

This is an interview with Matthew Perry of Columbia, South Carolina. The interview was conducted by Jack Bass and transcribed by Susan Hathaway. The date of the interview was January 3, 1975.

JACK BASS: We were talking about your campaign for Congress this past year. You had considered running for Congress in '68 and were talked out of it.

MATTHEW PERRY: Yes. At the time, you will recall, in 1968, of course, that was near the end of the great push of the sixties in terms of court litigation. You will recall that our state has had quite a background of racial revolutions, if that be deemed an appropriate term. I was, of course, one of the lawyers, perhaps the most notorious one, to be involved in the cases that brought about the changes in our state. Some, of course, opposed the things that I did and stood for. Others approved them. But generally it was agreed by most news reporters, yourself included, that the manner in which I went about the fighting of our cases during that period earned for me a degree of respect among the

courts and the lawyers of our state and indeed many of the lay citizens. Now in 1968, I gave serious thought to offering for Congress, but many people in our state, friends of mine, felt that the climate of the state simply was not such at that time that I could win widespread support. Remember, the Second Congressional District is comprised of seven counties now. Those counties are Richland, Lexington, Calhoun, Orangeburg, Bamberg, Barnwell, and Allendale Counties. Some 446,000 citizens of whom about 33% are black. A successful candidate depending upon a fairly large percentage of the black vote would nevertheless have to win something near 30% of the white vote in order to win. Those persons who viewed the situation of 1968 simply did not feel, and I suppose that I came to agree, that racial attitudes in our state, and certainly within this Congressional district at that time were not such that I could win widespread support. In light of former Congressman Watson's stands on racial issues, it was evident to all who considered this question, that the proposed race for Congress at that time would be nothing but a racial stand-off. Now, of course, since that time we have seen great progress in our state. Remember, going back to 1968, that was the year of the unfortunate occurrence at Orangeburg, and I suppose racial attitudes gelled and indeed reached

their worst state in February of 1968 and thereafter that we have seen in a good many years. I considered it again in 1970, but did nothing about it. In fact, you will recall that in 1970, Congressman Watson decided to offer for Governor, and of course the Republicans nominated Floyd Spence. While I had given some initial thought to it, why when Hayword McDonald, a very capable lawyer here in Columbia, and a very good friend of mine for whom I have enormous respect, came forward, I decided to throw whatever support one might suppose that I was able to generate behind Mr. McDonald's bid. He lost by some five or six thousand votes. In 1972, I gave no further thought to it. You will recall at that time I was very deeply involved in the court litigation involving the reapportionment of the South Carolina general assembly. So, finally I decided to try it in 1974. It would be appropriate to note that while blacks comprise 33% of the population, and are, as of the most recent figures, 31% of the total registered vote in this district, it is felt that more than 25% of those who voted on November 5 were black. So blacks did not have the great turn out that we would have liked for them to have had. So with about 25% of those who voted black, I got about 44% of the vote. Therefore, I think you can see that I am somewhat justified in the

belief that I harbored that I do have a substantial reservoir of good will out there across racial lines. That being my first political race ever against a well entrenched incumbent who has been in office now 14 years, four terms in the state house of representatives, one term in the state senate and two terms now in the United States Congress, and who has a fairly good image as a decent guy. I would say that 44% of the votes against him was not bad for a first time candidate.

J.B.: You sound like you might run again?

Perry: Well, I have certainly been encouraged to consider making the race again, and I have given great consideration to it.

J.B.: Did you learn things from experience that would cause you to campaign differently in some ways?

Perry: Oh, yes.

J.B.: In other words, you think if you ran again, based on the experience accrued in this race, you could run more effectively?

Perry: Oh, yes. I think I could improve greatly on the campaign techniques. Remember, having never campaigned before, it was sort of a trial and error matter. Of course, I did have around me people who had engaged in this process before, who advised with me. But remember, I was attempting something from my background as a lawyer who has been very

much involved in the litigation that has brought about change in this state. I was in the race as a man who had built an image already. I was seeking support from a broad cross section of the community. Whatever those persons who had run for office before me had been able to build in the way of know-how had to give way to the kinds of things that, of course, I was trying to do. The kind of support that I was trying to bring. Would we, for example, underplay or in some way attempt to remove my racial identity. That would be a foolish thing. Everybody knew, or most people who kept up with news developments for the past 20 years knew who I was, and so that was a matter we couldn't sweep under the rug. Nor did I want to sweep it under the rug. So, as I was presented to various groups around the district, white groups, black groups, groups of both citizens, those who presented me always made it a point to simply state without equivocation who I was, the kinds of things I've been doing in the community, and of course, they attempted to build on that as an advantage. Whenever I was faced with the issues, and I'll give you an example of one. On July 4, over in Gilbert, South Carolina, at the Gilbert Peach Festival, that's a Lexington County community, I could sense very keenly the fact that I was in a new territory. I wasn't altogether sure whether

we were talking about simply Republican philosophy, or racial antipathy, or a mixture of both. In any event, there was simply no doubt in my mind as I walked the crowded streets that I was regarded as something of an outsider, a phenomenon, someone foreign to local political thought, to say the least. I suppose I have thought to simply getting in my car and taking off, but you don't win political races like that. So I stayed around and attempted to hand my literature to people on the streets. I attempted to strike up conversations with no success and finally as I walked along, I saw a group of people under a tree sitting in chairs, really watching the parade, watching the people walk to and fro. There must have been about 20 people gathered in this group, all white. One gentlemen called out and asked, "Ain't you Perry?" So I looked over in his direction and I said, "Yes sir," and I walked towards them. He said, "I thought that was you, Perry. I've seen you over there in Lexington in court a few times." While I was groping for something to say in response to that, he then asked a question. "Perry," he said, "what part is race, or color going to play in this thing?" So I said, "I don't think it is going to play any part. The people of this district are entitled to a Congressman who'll go up there and speak to the needs of the senior citizens, speak to

the needs of the disadvantaged citizens, seek better housing, seek better benefits for our veterans." I went on, you see, to my campaign rhetoric with him to more or less try to pull him away from the racial consideration, and at the same time inform him and his company that I was alert to the needs of the people, all of the people, young and old, black and white, rich and poor. But he pulled me back to it. He said, "Well, Perry, I believe color is going to play a little bit in it." My response to him was, "Well, I don't think it will be if the good people like you don't let them make it an issue." Of course, what I was attempting to do was to make him a good man, devoid of racial considerations and it was an effort on my part. He bit very well. He looked around to the rest of those with him and he said, "Well, Perry has been out there fighting for his people for a long time, and he's done a mighty good job." Of course, there were one or two noticable nods of affirmation from within the group, and I parted on what I thought was rather a pleasant note from the group. Obviously, of course, I didn't really change any minds among that group of people. It is perhaps unlikely that any of them voted for me. But in the process they did get a chance to see me, to engage in conversation with me, and hopefully I set them to thinking,

and maybe planted seeds among them which could, in some future time, bear fruit.

J.B.: Considering the showing you did make, I presume you would feel that you would go into a subsequent race with a level of established credibility that didn't exist before as a candidate?

Perry: I guess that is a proper observation. Of course, I suppose in light of the treatment that I have always been accorded by the press, the press has always been very kind, they have called me a capable lawyer, they have called me a man of integrity, and during some of the news reporting of this campaign, one newspaper article referred to me as a gentleman, even a gentleman's gentleman. All of these were very kind and flattering remarks and of course, I suppose one could say that I had credibility all the time. But not a large number of people, you know, certainly not in the political sense, knew anything about me. I was principally known among lawyers . . .

J.B.: What I meant was credibility as a candidate.

Perry: Oh yes, I see what you mean. Yes, then I certainly agree with that.

J.B.: That it did establish that. You did have credibility among those who knew you as a person and as a lawyer, but in terms as a political candidate who

could attract a substantial vote. So when you came up with 44% of the vote against the established incumbent, that it established you in terms of credibility as a candidate.

Perry: Oh, yes. I certainly agree that that is the case. I certainly do. I think without a doubt, that I have established, or rather my candidacy established the principle that . . .

J.B.: What percent did Andy Young get in his first race, do you know?

Perry: I ought to know the answer to that and I do have one or two articles here on Congressman Young.

J.B.: I think it was about 46, 45, 46.

Perry: I believe so. He lost by about a margin of about 20,000 votes in his 1970 race. In 1972 he brought forth a victory.

J.B.: Your margin was what?

Perry: About 12,000, between 12,000 and 13,000. I got nearly 46,000 votes to Congressman Spence's 58,000, 57,000 plus.

J.B.: Which was by far the largest turnout in any Congressional race.

Perry: Oh yes, by far. As a matter of fact, in 1970, Congressman Spence got about 47,000 plus to Haywood McDonald's 42,000 plus, a spread of just a

little over 5,000 votes. I received almost as much as Mr. Spence did in 1947. Of course, he uped it by a rather considerable . . .

J.B.: What are the changes that you have observed in black politics in South Carolina? And why is it that Columbia has been so ineffective in establishing a broad based effective black organization? Is that changing?

Perry: Let me answer your last question first. Columbia has not established, or has been slow to establish a broad based political organization or group that can give viable leadership in the political structure because of, I believe, a rather deep seeded deviciveness among the black people who normally give leadership in the black community. Columbia's black community is about as fragmented as you will find anywhere in this state. I am sure other communities have suffered that. Therefore, you simply can't have unity, you can't have a strong power base when there is constant in-fighting, deviciveness such as has characterized the black community in Richland County in recent years. Compared to, let us say, the unity that existed within the black community back before the decision of Judge ^{Waring} ~~Whiting~~ in the Elmore case of 1947, you had unity then. That unity at that time was brought about because of the, I suppose, the

need to do something. You will find that from time to time, the black community not only in Richland County, but all over the country has a way of coming together. So we come together at various times around a given issue. But when that issue no longer exists, why we are as heterogeneous, I suppose, as any other segment of the country or citizens of this country. An example of that exists in . . . well, let's look back to 1964, when the Civil Rights Act was then pending before the United States Congress. The man who sought the Republican nomination for President, Barry Goldwater, then a Senator from Arizona announced that he would vote against the then pending Civil Rights Act. Now, there is perhaps no single item of legislation that the black community across this country has wanted as stiffly as it wanted the 1964 Civil Rights Act. So, blacks all over the country came together in opposition of the Goldwater bid. Fortunately for us, a large number of whites agreed. Here in South Carolina, here in Richland County, we have from time to time seen issues sometimes pull the black community together. I have the impression that my candidacy brought about unity within the black community, the likes of which we have rarely seen. Right here in Columbia and Richland County, and certainly right here within this Congressional district.

J.B.: How about some of your long standing, ah, ah, you know what I am referring . . . I don't know what term to use. How about individuals with whom you frequently had disagreements in the past over the policy and so forth. Were they supporting you then?

Perry: They were supporting me. As a matter of fact, Mrs. Simkins is a person who falls in that category. She indicated her support for me. She did so in her radio broadcast and I understand that she did so otherwise. There were others. I don't know whether they have opposed me in the past, they simply have not, we simply have not often times been . . .

J.B.: Was there any substantial effort made on specifically increasing voter registration?

Perry: Yes. I don't know how effective and how well organized the effort was, but there was an effort. There is a claim, I do know for example, that back as of last March, when did I qualify as a candidate, March or April, somewhere thereabouts. At that time, in this Congressional district, blacks constituted 29%, I forget the exact figure, 29 point something percent of the registered vote within this Congressional district. The last figures that we can recite are of about October of '74. The blacks then constituted something of about 31% of the registered vote in the district. So therefore,

bear in mind that at the same time there was registration among whites, you see. So, there was a registration effort, and I think the effectiveness of it can be seen in that slight increase.

J.B.: Do you anticipate being involved personally, if no one else does in the next two years, in litigation that will remove any ambiguities about the rights of college students to register in the counties in which they attend schools?

Perry: Well, I would certainly give consideration to it.

J.B.: That is still not clear in South Carolina.

Perry: It is still not clear in South Carolina. That's right.

J.B.: I think there are precedents elsewhere.

Perry: Surely. Yes, I would be more than happy to be involved in an effort of that sort.

J.B.: But in Columbia, has it simply been a lack of, that there has not developed in the past any individual who either had the inclination or ability or combination thereof to develop a cohesive organization. Is that the reason why there has been so much factionalism?

Perry: That quite likely is one of the reasons. It may not be the entire reason. The lack of a strong willed individual who has the independence and who has the

obvious interests of the entire community at heart is unquestionably a factor. Because that is the kind of a person who would have to come forth. There are, of course, people within the black community, just as there are within the white community, who from time to time come forward and attempt to give leadership, who actually do not have, or do not demonstrate that they have the best interests of the community at heart. Those people, often times, convey the impression that they are out for personal gains, or that their motives are not of the most honorable sort. People like that simply do not, engender, or attract widespread affection and following from the people.

J.B.: Is there any discussion going on even, I mean, is it a question that people talk about at all, the question of who and how in providing resources that are needed for political development, group political development? What I am driving at is a question that we keep running across throughout the South, is the fact that resources are required to develop political organizations and from where will these resources come? When black groups are dependent for resources upon either white politicians or other institutions outside the black community, then it has its effect in a number of ways.

Perry: It most certainly does.

J.B.: But my question is, have you detected any real awareness among blacks in discussing this problem?

Perry: Yes, there is an awareness among blacks.

J.B.: In Columbia, South Carolina?

Perry: I would think so, yes. I am certain that there is an awareness of that. But you see, you've got to bear in mind that here again this goes right back to what I attempted to suggest a moment ago, that where there is a reason for people to come together, then they come together and they form the requisite organization. But when that issue no longer exists, that organization does not persist. Now it would be good if you had paid organizers out there who could keep the organized effort together.

J.B.: In some places that does exist in different forms.

Perry: Yes.

J.B.: But an ongoing structural organization exists.

Perry: Yes, yes. Well, you know, the Southern Regional Council has attempted to provide leadership that would assist, say, the South Carolina community and the other southern communities to develop that kind of organized effort within the black community. It has had varying degrees of success, depending upon the kinds of people who have headed the various movements locally. I have the

impression that we are making some progress in this regard, although not nearly enough. There are many people who recognize the value, for example, of the new reapportionment plan for our state house of representatives. They now recognize that we have political clout of a sort that we weren't able to bring about before our legislature became so reapportioned. So, within many of the new house of representative districts, you find that various people are creating local organizations. Some are more well organized and stronger than in others. I think a greater awareness exists within the black community now of the need to be organized and of the need to be aware of the issues than in former years.

J.B.: How effective is Redfern's organization?

Perry: I think that he has a great attraction among some of the very young.

J.B.: Were they effective at all during your campaign in terms of stimulating voter interest and getting people out to vote, or was that a matter . . .

Perry: I don't know about getting out the vote. I know that Mr. Redfern was active in stimulating interest in my campaign. He was, he indicated his support for my candidacy and the need for people of the community to support my candidacy during his radio programs, and I understand in his public utterances. He came to my

campaign headquarters on numerous occasions, attended my opening news conference. He was an open supporter of me. Now as to whether he put together an effective "Get out the vote" effort, I just can't say. Perhaps I ought to know the answer to that and I do plan to have a talk with him at some point in the future. As I get about the matter of trying to analyze what happened, what we could have or should have done better, I would of course consider that a conference with Mr. Redfern, you know, is just one of those things that I have to do.

J.B.: If you were to run again, if what I surmise is correct, only about 25% of those who turned out were black would suggest that that was an area that had to be worked at.

Perry: Unquestionably. You see, if blacks had turned out in proportion to our registration statistics, and assuming of course that I would have gotten all of the bulk of that vote, we might have had a different result.

J.B.: It hadn't become such a function of organization to a large extent.

Perry: That is correct.

J.B.: One of the developments in black politics throughout the South seems to be the shift from the old role of the middle man, frequently the black minister played that role, but it could develop among others as

sort of a mediator between blacks and the white power structure and played sort of a middle man role, and that role seems to be greatly diminishing in importance with the rise of elected black officials. They seem to be taking over that function. Would you basically agree with that?

Perry: Yes, I basically agree. I think, however, that there are still a number of black ministers who filled the role that they formerly did. Those who are articulate, and whose integrity and motivation can't be questioned still carry great weight among their people. Such a man, for example, is Reverend Whitaker here in Columbia. It should come as no surprise, however, that the growing number of black elected officials to the extent that they build seniority and become more conversant with the system, to the extent that they maintain integrity and credibility among black people will, of course, begin to speak in, I think, more meaningful ways. So you see now, for example, we have this time 13 black members of the house of representatives. Three of them will be second termers. Additionally, there is I. S. Levy Johnson who comes in as a freshman legislator now, but who has served on another occasion and therefore very familiar with the process. Now, these 13 black legislators have already had two or more

meetings together during which time those who are familiar with the process have more or less lectured and brought the others into the system by just acquainting them with what goes on. Ernest Finney, of course, is perhaps the best known and most widely respected of them. Now, it is my understanding that they are going to be having some sort of a effort, perhaps a big dinner, during which time they are going to try to bring together people from all over the state. They are going to try to create a fund. They are going to call themselves, I don't know if they are going to call themselves a black caucus, you know, in the sense that that one on Capitol Hill is formed. But . . .

J.B.: There are a number of them now in southern legislatures.

Perry: Oh yes.

J.B.: Are they going so far as to make efforts to establish a state-wide association of elected black officials?

Perry: I have not heard them say so, and I don't know the answer to that question. But I certainly perceive that that is a likely extension of their effort, knowing all of those involved as I do. I think we can anticipate that.

J.B.: Georgia has such an association that is very effective. Probably it is the most effective in the South,

and there seems to be a trend that they are ultimately moving in that direction.

Perry: Right. So you see groups of people like that who have already demonstrated their prowess and knowledge of the system, the only other thing they have to do is to maintain their credibility among blacks. Now, if blacks ever get the notion that one or the other of them, you know, is not acting in the best interest of the black community, why they will be rejected. You see other people, such as the ministers that you mentioned, or other people will come forward and claim the alligance of the electorate.

J.B.: What is your response to the charges that have been made in South Carolina, "Selling of the black vote," or I think it has been more buying than selling as the term is used here?

Perry: Well, I think that that term, or that concept arises out of the knowledge that in the past a large number of political candidates, white candidates, have placed funds into certain areas. I am told that those funds, incidentally, I know nothing of this. I have never been privy to the passing of funds. I don't, in fact, know that it has existed. But I have heard enough about it to form a belief that there must be some fire where the smoke constantly occurs. There have been reports of

funds running into the thousands of dollars from time to time either in this or the other organization or with individuals. This money, as I understand it, has often times been placed with organizations or with individuals for the purpose of financing the "Get out the vote drive." There have been charges, principally within the black community that those black, so-called political leaders, who had been the recipients of this money have not, of course, utilized it for the purpose of getting out the vote, but in some instances have pocketed the money, and of course there is always the suggestion among many that when a candidate or when a party causes money to be passed to either a black individual, supposedly a black political leader, or to a black political organization, that this of course lends itself to the concept that that candidate or that party is purchasing the black vote. Therefore, the black community becomes obligated to the person who pays for it. Again, I have never been privy to anything like this and delighted to say to you that I have never been asked. I think that is a measure of my own integrity and those who understand that I would not be available for that kind of a consideration. Now, as to whether that kind of thing exists, I haven't any way of knowing. They tell me, and that is a very poor way to put it, I have heard that there was money spent in

the most recent election by persons of both parties. It has come to me, second handed information, perhaps third handed information, that there was an expenditure of money in Orangeburg by Republicans. It has also come to me that there was an expenditure of money by Democrats. I haven't any way of knowing whether this rumor is true. I don't claim that it is true. I give it to you only as a rumor. It is heresay of the worst sort, and is not entitled to any probity in your consideration of this question. But I simply am saying to you in response to your question that I have heard that it exists. I hope it isn't true. It may not be true, but it is certainly believed by those who have related it to me.

J.B.: The real problem develops if money is accepted on behalf of a candidate in return for attempts to influence voters when that candidate is not the candidate many of them believe, perceive to be the candidate in the best interest of blacks.

Perry: Yes. But that simply goes to show that there are those who believe that a substantial number of people out there are not conversant with the issues or the candidates and simply don't care one way or the other.

J.B.: And it is also part of the dilemma that exists because of the traditional lack of resources from within

the black community, of having to go outside to find those resources.

Perry: I am certain that that is a proper observation.

J.B.: Let me ask you this question that I am really kind of fascinated with. I maintain and have a strong feeling that manners in South Carolina is almost institutionalized to a degree not found even elsewhere in the South.

Perry: Manners?

J.B.: Manners. Have you ever given any thought to this and what effect do you give the role of manners in shaping both race and political relations in this state?

Perry: Do you mean that in the sense of cordiality between individuals?

J.B.: That and almost within South Carolina more than most places, I think, certainly within the white community, I don't think it is really different in the black community.

Begin Side Two, Tape One

Perry: I think that there is a certain quality of conduct that characterizes the people here. But I don't know that it is all that different from people in other parts of the country.

J.B.: To what extent does it mask real feelings?

Perry: Oh yes. Well, I think there are many people who are able to mask their real feelings by outer manners of cordiality. One has to be very perceptive to get through and to understand in many instances what is genuine and what is not and everything. I don't know that I would agree that South Carolina is a great deal different from other places unless, of course, one wishes to go into the northeastern part of the country and in some instances out in the mid-west.

J.B.: I guess I am thinking more of manners than a sense of politeness.

Perry: Okay, yes. Well, you are right about it. One finds politeness but one finds also that you see the South has become less southern or less southern in the colloquial sense than it formerly was in this regard, see. All among us now, you'll find people who are transplanted here from other areas of the country, and I learned that in going from my door to door canvassing, I learned the people who were in many instances transplanted here from other areas of the country. Or even though not transplanted here, who nevertheless aren't all that prone to mask their real feelings behind a polite outermantel than one has accustomed to regarding the South Carolinians.

J.B.: What surprises did you find in your campaigning?

Perry: I don't know that I would regard any of the experiences I had as real surprises. In some instances I was pleased. I found that things that I had previously speculated to be the case . . . [Interruption] You can't really point to a good many surprises. I can share with you many many many experiences that we can get chuckles out of, but bear in mind that I practiced law in this state for 23 years and have been a South Carolina resident for 53 years. I know the people fairly well, and of course, I know something of their moreways and folkways.

J.B.: When you go out of state, what sort of questions do you get most frequently, particularly when you go out of the state and out of the South?

Perry: Well, I think that I get expressions of surprise from people in other parts of the country that a black candidate with such a background as mine could do so well in a Congressional district with the racial make-up as this one.

J.B.: How do you interpret that surprise?

Perry: Well, there is a belief on the part of people in many areas of the country that the South hasn't even begun to change, that we are still living in the era of the Reconstruction.

J.B.: Do you find then a lack in the awareness of the change that has occurred?

Perry: Very definitely.

J.B.: There is no question in your mind that there indeed has been change?

Perry: Without a doubt, there has been change.

J.B.: How much of that change has resulted from the passage and results and effects of the '64 Civil Rights Act, and '65 Voting Rights Act?

Perry: I think that a substantial amount of that change can be attributed to both of those. Not only the '64 Civil Rights Law, and the '65 Voting Rights Act, but also by reason of the numerous court decisions that we were able to bring about destroying the laws that once kept all of us apart. Remember, when those laws were on the books, people simply couldn't come together. We were separated by law. We couldn't come to know each other. Therefore, there was massive distrust. There were feelings of superiority on the part of those who were favored by the law as against those who were not favored by the law. Racially speaking, before these changes came about, East was East and West was West and it was designed to be that way so that ne'er shall ever the twain meet. But the removal of those and indeed, of course, the passage of the law that you mentioned, the laws that you mentioned, have brought about an opportunity for people to come together and of course, bear in mind the industrialization of the

South, the creation of awareness that race is less important, that there are other goals that are deserving of our best efforts have all brought about, I think, a great degree of change within the South that has enabled people to come together, enabled us to come to know each other better, and I think a greater awareness has been created that the good of mankind resides in the accomplishments for change for all. Indeed there is an awareness that the entire community has to have its quality of life improved, that there is no such thing as one part of the community, racially speaking, enjoying a quality of life that is so much better than the other part of the community.

J.B.: How do you respond to the attitude sometimes heard among whites that we have gone through the change and now it is over. In conjunction with that, what do you feel are the greatest shortcomings in a generalized term in white attitudes towards blacks and race relations?

Perry: Well, I think, we have got a long way to go. We haven't actually defeated the racist psychology, and we won't defeat it for many years to come. Remember, the laws . . . well, ^{Plessey}~~Clancey~~ versus Ferguson remained the law of the land . . . [Interruption] ^{Plessey}~~Clancey~~ versus Ferguson, the separate but equal decision, remained the law of the land for more than 50 years, for about 60 years. Brown versus Board of Education has been with us

just 20 years, and hasn't really been fully implemented in every sense of the word although it is now a part of us. The traditions of our people are deeply embedded, you see, in the state of the law as it existed during so much of the present century, and though the law has changed, it may take one or two more generations really to move us to a point where that position no longer influences our racial attitudes.

J.B.: What is the status of the senate reapportionment case?

Perry: Well, the Court of Appeals still hasn't decided. The Court of Appeals has Harper versus ~~Clandese~~ *Heindienst* before it.

End interview with M. Perry.