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Meeting of the Tennessee Advisory Committee  
to the  
U. S. Commission on Civil Rights

Held At:

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REPORTED BY: Donna L. Bolch, Court Reporter

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A P P E A R A N C E S

MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION

Mr. Jim Blumstein, Chairperson  
Mr. Bob Knight  
Mr. Bobby D. Doctor  
Ms. Jocelyn Wurzburg  
Mr. Warren N. Moore  
Mr. Jim Lewandowski  
Mr. Tommy Tabor  
Mr. John F. Sawyer

GUEST SPEAKERS

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Reverend Bill Barnes . . . . . Edgehill United Methodist Church	
Ms. Irene Boyd . . . . . Catholic Diocese of Nashville	
Ms. Katherine Linebaugh . . . . . National Conference of Christian and Jews	
Mr. Warren Moore . . . . . Tennessee Human Rights Commission	
Ms. Ruth Tanner . . . . . Jewish Federation	

MR. BLUMSTEIN: On behalf of the Tennessee State Advisory Committee, I would like to welcome you all here. And since we are on the record at this point, I would like to introduce myself and then I would like each member of the Committee to introduce himself or herself.

I would like to start off by saying that Mr. Bobby Doctor, whose the Regional Chief of the Agency, is here as a staff person, and Mr. Bobby Knight, who is the person at the Regional headquarters in Atlanta, has responsibility for Tennessee. He's our staff person and our overseer, I guess, facilitator, and he is here as well. And I think a lot of credit belongs to Bobby Knight for calling around and really finding a very distinguished panel of people to present to us.

I would like to explain to the speakers who are here that the project we are doing on Racial Tensions in Tennessee is part of a national project that the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights is engaging in nationwide, and we are part of the regional effort in this region. There are six states, Florida, Georgia, North and South Carolina, Tennessee and Kentucky, and each of the states is plugging in to some appropriate way to this project.

So we are trying to gather data, including the bad, the nice and the ugly. We want to find out the things that are happening positively, if there are, and things that are happening negatively and then also how to combat the problems, what strategies are appropriate for dealing with these issues of racial tensions; again, part of a national project. So we are very much glad you are here and I welcome you on behalf of the Commission.

Let me just say, again for the record, I'm Jim Blumstein and I am serving today as the Acting Chair. I have been the Chair -- the immediate past Chair. Gail Newman is the Chair of the Tennessee Advisory Committee and she unfortunately is not able to be here today. Again, for the record, I am at the Vanderbilt Law School and from Nashville.

Why don't we go around the room and have each member of the Committee introduce himself or herself for the guests and the record.

MR. TABOR: I'm Tommy Tabor and I'm from the City of Memphis with the Memphis Police Department.

MR. SAWYER: I'm John F. Sawyer. I'm the Dean of the Blair School of Music at Vanderbilt

1 University, Nashville, Tennessee.

2 MR. LEWANDOWSKI: I'm Jim Lewandowski,  
3 L-e-w-a-n-d-o-w-s-k-i. And I have gotten used to  
4 doing that through the years so I don't feel  
5 embarrassed. In fact, I don't even wait for someone  
6 to ask. I just go ahead and do that.

7 My current life, I'm from Nashville  
8 and I am a Management Consultant and lecturer in my  
9 current life and have just recently retired from  
10 Saturn Corporation as Vice President of Human  
11 Resources.

12 MS. WURZBURG: I am Jocelyn Wurzburg,  
13 W-u-r-z-b-u-r-g. I'm from Memphis and I am an  
14 attorney and mediator.

15 MR. BLUMSTEIN: Bill, do you want to  
16 start?

17 REVEREND BARNES: Be happy to.

18 MR. KNIGHT: I'll ask that you give  
19 your name please so that we can get it on the  
20 record.

21 REVEREND BARNES: I'm Bill Barnes.  
22 I'm the Pastor of Edgehill United Methodist Church  
23 here in Nashville and have been Pastor at that  
24 church almost 26 years now, was from '62 to '66  
25 Pastor of Carol Street United Methodist Church also

1 in south Nashville, and in this -- both of these  
2 neighborhoods, where I have been for 30 years now,  
3 predominantly housing, low-income housing projects,  
4 low-income neighborhoods, for the most part. And  
5 then those -- I only say that because it obviously  
6 shapes what I have to say today.

7 I want to say in like a couple of  
8 categories, anyway, share with you some impressions,  
9 and just say that from a personal point of view,  
10 first of all, I understand things to be in the city,  
11 in the neighborhood where I work and live on its  
12 periphery, I understand things to be really  
13 qualitatively worse than they were twenty or  
14 twenty-five years ago, significantly worse than they  
15 were in a time when we were urban renewing and  
16 marching -- and sure that something right around the  
17 next corner something really big and important was  
18 going to happen. I wish I felt differently. I wish  
19 I could share with others who feel differently. I  
20 think things are really in the central city and  
21 amongst low income folks, and especially black  
22 neighborhoods, low-income black neighborhoods, I  
23 think they are significantly worse.

24 And what I mean by that, well,  
25 twenty-five years ago, thirty years ago, Carol

1 Street or Edgehill meetings could be held in public  
2 housing at 7:30 or eight o'clock at night, and I  
3 could carry my guitar into there, and different  
4 races of people could go into there and gather in  
5 living rooms for meetings. We can't do that  
6 anymore. That simply cannot be done. And simply  
7 because of the safety factor. I wish it could. But  
8 having been in the neighborhood now for almost  
9 twenty-six years, and the neighborhood I actually  
10 grew up in, in Edgehill, I'm afraid. I'm afraid to  
11 do that in the dark at night in the public housing  
12 project. And I don't know many folks who come from  
13 the outside who are not afraid.

14 I think things are considerably  
15 different and considerably worse. Parenthetically,  
16 let me say that in terms of race and poverty, I hope  
17 I live long enough to see the day when what we  
18 started in the 30s as an answer to unemployment  
19 problems in the housing industry, when we started  
20 building public housing, I hope I live to see those  
21 units demolished and replaced with things that we  
22 already know work better, like scattered housing and  
23 scattered duplexes, parenthetically.

24 I think things are worse now. I don't  
25 remember fifteen or even twenty years ago, I don't

1 remember the daily papers telling me about kids in  
2 our neighborhood were dying and who were being --  
3 especially young black males were being shot,  
4 killed.

5                   Last summer I came up Edgehill Avenue  
6 and there was a big yellow ribbon around the parking  
7 lot in Edgehill Village and the Kinser youth, I was  
8 told, had been shot and killed, having something to  
9 do with drugs. And I remember four years before his  
10 father was killed in a similar setting on Twelfth  
11 Avenue. So it's generation now after generation.  
12 And those -- you know, life was not perfect twenty  
13 years ago or twenty-five years ago. But what I'm  
14 saying is, at least as I experience it as a person  
15 who spends twelve and fourteen hours a day, seven  
16 days a week, in a neighborhood, I experience it as  
17 being a lot more difficult, a lot more violent and a  
18 real, a real trial for a mother to try to rear kids  
19 in settings like that.

20                   Just before I came out here I drove a  
21 bus downtown to take homeless people -- in fact,  
22 every Tuesday and Friday we have about a hundred  
23 homeless to eat with us. Three-fourths of them are  
24 from downtown and they walk in -- and about 25  
25 percent of them are walk-ins from the Edgehill



1 neighborhood who come and eat with us. And it just  
2 really grieves me to see 25 and 35 year-old young  
3 men, strong, able with such hopeless attitudes and  
4 looks in their faces, where to work, where to live.

5 A fellow that used to lifeguard over  
6 at Howard School came by yesterday -- you would  
7 probably know him if I called his name -- he's  
8 thrown out of where he lives in the community there  
9 and he doesn't have anywhere to store his clothes so  
10 he put them out in the shed out behind the church  
11 this morning. We can lock it. And he has a serious  
12 chemical dependency problem, as do so many of the  
13 homeless people who come in and out of there. It  
14 has to do with a lot of things. But there is no  
15 question but that the homeless issue and the way it  
16 disproportionately affects the black community --  
17 the homeless issue has always been with us to some  
18 extent but it has avalanched since the beginning of  
19 the '80s and maybe the last part of the '70s. It's  
20 avalanched. It is a source of violence. It isn't a  
21 movement. Nobody is going to march much but they  
22 are going to hurt each other almost daily because of  
23 frustration and the anger. And we just see that.  
24 Things I think are much more difficult.

25 A woman who is a member of our

1 church -- our congregation is about 240 people.  
2 Between sixty and seventy are African Americans.  
3 There's some Asians and others. A member of our  
4 church who lives in the neighborhood who helps with  
5 the liturgy on Sunday mornings has left the  
6 neighborhood. Her son was at school and some young  
7 fellows who constitute a gang on Hillside Avenue,  
8 who broke into her house -- unfortunately, her son  
9 found out who did it and they threatened his life  
10 and she moved and now she lives in Hendersonville.  
11 I have to get out of there she said, I have to get  
12 out of there for the safety of my children.

13                   One other illustration, a lovely young  
14 woman who lives in Edgehill housing project has two  
15 daughters has made a choice to live on AFDC because  
16 she has to be with her two teenager daughters every  
17 day after school. She's afraid. It's a choice that  
18 she has made, not a necessity.

19                   These are issues in the central city  
20 as I experience them. And what do you say, Barnes,  
21 you are talking about economic as well as racial  
22 issues. Sure I am. But these folks sitting around  
23 this table know the relationship between poverty and  
24 race. It's a very disproportionate kind of penalty  
25 on African Americans.

1                   So just the life -- the personal  
2 observation, you know, I can't do anything honestly  
3 without saying that as a person who has been thirty  
4 years living in the middle of low-income areas in  
5 south Nashville, I really do experience things as  
6 much, much worse than when I started there in 1962.  
7 And, of course, everything has to do with crime and  
8 drugs and all that kind of stuff, too.

9                   But I think if there were a second  
10 category to move away from personal observations, it  
11 would be perhaps to look at some macro issues, some  
12 macro economic issues. And I'm indebted -- and  
13 maybe some of you are, too -- to Julius Wilson, an  
14 African American sociologist in Chicago who wrote  
15 the Truly Disadvantaged. And the reason I mention  
16 that is not to give a book review but to say there  
17 are certain realities that he describes on a macro  
18 basis that I live and experience and am helped with  
19 the interpretation of in the place where I live and  
20 work.

21                   He describes with a lot of stats, as  
22 sociologists are given to do, the movement of jobs  
23 out of the city. He refers to things you know  
24 about, the shift of jobs from production jobs to  
25 factory jobs to service jobs, and with all the

1 implications for wages and unemployment. He talks  
2 about the shrinkage of MMM, the shrinkage of the  
3 marriageable male market. You might make love to  
4 somebody who doesn't have a job but you usually  
5 don't have a wedding, somebody who hasn't had a job  
6 for five years. The shrinkage of the marriageable  
7 male market in the middle of the city and especially  
8 in low-income black neighborhoods. And there are  
9 all kind of factors that affect that, as you know,  
10 AFDC laws that won't grant assistance if there is an  
11 employable male in the household, issues of teenage  
12 pregnancy; 52 percent of African American babies  
13 today being born into poverty, those kinds of  
14 figures. The shrinkage of the marriageable male  
15 market is impacting all of these issues and it has a  
16 lot, I think, to do with unemployment and the  
17 difficulty of finding jobs for people.

18           One other thing -- well, one or two  
19 other things I want to mention, one is, as Julius  
20 Wilson says, an interesting kind of ironic twist,  
21 that affirmative action -- that affirmative action  
22 has had a funny twist of English in the middle of  
23 the city in that affirmative action has creamed the  
24 African American inter city neighborhood the way FHA  
25 and VA housing loans did after World War II and

1 after '45. In other words, people who can are  
2 getting out. The models for family life, the models  
3 for strong male image, and so forth, are  
4 disappearing.

5           And one of the interesting causes that  
6 Dr. Wilson mentions is the fact that to some extent  
7 as a result of the benefits and the promise of  
8 affirmative action those who are in a certain  
9 economic and educational category that benefit from  
10 that have taken advantage of it. And it is not a  
11 secret why. But it has not only made the inter city  
12 as it was before, monochromatic, but increasingly  
13 mono-class.

14           Now, these are macro issues that  
15 impact the life of neighborhoods like ours and have  
16 a great deal to say about what I think are the  
17 seething, the seething racial tensions that are  
18 crescendoing in the city, not to speak of course  
19 again of drugs and crime.

20           Larry is a young fellow, not so young  
21 now, he was young when he first went there, because  
22 he always went to civil right's movements and  
23 demonstrations and got on the bus and marched, and  
24 so forth. He came to see me not long ago, Larry  
25 did, and he said I'm getting out of Edgehill, I said

1 after all of these years, he said I'm getting out of  
2 here, he said I can't find anybody my age anymore  
3 who cares about anything except the next high. I  
4 knew that I was talking with a young fellow who had  
5 such deep convictions about and commitments about  
6 being a part of social change and who now just  
7 doesn't see any significant alternative to just  
8 getting out and away from it.

9           Well, all of these are factors that  
10 have great impact. They are macro factors when you  
11 consider the fact that the item of the Federal  
12 Budget, the line item that has experienced the  
13 greatest impact since 1980 is low-income housing.  
14 Most of you know that. Seventy-five percent of  
15 what was there in 198 is gone today. These are  
16 macro factors that are having a definite impact on  
17 the life of the inter city.

18           Well, I obviously am where I am, and I  
19 like being where I am, and I'm thankful for being  
20 able in a thirty period not to have any two days  
21 that are alike. I'm tired a lot of times but I've  
22 never been bored. The whole thirty years I've never  
23 been bored. And, you know, I find signs like you do  
24 in your life. I find signs and reasons to be there  
25 and glad to get up in the morning to go at it again.

1 I'm in a congregation that thinks I'm  
2 sane and I think they are sane. And it's a very  
3 mixed racially, economically, educationally group of  
4 people. And I know -- I know that it's possible for  
5 diverse people not simply to tolerate each other but  
6 to love each other. I believe that human community  
7 is possible. I don't think we are dealing with this  
8 Commission, and Edgehill, I don't think we're  
9 dealing with intractable realities. I think we are  
10 dealing with tractable, pliant, flexible kinds of  
11 realities. And hopefully we will even come to a  
12 more compassionate stage in our politics.

13 We are organizing in the County  
14 here -- ala, you know, the old Olinsky stuff -- IAF,  
15 the most significant effort we've ever made is being  
16 made now. There is Organized Neighbors of Edgehill  
17 that is flourishing as of the last year, and task  
18 forces in policing crime, housing and education. We  
19 are going to show up at City Council tonight to say  
20 to Music Row, please don't grab more pieces of  
21 Edgehill, there are plenty of signs of hope though  
22 they seem to be rather microscopic.

23 All of these realities, I think these  
24 bear significantly on racial issues and racial  
25 tensions.

1 Thank you for letting me come and  
2 share with you.

3 MR. BLUMSTEIN: Any members that may  
4 have questions for Reverend Barnes, do you have any?

5 MS. WURZBURG: No questions.

6 I was hoping that some of the  
7 panelists could remain,.

8 MR. DOCTOR: Reverend Barnes, if you  
9 had a magic wand, let's assume that you do, how  
10 would you address the problems that you have  
11 outlined here today?

12 REVEREND BARNES: I think additional  
13 resources for community development and specialists  
14 and trained people who can help communities develop  
15 their own capacities, community development, some  
16 neighborhood initiative, additional pride in  
17 neighborhood, and so forth, which is difficult but  
18 possible to generate.

19 I obviously think that the macro  
20 factors have got to change. I think if it takes  
21 WUPA's, whatever it takes, it is kamikaze for this  
22 suicide to continue to tolerate the degree of  
23 unemployment and hopelessness that's found in many  
24 of our -- especially African Americans. Jobs have  
25 simply got to be created.



1                   And I suppose that folks with your  
2 wisdom and breath of understanding have got to  
3 somehow make it clear, clear as you can, that if the  
4 government has to be the employer of last resort, so  
5 be it. If nothing else is going to work, then that  
6 has to happen. I just think that the employment,  
7 housing and health issues, these are all things that  
8 you read about in the papers or see on television,  
9 but when you live, as some of you do and have, in  
10 the middle of that, then it's not an academic issue.  
11 The macro factors as well as the micro factors have  
12 got to somehow begin to work.

13                   MS. WURZBURG: Are drugs the cause or  
14 are drugs the result?

15                   REVEREND BARNES: Oh, I think it's  
16 both. I don't think it's either one or the other.

17                   MS. WURZBURG: That is a different  
18 factor from when you started as you did many, many,  
19 many years ago.

20                   REVEREND BARNES: Yeah.

21                   MS. WURZBURG: I mean that wasn't the  
22 component that --

23                   REVEREND BARNES: It really was not.  
24 And even to think about that just kind of chokes me  
25 up. You know, I have a daughter whose experienced a

1 lot of that, eight years of that kind of struggle.  
2 I know it isn't household as well as neighborhood.  
3 And the countless folks who come through there -- a  
4 kid two weeks ago, Barnes, I've got to get into a  
5 residential program, I owe them some money, they are  
6 going to kill me. And they would have.

7                   And where do start talking about this  
8 stuff? People resort to drugs out of hopelessness  
9 and anomaly. People seem to drift to hopelessness  
10 because they're using and don't have anything else  
11 much to do with their lives.

12                   I think it's very hard to say whether  
13 it's cause or result, but it seems to be both.

14                   MR. TABOR: You mentioned in your  
15 remarks that you look forward to the day when all  
16 public housing is bull dozed as they exist  
17 presently. I assume you are talking about cluster  
18 housing.

19                   REVEREND BARNES: You have huge  
20 concentrations of family housing, yeah.

21                   MR. TABOR: Are you of the opinion  
22 that public housing is hopeless in terms of a means  
23 of residency for providing comfortable, safe living,  
24 and so forth?

25                   REVEREND BARNES: I appreciate you

1 letting me respond to that a little further. As I  
2 said before, public housing was not born out of a  
3 lengthy discussion, a philosophical discussion of  
4 how we should best house poor people. It was born  
5 in the '30s not as a program necessarily that housed  
6 poor people. It was a job program in an industry  
7 where the unemployment was 40 percent in the  
8 construction industry. And the first people to live  
9 in public housing were very diverse. And so somehow  
10 we oozed into a kind of philosophical position that  
11 this is the way to house poor folks.

12 I definitely think that the government  
13 is going to have, through its taxing power is going  
14 to have a significant role in housing people. I  
15 don't think there is any question. But I don't know  
16 of a city in the United States -- maybe some of you  
17 do -- who are still building those huge  
18 concentrations. We have tried something and it has  
19 failed, whether it is Prudiago (sic) in St. Louis,  
20 or wherever it is -- and it hasn't failed because  
21 it's, quote, "public housing".

22 A number of years ago we went through  
23 a lengthy debate here in the City Council about the  
24 extent to which we were going to scattered housing  
25 duplex units of public housing. Today I know of

1 neighborhoods that are welcoming those units. You  
2 can't even tell to look at that unit if that person  
3 is living in public housing. They pay on the same  
4 scale that persons do in the concentrations. I  
5 don't think it's an accident that -- it seems to me  
6 in a way that the majority of violence around drugs,  
7 and so forth, where do they come from -- I bet in  
8 Memphis it must be the same story. Isn't it  
9 disproportionately in large public housing  
10 complexes?

11 MR. TABOR: Well, that is true. And  
12 because of the time that we have I don't want to  
13 belabor the discussion. I don't really agree with  
14 your point because I personally see private housing  
15 that is sprawling apart in complexes, so I don't  
16 think it's the housing and how they are built and  
17 how they are congested as the problem. But be that  
18 as it may, because of time restraints perhaps at  
19 another point in time I would like to discuss that.

20 REVEREND BARNES: I think you are  
21 right.

22 MR. TABOR: But I just wanted to get a  
23 feedback from you on the point you made as it  
24 related to the destruction of public housing. And  
25 my assumption that your point was that that it was

1 the large concentration of people that led you to  
2 the conclusion that they should be destroyed.

3 REVEREND BARNES: It's not so much the  
4 concentration as such, it is what's concentrated.  
5 It is multi-problem families concentrated together  
6 where 90 plus percent of those units are female  
7 headed, where there is no one to say get off of my  
8 porch, man, where the anarchy kind of rules and  
9 where the traffic arteries going in and out of those  
10 complexes make it the easiest thing in the world for  
11 me to stand around and sell drugs because there  
12 ain't nobody coming in there, ain't nobody seeing  
13 me.

14 I'm just saying that there are some  
15 particular kinds of factors that create for what is  
16 not for me a coincidence, that is, the  
17 disproportionate amount of crime and violence and  
18 drug trade that goes on, at least in Nashville, in  
19 large public housing projects.

20 MR. BLUMSTEIN: I believe Mr. Doctor  
21 asked you a question if you could wave a magic wand  
22 what would you do. And Jocelyn asked a question  
23 whether the crime was a cause or a consequence and  
24 your answer was a little bit of both.

25 What about some of the other issues

1 like teen pregnancy you described. Do you have any  
2 thoughts about that issue?

3 REVEREND BARNES: I alluded to it in  
4 my comments. I think there is a relationship, Jim,  
5 between what I was saying about the marriageable  
6 male market, the movement of jobs out of the city,  
7 the difficulty of finding male/female relations,  
8 jobs, and so forth, that foster marriage and  
9 responsibility.

10 All the discussions today of poverty  
11 seem to be centering on pathology of the poor rather  
12 than the social causes of some of these issues. And  
13 I don't think that we are dealing with anything  
14 constitutionally pathological about inter city  
15 poverty communities or African American low-income  
16 communities. I think we are dealing primarily with  
17 some macro economic systems. And I don't want to  
18 over simplify housing, health, so forth, but I do  
19 think this job thing is critical for all of these  
20 years.

21 And just today -- just today we put  
22 the number on a board at church when the homeless  
23 people came to eat of a fairly new job opportunity  
24 program the Salvation Army is running with four  
25 full-time people, looking for jobs for people, and

1 these folks went around scratching that number down  
2 and they were going to call. I just think that the  
3 struggle for meaningful labor which provides a  
4 living wage is a fundamental issue and that we have  
5 got to address.

6 MR. BLUMSTEIN: Thank you very much.  
7 For coming, on behalf of the Committee, thank you so  
8 very much for sharing your kind thoughts with us.

9 REVEREND BARNES: Thank you, Jim.

10 MR. BLUMSTEIN: I have everybody  
11 listed alphabetically. Okay. Ms. Boyd, if you  
12 don't mind coming forward.

13 MS. BOYD: My name is Irene Boyd and  
14 I'm with the Catholic diocese.

15 I would like to note that Bishop  
16 Niedergeses had been asked to come and had already  
17 made plans earlier and was not able to get out of  
18 those so he asked me to come. I am speaking for  
19 myself and my own impressions and not the Bishop's.  
20 So I think that needs to be made clear.

21 I guess when the Bishop asked me if I  
22 would be willing to do this, and I think partly  
23 because one aspect of my job is with peace and  
24 justice, I indicated, as I probably would to the  
25 Bishop, that, yes, I would be willing to come. But

1 I have to admit that in some ways it was my moment  
2 of truth about some of my own ignorance in terms of  
3 the reality of racism here in Nashville and race  
4 relations and tensions.

5           But the more I thought about it the  
6 more I thought about perhaps in many ways I am  
7 typical of many people who believe that they care  
8 about the issue of racism and who -- certainly in a  
9 lot of the work that I do as as far as teaching, as  
10 far as providing resources for people -- hold up the  
11 church of social teaching in terms of racism. And  
12 I, you know, personally believe strongly that racism  
13 is evil, that it's a sin.

14           But because of my involvement in many  
15 other concerns, and my busyness and all, would have  
16 to own that I do not have a clear picture of what  
17 race relations are like in Nashville other than  
18 impressions.

19           So what I thought I'd do was first of  
20 all think through what were some of my own  
21 impressions and then just -- and very randomly ask  
22 different people. For the most part, the people  
23 that I asked were white people, some where I work,  
24 some in my own church community, black people,  
25 African American people, some of whom I knew, some



1 of whom go to church with me, and then called a  
2 couple of other people to try to get a little more  
3 information in terms of their perceptions. And it  
4 was a very -- I'm very glad for the experience.

5 I think my own sense of just racial  
6 relations here in Nashville -- and I guess in many  
7 ways I think it's probably true across the  
8 country -- is that, yes, there have been, I think,  
9 some significant changes that have taken place in  
10 the last twenty-five to thirty years, changes in  
11 laws concerning voting rights, and people actually  
12 being registered to vote and vote, people who were  
13 denied access to this twenty-five, thirty years ago.  
14 I think my sense has been that that certainly has  
15 improved. Again, I think there is a long way to go.  
16 I think there is a type of cynicism today about  
17 whether, you know, voting means anything or not in  
18 terms of change. But I think the accessibility is  
19 there that -- again, impressions -- that there is a  
20 greater access to positions of power and influence  
21 for minority people in the community, but certainly  
22 not enough in terms of the proportionality of blacks  
23 and other minorities in our community; that again,  
24 there are probably better opportunities in the  
25 business and job market but, again, not nearly

1 enough, and that there is more integration in some  
2 of the neighborhood's churches and workplaces than  
3 twenty-five or thirty years ago. But, again, the  
4 question still is how much of a change is more  
5 external appearance than fundamental change.

6                   There still is a disproportionate  
7 population of racial minorities among the poor,  
8 among those who are unemployed, among those who are  
9 in prison, and these people all suffer the  
10 consequence of poverty, which is poor access to  
11 health care, fewer opportunities for quality  
12 education and job training, unequal availability of  
13 Legal Services. They are the victims of crime.  
14 They are subject to discriminatory treatment by law  
15 enforcement officials, subject to the deterioration  
16 of the inter city. Lack of adequate transportation  
17 that affects job opportunities. I believe that is a  
18 real problem in our community. They are subject to  
19 much of the scapegoating that happens when the  
20 economy is suffering. And I think they are the  
21 victims of unfair taxation, especially when  
22 increasing the sales tax seems to be the best that  
23 we can do to deal with our social and economic  
24 problems.

25                   I have a general awareness that there

1 is a fair amount of Japanese bashing going on in  
2 terms of the economy, and the perceptions of  
3 Japanese buying up America, and the trade issues  
4 that are very much in the news today.

5 I hear comments and know of slurs and  
6 discrimination against many Arabs in the Nashville  
7 community, particularly again with the Persian Gulf.  
8 And I certainly know that there were many comments  
9 made about Jewish people also, many derogatory  
10 remarks, certainly over the Israeli Palestinian  
11 issue.

12 I know of some people who work with  
13 Hispanics and talk about the experience of  
14 discrimination that Hispanics are having,  
15 particularly again in terms of getting jobs, much of  
16 that because of a company's fear of illegal aliens,  
17 although many Spanish people have their papers and  
18 should be able to get a job. There are companies  
19 that apparently just decide not to hire any rather  
20 than deal with the problem. And many people I think  
21 that are minorities in our country, again,  
22 particularly Hispanics have to deal with perceptions  
23 that they are ignorant because they speak broken  
24 English.

25 In terms of my conversations with

1 other people, many of these informal, what I get is  
2 that there is among people a sense that there  
3 certainly is racism, but there's various opinions as  
4 to how much, what kind, and what the causes are,  
5 that there is a recognition that as the economy gets  
6 worse there is a tendency to scapegoat and there is  
7 a tendency to blame racial minorities and ethnic  
8 minorities.

9           Many of the people I know realize that  
10 racism is so much enculturated in our society and in  
11 our experiences that none of us really escape,  
12 certainly having prejudices, certainly operating out  
13 our stereotypes, being racists in many ways even  
14 though we would perhaps prefer to be otherwise.

15           Many people believe that racism is  
16 much more subtle than overt today, that in many  
17 circles it is bad form to be overtly racists, but  
18 that it is there.

19           What I also hear are concerns that  
20 people have about appearing to be racists when they  
21 don't believe that they are, and they intend to  
22 be -- and examples that would come up would be, you  
23 know, like fears of perhaps calling people to  
24 accountability, in this case, you know, minorities  
25 in the job situation with the fear that to do so is

1 to immediately be perceived as somehow being racist.  
2 Other people fearing to be able to be honest in  
3 terms of disagreements about issues and causes. I  
4 remember one person making the comment about his  
5 feeling -- what word would I use -- having real  
6 disagreements with Israel's policies in terms of the  
7 Palestinians, but then also in being in disagreement  
8 felt that he was being perceived as being anti-  
9 Semitic and did not believe that was where he was  
10 coming from in his viewpoint.

11                   There is a lot of concern it seem  
12 about language and what is politically correct. And  
13 I have to admit, you know, I was reading this  
14 article on black or African Americans trying to have  
15 a sense of, you know, what is the better way to  
16 express talking about black people, African  
17 American, and I just want to own that, that that is  
18 a concern for me because I do want to be sensitive,  
19 and yet sometimes not sure how to be, or how my  
20 language may betray, and I guess the fear of, you  
21 know, betraying racism or prejudice that I certainly  
22 know that I don't want . And also that often-  
23 times, again, you know, people are reacting to  
24 personalities and not to minority status or to  
25 color, or whatever, but sometimes fearful of being

1 perceived this. Again, as I said, these are fears  
2 that people have expressed and frustrations that  
3 they have expressed and in the context that they're  
4 experiencing them. So it's real.

5           Questions about how to sort out what  
6 is a type of classicism or hostility against poor  
7 people as opposed to what is racists, that there  
8 seems to be a perception that, you know, there is a  
9 great deal of hostility against homeless people,  
10 against the poor, and that it's more in terms of  
11 this class of people that other people perceive as  
12 draining the economy. And although people will  
13 admit again that racial minorities are  
14 disproportionately represented among the poor, they  
15 perceive the issues sometimes to be more the issue  
16 of poverty.

17           Some of the black people that I spoke  
18 with did talk about their experience of the feeling  
19 of being looked upon with suspicion particularly  
20 when they are in retail stores, that there's a sense  
21 that they are being watched, you know, so they don't  
22 shoplift, or whatever. And I heard several people,  
23 several black people talk about the images that they  
24 think are often shaped by the media in terms of who  
25 is on welfare, who is committing crime, and feel

1 that the images are that -- well, first of all, the  
2 reality of people often shown on the media is black  
3 and black images take shape in people's minds and  
4 perceptions.

5 I did spend a little bit of time --  
6 Well, let me make an observation because of your  
7 discussion about a directory. Yesterday I was  
8 trying to make some phone calls, in fact, the last  
9 few days trying to make contacts to people that  
10 might give me some information on their perceptions  
11 of race relations. And, you know, one of the things  
12 I did was look up Vanderbilt Institute of Public  
13 Policy. I thought surely they would have some  
14 information for me on race relations. And they were  
15 several centers identified in the phone book on  
16 various issues and concerns, but none dealing with  
17 human relations or race relations, or whatever  
18 title. I called there and they referred me to the  
19 Black Culture Center at Vanderbilt. But it is not  
20 my sense that that's part of the Vanderbilt  
21 Institute of Public Policy. I just thought that was  
22 rather interesting just for my own perception.

23 I called the Metro Government, and the  
24 Human Relations Council no longer exists. That was  
25 cut with budget cuts. And I didn't get a whole lot

1 of help about who I might talk to about perceptions  
2 of race relations in the City there.

3 I did call NAACP. The person who is  
4 the Executive Director was not available at the time  
5 that I called. And that phone call was made  
6 yesterday. But what I found was in trying to find  
7 something in the phone book, and some groups that I  
8 might look up, I had a difficult time, and I think  
9 what might have been, if you look towards that  
10 directory in terms of a brochure and something that  
11 would be available, if you do something like that, I  
12 would suggest also that maybe you give a brief  
13 description of what the concern of that particular  
14 group is.

15 I did speak yesterday with two people  
16 from whom I felt I learned a lot, Geraldine Heath,  
17 who is the Managing Editor of the Nashville Pride, a  
18 black newspaper here in Nashville, and right in my  
19 neighborhood. I live in north Nashville in the  
20 Germantown area. And, again, I have to admit my  
21 ignorance, but this is like two blocks away from me.  
22 Nashville Urban League is also next door to the  
23 Nashville Pride. I did call the Urban League  
24 yesterday and at least the person that I talked with  
25 on the phone when I asked, you know, did they have



1 any literature, any publications about race  
2 relations in Nashville, anything that I could read,  
3 did not seem to -- or indicated that they did not  
4 and suggested then that I call Nashville Pride.

5 I also talked with John Birdsong, who  
6 I believe is the Director, but I know he's  
7 associated with the Office of Minority Business  
8 Enterprise. And Geraldine Heath had invited him in  
9 with this conversation -- and I found that to be  
10 very interesting -- and some of their, you know,  
11 perceptions or experiences -- and I hope I'm at  
12 least not misrepresenting what I heard, I took very  
13 hurried notes, and I will say what I heard -- and,  
14 as I said, hope I'm not doing an injustice to that.  
15 I think the sense is and I think the experience is  
16 that the city is really not willing to invest in  
17 black business, that there seems to be no real  
18 comprehensive plan for putting in the right kind of  
19 infrastructure, a common vision, a vision of the  
20 total community, that there are jobs coming into the  
21 city; but what is the economic impact for blacks and  
22 how are they benefiting, are they benefiting, that  
23 our tax money goes into matching federal funds, but  
24 how much, say, do minorities actually have to say  
25 about exactly where the monies will go. And one

1 example was, for instance, receiving monies for  
2 transportation concerns in the city, you know, who  
3 will decide where those monies will go and who will  
4 be serviced by that, where are the blacks in  
5 influencing public policy, that there is an  
6 importance and a real need for maximizing the  
7 potential of all the segments in the community. And  
8 there is not a sense of that as being done in the  
9 black community and also in north Nashville.

10           And I will have to admit that, you  
11 know, in living in north Nashville I am just utterly  
12 amazed at what is not available to us. As I said, I  
13 live in the Germantown area. I'm a bit still  
14 siphoned off from the larger part of the north  
15 Nashville community. But, you know, I can go all  
16 the way practically I guess to Clarksville before I  
17 would come into contact with anything like a K-Mart,  
18 a Wal-Mart or a Target store, you know, something  
19 that is not a real high priced place. You know,  
20 people put Fountain Square out there with all these  
21 specialty shops, but people who live out there are  
22 not going to be going to Fountain Square and  
23 shopping there; and, of course, a lot of people are  
24 not going to come to north Nashville apparently to  
25 shop. I also know that there is a perception of

1 north Nashville being a high crime area. You know,  
2 people are utterly shocked when they hear me say  
3 that I live there, wonder that I'm not afraid. I  
4 have had people come to my house, coming from out of  
5 town and take taxi cab and the taxi cab driver asks  
6 them, you know, you mean you're sure you want to go  
7 to north Nashville. I know that there are problems  
8 out there. I know that there is crime out there.  
9 Again, I know that I am still somewhat sheltered in  
10 the area in which I live, but I really don't have  
11 fear out there. I love where I live.

12 I think there are efforts of the  
13 neighborhood community, you know, to reach out. I'm  
14 very active in Assumption Church. There is  
15 Assumption/Saint Vincent North Nashville Outreach,  
16 which I think does a lot of servicing of the poor  
17 and their needs out there in the community.

18 Continuing my conversation with Mr.  
19 Birdsong and Ms. Heath, they felt that one of the  
20 things that is really needed for minorities is a  
21 sense of hope and a sense of opportunity and that  
22 that is not that present among people in minority  
23 groups, and particularly again in lower-income  
24 areas. A sense that maybe the bigger problem is  
25 still institutional racism, economic racism as

1 opposed to individual racism, and that it's when  
2 institutionally economic racism ends that perhaps we  
3 can see changes in the perceptions and the  
4 stereotyping and the behavior shown by individuals  
5 towards people who are in minority racism and ethnic  
6 groups.

7           There seems to be a low expectation of  
8 blacks and other minorities as being able to be  
9 successful, and so the question is oftentimes, do we  
10 have a self-fulfilling prophecy operating.

11           And another problem seems to be for  
12 people who are involved in minority businesses and  
13 all is that information about opportunities, about  
14 new guidelines and new regulations that have come  
15 out oftentimes are not well disseminated and,  
16 therefore, many times people in these minority  
17 businesses are not able to make good decisions.

18           In talking about what is progress, Mr.  
19 Birdsong just, you know, raised the question of what  
20 is progress. Certainly we can't really say progress  
21 is in what we might see as the tokens that get in  
22 the public eye, that get into some of the high  
23 places, that progress is really the uplifting of the  
24 black community, of minority communities as a whole,  
25 where there are jobs and where there is growth in

1 business, where there is better housing, where there  
2 are safer neighborhoods in communities.

3           Also we talked some about differences  
4 in terms of black people who are Americans and that  
5 the differences, for example, between a black  
6 American and a white American are not nearly as  
7 great as you might say the differences between, if  
8 you wanted to put it this way, a white communist and  
9 and a white capitalist, that we have so much more in  
10 common than we have differences, and we have a  
11 cultural experience in common in many ways and we  
12 fail to appreciate that and to take advantage of  
13 that.

14           Another thing -- and this may betray  
15 my own ignorance of this hearing itself -- was I  
16 guess I found it real interesting as I began to make  
17 the phone calls and say, you know, I'm coming here  
18 to give some of my impressions of racial tensions in  
19 Nashville, that people that I talked with, including  
20 Ms. Heath and Mr. Birdsong -- and I know Ms. Heath  
21 talked to someone with the NAACP, I think maybe the  
22 Executive Director -- that other phone calls that I  
23 made many people didn't seem to know of the hearing.  
24 And I guess I was thinking I wish Mr. Birdsong could  
25 have been here to talk with you all because

1 certainly his own experience would be much more  
2 valid than what I would have to say. So that was  
3 just -- as I said, I didn't -- I'm not sure of your  
4 process and how you made decisions about who you  
5 would ask and how open the meeting was to people  
6 being able to be here and to make comments, but that  
7 was a question that was raised, you know, in my own  
8 mind.

9           Maybe I would like to end, and then be  
10 open to questions from you, with a statement that  
11 was in the United States Bishops' Pastoral letter on  
12 racism, Brothers and Sisters, to us that in came  
13 out in 1979. But there is a quote there that struck  
14 me very forcibly, and I said particularly in my  
15 moment of truth, and it's this: "Today racism  
16 flourishes in the triumph of private concern over  
17 public responsibility. Individual success over  
18 social commitment and personal fulfillment over  
19 authentic compassion".

20           I think we live in a society today  
21 that is very much caught up in perhaps individual  
22 rights, in self interest and vested interest. I  
23 think we have lost sight of the common good, and  
24 because of that I think the effort that is needed to  
25 make changes in race relations in any area where

1 there are problems, the effort is lacking because we  
2 are very busy about our own things.

3 MR. BLUMSTEIN: Thank you very much,  
4 Ms. Boyd, for your statement. I guess we do have  
5 time constraints, but if there is a question that  
6 the Committee would like to ask, please feel free to  
7 do that.

8 MR. SAWYER: Yes. I found it curious  
9 that you didn't address what the Catholic church or  
10 the Diocese is doing towards racial relations and  
11 civil rights, and so forth. Only your last -- I  
12 thought maybe you wouldn't address it at all but you  
13 did make a statement at the end. I think that would  
14 also answer why you were asked to participate in  
15 this.

16 MS. BOYD: I'll say honestly I wish we  
17 were doing more. I think in -- there have been what  
18 I would say efforts in terms of education to educate  
19 people on with what the church teaches as far as  
20 racism is concerned, you know, exposing them to the  
21 Pastoral letter, for instance, Brothers and Sisters,  
22 to us.

23 We have had -- I know about a couple  
24 of years ago we had our parish council in-services  
25 had made racism a theme of that, and we sent out for

1 various seasons in the church year -- and this  
2 particular one was one year in the Lenten season --  
3 a packet on racism and suggestions about what could  
4 be done from the pulpit, what could be done in the  
5 classes with curriculum.

6 Catholic Social Services in terms of  
7 -- and this is probably more reaching out towards  
8 poor people and the homeless -- and the Catholic  
9 community reaching out to homeless I think has done  
10 quite a bit. I think the Pastoral letter  
11 acknowledges that there is racism in the church. I  
12 know it to be true. I think there is an effort  
13 again to be conscious that we do need to clean up  
14 our own house before we can, you know, expect that  
15 others would certainly take what we have to say with  
16 great credibility.

17 We do not have a particular office,  
18 you know, in terms of minorities. I would say  
19 many -- what do I want to say -- our inter city  
20 parishes or more urban parishes would tend to be I  
21 think fairly racially integrated in the context that  
22 black is still minority in the city.

23 There are not a lot of blacks in  
24 parishes like Saint Henry's, which is out in the  
25 Bellevue area and beyond Belle Meade.



1                   My sense is that there have been black  
2 Catholics active in the parishes, on parish  
3 councils. In terms of the Dioceses in leadership at  
4 this time, no.

5                   I think probably, as I said, that  
6 there is a way in which maybe we would like to think  
7 that we are better than we really are in terms of  
8 what we are doing pro actively. I guess that's --

9                   MR. SAWYER: Well, you are obviously  
10 intimately involved with the Diocese, and yet by  
11 your own testimony you had to call people to find  
12 out something. I think that should tell you  
13 something and maybe the Bishop something that a lot  
14 more could be done.

15                  MS. BOYD: Right. Particularly, as  
16 I said, in the area of racism. I know that a lot of  
17 my work in terms of doing some of the peace and  
18 justice work has been with the Nashville Peace  
19 Alliance working with some of the other community  
20 organizations where I can support some of the  
21 efforts, but not a real focused energy.

22                  MS. WURZBURG: Well, John asked the  
23 question and I wanted to ask Reverend Barnes before  
24 he left, and the other panelists if they would also  
25 state -- and you did answer -- and you touched on an

1 interesting point when you said that we were dealing  
2 with institutional racism and maybe that would have  
3 some affect on individual racism.

4           In the old days of Reverend Barnes and  
5 others we did it the other way around. It was a  
6 little safer to work on attitudinal racism, human  
7 relations as opposed to institutional racism and  
8 human rights. And my question was -- you've  
9 answered it -- in Memphis, with some notable  
10 exceptions of a couple of Rabbis and other clergy of  
11 other denominations, it was the United Methodist  
12 Church and the Catholic Diocese that led -- I think  
13 that would be a fair statement, wouldn't you, Bob --  
14 that let Memphis's effort to rethink this whole  
15 issue of racism, and there were programs of human  
16 relations' work where we had consciousness raising.  
17 And you stated yours. And I was curious, since I  
18 saw you leaving, Reverend Barnes, is the Methodist  
19 Church still doing group activities with some sort  
20 of consciousness raising as to racism and how it  
21 works, and so forth?

22           REVEREND BARNES: Well, I think that  
23 goes on but it's very sporadic and informal, it  
24 seems to me. I can probably fill up the fingers of  
25 both hands, I think, or close to it, with the number

1 of Methodist parishes that have left the city, that  
2 have moved out to the suburbs.

3 Our congregation is the only example  
4 in my lifetime of the United Methodist creating a  
5 congregation in the inter city. I don't know how --  
6 maybe that is not true of Memphis. But a church  
7 extension -- right now we face the closing of  
8 several churches, inter city Methodist churches.  
9 This annual conference in June, Kern will be closed,  
10 Meridian Street in the middle of a marvelous  
11 population opportunity closed several years ago.  
12 There are two or three others that are really  
13 hanging on by their fingernails. So this movement  
14 away from the middle of the city seems to me a  
15 louder, a louder scream than workshops and race  
16 relation's days, and cars visiting and things of  
17 that sort.

18 I wish I could say there had been a, I  
19 think, sustained courageous witness, but I don't  
20 think that would really be the truth. I think we,  
21 as a denomination with a lot of exceptions, we are  
22 still basically pursuing the affluent and the middle  
23 class population, with exceptions.

24 MS. BOYD: I think the one thing that  
25 gives me hope right now is the Nashville Sponsoring

1 Committee and the possibilities for that, because  
2 the intent is to be broad-based, multi-racial and  
3 interfaith and to really bring and work through the  
4 congregations with the people to learn how to do  
5 organizing and to help people identify their  
6 interests and their concerns and to learn how to use  
7 the processes to get their needs met, and to see  
8 this as a real kind of empowerment effort. And I  
9 think that it's going to be in that type of effort  
10 and that in working with -- you know, with other  
11 people, people of different racial, ethnic  
12 backgrounds that it's in the working together and  
13 the doing together that I think -- you know, I'm  
14 hoping. I'm putting a lot of hope that change will  
15 take place and stereotypes will be challenged.

16 MR. BLUMSTEIN: Thank you very much.  
17 I appreciate you coming. And I'm going to exercise  
18 the right of the Chair and take a five-minute break.

19  
20 (Thereupon, a recess was had.)

21  
22  
23 MR. BLUMSTEIN: Katherine Linebaugh  
24 from the Nashville Conference of Christians Mnd  
25 Jews.

1 MS. LINEBAUGH: Thank you. I  
2 appreciate all of you giving me this opportunity. I  
3 will try to stick to my notes and to save some time  
4 for you to questions afterwards. But if you have  
5 questions while I'm talking, you are certainly  
6 welcome to interrupt.

7 The Nashville Conference of Christians  
8 and Jews is a nonsectarian human relations  
9 organization. It was founded nationally in 1927 at  
10 a time when there was a resurgence of hate groups  
11 following World War I. At that time membership in  
12 the Ku Klux Klan reached over two million and were  
13 active in many states. Its venom was directed  
14 against Catholics, Jews, blacks and all foreigners;  
15 and because of this, distinguished Americans who  
16 were Protestants, Catholics and Jews became  
17 committed to initiating an education program to  
18 combat the raging hatred that was being expressed  
19 and being tolerated and accepted in this nation.

20 Here in Nashville the local Chapter,  
21 our directors -- we have a Board of Directors and  
22 they are made up of a diversity of our community,  
23 racial, ethnic and religious diversity. And we have  
24 a two-person staff, and because of our small staff,  
25 I wish there was more that we could do. But I would

1 like to share with you some of the things that I  
2 have gleaned today as a part of my job with the  
3 National Conference of Christians and Jews and work  
4 in this community.

5 I closely work with local schools,  
6 colleges here, the government agencies and non-  
7 profit agencies, religious organizations, and in the  
8 corporate community. Attitudes of racism have an  
9 impact on the quality of life of a community. It  
10 affects employment, health care, education, to name  
11 only a few of the things. In learning to deal with  
12 this in the nation, it is going to be a real  
13 challenge. In the middle Tennessee area, besides  
14 the usual diversity that we have here with African  
15 Americans and white Americans in Tennessee, during  
16 the 1980s there was the greatest number of  
17 immigrants coming up into this area. Through this  
18 process the Nashville region has grown from a town  
19 with a few cultural differences to a more  
20 cosmopolitan city where there are new traditions and  
21 values and customs that have come to a southern  
22 community of Protestant background. It's predicted  
23 will continue to grow and the region's diversity  
24 will continue to increase.

25 Middle Tennessee has been a magnet for

1 southeast Asians because there were families here  
2 who could help in the socialization and social  
3 services for the resettlement of these people.

4           We have Hispanics from Puerto Rico,  
5 Cuba, South and Central America. These groups,  
6 coupled with other groups, such as Japanese,  
7 approximately 36 Japanese related companies have  
8 come to middle Tennessee, and new arrivals from the  
9 Soviet Union. All of these have impacted our  
10 neighborhoods, schools and workplaces. The impact  
11 these changes have made is immeasurable but it is  
12 certainly recognized in human relations'  
13 professionals, that in poor economic times, tension  
14 between groups increases, and as in every generation  
15 before us, the more different the immigrants and  
16 more economic competitions for the jobs in space and  
17 service, the greater the distrust will be by the  
18 natives.

19           When people of different origins speak  
20 in different languages and professing different  
21 religions and having the same locality, ethnic and  
22 racial conflict can occur.

23           Although it's only been recently that  
24 hate crimes have been fully recorded, it is known  
25 that there has been an increase of hate crimes

1 across the country. We have experienced these acts  
2 in middle Tennessee. This has increased the  
3 consciousness of citizens and our legislators.  
4 Although all incidents of violence are dangerous in  
5 hate crimes, the attack is motivated, not limited to  
6 one victim but it's aimed at the larger group and  
7 who is viewed as less human in which the victim  
8 belongs.

9           The disturbing news about hate crimes  
10 is the youthfulness of those who are attacked.  
11 Two-thirds of those who have been involved in this  
12 are young adults 19 years old and younger. Young  
13 people who commit these crimes believe they are  
14 acting out the shared feelings, either the shared  
15 feelings and attitudes of their family, their  
16 friends or those they are associated with. These  
17 young people have absorbed years of bigoted  
18 conversation and comments by those close to them.

19           White supremacist groups have been  
20 visible in the middle Tennessee area, like the Aryan  
21 Nations and the Ku Klux Klan. They have attempted  
22 to make in roads into middle counties. And we have  
23 had an increase in my office, several communities  
24 who have called asking for information and advise  
25 from the National Conference in dealing with these



1 groups.

2           Hate groups, although their hatred of  
3 Jews and Blacks have remained, they have added a  
4 great many other minorities as well as the federal  
5 government, taxes, immigration and issues like aids,  
6 and these new issues draw in more sympathizers to  
7 their cause.

8           Building a defense against white  
9 supremacist groups will be a challenge for the '90s.  
10 Demographic reports indicate the issues of racism  
11 will become even more critical in the future. The  
12 population of people of color will not only increase  
13 but it will be younger. This will be a major factor  
14 in educational institutions and in economic  
15 institutions.

16           Whites have a choice to continue the  
17 outmoded traditions which encourage racism or learn  
18 to accept cultural pluralism beyond the level of lip  
19 service. The increasing diversity of our population  
20 makes it even more imperative that our schools teach  
21 about our nation's diversity and what we as  
22 Americans have in common. The common American  
23 culture is the work of whites and blacks, of men and  
24 women, of native Americans and African Americans, of  
25 Hispanics and Asians, of immigrants from Europe, of

1 Protestants, Catholics, Jews, Muslims, Mormons and  
2 all the other groups from all over the world who  
3 will makes the United States home.

4           Throughout history of the world people  
5 have a tendency to care about people of their own  
6 group and have demonstrated their ability to  
7 persecute and oppress those who are different. And  
8 if it is left unchecked, the tendency turns into  
9 hatred based on race, religion, ethnicity, language,  
10 appearance and custom. In my work with teachers,  
11 which I do the majority of my time with, I recognize  
12 the important role teachers have in prejudice  
13 reduction in the school environment. Teachers and  
14 administrators should be concerned about racism.  
15 History, literature and art can be taught in ways to  
16 combat and diminish prejudice, not encourage it. If  
17 we teach children to identify only with members of  
18 their own race or ethnic culture, we run the risk of  
19 promoting and sanctioning ethnocentrism, prejudice  
20 and racism. Attitudes of racism in a school  
21 environment diverts minority student's attentions  
22 and interests from schoolwork because racism is a  
23 strongly negative emotional experience. And if a  
24 teacher avoids dealing with acts of prejudice when  
25 exhibited in the classroom, a clear message of

1 acceptance is sent. Counteracting racism is hard  
2 work and requires full cooperation from the school  
3 boards, administrators and teachers, and even  
4 parents and students should know the rules, and too  
5 often acts of racism are ignored. The first week of  
6 March the National Conference and the Inner-High  
7 Council of Metro Public Schools had a high school  
8 student leadership conference for Metro students.  
9 The Inner-High Council is an organization of student  
10 government officers from Nashville's thirteen public  
11 high schools. The National Conference has worked  
12 with this group for several years. And when the  
13 1992 Conference was being discussed, the Inner-High  
14 did a survey of students to determine what the focus  
15 would be this year, and overwhelmingly, the topic of  
16 this workshop -- the selected topic was racism. The  
17 conference entitled Diversity and Civic  
18 Responsibility took place during a school day from  
19 7:30 a.m. to two o'clock p.m., and participants were  
20 given -- there were 100 participants -- were given  
21 opportunities to learn the facts from two nationally  
22 recognized youth facilitators, as well as  
23 opportunities for small group discussions. I  
24 thought you might be interested in hearing some of  
25 the students concerns, or maybe their fears is a

1 stronger word -- the fear of not getting a job  
2 because my skin is black, the fear of a white  
3 student walking down a certain hall at school  
4 because black students hate whites, the fear of  
5 being followed when shopping in a local mall, the  
6 fear of being hated by Hispanics or black students,  
7 biracial families not accepted in their neighbor-  
8 hood, lack of family approval of friendships between  
9 races, prejudicial attitudes of teachers who treat  
10 minority students differently, Jewish students being  
11 treated as an outsider by other students or by a  
12 teacher. The list could go on and on. But you get  
13 the point. Young people are concerned and they need  
14 to have more opportunities to discuss their  
15 feelings.

16 Students left the Conference with  
17 goals to return to their schools to begin addressing  
18 issues of racism and diversity in a positive way.  
19 Experiences like this Conference reaffirms the need  
20 to increase communication among racial lines.

21 How can we make our community's  
22 environment more accepting of diversity? We can  
23 become more aware of others who are different from  
24 us. Ignorance and fear are two motivating factors  
25 of racism.

1 Educational organizations promoting an  
2 appreciation for diversity should be encouraged and  
3 supported. We must also insist that law enforcement  
4 personnel are trained to identify biased crimes and  
5 recognize cultural differences and to react  
6 appropriately.

7 Progress has been made in our nation's  
8 attempt to fulfill the Constitutional promise of  
9 equality. Changes have been made too slowly for  
10 some and perhaps too quickly for others, but there  
11 is still much to be done, and often the challenge  
12 seems overwhelming.

13 I believe we can look to the future  
14 with hope that we can educate our children to  
15 understand differences that they see in others while  
16 retaining their own distinct identities, and hope  
17 that we can have leadership, both black and white,  
18 that understands the needs of all of our citizens  
19 who can set aside prejudice based on color, creed or  
20 ethnic cultures, and who can dialogue together with  
21 open minds and open hearts. That concludes my  
22 presentation.

23 MR. BLUMSTEIN: Do you have any  
24 questions?

25 MR. LEWANDOWSKI: I was curious about

1 your reference to teachers and the impact that  
2 teachers can have on racial attitudes, and that is  
3 certainly true. It seems as though we place a lot  
4 of responsibility on teachers these days and we  
5 don't talk a great deal about parents, or as much  
6 about parents. And I was curious about -- you know,  
7 certainly teachers have a captive audience in terms  
8 of the students, and so forth. But are there  
9 suggestions or thoughts that you have on teacher/  
10 parent relationships and discussions regarding the  
11 same subject?

12 MS. LINEBAUGH: Exactly. I feel like  
13 that if the school wants to do prejudice reduction  
14 for their environment, I think it's a whole school  
15 effort, that I think it does take the  
16 administration, the teachers and the students and  
17 with parents, all of it working together, and that  
18 everyone knows, you know, that this is the attitude  
19 at this school. Because you are definitely right.  
20 In fact, it really starts at home, attitude  
21 adjustment, that it is known in human relations that  
22 attitudes is a stereotype, and in prejudice, if it's  
23 not something that takes place between eight and ten  
24 years old, it's very hard to change.

25 MR. LEWANDOWSKI: Are there any good

1 examples of that occurring in the middle Tennessee  
2 area of the cooperation between parents and school  
3 administrators?

4 MS. LINEBAUGH: There are some  
5 schools. I couldn't name exactly, specifically, but  
6 there are some schools that really do have this  
7 attitude and accept them. We do an extensive  
8 brotherhood/sisterhood week with the schools in  
9 February. Truly it's a one-time year event, but we  
10 put materials in people's hands and work with  
11 teachers all year, but this is the big thrust. And  
12 there are some schools that really go out and do  
13 outstanding work throughout the year, and the whole  
14 concept is the acceptance and appreciating of our  
15 diversity, and it's celebrated. And you can tell  
16 those schools.

17 MR. LEWANDOWSKI: The difference.

18 MS. LINEBAUGH: Mm-hmm.

19 MR. LEWANDOWSKI: Thank you.

20 MR. TABOR: Did you say that the  
21 majority of those instances where violence is the  
22 outcome is perpetrated in the --

23 MS. LINEBAUGH: I said a large portion  
24 of it, not the -- well, two-thirds of it. Are you  
25 talking about the two-thirds of the ones that are

1 the violent activities for the Khans, the hate  
2 groups? Is that what you are talking about?

3 MR. TABOR: Well, yes. I thought you  
4 mentioned somewhere in your presentation that youth  
5 made up the largest proportion of individuals in  
6 which violence is the outcome. Did I misunderstand  
7 what you said?

8 MS. LINEBAUGH: What I said had to do  
9 with hate groups, that the proportion 19 and under  
10 were the ages of a lot of those activities, yes.

11 MR. TABOR: And these are individuals  
12 who are victims?

13 MS. LINEBAUGH: No.

14 MR. TABOR: They are the ones who  
15 actually use violence as a means?

16 MS. LINEBAUGH: Yes, right.

17 MR. TABOR: What do you attribute  
18 that to?

19 MS. LINEBAUGH: Well, I think that I  
20 think it is being recognized that a lot of these  
21 activities are being done by young people and maybe  
22 some -- you know, I think I mentioned that around  
23 the table at home they have picked up a lot of years  
24 of maybe negative feelings about affirmative action,  
25 lost jobs, things that have caused them having these



1 feelings and then they have come to an age that they  
2 are beginning to act them out.

3 MR. BLUMSTEIN: Katherine, just one  
4 question. Do you want to address yourself a little  
5 bit to the question of intolerance for intolerance  
6 in the Nashville community? In the Nashville  
7 Community, do you get support from organized  
8 groups, religious groups, civic groups, and so  
9 forth, in combating the kind of hate crimes and hate  
10 activities that you've described? Is there a  
11 support network -- I remember I have been on one at  
12 least one or two of your programs on these kinds of  
13 issues which suggest that you are out there  
14 educating. Do you get a lot of support in combating  
15 these kinds of activities in the community? Is  
16 there a community sense of outrage about these  
17 events? Or is there a community tolerance for the  
18 intolerance? How do you feel about that?

19 MR. TABOR: May I expand on your  
20 question just a little bit? Would you also address  
21 whether or not task forces, or whatever, is done to  
22 address a particular problem; for example, if there  
23 is a problem in the school?

24 MS. LINEBAUGH: I wish there was more  
25 of that. Sometimes I feel very alone. It used to

1 be that we worked very closely with Fred Cloud with  
2 the Human Relations Commission. The Human Relations  
3 Commission is still there but there is no longer a  
4 paid staff as a part of the Commission. And with  
5 Fred Cloud we worked more closely with those types  
6 of things. But now there is no organized efforts.  
7 We work towards kind of an interfaith organization  
8 called Focus, which is Faith Organizations and  
9 Covenant, for understanding and service, and they  
10 meet and talk about these issues, but no one is  
11 really dealing with it. I don't think there is as  
12 much going on now as there was five or ten years  
13 ago.

14 MR. BLUMSTEIN: Thank you very much.  
15 The next person is Dr. Warren Moore of the Tennessee  
16 Human Rights Commission. Let me extend a welcome to  
17 you and thank you for taking time for sharing your  
18 views with us.

19 MR. MOORE: Thank you, Chairman  
20 Blumstein. I'm Warren Moore. I'm Director of the  
21 Tennessee Human Rights Commission which is an  
22 organization that has as its immediate focus the  
23 enforcement of laws related to housing and  
24 employment and public accommodations, that is, anti-  
25 discrimination laws.

1                   On the subject of violence, I think I  
2 would like to maybe make a statement, which could be  
3 challenged by most people, that the violence in  
4 Tennessee is a legacy of 300 years or more of social  
5 and political neglect. I don't think what is  
6 happening in Tennessee in 1992 is any different,  
7 except in perhaps form, than has been happening  
8 across the country, and indeed western civilization  
9 for a number of years, that is, the strong taking  
10 the dominant position over the weak.

11                   I would like to sort of characterize  
12 my remarks under three categories, organized  
13 violence. First, there is political violence.  
14 Political in the sense that those who are in  
15 political office or have leadership positions tend  
16 to make irresponsible statements or take postures  
17 over against others, groups, individuals, countries,  
18 et cetera. And I think this get played out. It  
19 filters down to even children at play in the school  
20 yards in terms of how they handle their  
21 disagreements. They act out behavior that could be  
22 characterized as violent and what could be  
23 characterized as political.

24                   Social in the sense that Police  
25 Departments and other organizations that are legally

1 licensed to enforce, or to curb, or to keep in check  
2 certain groups of behavior tend to exercise their  
3 authority according to their own private whims quite  
4 often. They tend to police certain parts of town  
5 more strictly than others.

6 We heard a lot about north Nashville  
7 today. Police presence in north Nashville is a  
8 factor. You don't have to look for them except when  
9 you need them. When you don't need them or don't  
10 want them, they are ever present.

11 We have persons coming to our office  
12 complaining that their cars and the cars of their  
13 visitors are being hauled away from an apartment  
14 complex on a daily basis while a police car sits  
15 over on the lower part of the parking lot in a sense  
16 providing protection for the wrecker service who is  
17 illegally taking cars out of the lot. And we have  
18 had an encounter on several occasion with the  
19 manager of this apartment complex asking them  
20 whether or not they called the police, or is there  
21 is an infraction of some kind. It seems that there  
22 is just an agreement worked out among the boy's that  
23 we're going out and we're going to make some money  
24 tonight and you provide me with the cover, that I'm  
25 doing something that is legal and authorized by

1 someone, just the appearance of the police car, and  
2 we'll get this \$52 and we'll split it.

3 Now, I'm summarizing that to suggest  
4 how loosely that's being done. And no one else has  
5 given me the real explanation for this activity, so  
6 I'm just assuming that at least this one policeman  
7 is at liberty to go out and do whatever he chooses  
8 in that part of town.

9 We have gangs. This is not Los  
10 Angeles. Nonetheless, we have gangs. We have the  
11 Colors. We have the Jackets. We have the same  
12 gangs by many descriptions going out defacing  
13 property. It's not just painting swastikas on  
14 synagogues. They are writing descriptive phrases.  
15 They are becoming poetic. I guess the only good  
16 part about that is they have learned to get subject  
17 and verb agreement. We see that in strange places.

18 The Skin Heads, the triple K and other  
19 drug organizations are working in this area. We  
20 have sort of a mecca developing here. The Skin  
21 Heads and the Klan return to Tennessee on an annual  
22 basis to have their annual march or their annual  
23 confrontation in Tennessee. Fortunately, the town-  
24 ship has decided to fight against this and pass  
25 ordinances or restrict their movement somewhat, but

1 nonetheless they return. As a matter of fact, they  
2 stated that Knoxville is really a good place to  
3 develop their organization. Now, I don't know what  
4 Knoxville thinks about itself, but I'm saying that  
5 according to the Aryan Nation and others reported in  
6 the Klan Watch, they think that Tennessee is a good  
7 place to develop.

8           And I would recommend this to you in  
9 case you don't have it, Klan Watch it is an  
10 intelligence report. It tracks all the hate groups  
11 around the country, keeps up with them. I'm sure  
12 most of you are aware of that already.

13           Then there is unorganized violence,  
14 individuals attacking individuals. This is racial  
15 and non-racial in character. We have drive-by  
16 shootings, and we theorize that perhaps that is drug  
17 related, or perhaps the one in the car doing the  
18 shooting is involved in drugs, and perhaps the  
19 innocent victim happens to be a good target to  
20 practice on. It's not always clear.

21           In housing, neighborhoods have  
22 confrontations of various sorts, either a family  
23 moving into an area where the bulk of -- at least  
24 the vocal part of the community -- is opposed to  
25 their moving in, and they come out and burn a cross

1 and throw paint on the house, always at night.  
2 There never seems to be a direct confrontation,  
3 except in one case, this neighbor and his son broke  
4 into the home, held the women down who had moved  
5 into the neighborhood and gave her fair warning,  
6 after slapping her around and dragging her around by  
7 her hair, told her that she was not wanted in the  
8 neighborhood. Of course, we have tried to get the  
9 FBI and everybody else involved, and perhaps you  
10 already know what response we might have gotten from  
11 that. You have to virtually capture the invader and  
12 have him there for physical evidence before you can  
13 get any real response.

14                   Geographic confrontation is the third  
15 area I would like to address. Although incidents  
16 occur statewide, that is, violent incidents, most of  
17 the reports we receive come from the larger  
18 metropolitan areas, such as Knoxville, Chattanooga,  
19 Nashville and Memphis. And there have been such bad  
20 reports from these areas that the Commission has  
21 decided to hold a series of forums in these cities.  
22 We are going to start in Memphis, and as stated  
23 earlier by Mr. Doctor, the U. S. Civil Rights  
24 Commission has been invited to be a part, to jointly  
25 sponsor, the forum in Memphis. The hope, of course,

1 is to have all of the documentation that we could  
2 possibly get on incidents of violence presented to  
3 that forum, people of any description to come  
4 forward and tell us about their experiences.  
5 Obviously, we'll have the experts to come in and  
6 provide some analysis. But we want people to tell  
7 us in their words exactly how they have experienced  
8 violence in the community.

9                   We have heard a lot about the public  
10 housing, and I won't go over the same material,  
11 except I would describe it as a concentration camp  
12 with all of the -- sort of the social patterns that  
13 we have read about in the concentration history.  
14 It's sort of an area that is out there by itself and  
15 it appears to have a life of its own and a certain  
16 freedom by indifference, but it is still patrolled  
17 sort of from the outside. We have certain public  
18 housing units here where the police state when asked  
19 about violence that they don't go in there. They  
20 call one Little Vietnam. They don't go in there  
21 because they can't match the fire power. Now, that  
22 is a sad commentary for a police establishment to  
23 make. Here they are sworn to uphold the law, given  
24 all that they request in terms of fire power and all  
25 the latest technology to control crowds saying that



1 they won't go in because they think they are  
2 out-gunned, or at least they know they are.

3 Schools, halls, grounds, the areas  
4 around schools are the drug dealers and pushers  
5 domain. I don't think it's even a contest. We have  
6 literally watched. We have staked them out. We  
7 have watched drug transactions take place in sight  
8 of the police. We have watched the police cruise  
9 by. We have watched them -- we've watched them  
10 watch the drug transactions. It's like there's a  
11 tacit agreement there and we wonder what's going on.  
12 We don't know. We can't really say except we can  
13 say that we have watched them. We watch them busily  
14 giving out tickets for speeding through the same  
15 area where the drug transactions are occurring.  
16 There is a wall along this street where the drug  
17 dealers sit on the wall and actually harass the cars  
18 as they slow up at the light.

19 We know of school kids whose jackets  
20 and gym shoes are being taken off of them. We know  
21 that life is less precious than a good pair of gym  
22 shoes. We don't have much hope either.

23 And I would like to put in a note here  
24 about one organization that has looked at this, the  
25 One Hundred Black Men of America, and in this area

1 it is the One Hundred Black Men of Middle Tennessee.  
2 The organization has decided that it would go into  
3 the elementary school at the first grade level and  
4 try to provide an alternative role model, black male  
5 role model for all of the children to see. The  
6 hope, of course, is to turn that young black male  
7 into a positive direction before he gets affected by  
8 what's happening outside and those sitting on the  
9 wall. And by involving one's self with the first  
10 grade class, which is multi-racial, the other kids,  
11 non-black, if you will, would see the black male  
12 model, at least this one example, in a different way  
13 than the drug pusher or the absentee father, or  
14 whatever.

15           Anyway, there is a real attempt on the  
16 part of some organizations and not just them. We  
17 have The Men of Distinction, an organization of  
18 young adults and teenagers, working to provide some  
19 stimulation for a correct path on the part of some  
20 of the young black males.

21           Mr. Chairman, I have provided some of  
22 my own views on this. I have tried to indicate what  
23 comes before us as a Commission and the variety of  
24 ways in which we perceive our society, our  
25 community, our state as being much more violent than

1 it was some years ago.

2           We were talking earlier about  
3 interracial groups and whether or not there are any  
4 such organizations going on. We have the -- we've  
5 just had a statement by the Organization of  
6 Christians and Jews, Ms. Linebaugh, talking about  
7 that. But in terms of social inter-action, I know  
8 of one Wednesday night group, which one of your  
9 members is a part of, it's an organization of some  
10 twenty-five, thirty years, maybe, nobody really  
11 knows, perhaps thirty years, of persons getting  
12 together with no agenda but just to deliberately  
13 associate with each other. And, of course, as a  
14 fallout of that, they get to know each other and  
15 talk about a variety of things and perhaps bring  
16 various organization's perspective to bear on those  
17 issues. But we don't have a proliferation of such  
18 activity.

19           Unfortunately, people have started  
20 going to their side of town in the evening, five  
21 o'clock, and their side of town is quite  
22 homogeneous, and that is how we are in 1992. Thank  
23 you.

24           MR. BLUMSTEIN: Before we open to  
25 questions I just have a clarification. I thought I

1 heard you say you had four points and my notes have  
2 three points. There may have been a fourth one I  
3 missed.

4 MR. MOORE: Well, I might have said  
5 four but I had three categories I wanted to --

6 MR. BLUMSTEIN: Only three, that's  
7 fine. Thank you very much.

8 MR. KNIGHT: We invited the Chief of  
9 Police. He was unable to attend. But your  
10 assessment came -- for these community relations, do  
11 you have an assessment on how that exists here?  
12 Could you establish that a little bit? How is it  
13 here in Nashville?

14 MR. MOORE: Well, I think it's  
15 probably different in a way, meaning different that  
16 police are not all white anymore and there are  
17 African American policemen. In fact, there was one  
18 person of Spanish decent that I talked with the  
19 other day. I think he writes tickets or something.  
20 I'm not sure he's a full-fledged policeman.

21 But I think the Police Department is  
22 in sort of in disarray itself. It's sort of  
23 disputing back and forth as to their procedures,  
24 especially regarding promotions, and so on. I think  
25 that sort of says to us in the community that they

1 are not all together heading in the same direction  
2 all at once.

3 I think they still have a way of  
4 getting around the law themselves when they are  
5 dealing with the black community and perhaps any  
6 other minority. I think they are not as overtly  
7 violent as they used to be. I guess that is about  
8 what I could say about that.

9 MR. TABOR: I'll pass.

10 MS. WURZBURG: I have a question, Mr.  
11 Moore. The organization which you direct is a  
12 political entity. You have been around for a number  
13 of administrations. I have always felt personally  
14 that there was a direct relationship between fear  
15 and prejudices. And the national scene of the last  
16 number of years pandering to fears, such as Willie  
17 Horton being introduced into the presidential  
18 campaign, affirmative action being as used as it was  
19 in Jessie Helm's campaign, do you draw any direct  
20 correlation between the posture of national, or  
21 state, or city leadership and what filters down into  
22 the school halls or the school grounds, and so  
23 forth?

24 MR. MOORE: I think in my initial  
25 statement I characterized part of the organized

1 violence as social and mentioned those in political  
2 office taking certain positions or having certain  
3 philosophies acted out affect other groups, and  
4 there is a filtering down. I think of maybe two or  
5 three administrations back we had the onset of a  
6 sort of backing away from affirmative action. We  
7 had, I think, a return to a pseudo set of values  
8 that was admired during the '20s and '30s. We have  
9 had an abandonment of the civil rights agenda, if in  
10 fact there was ever a civil rights agenda.

11 We are headed away from affirmative  
12 action by definition now. I think the President has  
13 made it fairly clear that he doesn't want anything  
14 that even sounds like quotas or affirmative action,  
15 for that matter. It's -- when we talk about  
16 prosecuting cases based on intent, I think that  
17 relieves us of the responsibility to even hear the  
18 walk-in complaints. Unless we can say 500 people  
19 are affected by something -- just to take a round  
20 number -- then we aren't going to get involved in  
21 that case. One on one has to suggest that there is  
22 no interest.

23 Yes, I do think that the person who  
24 has the highest level of visibility and acceptance  
25 in the community carries that responsibility and the

1 ability to affect the attitudes and behavior of the  
2 masses.

3 MR. LEWANDOWSKI: Mr. Moore, did I  
4 read you right earlier? Did you infer or say that  
5 in Tennessee it is your opinion that we are no worse  
6 off or better off than the rest of the country in  
7 terms of the various issues we are talking? Or did  
8 I not understand that?

9 MR. MOORE: I think in my opening  
10 statement I said that it's a legacy of neglect that  
11 has lasted over 300 years, and what is happening  
12 here has been happening in some form all along. And  
13 I would go a step further and say that Tennessee is  
14 becoming much like the worst parts of the country.  
15 It is not as bad as many. There are cities, that  
16 I'm sure that all of us could point out, where there  
17 is more risk to life and limb than in Tennessee,  
18 that people have less hope. There is greater  
19 unemployment. There are a whole panoply of things  
20 we can point to that are worse than in Tennessee.  
21 But I'm suggesting that what we have here in  
22 Tennessee is a form of neglect. It is the result of  
23 neglect not unlike many years ago.

24 MR. DOCTOR: Warren, how does all of  
25 that impact on the overall issue of racial tensions?

1 MR. MOORE: Well, I think it gives  
2 certain groups a sense of freedom to act out to do  
3 things, feeling that they will not really be  
4 punished if they are arrested for their behavior,  
5 somehow they are not going to really go to jail.  
6 They might be even be congratulated by some. The  
7 way the courts function these days it seems to  
8 suggest that certain things are okay. And I don't  
9 want to launch an entire triumph against the Supreme  
10 Court, but I would suspect that having your case  
11 before the Supreme Court is a lot different than  
12 having been there twenty years ago. I think all of  
13 this just makes groups like the Skin Heads and  
14 others feel like they are operating within the  
15 parameters of an accepted mean, that they are not  
16 really renegades, because the average white person  
17 is not threatened by anything they do unless that  
18 white person seems to be identified with something  
19 else, some black-oriented ideal like affirmative  
20 action, or if they -- you know, they can get  
21 identified in some other way then, you know, what  
22 the Skin Heads might be doing could be just childish  
23 pranks. But it cannot be dismissed by other  
24 organizations. The Jews can't dismiss it that way,  
25 for example.



1 I think the impact is that certain  
2 groups are growing as a vermin. It's directly  
3 related to that philosophy that we have been hearing  
4 for the last twelve years.

5 MR. DOCTOR: What role should the  
6 federal government play in addressing the issue of  
7 racial tensions in America?

8 MR. MOORE: What role?

9 MR. DOCTOR: Yes.

10 MR. MOORE: Well, let me talk about  
11 the president first. The president, in not just  
12 theory, is the head of this country. The president  
13 should be first in stating the fact that this should  
14 be a unified country; that, in fact, people do come  
15 to these shores from all over the world. They come  
16 under different circumstances, but they do come.

17 As we see dramatized on a daily basis,  
18 haitians are being sent back to Haiti. And we can  
19 argue about that a long time. But I think there is  
20 a difference in how Haitians and Mexicans are being  
21 handled than Eastern Europeans, or for that matter,  
22 both people. It's just a matter of the head of the  
23 country, and certainly the congress as the next pier  
24 down saying that there is enough of this  
25 dividedness, that we need to come together, we need

1 to be a single country, that we need to get rid of  
2 racism, that no one person or group of persons are  
3 better than any other group that will not have a  
4 sense that one is better than the other. Black is  
5 no better than white. But somehow that has not been  
6 said yet. There is such an intense interest on  
7 being elected to office that everything just goes in  
8 as a chit into the pot.

9 MR. BLUMSTEIN: Just one question.  
10 Warren, your comment about the relationship with  
11 race and your response leads to my next question.  
12 Adding your comment about the Supreme Court raises  
13 in my mind one question. Of course, the Court has  
14 gotten tougher in the last ten years. The question  
15 that I really want you to address -- and there seems  
16 to be a tension -- and I think Bill Barnes expressed  
17 this as well, and I think you did as well, about the  
18 tension of life's needs to be in community but also  
19 worried about police presence in the community --  
20 And I guess my question to you is: What do you  
21 think the proper role the police in the community  
22 is? A lot of the concerns that have been expressed  
23 by you and Bill Barnes and others focus on drug  
24 dealing and on other kinds of illegal activity,  
25 violence, and the emotion of recapturing the

1 neighborhood, on the other hand, there are certain  
2 abuses, apparently that the police treating for  
3 profit the inappropriate towing of cars -- I think  
4 that was your hypothesis, anyway.

5           How would you envision the proper role  
6 if you were the police chief? What would be the  
7 proper role of the police in the community? I  
8 assume you would want them there, but appropriately  
9 there. How do you define what is appropriate in  
10 there?

11           MR. MOORE: Well, they usually swear  
12 the policeman in to uphold the law. I think I  
13 started with that, that he is to uphold the law, he  
14 is to intervene where life is being threatened.  
15 They should not overly emphasize property, as a  
16 matter of fact. I'm sure as an attorney you know  
17 the whole history of that argument. Property has  
18 always come before life it seems, and it seems that  
19 that is still going on.

20           The proper role is to provide  
21 protection for the community, no matter whether the  
22 community is affluent or poverty stricken. I mean  
23 these are still people and they need to be protected  
24 against whatever threatens their life, whether  
25 that's drugs, whether that's fast moving cars

1 through the playground, or whether there is an  
2 arsonist; whatever it is that threatens the life of  
3 that community, they should provide protection  
4 against that. And I think that is the floor.

5 Now, go beyond that, there should be  
6 surveillance. There should be the whole milieu of  
7 warfare strategy. Now, if we are going to call this  
8 a drug war, if we are talking about a war here, then  
9 we ought to strategize to go in and deal with it in  
10 the same way you would in a war. You know who the  
11 enemy are. If the enemy has been identified, or at  
12 least the enemy's behavior is recognizable, then it  
13 seems to me that you ought to be able to go and  
14 isolate the individual and eliminate it. Now,  
15 that's what they taught me in the military.

16 I just think that the police ought to  
17 be the police. They should not be errand boys. I  
18 see them on Sunday hanging around churches directing  
19 traffic. I see them escorting cars that seem more  
20 important than other cars from the airport. I see  
21 them doing a variety of things, yet they seem to be  
22 understaffed. They are always talking about not  
23 having enough police on the force but yet they have  
24 enough to direct traffic for the churches, and that  
25 is, large churches. Now, a little black church

1 might have people parked all on the grass and on the  
2 sidewalk and they never direct that traffic. But,  
3 you know, we all know where the big churches are  
4 around here. And drive through there after the  
5 eleven o'clock service and you'll see our boys in  
6 blue out there.

7 MR. BLUMSTEIN: Thank you very much.  
8 I appreciate your coming and sharing your thoughts  
9 with the Advisory Committee and all your help in the  
10 collaboration in which you have demonstrated  
11 throughout the course of the last few years.  
12 Appreciate that very much.

13 MR. MOORE: Thank you.

14 MR. BLUMSTEIN: Ms. Tanner.

15 MS. TANNER: My name is Ruth Tanner  
16 and I'm the Director of the Jewish Federation of  
17 Nashville and Middle Tennessee.

18 Before I get into my prepared remarks,  
19 I would like to say that I guess there is a benefit  
20 to being last, and that is that I've heard a lot  
21 from all the different presenters that makes me  
22 think that there are a number of common problems and  
23 also some differences in perception of some of those  
24 same common problems.

25 I wanted to tell you -- First of all,

1 I want to introduce my colleague, Sharon Gall who  
2 has been sitting here at the table of dignitaries.  
3 Sharon works with our Community Relations Committee  
4 and came here today to be some support.

5 I would like to tell you a little bit  
6 about the Jewish Federation since some of you may  
7 not know very much about it. We are the central  
8 fund raising, planning, budgeting, allocating and  
9 community relations organization for the Jewish  
10 community. We are a secular organization, not a  
11 religious one. We think and believe that we include  
12 within our organization anyone who self identifies  
13 as a Jew whether or not he or she belongs to a  
14 synagogue or a temple.

15 And I've prepared some remarks today  
16 and they really deal with some of the things that  
17 Katherine and Warren have already talked about,  
18 probably the most dramatic racial issue that affects  
19 the Jewish community in Tennessee. But if there is  
20 some time afterwards, I would like to talk a little  
21 bit, perhaps less formally, about some more subtle  
22 things that are not in these remarks.

23 The Jewish community of Nashville and  
24 middle Tennessee is troubled by the increase in  
25 white supremacist's activities and anti-Semitic

1 violence that is clearly growing in our region.  
2 According to the Anti-Defamation Leagues annual  
3 audit of anti-Semitic incidents published in the  
4 Tennessean in February of this year, 1991  
5 occurrences took place in 1991, the highest number  
6 in the thirteen-year history of the survey, and an  
7 increase of 11 percent from the previous year.  
8 Seven of those incidents were in Tennessee and one  
9 in Nashville. The element in this upward trend that  
10 is most troubling to me is the relationship that  
11 seems to be maturing between the -- what I call the  
12 doctrine of white supremacy emanating from groups  
13 such as Aryan Nations and the carrying out of  
14 anti-social acts by persons influenced by this  
15 doctrine, particularly the Ku Klux Klan and Skin  
16 Heads. And this connection is very clearly factual.  
17 Area undercover police who have monitored meetings  
18 where individuals representing all three  
19 organizations, Aryan Nations, the Klan, and various  
20 Skin Head groups have come together, have said that  
21 the older, more established groups seek to build  
22 upon the violent anti-social feelings of the less  
23 structured, more volatile and frequently younger,  
24 eager members and encourage them to act out in  
25 specific ways. This was precisely the circumstance

1 that occurred at a meeting in Smyrna, Tennessee, not  
2 quite two years ago when Richard Butler, the leader  
3 of Aryan Nations, spoke to a number of small  
4 splintered groups who came together under the  
5 umbrella of the Christian identity doctrine. Butler  
6 told those assembled to, quote, "violate the rights  
7 of minority citizens because they are not really  
8 citizens", unquote. Within hours the entrance way  
9 of the West End Synagogue in Nashville was sprayed  
10 with bullets from an automatic weapon. In January  
11 of this year, two local Ku Klux Klan members were  
12 charged by the U. S. Grand Jury for this crime. In  
13 the indictment the reasons given for the shooting by  
14 the alleged perpetrators were to, quote, "threaten,  
15 harass and intimidate Jews who attended the  
16 synagogue", unquote. The previous year the same  
17 synagogue was spray painted with swastikas and anti-  
18 Semitic graffiti the night preceding the Jewish New  
19 Year. These messages of hate greeted worshipers the  
20 next morning when they arrived for prayers. Within  
21 weeks a group of Aryan Skin Heads were arrested and  
22 charged with the desecration. In both instances --  
23 and this is contrary to what you have just talked  
24 about -- Metro Nashville police, the FBI, TBI and  
25 other law enforcement agencies, along with the U. S.



1 Department of Justice, which brought each of the  
2 Skin Heads to trial, worked tirelessly to identify  
3 and prosecute the responsible parties. And certainly  
4 from the point of view of the Jewish Community of  
5 Nashville they are to be congratulated.

6 But the fact remains that these fringe  
7 elements -- and I really think we all should  
8 understand that they are fringe elements, they do  
9 not represent mainstream middle Tennesseans --  
10 nonetheless, it continues to thrive.

11 In the past few weeks, it was reported  
12 on a National news program that Aryan Nations South  
13 will be located on a private farm just outside of  
14 Murfreesboro. The Idaho based organization is  
15 planning to build a compound there as a new base of  
16 operations in the southeast. The, quote,  
17 "construction crew", unquote will be area Skin Heads  
18 recruited for that purpose.

19 What fields this activity is the  
20 doctrine that Aryans are the, quote, "only true  
21 Americans", the only people religiously, racially or  
22 ethnically fit to reside in America they see as the  
23 fulfillment of Biblical prophecy. For them only  
24 race is destined to inherit this new world. There  
25 is no room in their holy land for non-Aryans, for

1 Jews, Blacks, Hispanics Orientals and others. This  
2 concept is the backbone of the Kingdom Identity  
3 Doctrine and it has increasingly shaped the white  
4 supremacy movement in the past ten years.

5           For those of you who may not have been  
6 following this peculiar small group for a long, long  
7 time should know that they broadcast on radio  
8 stations all across the United States, and for a  
9 long time were broadcasting out of Nashville on a  
10 wide band frequency that covered fifteen states.  
11 That has since stopped, as far as I know. But these  
12 people have access to and know how to access  
13 communications media. They have funding. And they  
14 are clever about their use of it. And the fact that  
15 the rest of us may not be in tune with it or aware  
16 of it reflects on our ignorance of what's happening  
17 and on their ability to access what's there for  
18 them.

19           The presence in Tennessee of a new  
20 base of operations for perhaps the best organized  
21 white supremacy organization in the United States  
22 should be of concern to us all, and not only because  
23 it may serve as a stimulus for more fluid hate  
24 groups. Even though Aryan Nations and others that  
25 adhere to its doctrine represent a tiny percentage

1 of Americans, the group undercuts, clearly undercuts  
2 the goals of democratic pluralism. They step  
3 forward at a time of economic distress and the  
4 erosion of old certainties, the best predictors as  
5 history sadly teaches us, for a resurgence of  
6 anti-Semitism and other racial or ethnic hatreds.

7           Before I proceed, I want to distribute  
8 -- and I would like these back -- some very  
9 courageous photographs that were taken -- actually  
10 two years' worth of photographs were taken by a  
11 young woman photographer at the Klan and Skin Head  
12 rally in Pulaski. These are copies of some of her  
13 photos, not all.

14           We are fortunate in middle Tennessee  
15 to have a relatively strong State Hate Crime Statute  
16 and the cooperation, I think, of dedicated law  
17 enforcement agencies who bring hate crime  
18 perpetrators to justice. What is needed from all of  
19 us -- and I think I'm picking up on something I  
20 heard earlier -- a kind of a benign public is  
21 vigilance and the courage to act together on one  
22 another's behalf should the need arise. I am  
23 pleased to call to your attention in this regard a  
24 first step between Nashville's Jewish community and  
25 the NAACP of Nashville. On March 26th we will be

1 co-sponsoring a hate crime's forum at which the  
2 Director of Klan Watch, the Klan Watch Project of  
3 the Southern Poverty Law Center will speak. We hope  
4 that this will be the beginning of a continuing  
5 forum between the African American and Jewish  
6 communities in Nashville on issues of shared  
7 concern. This is the beginning for us of a new  
8 definition of what we see as community building from  
9 the Jewish community's point of view. And I'll be  
10 happy to answer questions.

11 MR. BLUMSTEIN: Thank you very much.

12 MS. WURZBURG: Reports from Anti-  
13 Defamation League have talked about incidents on the  
14 campuses around, some ads being placed in campus  
15 newspapers according to be by a historian claiming  
16 that the Holocaust never existed, an awful lot of  
17 anti-Isreal sentiment I think is the encouragement  
18 of creating anti-Semitic sentiment -- the Knoxville  
19 incident that's probably known to you better than  
20 others regarding racial and anti-Semitic outbursts  
21 being displayed even in public places such as a  
22 football game of recent -- Can you enlighten us as  
23 to how widespread --

24 MR. BLUMSTEIN: Let's say what that is  
25 for people who don't know about the football game

1 episode.

2 MS. WURZBURG: I'm trying to figure  
3 out how I can word it. The incident that was  
4 reported in Memphis as observed by a student and his  
5 mother was that a young women who was not Jewish  
6 having a date with somebody who was Jewish was  
7 tapped on the shoulder by someone behind her and the  
8 man behind her exposed himself, his penis, touched  
9 her with it and claimed that since she liked Jews,  
10 obviously, this is what she likes having done to her  
11 and all kinds of terrible -- the bad part about it  
12 is the University didn't think that to be a serious  
13 offense from what was reported and didn't think it  
14 was worth addressing and that if the parents wanted  
15 to do something they could sue the young man, which  
16 is by the way happening. But in the meantime, a lot  
17 of us think it is something that the University  
18 should be concerned about.

19 MS. TANNER: I agrees with Mr. Moore  
20 with something that I had added to my remarks and  
21 something which you said as well, that the  
22 consequences of discriminatory speech, a speech that  
23 either deliberately puts down people of other groups  
24 or that is just meant to be demeaning but may be  
25 subtle is particularly of concern when candidates

1 for national office take part in that kind of  
2 commentary. And what happens I believe is exactly  
3 what he said, it makes discrimination more  
4 acceptable. It makes it in the public perception  
5 okay to speak and act out against people you may  
6 think are not as good as you are. And quite frankly  
7 we know what that that typically leads to increases  
8 in acts of Anti-Semitism and obviously other acts  
9 that are equally reprehensible. I agree with him  
10 completely that the leaders of our country need to  
11 be absolutely clear when something occurs in our  
12 national life just as -- Jocelyn to answer your  
13 question, the leadership of the University of  
14 Tennessee, whether it's the Board of Regents, the  
15 Chancellor, whatever, should be speaking out to make  
16 clear where the University and the State of  
17 Tennessee stand on issues like that. There have  
18 been others at the UT Knoxville campus, too. There  
19 was a horrendous, recently a horrendous article, an  
20 anti-Semitic article printed in -- not taken out as  
21 an ad but printed on their editorial page written by  
22 a student writer. I do not know that anything -- if  
23 there has been any response from the University  
24 administration on that score.

25 MS. WURZBURG: As a mater of fact, I

1 can enlighten you. The University's response was,  
2 well, I read it and I didn't think it was so awful,  
3 it was just someone expressing a different point of  
4 view. Which reminds me, Mr. Chairman --

5 MR. BLUMSTEIN: That was the  
6 University's --

7 MS. TANNER: No, no, no. This wasn't  
8 actually -- I think we are talking about a different  
9 thing.

10 MR. BLUMSTEIN: A non-Jewish --

11 MS. WURZBURG: It was a letter -- I  
12 understood a letter to the editor for the school  
13 newspaper, or the student was on staff. I'm not  
14 sure.

15 MS. TANNER: The student was on the  
16 staff of the newspaper.

17 MS. WURZBURG: But that the editor of  
18 the newspaper and the faculty advisor didn't seem to  
19 denote the problems associated -- in fact, it was  
20 erroneous in facts. Didn't seem to bother anybody,  
21 it was an opinion. Well, you bring up the First  
22 Amendment Rights, you bring up journalism  
23 responsibility and you bring up the University not  
24 interested in addressing the kinds of prejudices and  
25 discrimination that was exhibited in the thing. And

1 for that reason, fellow Commissioners, I have asked  
2 our -- Mr. Knight and Mr. Doctor that, that if we go  
3 to Chattanooga for some more of these hearings I  
4 would like Knoxville included in that, or we might  
5 even want to change our venue to Knoxville and  
6 invite Chattanooga there. One or the other. They  
7 are close enough that I think we can incorporate a  
8 little more of this and perhaps attention should be  
9 drawn to Knoxville, at least the University of  
10 Tennessee-Knoxville.

11 MR. BLUMSTEIN: To my understanding no  
12 firm decision has been made about which of these  
13 cities we may go to.

14 MS. WURZBURG: It might in itself be a  
15 good press point the fact that we wanted to move it  
16 from Chattanooga to Knoxville because of the rising  
17 racial tensions that are occurring in Knoxville.

18 MR. BLUMSTEIN: I think that makes  
19 sense. Jim, do you have anything. Thank you.

20 Let me ask you the same question.  
21 You've expressed satisfaction with police response.  
22 How important is that in your judgment to the  
23 community? And also, I remember some years ago when  
24 the Klan invaded the Temple and the agents stopped  
25 them really at the threshold. But there was a



1 newspaper ad taken out really spontaneously in the  
2 community. How important is it, do you think, to  
3 the -- and I know the Jewish community reached out  
4 to the Catholic community when the Tony Alamo  
5 parking lot hate brochures were being passed  
6 around -- how important is it, do you think, that  
7 the civic and religious brother oriented and sister  
8 oriented community make these public statements of  
9 intolerance of intolerance?

10 MS. TANNER: I think it's vitally  
11 important because the tragedy is that frequently the  
12 victim, whether it's a person or a group, feels very  
13 alone and that unless others truthfully reach out  
14 and say we feel with you, we grieve with you and we  
15 are angry with you, whatever, the sense of violation  
16 and the sense, you know, of being diminished  
17 remains just yours. And I think that that kind of  
18 outreach is very important. We have been, as Jim  
19 said, the recipients of that and I hope that we do  
20 the same for others when, you know, the shoe is on  
21 the other foot. I said earlier -- and this isn't  
22 really an issue of -- this isn't a question of  
23 racial tension -- but I think, and when we talk  
24 aloneness that being Jewish in Tennessee is very  
25 difficult. The communities are for the most part

1 quite small, Memphis being the largest of the four  
2 major population areas. And one of the things --  
3 and I can't remember who brought it up now -- but  
4 one of the issues that we combat much more  
5 frequently, deal with more regularly -- I shouldn't  
6 say with combat -- deal with much more regularly  
7 than incidents of true blatant, you know,  
8 anti-Semitic violence is the insensitivity to Jewish  
9 Children in public school, in particular to Jewish  
10 audiences in, you know, some kind of public  
11 ceremonies where the assumption -- and someone used  
12 the word is homogeneous -- the assumption is that  
13 the audience, whatever that audience is, whether  
14 it's the first graders in graders in a classroom or  
15 a school system in Williamson County, whatever, are  
16 Protestant Americans, and then white -- excuse me --  
17 white Protestant Americans, and that there isn't  
18 anybody else that has feelings that -- or  
19 backgrounds that are different than that, and that  
20 we run -- we have so many parents who come to us  
21 with issues like that in the school systems, all  
22 school systems. whether it's Christmas programming,  
23 whether it's handing out Gideon Bibles -- which is  
24 against the law -- it doesn't seem to matter. It's  
25 continuous. I don't know which of you asked the

1 question, but the problem increases as you get  
2 outside the Metropolitan areas, the more rural the  
3 more parochial. That seems to be pretty much the --  
4 you know, the pattern, and I think that too suggests  
5 why, you know, a base for Aryan Nations is being  
6 built in Rutherford County. I know the Murfreesboro  
7 Police are, you know, on top of it, but it's  
8 basically outside the mainstream and it's easier  
9 there for that kind of thing to flower.

10 MR. BLUMSTEIN: Thank you very much  
11 and we appreciate you taking the time to share your  
12 thoughts with us.

13 And I think at this point our agenda  
14 is concluded and we should stand in recess until the  
15 next time.

16 And, again, I would like to put on the  
17 record thanks to the staff and to Bobby Doctor for  
18 his general support to our Committee and to Bobby  
19 Knight for putting together this very provocative  
20 and very strong set of speakers for the program.  
21 So, again, my thanks as Chairman today to our staff  
22 for the support of our program here in Tennessee.

23 MR. DOCTOR: I might add, if I may, we  
24 are indeed indebted to the members of the Tennessee  
25 Advisory Committee and to the Commissioner. We

1 happen to think that they represent the eyes and the  
2 ears of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights in the  
3 State of Tennessee and we are indeed very pleased to  
4 have them take part in this very vital national  
5 programming effort.

6 In addition I would like to personally  
7 thank all of the participants for having come out  
8 today and taken part in this very valuable meeting.  
9 It is our desire, feeling and hope that through this  
10 kind of activity, not only in the State of Tennessee  
11 but in other states in this region, along with other  
12 states around the rest of the country, that this  
13 nation can begin to get a better hold on the  
14 question of racial tension. Certainly the  
15 Commission on Civil Rights is desirous of having all  
16 of that take place and we are indebted for your  
17 participation here today.

18 MR. BLUMSTEIN: We stand adjourned.

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24 (Thereupon, the proceedings held on Tuesday, March  
25 17th, 1992, was concluded at 5:00 p.m.)

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REPORTER'S CERTIFICATE

STATE OF TENNESSEE )  
  ) ss.  
COUNTY OF DAVIDSON )

I, Donna L. Bolch, hereby certify that the foregoing proceedings was taken before me, a duly authorized Notary Public in and for the State of Tennessee at Large and that the preceding transcript, pages numbered 1 through 93, inclusive, is a true and accurate transcription of my stenotype notes taken at the time and place indicated therein.

Further, that I am a Court Reporter in and for Davidson County, Tennessee; and that I am not related to any of the parties or their Counsel; nor interested in the outcome of the foregoing litigation, either financially or otherwise.

WITNESS my signature and official seal at Nashville, Davidson County, Tennessee, this 29th day of March, A.D., 1992.

*Donna L. Bolch*

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DONNA L. BOLCH, Shorthand Reporter and Notary Public  
My Commission Expires: July 24, 1993