

1 to carry this message, I don't think. This ain't sexy,
2 it ain't cute, it is power, and we cannot get our share
3 of power from the people who want to monopolize the
4 power.

5 So, we are going to build the studio. And
6 then, Joe, there will be a distribution system so that we
7 can sit down and get our own message out.

8 I want to express my thanks to all of you who
9 are here tonight.

10 Our breakfast tomorrow is at eight o'clock.
11 Try to get here around 7:30 because of the prehearing
12 meeting, talking with these other individuals, since we
13 have come so far across the country, and it will be very
14 important.

15 Please, I hope that by tomorrow I wish that
16 you, Joe Stroud, will carry this, since you are part of
17 our host, that you and Londell, Frank -- help me with a
18 couple of other people, Congressman Rush -- Dave, and
19 Dwain, about ten points that go to the heart of what we
20 want.

1 Kennard is as objective -- He is our friend,
2 there is no question about that, but we cannot expect
3 that he is going to come tomorrow and bring a solution to
4 what we are talking about. That is not his job. He will
5 transmit what we recommend, and he will have a choice
6 between us and the other guys.

7 But the burden -- and I hope we don't expect
8 him to bring us no plan from the mountain top -- we
9 demonstrated in 1960 in Greensboro, used to go to the
10 cafeteria every day to eat, and he would turn us away.
11 He became famous. So one day when we went out there, the
12 first time I was on CBS television, we confronted the
13 restaurant owner. I said, "We want to eat."

14 He said, "You can't eat."

15 I said, "We are hungry." I said, "We have
16 appetites."

17 He said, "You cannot eat."

18 I said, "We have American money." He said,
19 "You can't eat."

20 I said, "We have a Bible. My father is a
21 veteran."

1 He said, "You can't eat."

2 He looked like a big fool. One of the guys
3 said, "We want to eat." He let four of us in. We sat
4 down in the cafeteria. We ate everything we saw: Jello
5 and everything else. It occurred to us about halfway
6 through the meal that there were none of us had the
7 money. We didn't expect to be able to eat. I think it
8 occurred to him that we were broke, too. We went to jail
9 that day. That is not on an honorable basis.

10 I am saying that tomorrow, when the Chairman
11 of the FCC comes to us in our Congressman's District and
12 he asks us, "What do you all want?" we cannot say freedom
13 now.

14 Can I get a witness?

15 My problem, as I said to his Honor the
16 President about this race dialog business, there is no
17 race gap, there is an illegal economic gap. If we have a
18 plan, that other stuff is going to fall in line. Once we
19 meet with those that can help us, we will have an agenda,
20 and we are going to win some and lose some.

1 Any one that we win is a step beyond from where we have
2 been in a long time.

3 We are going to win a lot of these fights
4 because we do have, Frank, because we do have consumer
5 power. We can compete in a competitive money market. We
6 can't win a fight we haven't fought. We have won
7 everything we have fought for and don't have what we
8 need.

9 [A discussion of RAINBOW/PUSH business
10 followed.]

11 Let us pray.

12 (Whereupon, a prayer ensued and the
13 proceedings were adjourned, this evening, at 9:50 o'clock
14 P.M.)

15 Monday, March 16, 1998, Morning

16 P R O C E E D I N G S

17 REVEREND JACKSON: May I have your attention?
18 May I have your attention, please?

19 Let me express my thanks to all of you for
20 your presence today. I want to express my thanks to
21 Congressman Bobby Rush, who hosted the first dimension of

1 our hearing of last night, and for his excellent
2 leadership in opening up.

3 Just give Congressman Rush a big hand, shall
4 we please? A big hand for Congressman Rush.

5 (Loud applause.)

6 REVEREND JACKSON: One of the owners of a
7 television station in Lansing, Michigan, Joel Ferguson,
8 from Detroit.

9 (Loud applause.)

10 REVEREND JACKSON: The Chairman of our
11 RAINBOW/PUSH Wall Street Project, Maceo Sloan.

12 (Loud applause.)

13 REVEREND JACKSON: One of the hosts of this
14 meeting, owner of a television station who is so expert
15 in the field, so credible, Joe Stroud.

16 (Loud applause.)

17 REVEREND JACKSON: Our Board member and
18 credible manager of money and builder and public servant
19 who continues to grow in favor of so many people -- even
20 though Princeton was beaten in the basketball game the
21 other night, John Rogers.

1 (Loud applause.)

2 REVEREND JACKSON: So much of that brainy
3 stuff without speed. You cannot think up that speed.

4 What I want to quickly do is, because the
5 Chairman's time is precious, he has made three signif-
6 icant concessions. One, he chose to come to be with us.
7 Secondly, he has agreed to engage in some Q and A which
8 was not the original plan, and to give us a bit more
9 time.

10 This meeting, according to those of you who
11 work in the industry all the time, even last night was
12 historic in the range of interest and diversity of
13 persons present last night, and I want you to very
14 quickly, so that the Chairman might appreciate who is
15 here and the breadth of this session, give your name and
16 where you are from and a little of what you do, just
17 enough for him to have a sense of who is present.

18 There are involved people behind these faces
19 from many places. So I want us to start right over here
20 quickly.

21 SESSION ATTENDEES:

1 REVEREND JESSE L. JACKSON, SR., Founder,
2 President and CEO, RAINBOW/PUSH Coalition, Chicago,
3 Illinois

4 HON. WILLIAM E. KENNARD, Chairman, Federal
5 Communications Commission, Washington, D.C.

6 HON. BOBBY L. RUSH, Member of Congress,
7 Chicago, Illinois

8 HON. JOHN CONYERS, JR., Member of Congress,
9 Detroit, Michigan

10 HON. ELIOT L. ENGEL, Member of Congress, New
11 York, New York

12 HON. LARRY IRVING, Assistant Secretary of
13 Commerce for Communications and Information;
14 Administrator, National Telecommunications and
15 Information Administration, Washington, D.C.

16 DR. GEORGE GERBNER, Bell Atlantic Professor of
17 Telecommunications, Temple University; Chair, Cultural
18 Environment Movement, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

19 CATHERINE J. K. SANDOVAL, ESQ., Director,
20 Federal Communications Commission Office of
21 Communications Business Opportunities, Washington, D.C.

1 DAVID EARL HONIG, ESQ., Special Counsel,
2 RAINBOW/PUSH Coalition; Executive Director Emeritus,
3 Minority Media and Telecommunications Counsel,
4 Washington, D.C.

5 THOMAS H. CASTRO, Chairman, President and CEO,
6 El Dorado Communications, Inc., Los Angeles, California

7 MELODY SPANN-COOPER, President and General
8 Manager, WVON Radio, Chicago, Illinois

9 RUBEN ESTRADA, Special Assistant to the
10 President/Vice President, Governmental Relations, Spanish
11 Broadcasting System, Inc., New York, New York

12 JOEL I. FERGUSON, President, Lansing 53, Inc.,
13 WLAJ-TV, Lansing, Michigan

14 RO-NITA HAWES-SAUNDERS, President and General
15 Manager, WROU-FM and WRNB-FM, Dayton, Ohio

16 LORETTA LEVER, Owner/General Manager, KFYX-FM,
17 Little Rock, Arkansas

18 JOE MADISON, Talk Show Host, Washington, D.C.

19 GARY O. SHELTON, CEO, Globalcom Networking &
20 Telecontent, LLC, Detroit, Michigan

1 MACEO K. SLOAN, Chairman, Sloan
2 Communications, Inc., Chairman, President and CEO Sloan
3 Financial Group, Inc., Durham, North Carolina

4 KEN SMIKLE, President, Target Market News,
5 Inc.; Publisher, Target Market News, Chicago, Illinois

6 EDWARD D. YOUNG, III, ESQ., Senior Vice
7 President and Associate General Counsel, Bell Atlantic
8 Network Systems, Arlington, Virginia

9 FURMIN D. SESSOMS, Executive Director, Chicago
10 Southside NAACP, Chicago, Illinois

11 CARL SOUTH, General Manager, Damron
12 Communications, Chicago, Illinois

13 TIMOTHY W. WRIGHT, III, ESQ., Chief of Staff,
14 Congressman Bobby L. Rush, Washington, D.C.

15 JANICE E. THOMAS, Director, Product &
16 Brand/Public Relations, US West Communications, Denver,
17 Colorado

18 OGDEN SPRUILL, President and Founder, ICON,
19 Inc., Chicago, Illinois

20 L. CALVIN PRICE, President and CEO, ICON,
21 Inc., Chicago, Illinois

1 DAVID A. PACHOLCZYK, Director, Media
2 Relations, Ameritech, Chicago, Illinois

3 PEARL MURPHY, Executive Director, African
4 American Media Incubator Broadcast Training School,
5 Washington, D.C.

6 KEITH MURPHY, Administrator/Instructor,
7 African American Media Incubator Broadcast Training
8 School, Washington, D.C.

9 RUCE E. MONTGOMERY, Technology Editor,
10 Internet Web Pages, Chicago, Illinois

11 JANICE E. MITCHELL, TMB Communications, Inc.,
12 Orlando, Florida

13 TONDALAYA PERKINS-MILLSAP, Developer, CySpace
14 City Market, Chicago, Illinois

15 DR. ROBERT W. McCHESNEY, Associate Professor,
16 School of Journalism, University of Wisconsin, Madison,
17 Wisconsin

18 KOFI ASIEDU OFORI, ESQ., Communications
19 Counsel, Civil Rights Forum, Washington, D.C.

20 JOSEPH A. STROUD, President and General
21 Manager, WJYS-TV, Channel 62, Chicago, Illinois

1 ANDREW JAY SCHWARTZMAN, ESQ., President and
2 CEO, Media Access Project, Washington, D.C.

3 CHARLES SHERRELL, President, WBEE Radio,
4 Harvey, Illinois

5 DR. STEVEN S. WILDMAN, Director, Program in
6 Telecommunications Science, Management and Policy,
7 Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois

8 WILLIAM P. BARR, ESQ., Executive Vice
9 President-Government and Regulatory Advocacy and General
10 Counsel, GTE Corporation, Stamford, Connecticut

11 ERNEST T. BOYKIN, JR., President and CEO,
12 Capital Commitment, Inc., Washington, D.C.

13 DARRYL DAWSON, Executive Vice President, Wired
14 Systems, Inc., Chicago, Illinois

15 DARYL M. HANDY, External Relations Manager,
16 Ameritech, Chicago, Illinois

17 THOMAS A. HART, JR., ESQ., Partner, Ginsburg,
18 Feldman & Bress; Vice Chair, Telecommunications
19 Development Fund, Washington, D.C.

20 LINDA L. HINTON, International Staff
21 Representative, Communications Workers of America

1 MARK LLOYD, ESQ., Director, Civil Rights
2 Forum; General Counsel, Benton Foundation, Washington,
3 D.C.

4 FRANK O. MITCHELL, President and CEO, TMB
5 Communications, Inc., Orlando, Florida

6 ROSS LOVE, President & Chief Executive
7 Officer, Blue Chip Broadcasting, Cincinnati, Ohio

8 CAROL LARRY, Regional Director, MAXXIS, Inc.,
9 Chicago, Illinois

10 C. CARROLL LARKIN, Senior Vice President,
11 Spanish Broadcasting System, Inc., New York, New York

12 DWAINE J. KYLES, ESQ., Dwain J. Kyles &
13 Associates, Attorney, Chicago, Illinois

14 LATRICE KIRKLAND, ESQ., Manager, Industry
15 Relations, Aerial Communications, Inc., Chicago, Illinois

16 ZAMIRA Z. JONES, President and General
17 Manager, WLS-AM and WXCD-FM, Chicago, Illinois

18 TIM JONES, Reporter, Chicago Tribune

19 CHANDA TUCK-GARFIELD, ESQ., Communications
20 Director and Legislative Assistant to Congressman
21 Edolphus Towns, Washington, D.C.

1 TERRI McFIELD, ESQ., Vice President of Legal
2 Affairs, BET, Inc.

3 E. DANTE HAMILTON, Editor and Publisher,
4 Internet Web Pages

5 DONNA M. GAINES, The Phoenix Company, Chicago,
6 Illinois

7 FRANK R. JORDAN, President and CEO, Worldwide
8 Multi-Media, San Diego, California

9 JANIS STEPPES, Assistant to Frank R. Jordan,
10 San Diego, California

11 THOMAS D. BROADWATER, JR., Vice President,
12 Media One, Chicago, Illinois

13 STEVEN R. BRADLEY, Integrated Communications
14 Group, Pasadena, California

15 PAUL C. BENEDICT, JR., Writer, Chicago,
16 Illinois

17 OFFICER JUAN D. ANDERSON, Chicago Police
18 Department, Bureau of Staff Services

19 JOHN W. ROGERS, JR., Ariel Capital Management,
20 Chicago, Illinois

1 VANESSA STROUD, WJYS-TV, Channel 62, Chicago,
2 Illinois
3 LARRY HENDERSON, President, O.B. Capital,
4 Chicago, Illinois
5 AL WHITE, Consultant, Chicago, Illinois
6 CHRISTOPHER BELL, Publisher, Chicago, Illinois
7 RENAULT STERLING, Consulting Engineer,
8 Chicago, Illinois
9 MARSHALL LIPPET, affiliated with Channel 50
10 and Channel 20, Denver, Colorado
11 JOHN HUGHES, General Manager, University
12 Telecommunications Institute, Clark Atlanta University,
13 Atlanta, Georgia
14 VICTOR J. REBOLD, Northwestern University,
15 Evanston, Illinois
16 ELEANOR MORRIS, Producer, Chicago, Illinois
17 JOYCE GALLAGHER, Cable Administrator, City of
18 Chicago, Illinois
19 DR. KARIN STANFORD, Director, RAINBOW/PUSH
20 Coalition Washington Bureau, Washington, D.C.

1 JAMES MILLSAP, CySpace City Market, Chicago,
2 Illinois

3 ANNETTE SPRINGS, US West Communications,
4 Denver, Colorado

5 JANET SMITH, Wall Street Project for Strategic
6 Planning, Potomac, Maryland

7 REVEREND JACKSON: Give yourselves a big hand,
8 will you please?

9 (Loud applause.)

10 REVEREND JACKSON: It is said that a one-eyed
11 man is King in a blind city.

12 The way these tables are set reflects a
13 disorder. We used to call it cross-eyed. That might not
14 be exactly correct anymore. But this is not symmetrical.
15 Those in the last two tables, just bring your chairs over
16 here. You are far away. The last two tables, get your
17 chairs and come over here. You will be much closer.

18 Someone should take those two tables down.
19 Come quickly, please. Simply bring your chairs over here
20 to my left.

1 Let me express to all of you that we have come
2 from across the nation today. Your presence is critical
3 to our success and the integrity of our democracy. I am
4 glad that you are here today, most especially our
5 esteemed Chairman.

6 John, introduce yourself right quick, too.

7 MR. ROGERS: John W. Rogers, Jr., President of
8 the Ariel Capital Management, Ariel Mutual Funds;
9 President of the Board of the Chicago Park District.

10 CONGRESSMAN RUSH: Congressman Bobby Rush,
11 from the First District of Illinois, and you are in the
12 First District of Illinois. I am also on the House
13 Committee on Commerce and the Subcommittee on
14 Telecommunications.

15 MR. FERGUSON: I am Joel Ferguson. I own the
16 ABC station in Lansing, Michigan; and I am also a member
17 of the Board.

18 MR. SLOAN: I am Maceo Sloan. I am Chairman
19 of the Sloan Financial Group and the Wall Street Project
20 at RAINBOW/PUSH Coalition. I am also one of Bill
21 Kennard's success stories.

1 There was a group that we put together which
2 at that time was called PCS Development Corporation. It
3 is now called Connections Communications. Sloan
4 Communications is the controlling shareholder in
5 Connections Communications. We bought all five regions
6 of the country in the 1994 PBS auction. We are in the
7 process now of building a nationwide advanced paging
8 station. We are going to be probably the only fully
9 national storage voice provider in the country, and we
10 have turned on, so far, Washington, Baltimore, Miami,
11 Tampa-St. Pete, Oregon, Dallas, Fort Worth, Houston,
12 Austin, Los Angeles; and Chicago in a couple of weeks,
13 and we will turn on Atlanta and the rest of the country
14 after that.

15 Due to the effort of Bill Kennard and the
16 program they put in for designated entities that allowed
17 us to be able to step to the plate and to do what we did,
18 because the U.S. Government loaned us 80 percent of our
19 \$92 million purchase price that we paid for our
20 frequencies, and I guarantee you that there is not a bank
21 in the country that would have done that for us.

1 MR. STROUD: Joe Stroud, owner and general
2 manager of WJYS, Channel 62 here in Chicago.

3 REVEREND JACKSON: Give all of them a big
4 hand, please.

5 (Loud applause.)

6 REVEREND JACKSON: I want to introduce our
7 staff who has done such a good job making this happen.
8 Our Special Counsel of Communications is here somewhere.

9 Please stand. Give him a hand, please,
10 counsel, David Honig.

11 (Loud applause.)

12 REVEREND JACKSON: Staff members, please stand
13 wherever you are, please stand, staff members.

14 (Loud applause.)

15 REVEREND JACKSON: And Reverend Willie Barrow,
16 the Chair of our Board. Reverend, will you please stand?

17 (Loud applause.)

18 INTRODUCTION BY

19 REVEREND JESSE JACKSON

20 REVEREND JACKSON: There is a fundamental
21 question that we are here to grapple with: Do the public

1 airwaves really belong to the public? And the struggle
2 is fundamentally about democracy versus monopoly.

3 Too few people seem to control too much with
4 little sensitivity to the public. That was a driving
5 concern in our session last night. It seems to be that
6 there is a revival of monopoly and a resegregation of
7 ownership. And that the government must make a big
8 decision because it was the government's policy of white
9 male preference and exclusivity that led to this
10 tremendous imbalance.

11 The radio industry research technology was
12 done by the government, and all of the radio channels
13 were given preferentially, exclusively, to white males
14 only.

15 The basic research for the television industry
16 was done by the government. All the stations were given
17 preferentially, exclusively to white males.

18 Except for a blip on the screen of tax
19 certificates, it has been an unbroken line of government
20 control. And since the tax certificate has been removed,
21 the incentives for share ownership, even -- others were

1 given what we cannot now buy or have access to the
2 outlets. And so now we thought that there was some hope
3 we heard in cable.

4 There was ABC, CBS, NBC, but then cable has
5 been swallowed up too.

6 Percy Sutton, a bona fide individual, one of
7 the great original thinkers of this process, was able to
8 negotiate and get acquiescence, but couldn't get the
9 money. And so now we see an explosion. There is now the
10 issue of resegregation of ownership on the one hand which
11 affects ethnic minorities, but revival of monopoly
12 affects everybody else.

13 As it stands, too few people control too much
14 media, and too distant from where people live.

15 A second point is that we went to the WorldCom
16 shareholders meeting last Wednesday, and in some sense it
17 shows the sensitivity and the maturity of the community
18 and its vision.

19 I suppose there are three dimensions to this
20 business. There are the entertained, the entertainers,
21 and the owners. Most folks are entertained by this, a

1 few talented people entertain to keep their intention,
2 and there is the ownership.

3 We have done well as viewers or listeners,
4 being entertained, and as entertainers, but at the level
5 of the emancipation of the ownership, the buyers have
6 been very systematic, very legal, and up to this point,
7 blessed by the FCC and blessed by the government.

8 The experience in Jackson, Mississippi was
9 instructive, Joe, in that RAINBOW/PUSH had bought shares
10 of stock in both WorldCom and MCI, and therefore it would
11 have access to the shareholders meeting. We went to the
12 meeting in some sense to get some questions answered.

13 There will be a follow-up meeting later on
14 this week, but we raised some very basic concerns.

15 What was most instructive was the lack of a
16 support base for the principal position taken by Mr.
17 Kennard and others. First of all, relating to the
18 WorldCom meeting, there was the headline in the Jackson
19 paper that, "Reverend Jackson comes to take away our
20 jobs," or something like that. "Ministers stand with
21 WorldCom, not with Jackson," something to that effect.

1 Many of them were friends of mine, at least up
2 to that point.

3 If I can come down here to help open up these
4 facilities, why -- We need an understanding.

5 I said, "How many of you own shares of stock
6 in WorldCom?" They said, "None."

7 This meeting was not intended for non-
8 shareholders to share their opinion with the shareholders
9 at this meeting. "I am a shareholder. That is why I am
10 in town. I would like for you to go to the meeting
11 tomorrow, but you can't because you are not a
12 shareholder."

13 Then, what was more instructive, I asked the
14 President of the City Council, I said, "What is the
15 budget for the City Council?" He said, "\$100 million."

16 You must appreciate how long it took us to get
17 the right to vote in Mississippi.

18 Then, finally to get a black mayor.

19 "What is your budget?" The answer was, "\$100
20 million."

1 I asked him, "What is the budget of the
2 state?" The state's budget was \$3.1 billion.

3 I asked, "Will you be at the WorldCom meeting
4 tomorrow morning?" They said, "No, we don't have a share
5 of stock."

6 You must understand that there was a \$40
7 billion meeting a block from the Capitol, and none of the
8 state, local, federal officials, ministers, were to be
9 there. They have stopped at the river of public sector
10 and the private sector goes unchallenged.

11 Now, when we got to the meeting we were
12 treated courteously, we were very welcome, we had a right
13 to be there.

14 My point is as our struggle evolves to reach
15 the top of the hill, we are now entering another stage of
16 our emancipation. This is the next stage.

17 As I said last night, if I were to write a
18 four-movement symphony, the first movement would be to
19 end slavery, the second movement was enfranchisement, and
20 the third movement was the right to vote, and the fourth
21 movement is Wall Street, the capitol of capital, the

1 private sector. We are now entering that stage to make
2 this a more perfect union.

3 To that end, we today have with us a very able
4 and qualified Chairman of the Federal Communications
5 Commission who is in the tradition of those who want to
6 honor democratic principles. He has found favor among
7 many people who really want the law to be honored.

8 President Clinton called in the State of the
9 Union Address for a level playing field for minority
10 candidates, to open up the airwaves and take some of this
11 money that drives campaigns. It was ignored when Clinton
12 said it, but when Mr. Kennard said it, he drew fire.

13 The idea that Roland Burris is running as
14 strong as he is running in a governor's race, he has got
15 everything except money, and in connection with the
16 public airwaves, he has not run one commercial, and he is
17 in a dead heat for the governor's race.

18 So, President Clinton raised this in his State
19 of the Union Address, and Bill Kennard raised it, the
20 idea of evening the playing field goes under attack.

1 We support the Chairman in his quest. The
2 fact that there is emphasis on wiring the jails, making
3 them first class jails, and having second class schools.
4 The schools are not wired. It is not so much a race gap,
5 but an opportunity and structural gap that must be
6 closed. There is a question on the C-block. There will
7 be a decision expected this week. The penalties and
8 burdens of the minorities must be reduced as we enter
9 this phase of our work.

10 Mr. Chairman, we have invited you to share
11 with us what you see. We want to share with you what our
12 experiences are in the exchange so that we might leave
13 here more instructed.

14 The role of Congressman Rush is to go back to
15 Congress to take our case. Congressman Jackson was here
16 last night. Congressman Conyers is in town and will be
17 represented here today.

18 The same is true on the Senate side. This may
19 very well be the beginning of a massive movement to
20 democracy access to the airwaves.

21 Give Congressman Conyers a big hand.

1 (Loud applause.)

2 REVEREND JACKSON: Congressman Conyers is the
3 first Congressman that has ever held a jazz symposium on
4 the Hill. Now, he is beginning to dress like jazz
5 musicians. Give him a hand.

6 (Loud applause.)

7 REVEREND JACKSON: But this meeting could very
8 well be the beginning of a movement that has broad
9 implications for our country, broad implications for our
10 democracy and for the common people.

11 Today I bring you a man of integrity,
12 intelligence, insight, who has earned the respect we have
13 given to him, Chairman Bill Kennard.

14 (Loud applause.)

15 STATEMENT BY WILLIAM E. KENNARD,
16 Chairman of the Federal Communications Commission

17 CHAIRMAN KENNARD: Thank you very, very much.
18 It is an honor to be here today to speak to you, an
19 organization founded by Reverend Jesse Jackson.

20 You know, Reverend, you have been a hero to me
21 for as long as I can remember, and as I was coming here

1 today I was thinking it is almost ten years to the day
2 after the Super Tuesday primary of 1988 when you won 16
3 out of 20 states, and won the popular vote and the
4 liberal vote and labor vote and made all people realize
5 what we in the African-American community have known for
6 many years, which is that you are a force in American
7 life and perhaps the greatest orator of our time.

8 You know, I was telling my wife that I was
9 invited to give this speech today at RAINBOW/PUSH, and
10 she asked me if Reverend Jackson would be speaking at
11 this event, and I said, "Well, yes," and she said, "Is he
12 going to speak at the same time as you?" And I said, "I
13 think so." She said, "You had better keep your remarks
14 short," and I will do that.

15 But I do want to acknowledge a few people here
16 today: Larry Irving, my colleague in the federal govern-
17 ment. Larry is the Assistant Secretary of Commerce, and
18 no one in Washington has been more vigilant in keeping
19 the issue of the divide between the have-nots and the
20 haves in our society in the world of technology alive
21 than Larry Irving.

1 (Loud applause.)

2 CHAIRMAN KENNARD: Larry Irving, as many of
3 you know, is the principal advisor to the President and
4 the Vice President on communications issues, and he makes
5 sure that issues that concern our community are kept on
6 their agenda. And he has done a wonderful job.

7 A few people know that I met Larry Irving when
8 I was in college. I was an undergraduate at Stanford
9 University and Larry was in law school then, and Larry
10 was one of the few law students who would take time to
11 talk to undergraduates about the ramifications of law
12 school and what it took to get into law school and what
13 it was all about, and the one thing about Larry is that
14 he has been doing this for over 20 years now, and he has
15 continued to give me very good advice, and I thank you
16 for that.

17 I would also like to acknowledge Catherine
18 Sandoval, who is here from the FCC, the Director --

19 (Loud applause.)

20 CHAIRMAN KENNARD: Cathy is Director of the
21 Office of Communications Business Opportunities.

1 Michelle Ellison is also here. She is Deputy
2 General Counsel.

3 Actually, when I look around this room I see a
4 lot of dear friends and colleagues, people who were
5 really crucial to my ability to be where I am today.

6 It is a very humbling experience when you get
7 appointed to a job like this because you realize you
8 don't get there alone, you really stand on the shoulders
9 of a lot of people who counsel you and support you and
10 help you in many ways, and many of them are here today,
11 and I want to acknowledge some of them.

12 I know I will miss some people. I want to
13 thank, first and foremost, Reverend Jackson for all of
14 his support in the process.

15 I want to thank Andy Schwartzman, who is here;
16 David Honig; Congressman Rush; and his Chief of Staff,
17 Tim Wright.

18 I remember one time during the confirmation
19 process Congressman Rush and Tim Wright took me aside and
20 took me in the Congressman's office and shut the door and

1 they gave me a little tutorial on the confirmation
2 process, and it was extremely helpful.

3 And Larry Irving, and Cathy Sandoval, people
4 too numerous to mention, really helped me get here today.

5 Also I wanted to acknowledge Congressman Eliot
6 Engel. Congressman Engel just walked in the room.

7 All of you in this room today are here because
8 you are committed to a struggle to gain opportunity for
9 people of color in what is now the fastest-growing sector
10 of our economy, telecommunications.

11 And as I was coming here today I was thinking
12 about many of you and all of the fights that we have been
13 in together over the years, and the ups and downs of the
14 various struggles we have fought in the Congress and the
15 courts and the FCC. But I was also thinking in coming
16 here today about someone else who could not be here today
17 who helped me get here in a very big way, and I was
18 thinking about my grandfather.

19 My grandfather grew up in a very different
20 time when there were very few jobs for an intelligent,
21 hardworking man, if he was black in this society.

1 One of the better jobs available to him was to
2 become a Pullman porter, and my grandfather became a
3 Pullman porter, and he soon tired though of living his
4 life on the road. He wanted to spend more time with his
5 family, and as he traveled around the country on the
6 rails he noticed that in the State of California the
7 racism was a little less virulent than he was used to.
8 And so he decided to move his family to the little town
9 of Monrovia, California, where my father grew up.
10 And he got a job there as a janitor for the public
11 schools, and he had that job most of his life.

12 My grandfather was a very learned man. He was
13 a remarkable person. He was completely self taught, and
14 he had taught himself to read the works of Shakespeare,
15 and he studied the Bible, and I have read beautiful
16 letters that he wrote to my grandmother, love letters,
17 where he would quote from Shakespeare and from the Bible,
18 and they were written in the most beautiful calligraphy
19 that you see today only in the finest wedding
20 invitations.

1 He had a tremendous potential, and he could
2 have contributed a lot more to this society, perhaps as a
3 scholar or as a professional person, but he lived in a
4 society that did not allow him to reach his full
5 potential in life.

6 He did the best that he could. He
7 accomplished a lot in life.

8 He raised four children and sent them to
9 college, and he instilled in them a sense of community
10 and family values and social studies. So when I heard
11 myself introduced as the first African-American Chairman
12 of the FCC, as proud as I am of that fact, I think of all
13 of those people past and present who never got the
14 opportunities that I have been so fortunate to have. And
15 that reaffirms my obligation to unlock the potential in
16 other people around the country.

17 (Loud applause.)

18 So I want to talk to you today about potential
19 and promise and opportunity. And from the vantage of the
20 FCC chairmanship, it is clear that the field of

1 telecommunications offers tremendous potential to unlock
2 the potential for millions of Americans today.

3 I saw this first happen not long ago. I went
4 to Newark, New Jersey at the invitation of Congressman
5 Donald Payne, the New York District, and he wanted to
6 show me a computer lab where students were learning
7 computer technology.

8 It was a brand-new lab, and I had the
9 privilege really of sitting next a nine-year-old student
10 named John, and I showed John how to access the Internet
11 for the first time, and we found a website about Dr.
12 Martin Luther King, Jr., and we explored the website, and
13 we learned a lot about Dr. King. And we found also some
14 interesting information about him, and at the end of
15 this, I asked him, I said, "What do you think about this
16 Internet?" And his whole face lit up, and he looked at
17 me and he said, "This is much better than books."

18 And it occurred to me at that moment that this
19 kid, this nine-year-old kid, had summed up what is a
20 revolution in our society, what is profound about
21 telecommunications, because it is a revolution that is

1 changing fundamentally how the people get information in
2 society and the way they think and the way they
3 communicate and the way they work and the way they do
4 business. That alone holds the promise of unleashing
5 tremendous potential in Americans that is locked up
6 inside them.

7 But the point I want to make today is that
8 that is possible only if we create the positive
9 conditions for change.

10 Everybody in this room knows the story of the
11 civil rights movement in this country, and we remember
12 all the big events: the march on Washington; Selma;
13 Little Rock. Many of you were leaders in that movement.
14 But I am sure that all of us also remember the smaller
15 events that touched our lives as well.

16 In my case it happened in San Francisco, where
17 some community activists in that city complained that
18 there were no African-Americans in the management of
19 local television stations in San Francisco. And so one
20 of the stations went out in response and they created a
21 summer internship program for minority students, and they

1 went and they found a student from University of
2 California, Berkeley, and one from San Jose State, and
3 they came to Stanford and found me.

4 And today the guy from Berkeley is a CBS
5 network correspondent. The guy from San Jose State is a
6 producer in the television industry, and I am here.

7 (Loud applause.)

8 But the point is that I wouldn't have gotten
9 the job if it wasn't for the fact that people in San
10 Francisco said that it was unacceptable not to have any
11 black people in local television in that city, and they
12 did something about it. They created conditions for
13 positive change.

14 And we are the beneficiary of the courage and
15 hard work of people like that, just as we are the
16 beneficiaries of the work of Rev. Jackson and John
17 Conyers and Bobby Rush and Ed Towns. They, too, have
18 created the conditions for positive change. This doesn't
19 just happen overnight. It happens because people work
20 for it.

1 I feel very privileged to be working in
2 telecommunications today because the only thing that is
3 constant about telecommunications today is change. It is
4 a revolution we see in the workplace. Six out of every
5 ten new jobs in this country are computer related. You
6 see it in homes, four out of every ten homes has a
7 personal computer. Every street in America, it seems
8 that every second or third person has a cell phone that
9 they are talking on. It is an amazing thing.

10 I also focus on it at airports. You go into
11 airports today and people literally travel with their
12 office: cell phones, beepers, laptop computers, it is a
13 traveling office.

14 There is a profound change in the way people
15 work in this country, and it is that fourteen percent of
16 the workforce today is devoted to telecommunications, and
17 that is growing.

18 The United States, as I am sure Larry Irving
19 knows, will need 1.3 million new workers in information
20 technology in the next eight years. We are going to need
21 95,000 new computer science analysts each year. This is

1 a big change in our economic life and our social life as
2 well. It is so important that you come together today to
3 focus on these changes and reflect and gather evidence
4 because we are in a pivotal movement in our nation's
5 history in telecommunications because it is changing the
6 face of the world.

7 I often say that the information highway that
8 we are here about today is such a powerful force. It can
9 bring us together as a nation or it can divide us, and in
10 that way it is not unlike conventional highways in
11 America, freeways and expressways. And we in the
12 African-American community, we know the importance of
13 those kinds of highways, we have seen the importance of
14 those developments in society.

15 In the post-World War II period in this
16 country, this nation invested a tremendous amount of
17 money to build up the interstate highway system, and it
18 was a wonderful thing for America. It brought America
19 together around commerce, and it brought cultures
20 together. It connected rural America to the mainstream

1 of commerce, and it created different jobs in commerce
2 for many, many Americans.

3 But the point here is that it wasn't all good.
4 It left a sad legacy for some minority communities, and
5 you can go in any city in America today and see that
6 legacy, see how the great superhighways transported jobs
7 and commerce and opportunities out of the inner city, and
8 that is happening today in Chicago, Washington, D.C., and
9 you can see it in every city in America.

10 And so this highway can be a divide that walls
11 us off in the greater community from access to jobs and
12 information and commerce, or it can bring us together as
13 a bridge, and that is why what we are talking about today
14 is so very important.

15 We have also got a lot of work today to do
16 because this vision that I have of an information highway
17 that brings people together and connects Americans
18 together and brings commerce and unlocks potential, we
19 are not there yet.

20 Seventy-eight percent of schools in affluent
21 communities have access to the Internet, but only half

1 the schools in lower income areas have it. I am not
2 talking about Internet access in every schoolroom, I am
3 just talking about just one Internet connection. The
4 percentage availability of computers for white kids has
5 tripled that of blacks and Latino kids. 2.8 percent of
6 the broadcast stations in this country are minority, and
7 this minority situation is declining.

8 So, we have got to do better, and we can start
9 right now. We can start by creating a climate of
10 positive change, by taking this debate outside the
11 beltway and take it to the people, take it to the streets
12 where people can understand the importance of these
13 issues.

14 (Loud applause.)

15 CHAIRMAN KENNARD: Let me talk a minute about
16 that point as relating to broadcasting.

17 As I mentioned I got my start in the broadcast
18 industry, an internship with stations, and got into the
19 law practice, representing broadcasters. And I remember
20 very well a time about 20 years in this country, about 20
21 years ago in this country when government first started

1 to focus on the problems of underrepresentation of
2 minorities in the broadcast business. And the FCC
3 started to hold hearings and put together task forces,
4 and ultimately created some policies like the tax
5 certificate and distress sale policies. They were
6 incremental but they worked.

7 The point is that the FCC just didn't just
8 decide to do this. It just didn't stumble upon these
9 ideas and say, "Let's do something about the under-
10 representation of minorities in broadcasting." The FCC
11 took action because there was an environment for positive
12 change. The Congressional Black Caucus and the National
13 Black Media Coalition and the Department of Commerce
14 started talking about this issue, and the broadcast
15 industry responded, and they came to the FCC and said,
16 "We need to do something. This is a problem because we
17 can't sustain this growth in this business if we don't
18 create opportunities for people of color."

19 Those policies were created because people in
20 the minority community told their government that it was
21 fundamentally unacceptable for us to live in a society