behind it and to bring its deeds into proper conformity with its theories of fair play and equal opportunity.

This awareness is lost evidence in Alabama, perhaps even more so Alabama's painful history of race relations.

The State of Alabama is yet burdened by a disturbing history as a place where certain segments of

its population have never been heiress to the great constitutional guarantees set forth over 200 years ago. The image of the Scottsboro boy still lingers in the minds and idle in the psyche of too many people nationwide and here in our state.

The strutting and deviant utterance of George Wallace nearly four decades ago are still a burden of current Alabamians to shoulder.

Despite the success of Birmingham demonstration, the Montgomery bus boycott, and the voters' rights march from Selma to Montgomery, too many Alabamians are still viewed as the last bastion of racial insensitivity. The Shoal Creek controversy of a few years back served to add to our reputation as an unyielded people to the realities of our national concept of one nation under God.

Fairness demands that I point out that our state has made enormous strides towards meetings its obligation under the Constitution of this land in the area of equal opportunity and basic fairness. Much has changed since the days when our state and its people were painted with the broad brush as being backward, ugly Americans.

While the City of Birmingham by any fair measuring instrument would have to be a city that has

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experienced some progressive growth, ironically much of the negative finger pointing being done by those who live outside of our state comes from sources that are in many cases without themselves enjoying a silent, pure reputation for having scaled the awesome mountain of fair play.

Gender, race, religion, age and other forms of discrimination are rampant in many of these rather self-righteous places. Put another way, our critics frequently live in glass houses. But this reality cannot be a reason for us in Alabama to ignore our responsibility for making progress in the realm of human rights. We must now be affirmative. We must set about the business of setting upright longstanding wrongs and under achievements of the sort that an Alabama human relations commission will systematically address for the common good of all people.

After all, when equal opportunity is denied, all Alabamians suffer. We don't enjoy the fruits of human resources from all segments of this state's population.

Such a condition dashes hope, breeds discontent, dampens the human spirit and invites poverty and reduced quality of life for all of us.

A human relations commission makes sense. The



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time is now. I call upon the governor of this state, legislators, various business interest groups, and the people of Alabama to get behind this idea and propel it to completion by adopting such a vehicle now. It would not be very costly. It is the fair thing to do. Such an agency, when established, would be a progressive step for our people. It will express our collective intent to come to terms with out past even if we take steps that will ensure a more productive future for all Alabamians. This commission's greatest asset would be its attempt to bring to bear the common might of goodwill on problems that have long held us back, that have long startled our economy and made life unbearable for a number of persons who call this special place in our country home.

The basic tool of conciliation is a powerful one. We are a religious people. Surely we can reason together. A human relations commission will address many of the historic problems that beset us all. We care and we must bring ourselves to the point where we are willing to do the right thing at the right time for all of the right reasons. It is our responsibility to seize this opportunity to do justice for our children and their children. We must stand shoulder to shoulder with each other. We must make the turn and face each

other and when we do, remember that we are heart to heart and head to head. We can bring about the changes that are needed to put in place a human relations commission for the people of the State of Alabama.

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And just to make some passing notes, in some of my work I just recently had an opportunity to meet with some people that I think we need -- or hope that this commission would be able to help us to focus on when there's money that come into this state, that we be concerned and conscious about how it is distributed.

For example, just recently we got a grant -- a large grant with some 50 jobs and people in our community in the intercity are not a part of that, got no jobs out of it, and I think we really got to seriously look at that. We got to make people conscious that when you go out and study people, they are fully aware or educated enough at this point, if they do nothing but read the paper or watch television, that they know what's happening to them and that they expect something -- some return on that. They expect something out of that. They expect some input into that.

And it's just really got me at a point where -- and I've told the mayor about this and I hope he will do something -- but you who are looking at this problem hopefully will help those people who will be in the

position to do something about it and it's something -I'm very concerned about it because when you study -that is very serious.

MR. MUNCHUS: Can you give us specifics on the incident? I know what you're talking about but I think it's important for that to be on the record

MS. JONES: The State of Alabama through I think the health department got a rotor grant on Healthy Start Initiative. There are some \$5.5 million that come into this state. I'm not sure how much Jefferson County will get out of that, but we did get 50 jobs out of it in addition to the funding.

There were a number of people at the meeting yesterday from the various neighborhoods who were saying that if we do nothing at this point but cut off where that money is coming from, and I think that would be even worse to have that happen, but that is the kind of information that we got in the meeting yesterday.

When you look at violence and address it to the intercity and not realizing that is a serious problem for this community, for our people who have been without jobs, have been -- see their uncles and aunts without jobs, who have degrees of all kinds, many kinds, and just address that to us, the black community. And then we get into the meetings and some of that money's got to

go to other places. We need to know that. We need to talk about this in the particular meetings when we are making these decisions. We got to do that because not to continue to separate us, even when you want to address the hurt that comes to us, is indifferent in my opinion.

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MR. MAX: Mary, we appreciate your comments. Let me ask you this, you have a unique position that we haven't heard before by this panel. There's not one state agency, not one county agency, not one city agency that I know of other than the City of Birmingham that has a commission on the status of women. Now, we're talking about a human relations commission here, and isn't it interesting that the City of Birmingham has chosen as to one section — that is women — to establish a commission so that the rights of gender are — Mary is a great spokesperson for that, but I guess, Mary, let me ask you this. Do you find around the state, is there any similar type agency in any other city, local, county government to yours?

MS. JONES: No, there isn't, not to be funded. There is a state commission which was set up back in the Kennedy era in the 60's. As most of us know, some of those state commissions, when the Reagan administration came into office, were disbanded. Some of them have

gone back and done some fund raising and put themselves back in position.

Here in Alabama we do have a state commission. but it does not function as such as the Birmingham one. It is funded in terms of I think office space and a telephone. I don't know -- and we have attempted to do some work with them, but it's hard to get people whose ideology is different in terms of how you look at issues that affect women in their families. And the women are stationed in terms of say cities like Gadsden across the state, and when they get together -- so they have to come to Montgomery or one position.

At least here in Birmingham we as a group are funded through the mayor's office to address those issues and to try to bring about changes as they exist and focus on them.

There is a women's commission in Tuscaloosa, but they are not funded so thereby they have no monies to do what it is that we have attempted to do. At least, you know, the mayor puts so much money there and yet if we go over that in terms of trying to do programs, we can go back to him and say we need more funds and he's been generous enough to do that.

MR. MAX: Freddi?

MS. ARONOV-HEILPERN: What is the name of the

state group that you referred to?

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MS. JONES: It's the Alabama State Women's
Commission. You have to know that those positions are
appointed by the governor so when there was a change,
there was a change -- I mean, a change. The last annual
conference, the National Association of Commission Women
-- this year they will meet in Indiana -- there were two
people from that commission and I attempted again at
that time to say that when you do programs or if you do
programs, it is possible for us to not just lend
resources or in kind contributions, but we could do some
monies in terms of helping you with that. But that was
just to say okay, we will get in touch with you and
nothing from that point.

And I think the only thing that they do each year is they do a public hearing where they invite women to come in and testify and that's all I know. I don't know if there's anything that ever come out of that information.

MR. MAX: Any questions from the panel?

MR. MUNCHUS: I had one, Mary. From the

position of being a women and being both an African

American, does that cut twice as bad or twice as good

MS. JONES: Even at City Hall it cuts twice.

MR. MUNCHUS: Because I wonder, when we set up

this commission, there's been some discussion of the use of the word gender versus the word sex. Do you see where either of the two would make any difference or is there one that you think some women are more comfortable with than others, since there certainly needs to be some voice --

MS. JONES: I think that it depends on who it is that's using the term and how it's used and some people are more comfortable with one or the other. I don't get so wrapped up in the terminology as I would in terms of getting the work done. I do, as Rodney said, when blatantly or unconsciously the term is being used, and I've had people to say to me that I maybe shouldn't be so assertive or intent on that. But I think that is part of my job to do that, to remind persons when those kinds of things are incorrectly done.

MR. MAX: Very good. Mary, thank you very much for taking the time to join us. We now have with us Reverend Abraham Woods. I'd like to invite him to approach the podium and I want to say this as he -- I'm sorry, Charlena?

MS. BRAY: I'm sorry, George Perdue was here.

Did you --

MR. MAX: Yes, I did. As a matter of fact, let me just give you the agenda. I will be Reverend Woods,

Representative Perdue, then Leslie Proll. The governor's office has also been invited as the last position but -- and if they appear, then we'll hear from them. And Robert Avery has mentioned that he'd like to -- and we have opened up the agenda for him, as well.

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Before you begin, Reverend Woods, I'd like to say this on the record. Reverend Woods has worked in the area of civil rights going back to the early 60's and probably before. He stood with Martin Luther King. He stood with thousand of blacks as they went through the 60's, leading the black community not only in Birmingham but throughout Alabama. He's taken a lot of heat for his leadership and been by himself at that podium and other podiums many times in the past.

The events of recent weeks has brought Reverend Woods to that podium again, but due to his leadership, and I will say it again, due to his leadership there were with him at the podium a lot of other people that joined him over the last six weeks as we head to fight the incident of the homeless black individual who was killed by the hate -- by some hate group or allegedly by some hate group.

And it was through his diplomacy, through his community involvement that he was able to help bring that coalition together, and I want to thank you

personally not only on my own behalf and on behalf of CAC but on behalf of the City of Birmingham for your leadership in that effort.

And with that, I'll turn the program over to you.

MR. WOODS: Thank you so much, Brother Max, Honorable Chairperson, this advisory board of the commission, civil rights commission, all of the honorable members.

I think maybe I should say this at this point, that it was worth my while coming to hear Rod say that about me.

Let me say this, that I think our city and our state and our nation has a right to be proud of the stance that Rodney Max has taken in this city. For a long time I've looked for some white citizen to come forward and who is willing to take the heat. He's already gotten some threats. Welcome to him to the family.

That's just the beginning, and I've said to him who knoweth that he has come to the -- well, he has come to the kingdom for such a time as this. And I certainly have to credit him with certainly doing a whole lot of the work to help pull the white community together, persons in the white community, organizations in the

white community, that have not had a reputation for marching or demonstrating. They've been good at dialogueing and that sort of thing, but it's sort of a revolution for some of the groups that have come out to march and to demonstrate. And I'm excited about it and I want you to know that you have on this commission, this advisory commission a man who is trying to make a difference here in the City of Birmingham and in the state, and I want you to know that because it must be done in black and white, as we've sing our civil rights anthem, our civil rights marching song, "We Shall Overcome".

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And one very important part of that song is black and white together. So I'm now happy to have a black brother, a white brother, who can stand and who gets some of the threats and get talked about. Maybe I won't be talked about as grand.

It is true that I have been in the civil rights struggle for a number of years, goes back to the 1950's. And I'm sure you're well aware of what has transpired in the City of Birmingham.

You know that Birmingham has come a long ways from Bombingham to Birmingham and from what we might say a tragic city to having a great potential now to be indeed a magic city. And, of course, during the 60's

Birmingham experienced birth pains and the agony and all of the suffering that went with it, but out of all of that struggle I think that a new Birmingham was being born.

Birmingham is a long ways from being what it ought to be. I don't want anybody to get the impression that I'm satisfied with it but we have the great potential. And, of course, some of the old problems are still with us. Racism is still with us and certain of the symptoms of that terrible condition that's been called an American dilemma. And, of course, we still see expressions of it.

When we look at police brutality, police brutality used to be rampant in the City of Birmingham. And my voice was one which was raised against it, against the mistreatment of citizens by law enforcement offices who hit behind the suit and the badge and took advantage of citizens, brutality and also needless and senseless shootings of citizens. Many citizens died in Birmingham, Alabama.

But, of course, with the coming of our new mayor and you must know that the first African American mayor got to be mayor because African American people were galvanized together in this community by an act, a senseless act of a policeman shooting an innocent girl

in the back, Bonita Carter. Bonita Carter's situation is well known, I'm sure.

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And, of course, we have a police shooting policy here, and of course we have had the kind of leadership now that has gone far in dealing with police brutality. All of it has not been wiped out but we're happy that we've come this far.

We're still having incidents in various places. Not too long ago on the highway a young man who had mental problems was shot down by the police on the highway. I understand that nothing was done about that officer. The grand jury did not indict him. I understand now that he's gotten into some more trouble and that they have taken him off the force in order to investigate the latest situation. I'm not sure what that's all about.

And I say that for this reason, because when I go back to the Bonita Carter situation, I know I must hurry -- you have other people here -- that Officer Sands, who shot Bonita Carter, we couldn't get him off the force until he got into something else. And he beat up a police officer and beat up his ex-wife, and they finally kicked him off the force, but we tried to get him off.

I think that Los Angeles has certainly put this

situation of police brutality and brought it to the public consciousness. And when I was talking about it, people were calling me a loud mouth and saying that I didn't know what I was talking about and that I ought to shut my mouth.

But police brutality is a real thing and it is not altogether been wiped out. In fact, it's sad that the song that the governor is concerned about -- I forget the fellow's name -- what's the fellow's name --

MR. MUNCHUS: Iced Tea.

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MR. WOODS: Iced Tea, that wrote this thing. And that sort of things if regrettable but that kind of attitude has been engendered because of the kind of treatment that some policemen who are misfits on the force have certainly created, you see. It's reality. It's certainly reality. I told somebody, that's not the first time I heard that. A lot of people think that. Some decent folk, well-meaning people think that. I'm not saying Iced Tea is not decent. I feel sure they are, but sometimes when we come to instances of police brutality, people become outraged and they express thoughts and their ideas and personally, but what Iced Tea is talking about is not original with Iced Tea. But it comes from people who sees no hope, people who are desperate on the verge of despair and come from people

where black rage has really escalated and it's sort of like what happens when a dream is deferred, you see, and that sort of thing.

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And though we do not condone the violence that they're talking about, I can understand -- I can understand the situation out of which it comes. That sort of thing and Sister Souljan doing that sort of thing -- it's all important that we get on with the business of dealing with racism and discrimination and all of these things that a human rights commission can deal with.

But I want to tell you that I'm in favor of a human rights commission. But I have some -- I have some hesitations. I have some reluctance about it.

And, of course, maybe I am not enlightened enough about all of the success stories that have happened throughout the nation. My concerns, of course -- I read some information that I was sent relative to the Missouri Human Relations Commission and the Nebraska Human Relations Commission.

Of course, we note that in Missouri their population -- black population is about I believe ten percent. And, of course, in Nebraska I guess somewhere around four or five percent. And of course, I had hoped that I could check on some civil rights commission where

the minority population was much larger to see how things had worked there.

But I imagine that they go just about in the same trend. The thing that bothers me is there a will in the State of Alabama to make a human relations commission work? And that's very serious because we can establish a human relations commission and yet if the will is not there, then it's going to be another organization and instead of being a part of the solution, it is going to become a part of the problem, because people look to it for hope. When they look to it for solutions and remedies and there are none —— and I was very concerned about what my civil rights peers said about a human relations commission.

And I took note of what was said about the human relations commission in Missouri. Clever, who is the mayor, Honorable Clever now is a national board member of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and we served on that board for a number of years together. And he's a man whose opinion I respect and certainly he's a man who is committed to do what he can and to help his state and his city prosper.

Now, I'm very disturbed. I'm very disturbed about some of the things that I read there, notwithstanding the funding. And, of course, in the

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State of Alabama you know the sad condition of funding that we're in now. Our schools in proration and all of that kind of thing, and if we had a human rights commission and that was not a will and, of course, they're going to be these opposing forces with our state being what it is.

And this thing will get caught in the legislature and that sort of thing. And it's not going to have adequate funding, you see. And that's a real concern is will Alabama commit itself to funding adequately a human rights commission. Now that is very, very important.

I would not like to see us just have it in name, have it ceremoniously so to say that we no longer are part of the other states that don't have it, we got it too. And yet it is without substance, you see. We don't need a human rights commission like that.

I think there must be a commitment that the state is going to adequately fund. And then when we talk about the will, we talk about staff -- it has to be adequately staffed and of course that comes from funding. And it has to be a staff by people who are committed and no organization, no body, no group is going to be in any better than the people who make up -- and that's a concern of mine too, you see.

There's a lot of talk about state's rights and I guess the new federalism and I guess that's a part of the new federalism, but I'm sort of frightened by that because when you talk about state's rights for a long time -- well, all the time, state's rights for minority people have been state wrongs. And I have some fear about that, you see.

And, of course, the other concern I have here is of course if you've got adequate funding, you've got staff. I noted that it took so long to process cases, you see. We see that -- we're not too satisfied that with the EEOC, and that's one criticism I have to make of the EEOC. It just takes so long to process cases so often. I think they're doing better now than they used to do.

And, of course, the fact that when the remedies are forthcoming, will this human rights commission have the necessary clout? We don't need anything that's not going to have clout in that realm. And I certainly could not support anything that's not going to have clout, that sort of advisory and recommending, this and that and the other. We'd be better off not having it and just take the routes that we've taken already, you see.

So we need a civil rights, a human rights

commission, but we need one that is going to be viable.

And I guess that's what I'm saying. Having the other kind, it frightens me and I think it would add to the problem instead of being a part of the solution.

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So I hope the time is right in the State of Alabama, and sometimes -- I know we need it but yet with the insurgence of hate groups, Skinheads and the conservative climate in our state as we find throughout our country, I sometimes wonder can those kind of bodies really work? They get tied up in politics and that sort of thing.

And so I want it but I have mixed feelings about it. I guess I shouldn't tell this joke though.

Is it all right to tell the commission a joke?

MR. MUNCHUS: Oh, yeah.

MR. WOODS: This fellow had bought him a new Cadillac car and his mother-in-law wanted to drive it. So he reluctantly let his mother-in-law drive his new Cadillac car. And unfortunately she had an accident and tragically the mother-in-law was laid up in the hospital. And when they told the son-in-law he had mixed feelings about it. He was glad that his mother-in-law didn't get killed, but he was upset that his new Cadillac was wrecked.

So knowing that you have other persons to come

-- I think maybe I should end this and maybe that was no in good taste and these ladies are going to get me.

Gentlemen, I guess I'll just close since you have other people but I could say a whole lot more, but basically those are my concerns. If you have any questions?

MR. MAX: Go ahead, Annie.

MS. WELLS: I have a question. You mentioned it must have clout, the agency or the commission. And I was wondering if good law, a good piece of legislation with enforcement clauses in it, would that give the agency the kind of clout that you're talking about?

MR. WOODS: Yeah. It must have legislative sanction of that kind of clout and, of course, if that can be forthcoming from the Alabama legislature, frankly to tell you the truth that indeed would be a revolution. And I hope that that would happen, I hope that would happen.

establishes a human rights commission, that's a step in the right direction, in the direction that we ought to go. And if they go far enough to make it viable, then a revolution will have taken place in the State of Alabama, you see, and certainly if it is supported and backed up, you see, it can become a step-child. You

see, a step-child kind of situation, you see.

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MS. WELLS: One person yesterday mentioned that their commission was sort of -- well, we work for the state kind of thing, and with that ownership -- including, they feel like they own it in some respect, that might also give it the clout that we want?

MR. WOODS: Okay. That it's owned by the state?

MS. WELLS: In a sense that it is endorsed --

MR. WOODS: Yes, it has to be endorsed. That's what I'm talking about, the will, you know, the will here. And that concerns me too, you see, whether there is the will, you see. And, of course, we can establish something with half-heartily, you see. And you know what happens when that takes place. And maybe you say that's a step in the right direction, we must get in the door, and we must get this thing established and then we must work on it over a period of time. I can understand that.

But what I'm saying to you is that we're at a point in our time when there's a lot of rage out there. People are not going to wait forever.

MR. MUNCHUS: Could I ask one little question?

MR. MAX: Sure, and then Charlena.

MR. MUNCHUS: Reverend Woods, I know that this

current governor says he's a minister, and I don't want to pass judgment on what someone says they are. He says he's a minister -- now Revered John Nettles, who is a man of the cloth, was appointed to the pardon and paroles board -- this is a black man, a SCLC man, a real human rights activist -- by this governor. So apparently there is some relationship between Guy Hunt, John Nettles and Abraham Woods.

Now, this is a real important issue and I know a lot of people contend religion and politics don't mix, but we're going to need some real help with this governor. I'm talking about some real help and I'm not going to get into a no leviticus and exodus in the -- I'm not going to get into that. But for some reason John Nettles and Guy Hunt seem to have some kind of special relationship.

I have my own ideas as to what it is, but what I want to know, what can we do -- what can you do to help us on this incident, because a lot of people have written Guy Hunt off? And Guy's going to write some people -- what can you do help us, because it's going to be a real political battle? And I know a lot of folks say if the governor pushes it, it's dead. And I know if Albert Holmes pushes it, it's dead.

But can you give us some little insights

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briefly on how you see what the religious community, the SCLC can do with this governor, since you have had some dealings with him, I know? You may not want to talk about it but I believe you know Guy Hunt.

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MR. WOODS: Well, Brother Munchus, a lot of people call me with a lot of problems and some of the folks think I can perform miracles, and I see that you're one of those.

Let me say this, that John Nettles is a close friend of mine. We work together for a long time in the civil rights struggle. And I have the greatest respect for John. John has had some influence with the governor.

Frankly, to tell you the truth, I had never been invited to the governor's mansion to eat until Governor Guy Hunt became governor. And I know that was because of the influence of John Nettles. And, of course, for several times I was invited to the governor's mansion for some activity. Never was invited during other administrations, invited to the capital and that sort of thing.

And frankly, to tell you the truth, when Governor Guy Hunt became governor, the first republican governor since just after reconstruction, I believe, I was sort of up in arms like a whole lot of other people

were.

But frankly, to tell you the truth, as governors of Alabama go, I decided at some point that he had not been so bad, you see. Now, getting him to go along with this -- I'm sure that John Nettles would support and does support a human rights commission.

And, of course, I'll talk with John and see whether John's got any more influence left with the governor. He had such a time about his preaching flights, you know, what not. So I don't know just what kind of mood he would be in, but I certainly will do what I can in talking with John, who is certainly -- and the governor appreciates John, you know, because I have to give the governor credit. John Nettles is the state president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and he is also a regional vice president of the national.

And the governor was told by some other people around him, don't appoint John Nettles. And it took some courage on the part of the governor to do that.

And I respect the governor for doing that, and I'll do what I can to get John -- if John still has some influence in reserve with the governor. And whatever he can do -- and I'm sure that I'll be happy to do that.

MR. MAX: Charlena?

MS. BRAY: Yes. My question, Reverend Woods,

was along the same lines, except I wasn't going to personalize it, even though I certainly respect and understand that the Reverend Nettles is president of the state organization. I would also recognize that you're president of the local organization, so my question was what can or would SCLC do to ensure that a state-wide human relations commission is, you know, is legislatively implemented, the kind that you talk about, that it would be a real travesty of justice if we did not have it? Whatever it is is going to be a result of what the citizens of this community decide and demand and so I too am interested in just what role you would envision SCLC assuming in the process of making it happen?

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MR. WOODS: Well, certainly SCLC will take the position of it must be a viable human rights commission. And, of course, it's going to be a struggle to just get a human rights commission. And frankly, to tell you the truth, I don't know just how to think about what's going to be the outcome, because it's going to be a struggle just to get a human rights commission here in the State of Alabama.

There are going to be those who want to make all kinds of compromises with it and this sort of thing, and in the final analysis, what we might get might not

be anything that we want. And that's another frightening thing too, but SCLC is going to be pushing to try to get it and try to get a viable one.

And, of course, I don't know what will happen in the struggle. We might get to the point where forces which dominate want one which will not be the kind that will have clout, and then we'll have to, you know, we probably will oppose that, that sort of situation. But trying to get this baby born, you see, that is going to be the real problem. And getting him born where, with all of his faculties and that sort of thing, you see.

So we have a struggle, and I don't think any of you are naive enough to think that given the state legislature that we have and the kinds of minds and the political kinds of games that's played and the feelings that are in some parts of the state and all around, even in Birmingham, you see -- I mean, I didn't mention the fact that even in Birmingham I'm happy that Rod is doing what he's doing now.

And I just must mention this because it's always on my heart -- to see elected black officials saying aloud, you know. By the federal government, for selective prosecution, you see, and we still have this thing going on with the mayor. They're looking everywhere. They're still searching, seeming that they

don't have anything, but they're still searching and calling everybody with any kind of little business contact they had with the mayor, asking them this and that and about it, you see.

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So that kind of travesty of justice and that sort of thing -- I don't know whether civil rights, a human rights commission would be doing about that.

Maybe they won't even be involved in that sort of thing. I don't know. But there's a great -- that's a great need for it and I guess we're going to have to get to the battle and if we can't get one that's going to have clout, then I don't think we ought to have one at all. I imagine that I would be taking a stand if it's not going to be one that can get the job done.

Don't tease us, don't play with us, you see, because young blacks, they think I'm an awful thing now, you know.

MR. MUNCHUS: That's true, that's very true.

MR. WOODS: Up in Los Angeles, you know, they spoke out -- these preachers are not our leaders, we're our own leaders.

And I remember the time when the bunch said burn, baby, burn, black power, call Dr. King a chickeneating preacher, you see, and that sort of thing.

So things are getting tighter. The rages --

and we've got to do something and we've got to do something in a hurry. And it's no time for teasing people because they're not going to fall for that, you And let's not have something that's going to be a part of the problem and help slow up the wheels, you see, and this sort of thing. We've got to be sincere, committed, sort of human rights commission we get has got to be able to do the business.

MR. MAX: Reverend Woods, thank you very, very much.

MR. WOODS: Thank you so much for caring.

MR. MAX: Next we have on our agenda
Representative George Perdue. George has served in the
legislature for many years and has risen in the
leadership and hopefully he'll be able to give us some
guidance as to how to wrestle this animal. George, good
seeing you this morning.

MR. PERDUE: Thank you. Honorable Chairman, Mr. Melvin Jenkins, and to the members of the advisory committee on the U. S. Commission of Civil Rights, to my friends who I recognize, my cohorts, George Munchus and Charlena, it's a pleasure for me to be here I thought.

I wish I had had the opportunity to hear more persons testify, as I have heard Dr. Reverend Abraham Woods and Ms. Mary Jones.

It has given me some perspective in terms of what I should say as opposed to what I had planned to say, and so consequently I have made a few changes. I want to be brief because I now brevity is generally not a long suit of mine, and most legislators have a problem with brevity. But I'll try to be brief.

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I do share some of the concerns that were raised by Reverend Woods. As I read the documentation that was sent to me by Mr. Jenkins and had an opportunity to reflect on what's going on in the other areas of the country in regards to their commissions on civil rights, I had mixed emotions too, because I've been in the Alabama legislature now for nine years. That's three terms. I'm in my third term now.

And I've seen the legislative process. I still remain as cynical today as I was nine years ago about that process because it's neither logical or timely or efficient or productive. None of those apply to the Alabama legislature.

I say that not tongue in cheek. I say that because it's really a problem. I'm a mathematician and with an advanced degree in math, work with computers. I have over the years with IBM and I'm in my 20th year at UAB, and I work with computers and systems. And they're very logical.

What works in the Alabama legislature is not so much logic, not so much the merit of a bill, but who's behind it. I think that probably is true of most legislatures, be they local or national or international. It's not the merit of an issue. It's the timing and the will and the commitment of people.

And I happen to believe because of my training that most of the real work that moves organizations forward are top down in nature as opposed to bottom up. And in this state where we have lacked for so many years and as we lack today is leadership, leadership from the top.

And that leadership and, of course, I'm sure that most people will say I'm governor bashing, but I mean leadership across the board. I don't think we have effective leadership in either chamber. And I'm probably on tape, but that's all right too because I've said this before in the Alabama House of Representatives.

We need leadership in the legislative branch, in the House and in the Senate, along with the governor. So don't put all the blame on the governor, because there's enough blame to go around.

I've thought for example with a lame duck governor who cannot run again, that this would be his

finest hour, that he would be the statesman that he ought to be, that he could not be if he were running for re-election. Special interests would have no hold on him if he could not run again.

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Just recently, and I'm putting this in perspective in terms of what we have to do in regards to establishing this human rights commission in this state -- just recently when we tried to pass tax reform and education reform in this state, which we need to terribly bad, because we need additional revenues to fund our school systems. And we need to have some flexibility in the way we handle our finances and especially in economic downturn periods like we're having now.

We need to be able to have flexibility to do more for those agencies that need more. Yet over 90 percent of our money is earmarked, which gives no flexibility to state government.

We are in prorations in education. We are in proration. It's predicted that we'll be in proration in the state general fund to the tune of maybe two and a half percent.

So the governor who knows all of this is still protecting the land barons and those persons who have raped this state in terms of ad valorem taxes for so

many years which fund our educational system -- did not step forward with that kind of statesmanship that we thought we needed.

There again, we have what we call a state-wide committee or state-wide task force trying to deal with those issues of tax reform, equity in taxes, fairness in taxes, and how we're going to deal with our school system. That was a bottom up. That was a grass root type effort. That was a bottoms up approach.

It almost worked. We got further along in tax reform than even the tax reform members dreamed that we would have gotten, and we still failed. We failed at the eleventh hour on an issue having to do with apartment rental tax, whether or not we were going to tax the apartment people the same rate that we taxed other real estate people.

But that was not the reason it failed. That was only the last reason they gave that it failed, because they were last up to bat. That killed it, but prior to that, before the bills even came to the legislature, most of the other persons who wanted to be out of the system had talked themselves out of the tax package and they all said this is a good package.

\$50,000,000 here, \$50,000,000 there, taken off the table, different special interests, that's what

killed the tax reform. The tax reform was supposed to be somewhat tax neutral, but it could not be tax neutral in a poor state. We need money. It was supposed to have fairness, it did not have fairness.

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I say all that to say that we need leadership in this state. We need commitment as Reverend Woods has said. And I have my doubts about that. And I also believe that not just a commission to say we have one, as he has said before, because if we have a commission that has no clout, that does not have the right members on the commission in terms of representation, fairness, then we're going to have the fox guarding the henhouse, and you know what happens in that situation.

So I too share his concerns in regards to that. I also share concerns that were spoken earlier in regards to the new federalism that Ronald Reagan started that has been continued. It's like dumping -- it's really like dumping the burden on the states that were previously allotted to the federal government.

And then it does not -- with the funding, then you really have a problem, because if you're dumping those kinds of responsibilities at the state level without any money, and the state's already struggling to provide necessary and needed services, then you're really going to have an agency that has no clout, that

has no funding, that has no commitment, and it obviously would not work. That's the negative side.

In addition to that, I have served on various advisory councils for the governor. I've served on his task force for infant mortality, his task force dealing with child welfare, and also on the attorney general's task force having to do with AIDS and drug abuse.

We have made some very good recommendations in all of those task forces, and I've had the -- I guess I was really shocked and stunned on the child welfare advisory committee, we made such beautiful recommendations, talked about reducing the caseload. We talked about everything was scientifically done. And the governor, who presents a budget to the legislature, recommended none of those that we had worked on for more than a year and a half, 18 months or more. We had to struggle through the legislative process to get maybe a quarter of those recommendations or half of those recommendations, because with those recommendations came a need for funding.

If we talked about hiring some more people and training more people, we had to have the funds to do it. So the governor looked at the money part, not what the recommendations were in terms of how he was going to solve the problem, and had no recommendation in his

budget. We eventually got money but we didn't get it from the governor. And the governor was the one that had commissioned the task force.

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On the other hand, in terms of infant mortality, we were able to get some monies and we were able to move forward and we have moved forward in that area, notwithstanding the governor, who we had to take to court. I was one of a few who sued the governor to implement the programs that he said needed to be done. He was dragging his feet and every day he was dragging his feet another baby was dying in this state. And, of course, black babies twice as fast in this state to infant mortality than does the white population.

So I had a vested interest in that and I also had a preemie baby that was two pounds, two and a half ounces, about 15 years ago, and she was -- she could have been a statistic. She was not. She was fortunate. It wasn't due to poverty. It wasn't due to a lack of prenatal care, due to a lack of her early wanting to come into this world -- tried to reverse contractions through experimental procedures, which failed. And that little small baby just wanted to come anyway. But she survived that. But I was thinking about all the other babies in this state who didn't have the adequate prenatal care and the adequate resources to deal with

the medical environment.

I say all this to say and to put it in perspective that regardless of the motivation, regardless of the need, regardless of the logic, unless you have good people in key places, those who are responsible for example, committee chairs, to get the bill out of committee. Those who are on the rules committee, to make sure that that bill gets before the House for debate. And then those persons who would lobby their representatives and their senators to make sure that their representative will vote for it. All of that has to work together and then leadership from the governor to the speaker to the lieutenant governor.

That's how you get bills passed. There are times when certain organizations can be very effective and there are other times when other organizations would only complicate the issue.

In trying to wrap this up, because I know I don't have all the time I need, I want to respond to my fears, but I also want you to know that I have optimism. I do have optimism in regards to the possibility of passing such a statute.

For example, last year Senate Bill 93 by
Senator Corbett was passed, having to do with
affirmative action programs. I don't know if you have a

copy of that. You probably do. And when you read it, it does speak to the kinds of things that we are concerned about in terms of discrimination in employment and recruitment, selection of people, appointment, promotions, all those things that we look for in affirmative action programs. It was passed and it was signed by the governor.

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Here again, whether or not it's just there, and whether or not it's implemented, is where we come in because we have to first of all get it on the books. We have to get it statutorily on the books. Then you can exhaust the judicial process to make sure that those laws are implemented. If you never get those laws on the books, you have no standing. You have no court or precedence or whatever to try to make that effective.

So the first step is to get it on the books.

That had to do with minorities and, of course, they went ahead and defined minorities differently -- not differently but they wanted to be more inclusive, and I think the real amendment there had to do with adding American Indians and that type of thing into the law.

But parts of that affirmative action statement was already on the books. It's a matter of whether or not we enforced it.

Also we had the Alabama Fair Housing law which

you probably have seen in the documentation that was sent to me. It was passed in 1991. There's a statement on the policy of the state. It's in ADECA, the Alabama Department of Economic and Community Affairs. I personally feel that's the wrong place for it to be.

I don't know if anybody else has come before you and said that but that's the wrong place for it to be. It's political. The guy that chairs ADECA is an appointee of the governor, okay. I personally believe that if you're going to have a human relations act or commission or whatever in the state that it needs to be sound in terms of where it's placed. It needs to be non-political.

There's no way you're going to get politics out of it entirely, because for example, I would think that something like this should be -- there should be an act or some statutes that have to do with the attorney general's office. He needs an office of civil rights enforcement.

I talked to him this morning, and he said regardless of what you think and what is said, there is no office of civil rights enforcement in his office.

There is no office of enforcement dealing with environmental protection in his office, in the attorney general's office. There is no comprehensive kind of

state plan for human relations in the attorney general's office.

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He told me some two months ago, two and a half months ago, in a caucus meeting while he was trying to lobby for some bills that the governor was trying to defeat that he was going to do this kind of thing. I called him to find out is this your document. Well, I found out -- he says hell, no, I don't think so unless some of my people have put something together I don't know anything about. He said but that's what we need, give me a copy of it. I thought he already had a copy.

I don't know the origination of this, Mr. . Jenkins.

MR. JENKINS: It's from us.

MR. PERDUE: As I read the document, it does purport to have the kinds of things that parallel the federal government stipulations and what they want to do and how they want to enforce things, and I think that's the way it should be done, to provide for continuity, clarity. People are already familiar somewhat with what that's all about. We have to do education, you know, whatever we do in this commission, we have to educate people. It's no good to have something on the books and nobody knows anything about it. That's the way to keep people really down-trodden. You give them an act and

nobody knows about it.

The same thing happened with the food stamp program, the welfare program, Medicaid program, you know, infant mortality program dealing with the waivers and all. Nobody knew about it. Until we put some clout and some teeth in those amendments -- and I did have something to do with it -- as a matter of fact, I was the original writer of the amendment that put us on the map as far as infant mortality and providing for pregnant women and children.

And in that act we put in some programmatic type things, intent of the legislature, which was illegal to do in the budget, put it in the budget. And they said it was unconstitutional. We put it in anyway. It stayed in for two years and as soon as we got a new commissioner of medicaid and we got the state health officer working together with the medicaid commissioner and also working together with mental health and mental retardation, after we put that language in to make them work together, once they started working together, we took the language out. If need be, we will put it back in, because it really and truly was a question of constitutionality as to how you can legislate stuff in the budget. But we limelighted them and we made sure that the money went to the right place.

That's the kind of thing that you need to do.

You need to have much writing about legislative intent.

There needs to be joint resolutions, along with

statutory type things, to make sure that it's the intent

of the legislature with the concurrence of the governor

that all these things be done and all that kind of

legislature stuff being done in order to make this work.

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And then, as I talked to some people earlier about another issue, you have got to stay on the case. Just because you win the battle today doesn't mean you're going to be at the same place tomorrow.

So don't blame the legislature when we put acts in there and they're not implemented. The people have to make sure. It works hand in hand. And in every instance where there's a statute that's not being enforced, we need the general population to test it, to work with the various organizations to make sure that we are ever vigilant, to make sure that these things do happen.

We are seeing the effects of the civil rights movement today, 20, 30 years later, 25, 30 years later. We're seeing things eroded but we have got to stay on the case. It doesn't do any good to put an act on the book and then let it just deteriorate to a point where you have to start all over again.

There's a lot more I can say. There's a lot more I want to say, but I have a one o'clock meeting, first of all, across town and I haven't had lunch.

That's probably the only reason I won't talk any more.

But I feel very encouraged.

I want to thank each of you for taking time out in your busy activities, daily activities, to do this.

MR. MUNCHUS: Could you just answer one question before you go, George?

MR. PERDUE: Yes.

MR. MAX: Two or three, but in any event, go ahead.

MR. MUNCHUS: Do we need to stay away from these lobbyists? How do you honestly feel about these lobbyists? I mean, I'm talking about the money people, the bag people?

MR. PERDUE: Well, you're talking about in general. Now, let me just say this to you. You've got to understand the makeup of the Alabama legislature.

Now, I don't know about the other legislatures. We have no administrative assistance. We have no help.

If you listen to both sides, you listen to a lobby on the issue on this side of the issue, on that side of the issue, you've probably got the best information you can get.

The problem is when you listen to only one side, and that person is paid to know all there is to know about that issue. You need to look at both. That's our administrative assistance, because we are not willing -- the people, they're not willing to put the resource and the money into making better law makers. And as long as we do that, as long as we take a person that doesn't have any other way of making a living, unless it's a business person or lawyer, whatever, that's already got it made at home, and you send a guy down there and you pay him -- they were paying 20,000, now I think it's 30,000 -- 30,600 or something like that -- whatever the amount is, when you take his expenses, his or her expenses, and all the things attending to their office, that person is going down there for 14,000 and \$15,000 a year.

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Now, you're going to send somebody in that environment and you turn them loose to a lobbyist whose got deep pockets, okay. You've got a problem. So do you listen to a lobbyist? Yes. If you're going to be a good legislator, you have to listen to everybody. You don't close anybody out, because that guy over here that you think is your friend telling you the merits of the bill, he's not going to tell you about the demerits of the bill.

And how am I going to look at two or three thousand bills a session without legislative help? It's impossible.

MR. MAX: Great.

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MR. PERDUE: I hope I answered your question.

MS. ARONOV-HEILPERN: Is your suggestion at the point when it's appropriate to ask for it to be aligned or that it should be introduced and the intent that it would be funded as a line item?

MR. PERDUE: We create commissions all the time in the Alabama House. If you would just look at the budget, you know, we create commissions all the time, 200,000 here, 500,000 there, 800,000 here. You know, for all of the work that they need to do. But we need people that are merit people. We need good people. We need training for those people. We need an outreach type effort as far as education. We need the entire commission that is not just an ad hoc, okay.

And it's got to be a line. It's got to be a line in the budget. I think it needs to be put in the attorney general's enforcement area, attorney general's office. That's political because you have different attorney generals and they have different agendas, but if you put it in statutorily that he must do this, and then you put the people in there who are trained to do

it, then it would survive whatever attorney general you have. But if you put it in there under the governor's cabinet personally, then it can just do away with that.

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MR. MAX: Charlena, did you have a question?

MS. BRAY: I think I hear you. I will make sure though. The whole issue of money, I mean that's just a -- it's the other side of it. You get it and then you've got to have the support for it. But am I correct I'm hearing you say that -- we as a state formed commission, we form whatever, and provide those dollars, and as we try to seek dollars just for a startup, you know, we are not talking about a lot of money, you know, in the scheme of things, a half million dollars or so is not a lot of money.

MR. PERDUE: That's correct and that's why I'm a bit more optimistic as I look at it, as I look at the good side and the bad side, and the commitment and the way this state has been historically, you know, that gives me -- I'm really discouraged when I look at what the state has been and what it is now. It doesn't look good.

But I think with the right combination of work and of people that we can do it. And I'm encouraged when I talk to the attorney general, for example. I'm encouraged when I talk to the black caucus that would

say this is an issue that we need to be working on.

There are 19 of us in the House and there's five in the Senate, and what we can do -- what we have been able to do recently -- incidentally, I've been on the chair for two years -- but I have some goals and some measurable goals and I think the membership is beginning to realize that we can zero in on some things and we can have some measurable goals and we can accomplish some things if we leverage.

Now, we're going to know what they want. When I say they and when I mean they, I mean the leadership. And the leadership knows it's looking at 19 members here, which we can leverage with some other members who want something else. And it may not be our fight, but we did it recently. We were in a fight that was not our fight. And we said okay, we'll stick with you if you stick with us.

There are all kinds of issues that have to do with constitutionality, which means you've got to get 63 out of 105 constitutional votes. All you have to do on an issue like that, that everybody wants, is to make sure that it does not get those 63 votes, keep it from coming up. You've got to suspend the rules. Don't suspend the rules. You've got something over here you want, well it's not our fight but we'll -- you know, but

this has to come first, in this order. If it doesn't come in that order, then no deal. It's no longer you do yours first and I do mine second, because we've been had that way.

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So every once in a while in a session there are times and you look at the ebb and the flow of legislation, how things are going, you find those opportunities, and you leverage.

Somebody says well, why did you kill that bill? It's all right with me, I mean I don't have a problem with the bill. But it's not on the right position on the calendar. It's down in Number 61, and you know we're not going to get to that. We want it up here on Number 1, Number 2. Now, you change it and you put it up there and you help me with this bill, and I'll help you with that bill. We're learning how to do that, we're doing it more effectively, and as chairman of the caucus I will see to it that things that we really need will be leveraged against what somebody else needs. And, of course, it may mean we don't pass a budget.

MS. BRAY: This isn't a question so much, just to make an acknowledgement, and I feel encouraged, you know, just because of the encouraging remarks that you've made to us, and I share with the group, that I've certainly been involved and see Representative Perdue as

he's taken on issues that he's shared some of them with us. It's just because of his own hard work and his commitment, if he says he's going to do something, then it happens. And so when I hear you make this kind of remarks to us, I'm certainly encouraged by that.

MR. PERDUE: And that's tempered with what
Reverend Woods is saying. I just want to put it in
perspective, you know, I've got some disclaimers too.
But at the same time there's an opportunity. There's a
window of opportunity all the time during the
legislature, but the problem we've had -- and I'll be
very candid about it -- the problem we've had is that we
have not been able to get 19 strong vote in the same
way. We'll get a few picked off over here and as long
as you get five or six picked off over there, that's the
number you need to pass it. Then the heck with the
other 14.

MR. MAX: George, let me ask you this and let me say to you, yesterday we heard some what I would consider expert testimony from executive directors of other commissions, human relations commissions, who seem to indicate to us that for under a million dollars this thing could be funded. As a matter of fact, we even heard some around half a million dollars it could be funded.

MR. PERDUE: If you're talking about a half million dollars to a million dollars, that is within the realm of possibility within the Alabama legislature. Even in times of proration -- it's that much pork in there. I mean, you know --

MR. MAX: I have a question to ask you. From the standpoint of the statute that we have drafted now, and I want to get your input on this because we're going to be discussing how to put this thing together -- we already have this fair housing act that nobody seems to have known about and I think unanimously everyone says that ADECA is not the one to enforce it. Now --

MR. PERDUE: I didn't even know they had one.

MR. MAX: Now --

MR. PERDUE: I mean, that's my fault.

MR. MAX: One consideration was looking at the Tennessee Human Relations Act, that they brought everything within one act to take care of housing, public accommodations and employment, to put it all under one roof, and for it to be enforced through a human relations commission. I don't know if they used the attorney general's office or not. I don't think they used the attorney general's office, but our thought was to use the attorney general's office as you're suggesting.

If we were to try to put this statute together the way -- the same thing, put it all under one roof, in effect repeal the existing new act that's been created, bring it under this human relations things, put it all under the human relations commission, do you think -- do you see a problem -- and one of the concerns we had was they've already invented this one wheel, why re-invent it? But our concern was, and what I've heard from everybody talking, there's not been one person satisfied with that wheel that was invented. Do you see that it would be a reasonable approach of ours to repeal that old act -- not old act, that new act -- and bring it under this one act?

MR. PERDUE: I think it all should be under one roof. I really do. And if course, in repealing it, you are also enacting one at the same time, so one leg is not going to go -- in other words, you're not going to have a real problem because we can't enact something -- the repeal is not going to take effect. You can work a language such that if one doesn't work, the other one will remain.

MR. MAX: Got you. Thank you very much. We really appreciate your time.

MR. PERDUE: Thank you.

MR. MAX: We're running a little short of time

but we have two valuable speakers we want to give an opportunity. Leslie Proll will be our speakers. Leslie has been involved in many of these issues we've been talking about from a legal standpoint. We wanted to hear from that legal standpoint before we closed out our hearing. Thank you so much, Leslie, for being here.

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MS. PROLL: I am very pleased to be able to share with you my comments on this legislation. As a civil rights lawyer practicing in Birmingham, I along with my clients are almost on a daily basis frustrated at the lack of state law prohibiting discrimination in both housing and employment. And I want to touch on something first that I don't know if it has come out or not in the past couple days.

But these statutes are very important for the reason that they provide jurisdiction in circuit court rather than federal court, and that is extremely important in the days that we are in right now in Alabama.

First of all, the federal courts are staffed with Reagan and Bush judicial nominees who are usually picked on the basis of their conservative etiology.

Moreover, these judges are usually older white males who have not had the benefit of any life experience about discrimination and the various forms it can take and its

pernicious effects.

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Giving jurisdiction in state court would allow state court judges to hear these cases. State court judges in Alabama are elected and while most of them are still white males, you at least have the prospect of holding them accountable to the people who elect them and who will be asking them to enforce the laws fairly.

Second, the federal juries that are now available in federal discrimination cases are not much more sympathetic than the federal judges. We got all excited when the Civil Rights Act of 1991 passed and allowed the case to go to jury, and in the Northern District that's basically meaningless. We still go predominantly white juries, even though the black population in the Northern District is about 21 percent. The Supreme Court rulings that now prohibit defendant's lawyers from striking black jurors on the basis of only race -- they now have to give legitimate reasons for why they don't want them on the jury -- really don't address the problem.

The problem is in the venire, the pool of jurors that you select from. And for whatever reason, and I'm not going to say this on the record -- but the Northern District is not getting sufficient numbers of black jurors in the pool. So once you get there, if



ioresia A there are all white jurors in the pool, you don't have the striking problems that are now protected by the Supreme Court.

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Cases in circuit court would clearly have more representative sampling of the local population. A lot of personal injury lawyers who bring cases in Jefferson County, for instance, have a number of black jurors on the jury and this makes a difference. I mean, the Rodney King incident was very unfortunate in the lives that it cost and the injuries, but it really brought to public consciousness the fact that the devastation and effects that white juries can have on our justice system.

State laws providing for a streamline investigatory and conciliation procedures would go a long way toward reducing the back load at the federal agencies such as HUD and EEOC. Right now filing a complaint with both of these agencies on behalf of a discrimination complainant really is just jumping through a procedural hoop to get into federal court. Rarely do the complaints get investigated or come to a conclusion that is reasonable for the discrimination complainant.

I have to tell you I'm encouraged by the passage of the Fair Housing Act in Alabama last year and

while it was adopted with little fanfare, obviously, its passage indicates that the state is capable of passing a civil rights law and from what I understand, Michael Figures from Mobile was the person who introduced it and I suggest that he be contacted to find out just how it was he got it through there.

MR. MUNCHUS: He may not know.

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MS. PROLL: Its passage makes me a little cynical. I hope that -- and a lot of people have commented on this before, that -- I hate to think that the only way to get an act through protecting civil rights is by undercover, but that may be what we have to do.

Along those lines, I hope that in trying to enact a human relations commission act that it's made clear to everybody at the outset that it does include fair employment provisions and that we're not actually doing this for kind of acceding to the white legislators who are going to give us some resistance that oh, no, this really isn't a fair employment law, because I think we can get much more support in terms of the local constituency if it is known and maybe even called some sort of comprehensive fair employment and fair housing act.

George made the comment that the facet is

called the human relations act and maybe a confession that we don't want to call it a human rights act, which might scare everybody off. But I mean, those are problems that are going to have to be worked out by the people considering the proposal.

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Certainly there's a need for a strong fair housing law in Alabama. A USA Today study calls Birmingham one of the top six segregated cities in the country and the most segregated city in the south. And as you heard from Emily Eberhardt yesterday, studies based on testing in Birmingham show that blacks encounter discrimination in one of every two attempts to buy or rent property.

And there are also some recent reports issued pursuant to a new home mortgage disclosure act that show high incidents in discrimination among black loan seekers in Alabama, and this report revealed that Central Bank, for instance, rejected black applicants for home loans at eight times the rate of whites. Am South rejected black applicants for home loans at three times the rate of whites.

And both the state fair housing law and the federal fair housing law can address this problem.

Discrimination in lending is prohibited and there's a lot to be done in that area, a lot. In fact, I'd like

to see if there is a new fair housing law, those provisions even strengthened because even the national civil rights groups are finding that this is really an untapped area. So that would be something to consider.

There are also pragmatic reasons for adopting a stronger fair housing law in Alabama. As Ms. Eberhardt again probably told you, we're getting a fair housing organization. There is money that is available if people apply for it from other cities. And so we could conceivably have one in every major city in Alabama.

And then I don't know if you've had anybody from HUD testify here, but there are also legal reasons for having a strong fair housing law, in that the federal statute provides that if there is a local fair housing law that meets certification requirements, all complaints that are filed with HUD must be referred to the local agency first. And this is what they call certification. And this statutory scheme underscores the importance of the enactment and enforcement of state fair housing laws, and it ensures that state and local agencies play a strong role in the enforcement process.

Now, I don't know if you want me to get into this but in order to get this certification HUD must evaluate a number of factors of the law, and it relies on current practices and prior performance.

There is a way to get around this though. We could immediately pass a new fair housing law that met the certification requirements and all of a sudden get certified right away. They accept this prior performance requirement if you're putting up a good faith effort to receive complaints, so that's something to think about.

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As I was looking over the fair housing law that we have, there were several provisions, mainly in the enforcement part of it that bothered me, and I'm not going to go through all those, although I'd like to get those in the record.

But I noticed that the problems that I had with it actually were some of the criticisms I had of your fair housing section in your human relations commission. And mainly those concerns deal with statutes of limitations. I really urge that longer statutes of limitations be adopted.

A lot of times people don't know that discrimination has occurred, especially in housing, and also employment. They may not talk to a lawyer or somebody who knows a lawyer for a long time. I always have people coming in and it's too late to file a lawsuit. So I mean to the extent that we can provide long statutes of limitations for filing complaints and

also for filing complaints in court, that would be I think a benefit to the state.

There's also no provision in the current fair housing law that provides that reports be issued base don the effectiveness of the law, and I think at least in the initial stages of enforcing these antidiscrimination laws, it's important that they be accountable to the people who are enforcing them. And I think we need reviews of how many complaints were filed and what the resolution was and all this information should be very public, so that a group like this could go to the agency and ask them what were your results last year. And right now the fair housing law does not have anything like that and there may be a good reason for that.

It obviously hasn't been enforced yet, so they don't have any statistics, but I think that the idea would be well, we're not going to make it very accountable, and I think statistics would go a long way toward that accountability.

One rather humorous provision in the fair housing law that I saw that I don't know where it came from was the provision that nothing in this act shall be provided to outlaw discrimination against persons who pose threat of harm to themselves or others. Now, I'd

bet my bottom dollar that if this act were enforced I would get a white apartment owner that basically told me he wasn't going to rent to somebody because the renter was a black male and this was going to pose a threat to his white females who lived alone.

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Language like that should not be in there.

That gives a pretext to end all pretexts, and a I'm sure
a lot of people would be hinging their defenses on that.

Again, we need some real clear guidelines as to how quickly the local agencies have to investigate and issue decisions. There's nothing either in your fair employment statute or the housing statute that says an investigation has to be completed by a certain amount of time.

It's also important that evidence that is discovered and collected in these agency investigations be available to persons who ultimately end up filing suit in court. Some of the early statements by apartment managers and so forth that are fairly malicious in terms of proving discrimination need to be available to a plaintiff and the local law as I see it now doesn't make any of that information public.

In fact, there's no requirement for an investigative report whatsoever. All the agency has to do is just tell you what conclusion it was they reached.

They don't give the person who filed the complaint any information about what witnesses said or what answers were offered in response to interrogatories. So I think that's an important thing that needs to be in there.

I'm trying to skip over my notes in an effort to be brief. I know you're probably hungry.

It's also I think important to include representatives of a lot of different constituencies.

I've heard that in terms of trying to enforce this new act -- the fair housing act I'm talking about now -- the National Association of Realtors' local affiliate was contacted and some other groups, and it really disturbs me that at least nobody in Birmingham who has been concerned with fair housing over the past couple years was contacted. I mean, not only did we not know there was an act but we weren't being contacted at all about its enforcement. And I think it's important to have the input of those groups.

As far as the human relations act is concerned, I wholeheartedly agree with Mr. Max's proposal to put everything under one umbrella. I think it makes for effective enforcement. I also think that it sends a signal to people that their complaints are going to be taken seriously.

I called up the Office of Economic -- and I

can't even remember the name of it -- ADECA -- I called them up to find out what had been done and I mean it was what, what kind of subject are you calling about. And I was put through to about five people and somebody said, oh, we haven't started that yet.

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And I mean, I've got a lot of education and I'm familiar with this area. Think of the poor soul who feels he was discriminated against and is trying to get some answers. I mean, that is really disgraceful.

I also agree with Abraham Woods and others who have said that the acts are going to be only as powerful as the enforcement that they're given and also the people who are responsible for enforcing them. We have got to have a say over who gets in these positions. They have got to be good people. They have got to have experience in this area and also as we've stated, a commitment to enforcing these statutes.

And I think that's about it.

MR. MAX: Thank you very much. I appreciate your constructive comments. Are there any questions? George, do you have any?

MR. MUNCHUS: Well, of course. Leslie is just one of my lawyers. I have many. I had to go to San Francisco and import her to represent us against the state. Certainly she's done an excellent job and hasn't

been paid a penny and worked on this thing for ten years.

Leslie, when you said moving it out of ADECA, and we have a feeling ADECA doesn't want it anyway and probably didn't even know about it -- do you think that that will cause some problems for the sponsor? Have you had any discussions with ADECA?

MS. PROLL: I have been trying to reach him to ask him how the heck he got this through, and I haven't been able to talk to him. I don't think that would be a problem. I think that might have been the likely place for someone who was -- I mean, they were probably searching for a place to put it.

It certainly doesn't seem like a reasonable location. I mean, the word -- the fact that the word economic is in the title of the office really scares me, I mean, even though there are some very good things about economic development. I really -- it has nothing to do with discrimination and I think the name of the agency where it's located should send a message, both to people who are reading the code and also people who hear of its existence, that this is a place that means business.

MR. MUNCHUS: Well, after your discussion with Michael Figures, would you send Mr. Jenkins something if

you can talk with him about it, because what I found out in some of these legislators, they have big, big egos and they take real personal offense when somebody guts their bill or repeals their bill, so talk to him, you know, and see what he really did, you know. I am just as shocked as everybody else that something with Michael Figures' name went through, I mean, because he's almost a little like Albert Holmes, but maybe not, maybe not. There's strange things go on down there, very strange things.

MR. MAX: Freddi?

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MS. ARONOV-HEILPERN: Leslie, did you say that there is language in the proposed act that you think would give landlords a defense around this person -- I didn't rent because this person could cause bodily harm to himself or to other people? You said there is language or don't put --

MS. PROLL: No, there is. That's -- I mean, that should be taken out. It says something like poses a threat to himself or others, and I don't even know if it says bodily harm. I mean, it's very pernicious.

MS. ARONOV-HEILPERN: And the other --

MR. MAX: For the record, that's not the draft that we put together. That's that fair housing act you're talking about?

Right. MS. PROLL: MS. PROLL: Right.

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MS. ARONOV-HEILPERN: I see. So you're just saying avoid anything like that, similar to that?

MS. ARONOV-HEILPERN: And then the other thing was, you mentioned that with the fair housing law that like grouped -- I wasn't clear about what you meant when you said groups weren't contacted. You're saying like National Association of Realtors or Alabama Association of Realtors were or were not contacted?

MS. PROLL: As I understand it, the local affiliate of the National Association of Realtors was contacted and was included in the process, which when enforcement was discussed. What I was saying, the groups who weren't included were kind of the sampling of groups in Birmingham that have been working to get the fair housing organization started, like Emily and Greater Birmingham Ministries. I mean, nobody knew this was going on.

Okay, I've got you. MS. ARONOV-HEILPERN: So it's sort of the business community wasn't --

Right. It was very one-sided and MS. PROLL: that concerns me.

Any other questions of Leslie? MR. MAX: Nancy?

MS. CARNLEY: I have one. When you did the study on the financing or the funding from the banks and their discrimination practices, did that include any other minorities such as hispanics or Native Americans in Alabama?

MS. PROLL: I'm not sure. These are national statistics so they probably did have that breakdown.

What I was referring to was actually newspaper articles reporting on the study and the only information I have available was only broken down in black and white. But I'd be interested to see those.

MR. MAX: Very good. Any other questions?

Thank you very much, Leslie. We really appreciate it.

All right. Come on up. This is Robert Avery.

Robert is with the City Council of Gadsden; is that

correct?

MR. AVERY: Yes.

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MR. MAX: In addition to that he's also a member of a group, and you can explain it to us, of black elected officials. If you could explain it to us and then go into your comments?

MR. AVERY: First of all, I would like to take this opportunity to thank you for giving me this opportunity to speak to you briefly. I'm Robert Avery. As you stated earlier, I'm ā member of the Gadsden City

Council. I'm also president of the Alabama Black Caucus of Local Elected Officials.

As you know, the State of Alabama have the greatest number of black elected officials throughout this United States. We have more black elected officials than any other state in the Union. And, of course, I wanted to go on record as supporting this commission from the standpoint of black elected officials. You would think that as an elected official things would be a little bit better and things would be a lot greater, but we too have a fight.

We just finished fighting with the Alabama

League of Municipalities, which most of you cities in

the State of Alabama are members of, in order to get

blacks within the mainstream of that organization that

make policies for this state, that takes policies to the

legislation and this type thing that deal with local

cities.

Again, we realize that without the network or without the networking within ourselves and, of course, the togetherness, that we couldn't accomplish a lot of things.

So we feel that this commission would be a great advantage for the people of this state, particularly the minority people of this state. So we

just wanted to go on record as supporting it.

What I did want to do also is jump on George
Munchus and a few others for not telling me about this
ahead of time, and I apologize for not being able to
make comments on the actual legislation itself. But, of
course, I'm pretty sure Mr. Jenkins is going to send me
a copy now and I'll be able to go over it and look at
it.

But I try to keep all of our black elected officials throughout the state up to date as to what's happening around the state. I kind of pride myself in being on the know and of course they're going to rip me with this one thanks to Mr. Munchus.

But again, we talked about -- earlier I talked with Leslie about the fact that we already have a fair housing committee in the City of Gadsden. We also have a human relations council in the City of Gadsden.

So we do kind of pride ourselves in being ahead of the state in a lot of areas because we try to keep up with things and try to get these things going in our communities.

So again, I just wanted to just briefly say that we were in support of that and I think I can speak for all the black elected officials throughout this state as going on record as in support of the

commission, and whatever we can do to help, by all means give us a call. We will be glad to.

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MR. MAX: Robert, let me say to you this, that the record will remain open until July 17th and that you or any representative of your organization would like to submit something in writing to Melvin, then we welcome that and that will be a part of the record of this proceeding.

I would also like to have a moment to just ask you about this human relations council in Gadsden. Can you tell us something about that?

MR. AVERY: The human relations council was devised mainly because of some of the problems -- racial problems that we had in our city. It's a seven-member council. Each council members has the opportunity to appoint two people from his district, so we have a committee of 14 serving on this human relations council.

And basically when we have problems dealing with race relations and any other community problem, this human relations council has the powers to investigate and, of course, come back with some recommendation to the City Council or the mayor as to their findings and what they think might happen.

For instance, right offhand I can think of an example where we had a police officer, a charge of

police brutality. And, of course, this committee was called together and then investigated the situation and then came back with a recommendation.

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Again, we're making the citizens of Gadsden a little bit more at ease with the decision that was made because of the fact that we have internal affairs who investigated and came up with one thing and then, of course, the human relations council investigated and came up with something totally different. And then the city, of course, supported the human relations council.

I mean, it would be crazy for us to appoint people and not support their recommendations after they make them.

MR. MAX: How was this created? You didn't have to go to the legislature to get --

MR. AVERY: We created it as a legislative act, local act by the city.

MR. MAX: So it did pass through the legislature as a local act?

MR. AVERY: Just a local --

MR. MAX: When was that created?

MR. AVERY: Within the last six years. I've been in office six years, so since I've been in office we've enacted this.

MR. MAX: I would ask you, as part of what you

would submit to us, number one, if you could provide us
with a copy of the act that created you and a copy of
your fair housing --

MR. AVERY: The fair housing group, okay, be glad to. We just funded them through our community development block grant monies. Not only did we put one in place but we also gave them funding, so you know, again, we're hoping that the state will also see fit to do the same thing here.

MR. MAX: Sure. That's three things -- the act that created you, the local ordinance that creates it, and sets up this council, and then the fair housing implementations you've got.

MR. MUNCHUS: And a mailing list of your membership on the black elected officials.

MR. AVERY: I'd be glad to supply that.

MR. MAX: Any other questions?

MS. ARONOV-HEILPERN: Are you related -- I mean, is your group part of the black political caucus -

MR. AVERY: We are a part of the National Black Caucus of Local Elected Officials, which is a part of the National League of Cities. We're an affiliate.

MR. MUNCHUS: This housing committee, does it have the same authority that the human relations



council? I mean, is it two people from each district or what does it do?

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MR. AVERY: At present we're in the process of changing the makeup of it. They investigate -- they have investigative powers for complaints of housing discrimination and those type things. It's been in place prior to the law in '91. It's just that we have made them official after the Alabama law was passed and, of course, funded them to that extent.

I served on that committee before I was in office, so it had to be seven or eight years ago. As a matter of fact, when I was elected to office I resigned as a result of it. We've been in place for a number of years. It was just a local -- the realtors and some local blacks in the community and some other people came together to form a committee to investigate complaints on discrimination with housing, and then of course from that point.

MR. MAX: We appreciate your coming forward because without it we wouldn't have heard the last few things, and I'm sure that will add to the record. Thank you very much, Robert.

MR. AVERY: Thank you for giving me the opportunity.

MR. MAX: Sure. With that we will close the

record now and this is at 1:10 p.m. and I appreciate everybody's input and assistance and we will be getting a report together from the commission and looking at a draft and publishing something shortly.

(Proceedings concluded at 1:10 p.m.)

CERTIFICATE

STATE OF GEORGIA)
COUNTY OF GWINNETT)

I hereby certify that the foregoing transcript is a true, correct, and complete record of the said proceedings; that I am not a relative, attorney, or counsel of any of the parties; am not a relative of attorney or counsel for any of the parties; nor am I financially interested in the action.

This, the 6th day of July, 1992.

Ralph L. Ledford