

Perceptions of Hate Group Activity In Georgia

December 1982

A report of the Georgia State Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights prepared for the information and consideration of the Commission. The report will be considered by the Commission, and the Commission will make public its reaction. In the meantime, the findings and recommendations of this report should not be attributed to the Commission but only to the Georgia State Advisory Committee.

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The United States Commission on Civil Rights, created by the Civil Rights Act of 1957, is an independent, bipartisan agency of the executive branch of the Federal Government. By the terms of the act, as amended, the Commission is charged with the following duties pertaining to discrimination or denials of the equal protection of the laws based on race, color, religion, sex, age, handicap, or national origin, or in the administration of justice: investigation of individual discriminatory denials of the right to vote; study of legal developments with respect to discrimination or denials of equal protection of the law; maintenance of a national clearinghouse for information respecting discrimination or denials of equal protection of the law; and investigation of patterns or practices of fraud or discrimination in the conduct of Federal elections. The Commission is also required to submit reports to the President and the Congress at such times as the Commission, the Congress, or the President shall deem desirable.

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- A report prepared by the Georgia Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights

ATTRIBUTION:

The findings and recommendations contained in this report are those of the Georgia Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights and, as such, are not attributable to the Commission.

This report has been prepared by the Georgia Advisory Committee for submission to the Commission, and will be considered by the Commission in formulating its recommendations to the President and Congress.

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

Georgia Advisory Committee to the
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
December 1982

MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION

Clarence M. Pendleton, Jr., Chairman
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John Hope III, Acting Staff Director

Dear Commissioners:

The Georgia Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, in fulfillment of its mandate, is pleased to transmit to you this report: Perceptions of Hate Group Activity in Georgia.

The report summarizes the statements made by Georgia officials, community and civil rights leaders at a September 1981 factfinding meeting in Atlanta. The participants were asked to discuss their opinions about the nature and extent of racial and religious bigotry and violence in the state and the response of both local and state officials to such violence.

The Committee found that acts of intimidation and blatant violence continue to occur in the state. They have been directed primarily at blacks, although ethnic minorities have been harassed, as well as people of the Jewish faith. A distinct difference in the perceptions of hate group activity was found between community leaders and law enforcement personnel. At the time of the factfinding meeting, there was no mechanism at the state level to coordinate official response to hate group activity. In June 1982 a statewide task force was established for this purpose.

Among other recommendations, the Advisory Committee urges Georgia's public officials, including the Governor and local mayors, to study hate group activity and the problems it causes. Efficient and effective responses to such activity should be developed and public statements issued which make it clear that Georgia's leadership will not tolerate acts of intimidation or violence. The state and local governments are urged to enact legislation to prevent such acts and to limit the effects of its intimidation.

The Advisory Committee will monitor any future hate group activity in Georgia, and in followup work to this report, monitor the response of public officials and community leaders.

The Georgia Advisory Committee urges the U. S. Commission to accept this report and endorse its recommendations.

Sincerely,

CLAYTON SINCLAIR, JR., Chairperson
Georgia Advisory Committee

THE GEORGIA ADVISORY COMMITTEE TO THE
U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The Advisory Committee wishes to thank the staff of the Commission's Southern Regional Office, Atlanta, Georgia, for its assistance in the preparation of this report.

The factfinding meeting and report were the principal staff assignment of Idalia Morales-Miller, Deputy Director. Members of the study team who interviewed Federal and state officials and representatives of civil rights and religious organizations in preparation for the September 24, 1981 factfinding meeting included Richmond Doyle, Edith Hammond, Courtney Siceloff, Katie Harris and Clinton Fried. Pat Watters, consultant to the Southern Regional Office, prepared the summaries of statements made at the Atlanta meeting which comprise this report. Staff support was provided by Joan R. Harper. All work was completed under the guidance of Bobby D. Doctor, Regional Director.

INTRODUCTION

The southeastern region has the distinction of being the birthplace of the country's most infamous hate group: the Ku Klux Klan. Since the Klan was founded in 1865 in Pulaski, Tennessee, its trade of harassment, intimidation and overt violence has been practiced throughout the country both by organized groups and by individuals acting alone.

The State of Georgia, despite its progressive City of Atlanta, and fame as the home of many great civil rights leaders, is fertile ground for hate group activity. Recent cases of harassment and shootings motivated by racial or religious prejudice caused the Georgia Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights to hold a factfinding meeting on the subject of "Racial and Religious Bigotry and Violence in Georgia".

The September 24, 1981, meeting was designed to ascertain the extent and nature of racial and religious bigotry and violence, the responses of officials to such activity and to find ways to mitigate or curtail such acts.

A total of 31 persons spoke at the factfinding meeting in Atlanta. They shared a broad range of knowledge and experience of hate group activity. Religious and civil rights groups, the military, government agencies, and Federal and state law enforcement agencies were represented.

The following report is an account of their perceptions of hate group activity in Georgia, and, in some instances, in other states in the southeast. The report concludes with recommendations which the Georgia Advisory Committee believes will help to curtail acts of bigotry and violence and make progress toward realizing the American dream of full equality for all people.

I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia, the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave owners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood.

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.
August 28, 1963

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OPENING COMMENTS

JAN DOUGLAS, Director of the Community Relations Commission, City of Atlanta, representing (then) Mayor Maynard Jackson.

Ms. Douglas bid welcome to the city and extended greetings from Mayor Jackson. She pointed out that her organization was conducting a study on national racial violence from January, 1980, to June, 1981 which clearly reflects that racial and religious harassment and violence are on the increase regionally and nationally. ¹Causes of the upsurge, in her view, are economic hard times and a swing to the right in the national government, including cutbacks in affirmative action programs. The latter encourages violence-prone individuals and groups.

Acts of harassment, attempted murder and murder have created an atmosphere of fear in the South and across the nation. If blacks and Jews and other minorities were similarly organized for harassment of and violence to whites, the nation would be turning upside down, she remarked (T-7).

Many incidents of racial and religious harassment go unreported to the media and police. She cited the example of a woman who called her office, reporting a group of boys shouting racial epithets at her as she drove on a public road.

Organized resistance to terrorism is needed. Otherwise, the perpetrators will consider their acts no longer disreputable (T-8).

¹Transcript of the Georgia Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Open Meeting on Racial and Religious Bigotry and Violence, Atlanta, Georgia, September 24, 1981, p. 6 (hereinafter cited in text as T-page number).

STUART LOWENGRUB, Southeastern Regional Director, Anti-Defamation League (ADL) of B'nai B'rith, Atlanta.

Mr. Lowengrub pointed out that the ADL seeks to represent all minorities, while concentrating on the rights of Jews nationally and internationally. The Southeast office covers Alabama, Georgia, Tennessee and South Carolina (T-15). The primary purpose of the organization is education. A chief concern is monitoring activities of extremist organizations. These are ones that engage in or advocate violence and programs of an undemocratic nature and have racial and/or religious bigotry as part of their programs (T-16). Such organizations represent the extreme left as well as right (T-17).

The ADL in May 1981, submitted under contract to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights a 90-page document entitled "Racism and Violence, the American Hate Movement Today," Mr. Lowengrub pointed out. It stated that organized racism in the nation is increasingly characterized by organized violence. Violence is increasingly viewed as inevitable in racial conflicts. A dangerous new component is organization of paramilitary training camps, with instructions in weapons handling, demolition and guerrilla warfare (T-17-18).

The report notes that in recent years older racist organizations have spawned splinter groups that are even more violence-prone than the older groups. Chief among these is the Ku Klux Klan. Its factions compete for dollars and loyalties of American racists and anti-Semites. Likewise splintered into competing factions is the neo-Nazi movement. Klan and neo-Nazi factions vie with one another to exhibit greater militancy. Some survivalist groups blame Jews and blacks for the ills of the society. (T-18-19).

The Klan, Mr. Lowengrub stated, is the most burgeoning of extremist groups. Its membership has increased 25 to 30 percent in the past two or three years. The most militant factions have had the largest increases. Growth has been greatest in the South, specifically in northern Alabama, central and south Tennessee, and north Georgia.

Nationally, the Klan has approximately 12,000 members. This compares with 500,000 members 50 years ago and 100,000 members 20 years ago. In the past, the Klan had far more political, economic and social clout. But

the fact that membership is on the increase is a danger signal (T-19-20).

Klan groups seek successfully to attract sympathizers and supporters. These include people who will provide money and attend rallies, short of joining. They are lower and middle economic and educational groups, fearful of changes in the nation. One effort to attract such support was the offer of Klan aid to white and, ironically, black workers in Cedartown, Georgia, who were fearful of competition from foreign-born workers. While the Klan numbers no more than 1,000 in Georgia, it can count on support from 50,000 persons, Mr. Lowengrub declared (T-21-22).

An increase in violence and vandalism aimed specifically at Jews has been noted, Mr. Lowengrub said. This includes swastika smearings, painted anti-Jewish slogans, threats, harassment and cross-burnings. The number of such incidents tripled during 1980 over the previous year. In Georgia, the number of such incidents in 1981 has been four times that of 1980, including a cross-burning at a DeKalb County synagogue. A Jewish Community Center received a bomb threat. A Savannah synagogue was smeared with swastikas and anti-Semitic obscenities. A Jewish family in Cobb County has been harassed by anti-Semites.

Young adults and teenagers committed some of the acts. Too often, law enforcement agencies regard such acts of the young as pranks and don't pursue them vigorously. They should be taken seriously. The youngsters who paint a swastika today may throw a bomb tomorrow.

Most often, culprits are not caught, even when there are suspects. At times, it seems that little effort is made to catch them (T-25-27).

The ADL recommends special legislation or executive orders calling for greater surveillance by federal, state and local law-enforcement agencies of extremist groups. Their past history of bigotry and violence warrants it. This can be done without infringement on the civil rights of the groups. The attempted dynamiting of the Nashville synagogue was thwarted by surveillance by a Federal law-enforcement agency.

The ADL also advocates efforts by schools, especially high schools, to teach about extremism and bigotry. Teenagers are considered a fertile recruitment group for extremist organizations.

The ADL urges greater responsibility on the part of the media in their treatment of extremist groups. This is not a call for censorship or suppression of the news, but for not romanticizing extremist groups or giving them attention unwarranted by their small membership.

Yet another recommendation is for legislation explicitly forbidding vandalism to not only Jewish institutions, but all houses of worship and communal institutions (T-22-25, 27).

In summary, Mr. Lowengrub said that increases in extremist groups and proliferation of anti-Semitic acts are cause not for great alarm, but for serious concern. "We are not faced with a genocide started with insults, harassment, vandalism. Anti-Semitism and racial bigotry are like cancer cells. If not treated early, they multiply" (T-27-28).

In answer to questions from members of the committee, Mr. Lowengrub had the following to say:

The ADL works closely with law-enforcement agencies. They vary in terms of concern and competence. The Federal Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (BATF) is extremely cooperative. Local police need training about the nature and history of extremist groups. So do other parts of local and state government about which charges of racism are not uncommon (T-29-32).

The more serious acts of terrorism--shootings and bombings and the like--are for the most part committed by terrorist groups. Less serious incidents are thought to be by individuals, though most perpetrators are never caught (T-33-35).

Volatile as they are, terrorist groups even take violent action against one another. A leader of one Klan group in Tennessee tried to do away with the leader of another. George Lincoln Rockwell, the Nazi leader, was killed by one of his followers. A shootout occurred near Orlando, Florida by two factions of an extremist group (T-35-36).

Survivalists, held a four-day meeting in Louisville, Illinois where they engaged in weapons training. Two thousand people attended. These were not the type associated with the Klan, but middle-class, business people (T-36-37).

THE REV. FRED B. TAYLOR, Field Director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), Atlanta

When SCLC has attempted to exercise its Constitutional right to march, demonstrate, picket or engage in non-violent activity, it has been confronted by individuals trying to prevent its doing so, he declared at the outset.

This occurred in Wrightsville, Georgia where local authorities gave SCLC a permit to march, but did not protect the march. White citizens attacked the marchers and beat the president of SCLC (the Rev. Joseph Lowery). In Rev. Taylor's opinion this was with the cooperation of local law enforcement officials (T-38). The SCLC held meetings in Rome, Georgia in connection with Klan harassment of a black high school youth. It also held meetings in Cartersville, Georgia in connection with a local police officer's running over a black youth on a motorbike. At both places, the SCLC was confronted with racist violence perpetrated by the Ku Klux Klan, white law enforcement officers and white individuals (T-39-40).

A tendency to hatred and violence is caused by whites holding blacks responsible for hard times economically, the Rev. Mr. Taylor said. "We submit that there is interrelatedness between hard times and the rise of violence and bigotry in this country." People in high places turn their faces away from violent acts. Law enforcement officers do not deal with them. For example, SCLC officials talked with the U.S. Attorney in Savannah about the Wrightsville situation yet no action resulted (T-40-41).

SCLC has organized a National Anti-Klan Network, he said. It maintains a data bank on Klan activity across the country. It has a legal department to engage in litigation against the Klan. And it seeks to have high schools use a course on the Klan and other racist groups developed by the National Education Association (NEA) (T-41-42).

DR. CHARLES KING, President, Urban Crisis Center, Atlanta.

His remarks, he said, are based on 10 years' experience of examining prejudices and bigotry within the white race. Racism had its birth in the Christian church and operates under the color of religion. This is coming to the front with the rise of such organizations as the Moral Majority (T-44-45).

"Historically, Americans have...assumed that racial bigotry is expressed by those who wear sheets and burn crosses and preach hate." But this racism is minimal compared with that which comes out of the church. The majority of white people condemn the Klan. This sets up a dynamic of "bigotry contrast." As long as a white person can find someone more extreme than he is, then he is all right in his own mind (T-45-46).

The Christian church, he went on, needs to examine itself and purge itself of prejudices and bigotry. It should cease to allow itself to be subverted by manipulators (T-52).

In answer to a question from a member of the committee, Dr. King asserted that the Moral Majority has tapped religion into politics so as to manipulate votes for the gaining of power (T-60).

THE REV. C.T. VIVIAN, Chairman of the National Anti-Klan Network of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), Atlanta.

Rev. Vivian related how in 1979 in Decatur, Alabama the Klan shot four persons engaging in a civil rights march. A bullet through the windshield of a car at the end of the march almost struck Mrs. Joseph Lowery, wife of the president of the SCLC. He said the intention of the Klan was to kill her (T-61).

Often, he declared, Klan harrassment is aimed at taking jobs away from blacks (T-62).

The Klan threatened a white minister in West Virginia in 1980, causing him to flee the state. The Rev. Dr. Billy Graham has never spoken out against the Klan. That encourages the Klan to intimidate a minister who does speak out (T-63-64).

Para-military camps across the country are training people to kill. Organizers anticipate a race war (T-66).

Police in Nashville, Tennessee prevented the bombing of a synagogue. But black ministers there said there was no police response when their churches were threatened (T-67).

In answer to a question from a member of the committee, the Rev. Mr. Vivian said that the reason for the upsurge in racist violence is the seeking of a scapegoat during a time of economic distress (T-75).

PANEL I: CIVIL RIGHTS AND COMMUNITY LEADERS

RANDALL WILLIAMS, Director, Klanwatch Project, Southern Poverty Law Center, Montgomery, Alabama.

The Klanwatch Project, he stated, has determined that Klan-type activities are occurring in the country at a rate of more than one incident per day. These range from public demonstrations and leaflet-giving to shootings, attempted bombings and bombings. Also, the nation is seeing more coalitions of violence-prone, far-right organizations than ever before (T-78).

In response to questions from members of the committee, Mr. Williams had the following to say:

The Federal government could do a better job of monitoring the Klan than his organization, but it does not choose to do so. What his organization does is to gather information from newspapers across the country, from people who call in to report incidents and from former Klan members and even some Klan members. It exchanges information with law-enforcement agencies. The organization also files suits against the Klan which elicit information about the inner workings of the Klan (T-80).

Prosecution under the Federal anti-Klan statutes are rare. One reason is that most police officers don't know about them. His organization published a special report on the statutes. Copies were sent to police chiefs and sheriffs in the 20 states having the most Klan activity (T-81-82).

What is lacking in law enforcement against the Klan is a clear signal from the top levels of the country, including the Justice Department, that Klan activity will not be tolerated. This was true during both the Carter and Reagan administrations.(T-82).

There have been instances when law enforcement prevented violence to blacks. One was when the BATF stopped intended bombings of blacks in Maryland and Delaware. The Reagan Administration is trying to dismantle the BATF, probably because of pressure from the gun lobby. It has been the most effective arm of the Federal government in combatting the Klan (T-83-84).

The majority of acts of terrorism are still random. But there is more coordination of right-wing groups than in the past. A meeting was held in Montgomery, Alabama, recently, by Klan leaders from five states and several different organizations. It was billed as a Klan unity rally. Sessions were secret, but those attending can be presumed to have set an agenda for future activities. The different Klan groups send publications to one another and their ties have increased(T-84).

EARL SHINHOSTER, Regional Director, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), Atlanta.

The NAACP has, he said, fought racist attacks on blacks and other minority persons for many years. "...Hate groups and escalating hate-group activity are a direct threat to the domestic tranquility of this nation. Racial and religious bigotry and violence are real and pervasive." During 1981, NAACP branches reported to Atlanta headquarters some 75 incidents instigated by racial and religious prejudice. (T-86).

Retreat from governmental protection and from strong advocacy of social justice is caused "by the morally bankrupt political leadership in America." He cited Congressional efforts to maintain a dual, unequal system of public education and lack of enforcement of fair housing. An Administration spokesman has stated that citizens are not entitled to anything from the Federal government, including legal and social services. This attitude perpetuates racial and religious violence. The result may be increased self-defense and ultimately the race war that those who preach hate are advocating, he declared (T-88).

Top law enforcement officials of one state told the NAACP that they could do very little to counter racial and religious violence unless there were a smoking gun or a body. They said greater advocacy on the part of the public was needed, he reported (T-88-89).

Dr. Benjamin Hooks, executive director of the NAACP, presented a proposal for a national commission against violence to both the Carter and Reagan administrations without success (T-90).

Only one or two states in the South attempt to better race relations. Georgia does not even have a fair employment practices law "with any enforcement power,

any teeth..." A morally bankrupt political leadership seeks a return to the good old days to state rights (T-89-91).

With no help from the government, victims of racist violence must protect themselves and their families, he asserted (T-91).

LAUGHLIN MCDONALD, Director of the American Civil Liberties Union, Southern Regional Office, Atlanta.

Bigotry and violence, he declared, are not limited to acts of Klansmen, Nazis and other extremist groups. Bias and discrimination, which are forms of violence, are pervasive in our society. Nowhere is this more evident than in the administration of voting rights for blacks in the New South (T-92).

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 has not ended racial discrimination. This is despite its ban on literacy tests and poll taxes, and despite Section V which requires covered jurisdictions, mostly in the South, to preclear election law changes he declared. Many jurisdictions ignore Section V. Many use at-large voting to block the election of blacks. Many have continued to practice political intimidation and manipulation of blacks (T-93-94).

Mr. McDonald cited examples of voting discrimination in the "New, Good and Caring South."

On May 14, 1981, a Federal District Court ruled that elections of the mayor and commission of Eatonton, Georgia and the Putnam County Board of Education discriminated on the basis of race (T-94-95).

In March of 1981, the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that the vestiges of racism encompassed the totality of life in Burke County, Georgia. It affirmed a lower court decision that at-large election of the county commission was unconstitutional (T-95).

He related that the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals had recently ruled that the manner of election to the Board of Education in Thomaston, Georgia, was discriminatory. For 61 years, the all-white board elected white replacements for members whose terms had expired (T-95-96).

It is a criminal offense to violate the Voting Rights Act. There has never been a prosecution for doing so (T-96).

His final example involved court action against Americus, Georgia seat of Sumter County "from whence came the very symbol of the New South," former President Jimmy Carter. In April 1980, a Federal District Court ruled that majority-vote, at-large elections for the Americus mayor and city council unconstitutionally diluted black voting strength. It also declared illegal at-large elections for the Board of Commissioners of Sumter County.

Also under attack in the case was a change from race-segregated to sex-segregated voting lines. "...[t]he procedure was intended to spare white women the indignity of standing in line with black males," Mr. McDonald asserted (T-96-97).

AL KEHRER, Regional Director for the Civil Rights Division of the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO)

His work, he said, takes him into all parts of the South, from Texas to Virginia. He said he is convinced that religious and racial bigotry expressed in violence are on the rise again. A similar increase occurred during the Nixon Administration. But the current crisis is more serious (T-99).

The Nixon Administration, while conservative, did not attack civil rights and other protective legislation. But the Reagan Administration has unleashed suppressed racial and religious feelings that were publicly unacceptable before. The radical right, with its meanness of spirit and intolerance, thrives in the atmosphere created by this Administration (T-99-100).

High levels of unemployment, he continued, and double-digit inflation both threaten riots and cause economic victims to seek scapegoats. They speak of black welfare chiselers and greed of international money-managers, i.e., Jews (T-100-101).

The AFL-CIO supports the Anti-Defamation League legislative and policy approaches to countering the escalation of radical right and hate groups, he said. It is particularly concerned about the failure of government to do anything about the growing number of

para-military operations which train people to use violence against minority citizens. (T-101).

Right-wing and hate groups recruit members during crises in towns and cities. An example is when court-ordered busing took place in Louisville, Kentucky. Members of labor organizations were swept up in such recruitment, and it was his job to educate them against it. Since then, networks have been set up in advance to prevent exploitation of events by the right-wing and hate groups. The need is to organize such networks in all locales (T-101-102).

JEAN CHEN, Southeastern Regional Representative,
Pacific/Asian Americans Coalition, Atlanta.

Asian Americans for many years were excluded by law from living in the United States. Today, those who live here are excluded from the workings of society (T-103-106). For example, she pointed out, there are no Asian Americans on the Georgia Advisory Committee (T-103-106). A brochure for new citizens tells how many blacks, how many women have served in Congress, but not how many Asian Americans (T-108).

Asian Americans, she said, want to be accepted as part of American society. Just because they do not speak English well does not mean they don't love the United States (T-110).

PANEL II: RELIGIOUS LEADERS

RABBI EMANUEL FELDMAN, Congregation Beth Jacob,
Atlanta.

Rabbi Feldman told the committee that he has been a resident of Atlanta for almost 30 years and in the present synagogue for 20 years.

Because of a long history of persecution, he said, Jews shudder with terrible recognition at any manifestation of prejudice (T-113-114). For the past several years, and only during this time, it is a regular pattern for members of his congregation leaving worship to be confronted by people in automobiles shouting, "Jews," or "Hitler still lives," or "Go back to--" wherever Jews are supposed to go back to.

Several years ago, a swastika was painted on the synagogue. Just recently, the occupant of an automobile deliberately veered off the road, attempting to run over a group of teenagers leaving services. Last Passover, someone hit a teenaged girl of the congregation with a b-b gun in broad daylight. Occasionally, people make threatening telephone calls to the synagogue or to the rabbi at late hours (T-114-116).

Rabbi Feldman emphasized that such things have occurred only in the past five or six years. He said he was grateful to God that no serious injury has been inflicted. But incidents such as he described are cause for concern in an age when popes, presidents, civil rights leaders, entertainers, and ordinary people are shot for no reason (T-116).

JACK VAUGHN, Executive Director of the Georgia Region of the National Conference of Christians and Jews,
Atlanta.

Mr. Vaughn began by saying he is new to the area, having come from Wichita, Kansas, and by explaining that the purpose of his organization is education and the promotion of good human relations.

The weekend he came to look for a home, a cross-burning occurred at Beth Shalom Synagogue. A newspaper account suggested that it was a prank, presumably by some kid. It is deplorable that a kid might think burning a cross was permissible. Later, he attended the dedication of Beth Shalom and felt strong community rejection of the cross-burning and support for the synagogue (T-117-118).

A book store in Atlanta has for sale some of the most obscene material in terms of anti-Catholicism he said he had ever read. (T-121).

High unemployment could give rise to black rioting. It also could cause scapegoating on the scale that occurred in Nazi Germany (T-124).

REV. JOSEPH ROBERTS, Pastor, Ebenezer Baptist Church, Atlanta, and Chair of the Atlanta Human Relations Commission.

Rev. Roberts pointed out that he has been pastor of Ebenezer Baptist Church for six years, since the retirement of Dr. Martin Luther King, Sr. He said he had difficulty coming to terms with the subject of racially and religiously motivated bigotry and violence. Such bigotry has become subtle and more difficult to delineate than during the civil rights movement.

He recounted that there have been instances of overt bigotry close to home. Someone desecrated the crypt of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. by spray-painting it three different colors. On another occasion, one of three men in a pickup truck got out and urinated on the name plate designating Dr. King Sr.'s parking place at the church. When an attempt was made to non-violently reprimand him, he reached for a rifle in the truck. The truck drove slowly away, the man defying onlookers (T-126-127).

But for the most part, religious bigotry and violence have become political, expressed in single issues such as welfare, abortion, busing and military defense. These are addressed by right-wing religious leaders, such as ones connected with Moral Majority. It is

unfortunate that cross and crown were wedded when the President sought approval of the Moral Majority for a Supreme Court nominee (T-127). Bigotry expresses itself in cutbacks in welfare and high unemployment rates of blacks (T-130-132).

"When we are willing," he said, "to spend \$1.5 trillion in the next five years for defense and let people [social needs] go, then it clearly tells me that our national policy is moving [toward] people being pushed out and things [armaments] being pushed in" (T-133). He concluded, "...We see incidents of racial and religious bigotry still rampant in our society, manifesting themselves not in overt violence, but in that kind of covert violence which is slower, but still as devastating and fatal" (T-134).

ANNE WELSH, Field Secretary for North Carolina, American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), Greensboro, North Carolina.

Ms. Welsh stated that as a resident of Greensboro, where 12 Ku Klux Klansmen and American Nazi Party members were arrested for the murder of five members of the Communist Workers Party and later acquitted, she would talk about that occurrence (T-135).

Questions have been raised about the November 1979 killings: Why wasn't the violent confrontation prevented by police? Why weren't Klan and Nazi vehicles searched for weapons (T-136).

A Federal agent reportedly participated in planning meetings of one of the groups whose members were charged with the killings. He was not asked to testify at the trial. Other questions about the trial are: Why were conspiracy charges dropped? Why were six defendants tried as a group? Why were people with anti-Communist sentiments allowed on the jury (T-137)?

The Justice Department has moved very slowly on whether to make a full investigation of whether civil rights of the shooting victims were violated. Local media and some public officials seem more concerned about provocation for the shootings than with the fact five murders occurred (T-138).

In 1980, after the trial of the Klan and Nazi members the American Friends Service Committee issued a statement stating: "The acquittal gives encouragement to advocates of violence and lawlessness..." (T-140).

THE REV. MELTON MCNEILL, Superintendent, Atlanta-Chamblee District, United Methodist Church, Atlanta.

The Rev. McNeill stated that he was not given time by the Advisory Committee to gather data from 400,000 members and 1,500 ministers of his church (T-142).

Unemployment is a bomb which can explode into violence, he declared (T-144). An incident on a school bus in the northwestern part of Georgia led to violence. Citizens and churches of the area, seeing the "cancerous growth" of hate groups in their midst, formed an educational program to inform parents of the danger of their young being recruited by hate groups. The church stands ready for such immediate action against racial bias (T-144-145).

In response to the murders of 28 black Atlanta children, the United Methodist Church organized a summer program for children in black areas of the city in which white suburbanites worked with inner-city blacks.

This was done "to rebuild a community of trust." Twenty churches were involved in the summer-long program, and 2,000 youngsters participated. This was done by the church, without fanfare, to contribute to the fight against violence, he said (T-145-147).

MONSIGNOR JERRY E. HARDY, Chancellor of the Catholic Archdiocese of Atlanta.

Monsignor Hardy told the committee that he had three areas he wanted to highlight.

The first, he said, is the assault on the civil rights of the poor. Budget cuts by the Federal government are depriving needy people of the food, housing and medical assistance which is their right as citizens. Seven counties in the Atlanta metropolitan area will suffer a \$68 million loss in funding. There may be fiscal justification for this, but the practical effect is to make a balanced budget more important than human beings (T-149).

Secondly, the monsignor said, is concern about the non-economic consequences of the budget cuts. They contribute to an atmosphere of violence supportive of discrimination and bigotry. A not so subtle racism is emerging. Targets in the Atlanta area have been blacks and immigrants, especially those from Cuba and Southeast Asia. A troubled economy gives rise to a search for scapegoats. The government fosters violence by its callousness towards those without political or economic clout (T-150-151).

His final area of concern, he said, is religious bigotry. A surprising resurgence of anti-Catholic bigotry has occurred in preaching and literature which is being circulated widely. His church has appealed to Protestant and Jewish brothers and sisters to scotch this literature and they have responded warmly. The material is involved in interstate commerce which warrants Federal scrutiny (T-151-152). Also of concern was the leasing of the Marietta, Georgia Civic Center to a blatantly anti-Catholic preacher for Sunday services. Complaints to the Cobb County Board of Commissioners have been to no avail (T-152).

People who are racists and bigots are the same as ones who sit in churches and synagogues each weekend. It is imperative that the church work on changing their attitudes (T-153).

IMAN PILAMEN EL AMIN, Social Imam of the Atlanta Muslim Mission.

According to Iman El Amin in the past the Nation of Islam preached and practiced superiority of blacks over white devils. This was reverse-racism. Since 1975, the American Muslim Mission has abandoned that ideology and has sought to emphasize the oneness of all humanity. He offered the development of Islam as a case-study in how racism can be overcome (T-153-159).

PANEL III: CIVIL RIGHTS AND COMMUNITY LEADERS

GENE GUERRERO, Executive Director, American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) of Georgia, Atlanta.

Since Reconstruction, he began, there has been the question of whether the Federal government would enforce laws protecting blacks, including the 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution. Failure to enforce them encourages racism and bigotry and often leads to violence. He said he would review instances in Georgia when his organization unsuccessfully sought enforcement of basic civil rights laws and intimidation and violence resulted (T-163-164).

The first instance involved providing assistance to black citizens of Johnson County, Georgia in filing a complaint with the Civil Rights Division of the Office of Revenue Sharing charging racial discrimination in employment by the county government. The Revenue Sharing Act gives strong enforcement power, requiring action on complaints within 90 days. The complaint was filed in January 1979.

No action was taken on the complaint within the 90 days. In September 1979, the Rev. Ralph Abernathy led a march on Wrightsville, Georgia the Johnson County seat. Still no action on the complaint was taken (T-165).

In April 1980 the SCLC assisted Wrightsville civil rights organizations in a series of marches and rallies. In one march, whites attacked blacks on the courthouse square and knocked two Justice Department observers to the ground.

Robed Ku Klux Klansmen held a counter-rally to an April 12 civil rights march. The march was to protest the shooting of a nine-year-old girl in her home by night-riders. That shooting and the shooting from a car of a black man, along with meetings in Washington by ACLU representatives and civil rights leaders with government officials, finally brought Revenue Sharing investigators into the county. This was in June 1980, a total of 19 months after the complaint was filed. Between 1966 and 1972, blacks had lodged 150 complaints with the Federal government about other matters in Johnson County. (T-165-166).

From 1978 through 1980, the ACLU of Georgia filed complaints with the Office of Revenue Sharing against 55 counties. Twenty-two, or 40 percent, of the complaints have not been investigated or the investigations are not complete. In nine of the cases, discrimination has been found but no corrective action taken. In only 24 cases has discrimination been found and corrective action taken (T-167).

In another instance Mr. Guerrero cited, the ACLU of Georgia filed a complaint in October 1980, on behalf of civil rights groups in Moultrie, Georgia with the Office of Revenue Sharing concerning employment discrimination by the Colquitt County government. The county employs only five blacks out of 106 employees. No action has been taken, despite the requirement that action be taken within 90 days (T-167-168).

Mr. Guerrero quoted a letter from a 50-year-old white woman in Willacoochee, Georgia. It told of a cross burned in her front yard and a bath towel with KKK painted on it placed on her front porch. She had been a city recreation director during the past summer, supervising 100 black and white youngsters. She received a threat during the summer that she would be burned in her home. Things quieted down after school started. She attended football games with racially mixed youth and held a New Year's Eve party for them.

After the cross-burning, a Georgia Bureau of Investigation (GBI) agent told her not to have blacks in her home or car. Soon after, someone fired into the hone of a racially mixed couple but no one was injured. The letter-writer began carrying a pistol. Later, she along with others, received a letter with a drawing of a Klansman on it. It said the NAACP was misleading black people and that blacks were lowering their social positions by associating with whites. "This cannot and will not go on," the letter said. The threats and intimidation caused the woman to flee to another state (T-168-171).

Mr. Guerrero said he filed a complaint with the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), urging an investigation. The FBI did not go into Willacoochee until two months later, after another threatening Klan letter had been sent to black and white citizens who had urged an investigation of racial violence.

In the meantime, the woman who wrote the letter had again fled Willacoochee. A Klan rally had been scheduled in the town (T-171-173). Simple principles of equality and justice are at stake, he said. "We must demand that our governments enforce...basic civil rights" (T-131-174).

In answer to a question from a member of the committee, Mr. Guerrero declared that it is tragic that the victims of intimidation, people in the weakest position, should have to try to force the FBI and GBI to enforce the law (T-188).

ROBERT REMAR, Senior Staff Attorney, Georgia Legal Services, Atlanta.

Mr. Remar began by explaining that the Georgia Legal Services is a Federally funded, statewide legal program for poor people. He said that within the past year, his offices had noted an increase in racially directed violence (T-174).

He cited an instance in Rome, Georgia. A 14-year-old black boy and a 14-year-old white girl were involved in a sexual incident on a school bus. The next day, robed Klansmen marched around their county high school. This frightened the boy into leaving the county and starting school in another system.

Two months later, a Klan leaflet containing falsities about him was circulated in the county where he was attending school. He was so frightened that he returned home to stay with his parents, and dropped out of school. Public school officials did nothing. (T-174-175).

Later, an interdenominational, interracial meeting was held in Rome to form a coalition of citizens to speak out against the Klan. That night, shots were fired into the home of the black youth. Another leaflet was circulated in the county threatening the youth as well as State Representative Tyrone Brooks and Rev. Joseph Lowery, president of the SCLC who had been in the community assisting with the problem. Cross-burnings were held, and Klansmen boasted of keeping the youth out of school. The FBI and GBI investigated after the shooting. No action resulted. (T-175-176).

His office, he said, had been involved in investigating the Willacoochee incidents. The same GBI agent who told the woman to cease having blacks in her home or car told the same thing to the interracial couple whose home was fired into (T-177).

Mr. Remar asked why Georgia Governor George Busbee had not spoken out against Klan terrorism or posted rewards for the arrest of perpetrators of Klan crimes. He also urged that Georgia schools use the anti-Klan course developed by the National Education Association (NEA) (T-177-178).

In answer to questions from members of the Committee, Mr. Remar stated that both the executive branch of the Federal government and the Congress have indicated that civil rights law enforcement has a low priority and called upon the public to push for improved enforcement (T-188-189). He also acknowledged that the mayor and city council in Willacoochee have taken a strong stand against racial bigotry and violence and should be commended (T-191-192).

Finally, he stated poor whites are frustrated about economic conditions and take it out on equally poor blacks. The nation needs to attack the root-causes of the economic situation, and he further stated that a lack of commitment on the part of leadership to deal with bigotry and violence gives people the sense that they are free to burn crosses or paint swastikas. The President and the governor need to speak out clearly against such acts. (T-192-195).

LINOS DEMINQUEZ, Executive Director of the Latin American Association, Atlanta.

Mr. Deminquez explained that the Latin American Association is the oldest Hispanic Organization in Atlanta. In the past year, it has been involved in matters that fall within the purview of the committee (T-179).

Last year, the association helped large numbers of Cuban refugees who had come to Atlanta. One night, his office received a bomb threat warning to cease aiding the refugees. Children were in the office that night learning English. Atlanta police were called and asked for protection (T-179-180).

Last year, one of the local police departments began asking dark-skinned people for immigration papers. It had no right to do this (T-180).

Another case is well known. It had to do with Mexican workers in Cedartown, Georgia who were threatened, and shot at. One worker was killed. Fifteen others left the town in fear. No witness was available to tell what happened. The men who did the shooting have never been brought to trial. Other Mexican workers in the town have been threatened and shot at. Most have left (T-181).

The committee, he urged, should ask that law enforcement agencies enforce the law (T-181).

SHERRY FRANK, Acting Area Director, American Jewish Committee (AJC), Atlanta.

Ms. Frank pointed out that the AJC, founded in 1906, is the country's first human relations organization. It protects the rights of Jews at home and abroad and seeks improved human relations for all (T-182).

The AJC is deeply concerned about the resurgence of the Klan. It helped a reporter on the Nashville Tennessean to infiltrate the Klan. He later wrote articles about the organization and as a result he and other Tennessean staff members had attempts made on their lives (T-183-184).

The AJC has recently released findings of a poll on anti-Semitism. It shows a decrease in the past 16 years, however, one-third of those polled were prejudiced against Jews (T-184).

PANEL IV: STATE OFFICIALS

STATE REPRESENTATIVE TYRONE BROOKS, Atlanta, Georgia.

Rep. Brooks displayed and put on the record a handbill attacking him and the Rev. Joseph Lowery, president of the SCLC distributed by the Klan in the Rome, Georgia area. The two were there opposing the Klan in efforts to keep a 14-year-old black youth out of school (T-204). He also told of an incident in Canton, Georgia where members of a black family were attacked by the Klan and sheriff's deputies when they attempted to visit a kinsman in the county jail (T-2-5).

The nation, he said, is going through one of the most racist, volatile periods in its history. The situation will get worse with a continued downturn of the economy (T-205-206).

He told of leading a march in Dooly County, Georgia protesting the arrest of a local leader. A mob was in a park across the street. Members spoke of killing "that nigger", but State troopers refused to intercede. Law enforcement agencies don't care about the safety of "outside agitators". The committee should call for better protection of black people (T-206-207).

In answer to a question by a member of the committee, Rep. Brooks stated that an anti-hate group bill before the Georgia Legislature would die in committee (T-216).

STATE REPRESENTATIVE HOSEA WILLIAMS, Decatur, Georgia.

Rep. Williams declared that he believed in marches, but that he had become leery of them because whites wait for outsiders to leave and then take it out on local blacks (T-209).

The country he asserted, is facing a blood bath. He stated his sons are not going to take the racial abuse he did (T-211).

Rep. Williams expressed great disappointment that Governor George Busbee had declined to participate in the Georgia Advisory Committee's meeting:

...it would have been so beautiful for the Governor to come here today, just his presence, particular if he had...spoken out and said, "We have come too far and we are not going to allow the clock of time to be turned back...." But just the Governor's failure to be here and his absence, to some people, is almost a license to do what you want to do to black people (T-210-211).

PANEL V: LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCY REPRESENTATIVES

JOHN GLOVER Special Agent in Charge, Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) Atlanta Office.

There is a perceived increase in racist violence, Glover stated, but it is difficult to get a handle on whether the perception agrees with the facts. There have been decreases in the number of cases handled by his office of violations of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, housing discrimination and the Equal Credit Opportunity Act (T-228-229).

As for Ku Klux Klan and American Nazi Party activity, it should be understood that guidelines for FBI participation in cases involving them were established in 1976. It was determined that the role of the agency should be to supplement, not supplant, state and local enforcement. If the agency should initiate an investigation, it would be due to a national concern, such as interstate activity. The rationale of the guidelines was to place Klan and Nazi crime in the same category as other crimes. The FBI would not come in on a mom and pop store robbery; but it would on a bank robbery where Federal funds were involved. The guidelines have resulted in there being a smaller number of Klan cases investigated by the FBI (T-229-230).

As for hate groups, such as the Klan, "it does not pose a threat to the security of the United States, nor does it pose a threat to the security of any religious or racial group on a national basis. And that generally is supported by the investigations that we have had and the ones that we have underway now" (T-231).

In answer to questions from members of the committee, Mr. Glover described how civil rights investigations are initiated stating that upon allegations of violation of a Federal civil rights statute -- and this can be a newspaper article, not necessarily a sworn complaint -- an FBI agent makes a preliminary investigation. He sends the results to Washington, one copy to the United States Attorney's office and two to the Department of Justice. Washington responds by saying there is not sufficient evidence to proceed or there is enough to proceed with a full investigation. Full investigations have been carried out on four police brutality cases in Georgia in the past year (T-240-241). Before the 1976 guidelines, a person making a verbal threat, warranted an FBI investigation. Now that is not sufficient. There has to be an overt act, such as buying a pistol. The guidelines are the cause of the drastic reduction in investigations (T-245).

Klan violations of the law that are strictly intrastate do not bring in the FBI. But if there are people coming in from another state who commit Klan crimes, the FBI would initiate an investigation. Some cases might not seem civil rights-connected, for example the interstate transport of a weapon (T-246).

As to why it took the FBI nearly two months before it investigated the situation in Willacoochee, Mr. Glover responded that the bureau currently employs about 7,600 agents, compared with 8,500 in 1975. This means that agents have to get to things when they can, rather than right away (T-241-242).

The FBI has a terrorism section that monitors the Klan. So critics can't say nothing is being done. But based strictly on FBI cases, it does not appear that most racial violence is group-related, i.e., by the Klan (T-254-255).

He denied that the Klan in Georgia is becoming more united and involved from an interstate standpoint though it might be true elsewhere. When the FBI says the Klan is not a national threat, it is thinking in terms of a national organization with a national head who gives orders, or where there is a national ideology which is not true of the Klan (T-257).

DARRELL ADAMS, Special Agent, Georgia Bureau of Intelligence (GBI), Intelligence Squad, Atlanta.

Agent Adams told the committee that Governor Busbee last year directed the GBI to investigate the Klan in connection with allegations of para-military training camps throughout the state. This stemmed from the operation of a Cullman, Alabama training camp by the Invisible Empire of the Klan. The investigation covered all groups that advocate violence.

The GBI's investigation revealed that there have been incidents of violence associated with Klan activity. These incidents are under investigation, or have been concluded in arrests. Nevertheless, the GBI does not see a pattern of violence toward any particular racial or religious group (T-231-232).

Like the FBI, the GBI is restricted in its endeavors. The right of the individual, whether of the hate group or a victim, comes first. (T-232).

In response to questions from members of the committee, Mr. Adams revealed that no para-military camp on the scale of the one in Cullman, Alabama has been found in Georgia--no military maneuvers, firing of weapons, etc. (T-237).

He also stated that the GBI is hindered by the same type of guidelines as the FBI particularly as it relates to First Amendment (free speech) rights. The GBI might arrest a person for committing a crime and he might be a member of the Klan. But it is the individual, not the Klan, who is under arrest (T-247-248).

Specifically, Adams mentioned the leaflets circulated in Rome, Georgia threatening Rep. Tyrone Brooks, which involved First Amendment rights. There was an implied threat, but no violation of the law (T-248). This does not mean that an investigation was not made which has some deterrent effect. But the leaflets did not warrant an arrest in that they didn't threaten to kill anyone. The leaflet urged people to band together to keep certain persons from coming to Rome from Atlanta (T-250-251).

Finally, Adams acknowledged that crosses had been burned and homes fired into in Willacoochee, and revealed that the GBI was still investigating yet admitted that no arrests had been made (T-252-253).

BARBARA HARRIS, Assistant United States Attorney, United States Attorney's Office, U.S. Department of Justice, Atlanta.

The FBI is on top of violations of constitutional rights, including a recent upsurge in Ku Klux Klan activity which the FBI had reported to the U.S. Attorney. The primary role of U.S. Attorney's Office as described by Ms. Harris is:

to immediately transmit documents, data, affidavits...to the Department of Justice, because the only delegation to the U.S. Attorney for actual litigation in the criminal field is misdemeanors and the only delegation in the civil field is to bring lawsuits concerning...discrimination in public accommodations. There have been no such civil lawsuits brought within the last two years, that I am aware of (T-234).

RUFUS EMBRY, Special Agent in Charge, Georgia Area Office, Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (BATF), United States Department of the Treasury, Atlanta.

Special Agent Embry told the Committee the agency enforced the moonshine liquor laws until 1968. Today, it enforces explosive laws, firearms laws, alcohol and tobacco laws and its primary function is in the area of firearms (T-235-236).

In the past 18 months, there have been no cases in Georgia of persons stockpiling explosives or firearms to be used against racial or religious groups. In the past, BATF gathered intelligence on hate groups, but it no longer does so (T-236).

PANEL VI: FEDERAL REPRESENTATIVES, CIVILIAN AND MILITARY

COL. ROBERT HITCH, Equal Employment Opportunity Office (EEO), Armed Forces Command, Ft. McPherson, Atlanta.

Col. Hitch pointed out that the Forces Command based at Ft. McPherson has approximately half a million military personnel in the U.S. Puerto Rico, the Caribbean and the Canal Zone. This includes 218,000 members of the U.S. Army Reserve (T-261).

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, he said, the Army had a significant problem with racial bigotry and violence. But it has now progressed beyond that point. Today, it is concerned with institutional and personal discrimination. This is resolved with affirmative action plans down to the brigade level (T-262).

From time to time, Forces Command experiences incidents relating to the Ku Klux Klan. Some are on the installation, some off. Commanders of installations deal very quickly and very harshly with the Klan. They work closely with community leaders in doing this (T-263).

ROBERT WILLIAMS, Equal Employment Opportunity Office for Civilians, Armed Forces Command, Ft. McPherson, Atlanta.

Mr. Williams reported there have been no instances of serious violence at Ft. McPherson. Fist-fights are the most serious form of violence. These might be between white and black personnel or white and Hispanic (T-265-266).

WILLIAM H. THOMAS, Regional Director, Office of Civil Rights, United States Department of Education, Atlanta.

Mr. Thomas pointed out that he is responsible for assuring compliance with various civil rights laws by recipients of Federal financial assistance from the Department of Education in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina and Tennessee (T-270-271).

Neither he nor members of his staff have been exposed to incidents of violence, either directly or indirectly (T-272). But he said he was personally aware of the resurgence of violent events. Elements responsible for

the increase in violence must be held responsible and accountable. Federal, state and local governmental officials must speak out, stating that these actions will not be tolerated Thomas said. (T-272-273).

Mr. Thomas told the Committee his office had no records to indicate increased Klan activity within schools and had not recommended the National Education Association course on the Klan be implemented, but some other division of the Department of Education might be doing so. (T-295).

COL. FORREST STORZ, Director of Plans and Progress, Warner Robins Air Logistics Center, XR, Warner Robins, Georgia.

Warner Robins, he pointed out, has 14,000 civilian personnel and 5,000 military (T-275).

The Air Force, he said, doesn't have racial problems; they are considered to be people problems (T-274). It has one mission, and that is to defend the country. The mission is first and foremost. It doesn't leave time for inefficiencies due to racial strife (T-276).

Col. Storz emphasized that if there is prejudice at Warner Robins, it is in one direction and that is their total intolerance of intolerance (T-275).

OZELL SUTTON, Regional Director, Community Relations Service (CRS), United States Department of Justice, Atlanta.

Mr. Sutton began by pointing out that the CRS was established under Title X of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. It assists organizations, institutions, agencies and governments in resolving problems of race or ethnic origin through conciliation, mediation and technical assistance. He said unlike many Federal agencies, CRS is one of the few agencies that can respond upon their own "motion"; upon their knowledge that conflict is either existing or impending (T-279-280).

Racial tension, often involving violence, has been on the increase in recent years in the Southeast region. The number of incidents of racial conflict has increased. They have been of greater intensity and longer duration than in previous years (T-280).

Mr. Sutton said that there were two specific areas of concern that tend to trigger conflict. One is a perception of a miscarriage of justice and the other is KKK-related or hate group-related activities. Sutton further said that there is a growing perception among black Americans of being under siege in this country. Many see a national conspiracy against blacks in general, and black leaders specifically. Because of these perceptions, the racial climate in America has deteriorated considerably in recent years (T-280-282).

Perceptions of injustice often involve a black man being killed by police officers and the action ruled justifiable homicide.

Tension involving the Klan usually involves a confrontation. Blacks are no longer afraid of the KKK. They are often antagonistic toward it. This sets up a potential for violence. Blacks are getting their guns too. They are prepared to defend their territory (T-280-281).

Mr. Sutton stated there is a gap between actual terrorism and law enforcement response. For example, a Klan rally was scheduled for Willacoochee on Saturday (September 26, 1981). There are only two police officers there and three or four deputy sheriffs. Yet there has to be a request from the sheriff or mayor before state troopers can go in (T-289). He also stated that in Wrightsville, Georgia, the Sheriff didn't act with dispatch in putting down violence. Two of Mr. Sutton's men were beaten during an onslaught at the courthouse. What this means, most likely, is a locally elected sheriff was reluctant to put down people who voted for him (T-290).

SUMMARY

Religious and racial and bigotry and violence exist in Georgia and the Southeast, according to community and religious leaders and government representatives who appeared before the Advisory Committee. Only the representatives of law enforcement agencies who appeared downplayed the extent of hate group activity.

The size of hate groups has increased in the past several years. The largest, the Ku Klux Klan, has increased its membership 25 to 30 percent with most growth occurring in the South. Currently, some 12,000 persons are members nationally compared to 500,000 members 50 years ago and 100,000 members 20 years ago. The Klan no longer has the economic and political clout that it had in the 1920s. Nevertheless, the fact that the Klan, along with the American Nazi Party, is growing is a danger signal. Law enforcement officials need to be alert to the danger. Political leaders need to speak out against it. Special laws to contain hate groups are needed.

There are other reasons for concern about the extent of bigotry and violence. The Klan and the Nazi Party have spawned splinter groups which are more militant, more violence-prone, than the older organizations. This is reflected in the para-military camps operated by Klan groups to train people in violence. Such camps have operated in at least 11 states, including Georgia, according to a special report issued by the Klanwatch Project of the Southern Poverty Law Center, Montgomery, Alabama. Other states in the South are Texas, North Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi and Florida. Many who appeared before the Advisory Committee cited the existence of para-military camps as the most alarming of current hate group developments.

Another measure of the extent of bigotry cited was the occurrence of more than one incident per day of Klan-type activity in the country. This ranges from leafletting to bombings and includes smearings of swastikas and anti-Jewish slogans on synagogues.

Some speakers cited less direct indications of the extent of bigotry. These included failure to enforce civil rights laws and violation of the voting rights of blacks.

The most frequently cited cause of the upsurge in racial and religious bigotry and violence was the economic hard times that the nation is undergoing. People seek scapegoats and the most vulnerable persons are blacks and Jews. The cutbacks in Federal spending and a general move to the right by the Federal government and some state governments were cited as creating an atmosphere that encourages hate groups.

The response of officials to the upsurge in bigotry and violence was generally criticized by those appearing before the Advisory Committee. The failure of leaders at the highest levels of Federal and state government to speak out against hate group terrorism was said to encourage the terrorists. Law enforcement agencies were criticized for slowness in response to incidents of terrorism. They were also accused of failing to take seriously the extent of hate group activity.

Persons who have received threatening communications, even crosses burned at their homes, were reportedly not able to count on law enforcement protection.

Law enforcement representatives could not find any Ku Klux Klan para-military camps in Georgia, nor could they find any stockpiling of arms and ammunition for use against blacks and minorities.

The spokesman for the FBI explained away slowness of response to terrorist activity by citing a decrease of 900 in the number of agents nationwide. He cited 1976 guidelines for dealing with terrorist activity as limiting FBI involvement in such investigations. The guidelines state that the FBI will supplement, not supplant, state and local law enforcement in cases involving hate groups. He also stated that the FBI does not regard the Klan as "a threat to the security of the United States" or to "any religious or racial group on a national basis." To be considered national in scope, the Klan would have to have a single national leader and ideology.

The representative of the GBI said that his organization was also constrained in its efforts against terrorist groups by regulations, particularly regarding First Amendment rights. At present, the GBI does not see a pattern of violence toward any racial or religious group.

While many citizens felt that the responses of law enforcement agents to acts of intimidation or violence were slow and ineffective, the agents felt that their responses were appropriate given limited staff and their obligation to observe the First Amendment rights of all people.

Most community and all civil rights leaders agree that both organized activity by klan groups as well as anonymous acts of bigotry have increased in Georgia. Law enforcement officials do not concur. This discrepancy in perceptions of the problem is a major obstacle to solving the problems which exist. Such differences in perceptions are problems on their own which must be addressed both for the success of law enforcement agencies and for the well-being of Georgia's residents.

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FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

FINDINGS

1. The State of Georgia and the southeastern region in general have experienced an increase in racial and religious violence, harassment and intimidation of its citizens by extremist groups and individuals.

2. Acts of intimidation and violence have been directed primarily at blacks, although ethnic minorities and whites who associate with them have been harassed also.

3. Among religious groups, Jews have been the targets of hate group attacks.

4. Strong statements by both public officials and community leaders which indicate that acts of bigotry and violence will not be tolerated aid in preventing such activity.

The Advisory Committee finds that, with too few exceptions, officials and other leaders in Georgia have not been vocal in opposing hate group activity in their communities.

The Advisory Committee is aware that in June 1982, Governor George Busbee established a "Civil Crisis Intervention Task Force" which is charged with aiding communities in times of trouble, both man-made and natural. The six members of the task force include representatives from the Public Safety Department (1), the Georgia Bureau of Investigation (2), the Community Affairs Department (2) and the Governor's staff (1).

5. Prompt response by law enforcement officials, local, state and Federal, is necessary to prevent hate group activity from escalating. The First Amendment rights of all people can be protected while equal protection of the law is provided for racial and religious minorities.

6. Civil rights and community leaders generally felt that the response of local, state and Federal law enforcement officials was slow and ineffective. The officials felt that their responses were appropriate given limited staff and their obligation to observe the First Amendment rights of all people.

This discrepancy in perceptions of the problems is a major obstacle to solving the problems which exist. Such differences in perceptions are problems on their own which must be addressed both for the success of law enforcement agencies and for the well-being of Georgia's residents.

7. Some states and communities have introduced or enacted laws and ordinances which are specifically designed to prevent hate group activity from escalating into violence and to lessen the effects of intimidation.

North Carolina passed laws in 1981 prohibiting the possession of firearms, explosives or other weapons in the vicinity of demonstrations, parades or picket lines. South Carolina has a similar law. Several Kentucky cities have passed ordinances which prohibit wearing hoods or masks in public for the purpose of concealing one's identity. There is a state law in Florida which prohibits wearing a mask or hood while committing an offense. A Tennessee law prohibits the burning of crosses or other religious symbols.

Georgia has no such laws.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The Georgia Advisory Committee recommends that newly elected Governor Joe Frank Harris review the status of hate group activity in the state, and the effectiveness of the Civil Crisis Intervention Task Force in both preventing and helping communities cope with crises created by hate groups. Such a mechanism at the state level, whether via the task force or other means, should be established in the Harris Administration.

2. The Governor is urged to seek the enactment of legislation designed to prevent the activities of hate groups from escalating into violence or resulting in the intimidation of racial or religious minorities.

3. The Committee urges Governor Harris to set a strong example for all public officials in Georgia by being vocal in condemning hate group activity and by allocating the appropriate resources of the state to combat the work of groups who harass, intimidate and perpetrate violence due to racial and religious bigotry.

4. Local, state and Federal law enforcement agencies are urged to develop specific procedures for responding to hate group activity. The procedures should be aimed not only at preventing acts of violence and apprehending those who commit them, but at reassuring the victims of such acts that law enforcement officials are sensitive to the fear they instill and are making every effort to protect the victims.

5. Communities in Georgia which have been the locale of incidents involving the klan or other hate groups should establish local task forces to review the nature of such incidents and evaluate the response of public officials, law enforcement personnel and community leaders.

Based on the findings of such local task forces, each community should make contingency plans for any hate group activity which may occur in the future. A statement affirming the fact that the community does not condone and will not tolerate acts designed to harass, intimidate, or injure racial or religious minorities should be issued. Local mayors are called upon to provide leadership in carrying out this recommendation.