

GEORGIA  
STATE ADVISORY COMMITTEE TO THE  
UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

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Community Forum proceedings conducted by  
Elaine B. Alexander, Vice-Chairperson,  
taken before Sandra D. Steele, Certified  
Shorthand Reporter and Notary Public,  
at the Holiday Inn Downtown, 175 Piedmont  
Avenue, N.E., Atlanta, Georgia, on the 8th  
day of June, 1987, commencing at the hour  
of 4:30 p.m.

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1 ADVISORY COMMITTEE:

2 Elaine B. Alexander, Vice-Chairperson

3 Rose Strong, Alternate

4 John I. Binkley, Regional Director

5 Dale M. Schwartz

6 - - -

7 MS. ALEXANDER: I would like to  
8 welcome all of you who are here to  
9 the community forum. My name is  
10 Elaine Alexander. I am Vice-Chair or  
11 acting Chair of the Georgia State  
12 Advisory Committee of the Civil  
13 Rights Commission.

14 To my left is John Binkley and  
15 to his left is Edward Darden from the  
16 staff of the Civil Rights Commission  
17 in Washington.

18 The other members of the State  
19 Advisory Committee are Rose Strong,  
20 to my right, from Columbus, and Dale  
21 Schwartz sitting there looking at his  
22 material, from Atlanta.

23 We are going to have three  
24 panels today. The first one to be an  
25 overview of the Southeastern Region.

SANDRA D. STEELE

1           What has regional monitoring  
2           resolved?

3                   Ozell Sutton, who is Regional  
4           Director of the U.S. Department of  
5           Justice and Community Relations  
6           Service will give the federal  
7           overview when he gets here.

8                   Leonard Zeskind, who is the  
9           Research Director of the Center for  
10          Democratic Renewal will give the  
11          national view, and I think we will  
12          begin the proceedings by asking  
13          Leonard to spill out what is in his  
14          head. As he has already said he  
15          doesn't have a written statement.

16                   MR. ZESKIND: My understanding  
17          is that I am to testify on the hate  
18          groups and bigoted violence in the  
19          Southeast Region, according to the  
20          letter I got.

21                   MS. ALEXANDER: Excuse me, Len.  
22          I just remembered something I was  
23          supposed to say and I forgot to say.

24                   MR. ZESKIND: That is fine.

25                   MS. ALEXANDER: This is an open

1 meeting and everything that is said  
2 here, it is an open public meeting  
3 and everything that will be said is  
4 being said for the record and we will  
5 be operating under the Freedom of  
6 Information and Sunshine Act. Thank  
7 you, Leonard.

8 PANEL I

9 Topic A: Overview of the Southeastern Region:  
10 What Has Regional Monitoring Revealed?

- 11 1. Ozell Sutton, Regional Director  
12 Southeastern Regional Office  
13 U. S. Department of Justice  
14 Community Relations  
15 Service/Federal Review
- 16 2. Leonard Zeskind, Research Director  
17 Center for Democratic  
18 Renewal/National  
19 Organization View  
20

21 MR. ZESKIND: Okay. My  
22 understanding is that I am supposed  
23 to give an overview of hate group  
24 activities that involved violence in  
25 the states of North Carolina, South  
26 Carolina, Florida and Georgia, and  
27 with particular emphasis on the last  
28 period of time which I take to be  
29 1986-1987 in particular, and I would  
30 like to begin furtherest away by

1 talking to you about North Carolina.

2 North Carolina in the opinion  
3 of the Center for Democratic Renewal  
4 has been, up until the last year, the  
5 single worst state in the country for  
6 organized hate group activity, and  
7 also for bigoted violence.

8 There has been in our opinion  
9 late response in the State of North  
10 Carolina. However, in North Carolina  
11 the late response also resulted in  
12 federal prosecution of the White  
13 Patriot Party in the State of North  
14 Carolina, which was up until last  
15 year the principal organized form of  
16 hate group activity in that state.

17 By our estimation, and it is an  
18 estimate, there were between around  
19 one thousand members of the White  
20 Patriot Party at its height, and when  
21 prosecutions began against it it  
22 began to dwindle in size. Since last  
23 year the White Patriot Party has been  
24 completely broken up. Steven Miller  
25 has been convicted of various

1 felonies and Glen Miller who led the  
2 organization is currently in custody  
3 also.

4 There -- that is very good news  
5 as far as we are concerned. The  
6 problem is that there are successor  
7 organizations, and I think there is  
8 cause for real concern. One of those  
9 successor organizations is the  
10 Southern National Front.

11 The Southern National Front is  
12 led by one of -- one of Glen Miller's  
13 right-hand lieutenants, a man by the  
14 name of Cecil Cox, and another former  
15 White Patriot Party member, Gordon  
16 Ipoc.

17 The Southern National Front has  
18 been organizing since last September  
19 and by our estimate has gone from  
20 zero to about three hundred and fifty  
21 members between last fall and the  
22 present period.

23 They are borrowing some of  
24 those tactics of the former White  
25 Patriot Party.

SANDRA D. STEELE

1           The thing about the Southern  
2           National Front that I think is  
3           bearing for us is that, their own  
4           attempts to keep the level of  
5           violence clandestine. They are going  
6           to put on a peaceful legal face in  
7           public in our opinion while they  
8           maintain connections to the most  
9           violent sections of the Hate Group  
10          Movement. So they have picked up  
11          some of the White Patriot Party  
12          members.

13           The other thing that is  
14          significant in both North and South  
15          Carolina in our opinion and bears  
16          watching is a group called the  
17          Christian Knights of the Ku Klux  
18          Klan. The Christian Knights of the  
19          Ku Klux Klan is an organization that  
20          was involved in this Greensboro  
21          action last weekend that we have read  
22          about.

23           They were started in the fall  
24          of 1985 by Virgil Griffin, who was  
25          one of the people indicted, but never

1 convicted in the Greensboro murders.  
2 He is a long-time Ku Klux Klansman  
3 quite happy to cooperate with various  
4 and sundry Neo-Nazis.

5 The Christian Knights have been  
6 involved in, last year, in 1986, they  
7 were involved in over sixty matches  
8 in North Carolina, South Carolina and  
9 also Southern Virginia, and where it  
10 touches West Virginia, in that area,  
11 and in a number of cases, primarily  
12 in the Charlotte area, physical  
13 altercations were the result because  
14 of conflicts between primarily the  
15 Christian Knights and violence that  
16 they instigated against the black  
17 community.

18 A number of their members have  
19 also been involved in criminal  
20 activity.

21 This former state leader of  
22 Christian Knights in South Carolina  
23 was indicted for dynamite charges  
24 last year. The number two, the  
25 number-one man in the State of North



1 Carolina, Carroll Crawford, was just  
2 recently convicted of burning a cross  
3 without a permit in Mt. Holly, his  
4 home town.

5 They have gone from about  
6 twelve members in the fall of 1985 to  
7 about three hundred and fifty  
8 members.

9 Also at our last count, which  
10 was around December of last year, we  
11 believe that the Christian Knights  
12 rather than the Southern National  
13 Front, although the Southern National  
14 Front has a more violent Nazi  
15 ideology, the Christian Knights is  
16 much more likely to engage in the  
17 kinds of activities like burning of  
18 churches and attacking black people  
19 on the streets.

20 In fact, in the State of North  
21 Carolina by the estimate of our  
22 affiliate in that state, there were  
23 thirty-six violent incidents that we  
24 can document, and they were certain  
25 of were done by hate groups, hate

1 group members, that included eleven  
2 cross burnings, five shootings and an  
3 assault, one death, two robberies,  
4 and thirteen other incidents of  
5 threats, vandalism and arson. That  
6 to us is a significant amount of  
7 activity even if that was during a  
8 period when the most visible form of  
9 activity was declining.

10 In the State of Florida there  
11 are a number of identity churches and  
12 I don't know if you are familiar with  
13 the Identity Movement. Identity  
14 Movement is a theology movement that  
15 underburdens the entire racist  
16 structure. They believe that black  
17 people are subhuman, that they are  
18 just the result of a mating between  
19 Eve and the devil, and they believe  
20 that they have the right to engage in  
21 a holy war right here in the United  
22 States to establish, to fight between  
23 good and evil and battlemen of  
24 Armageddon, so they are prone to  
25 violence and there are a number of

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1 identify churches in the St.  
2 Petersburg area of Florida, Orlando  
3 area of Florida, and those are the --  
4 those are the two areas that are most  
5 documentable.

6 There is also a populous party  
7 in the State of Florida which is made  
8 up of former -- former Ku Klux  
9 Klansmen and the identity church  
10 people that have pulled together in a  
11 electoral apparatus in that state. I  
12 think that is some cause for concern  
13 but Florida is in no way in the same  
14 kind of problem that I think we are  
15 in, even in North Carolina.

16 As far as hate group activity  
17 in the State of Georgia, I know you  
18 are going to have specific testimony  
19 on what is happening in Georgia. I  
20 think there are a couple of trends  
21 worth noting. One is that since the  
22 emergence of the -- reemergence of  
23 the Invisible Empire, Knights of the  
24 Ku Klux Klan, after the March in  
25 Forsyth we had a heavy recruitment

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1 drive by that group, and by our  
2 estimate they probably have gained  
3 somewhere between a hundred and fifty  
4 and two hundred new members in the  
5 State since January. That would  
6 include reactivation as well in  
7 Carroll County and Polk County,  
8 Georgia, and we know they are meeting  
9 on a regular basis in a rented  
10 building in Carroll County. That is  
11 of some concern for us.

12 The other thing that -- about  
13 the Invisible Empire that causes us  
14 some concern is that the leadership  
15 has passed from the hands of Ed  
16 Stevens, who has been the grand  
17 dragon for the State and for a  
18 Klansman in our opinion who is rather  
19 demure in his -- in his method of  
20 operation, to a much more militant  
21 younger guy by the name of Danny  
22 Harvey and his wife Darlene Harvey,  
23 and Danny become the recent grand  
24 dragon of the state.

25 Unlike Ed Stevens who is liable

1 to actually cooperate with the Neo-  
2 Nazi factions, Danny Harvey has been  
3 associating with the Aryan nation  
4 leader, Richard Butler, Grand  
5 Marshall, and attends the National  
6 Grand Marches in Polaski with a group  
7 known as the Polaski 10.

8 Danny had a number of run-ins  
9 with the law here and was temporarily  
10 banned from attending Klan functions  
11 publicly but hasn't been banned from  
12 them privately.

13 Another thing that has happened  
14 with the Invisible Empire besides  
15 this growth and this increased state  
16 of activity, is that they have gone  
17 back to wearing masks. Now, this is  
18 an important element because there  
19 are mask laws in this state and they  
20 are forbidden to wear masks in public  
21 or on private property without  
22 permission, but what they have done  
23 is they have begun to wear masks on  
24 private property at their cross  
25 burnings at night, at times that --

1 when they didn't used to do that, so  
2 they are emphasizing secrecy again.

3 The other thing is that there  
4 is a Klan faction known as the  
5 Southern White Knights in this area.  
6 It has been closely affiliated with  
7 the White Patriot Party, the one that  
8 is now defunct in North Carolina.

9 It is a more Neo-Nazi  
10 formation, and very militant and  
11 maintains most of its leadership  
12 under ground, does not keep it -- has  
13 a few visible leaders but we have  
14 noticed that their membership, the  
15 new people at the rallies are not the  
16 old guard that hang around. That is,  
17 the people associated with the  
18 Southern White Knights, which is led  
19 by Dave Holland.

20 There are no grand factions to  
21 speak of in the State of Florida.  
22 There is a couple left over,  
23 Invisible Empire mix, down there, but  
24 nowhere near the kind of organization  
25 that the Christian Knights is doing

1 in the North and South Carolina  
2 areas, and the Invisible Empire is  
3 doing here.

4 Our overall assessment is that  
5 in the State of North Carolina they  
6 are in the process of dissention.  
7 Dissenting is important in hate in  
8 terms of organized hate groups, and  
9 in the State of Georgia they are in  
10 the process of ascension.

11 I will take questions if you  
12 have got any.

13 MS. STRONG: Do you find that  
14 the members that you mentioned that  
15 helped the recruitment that is being  
16 done and people that are being  
17 recruited, do you have any knowledge  
18 on whether these people are primarily  
19 younger people or are what age group?

20 MR. ZESKIND: Yes.

21 MS. STRONG: Or what age group,  
22 educational level, et cetera?

23 MR. ZESKIND: Well, what we are  
24 seeing interestingly enough, the  
25 Southern White Knights, the more Neo-

1 Naziest group, is recruiting people  
2 it looks to us in the thirty-five-to-  
3 forty-five-year-old age bracket.

4 The Christian Knights, which is  
5 doing more traditional Klan-style  
6 activity, their new recruits look to  
7 be twenty-five years or twenty-eight  
8 years of age and younger. When they  
9 staged a march in Augusta last year,  
10 which was their first for the  
11 Christian Knights when it was their  
12 first foray into Georgia, I would say  
13 that eighteen percent of that march  
14 of a hundred people was under the age  
15 of twenty-five.

16 MS. STRONG: What do you, and I  
17 don't mean to dominate the questions,  
18 but I am curious, what do you  
19 consider to be possibly the main  
20 reasons for so much success in  
21 recruiting people?

22 Is it because of the economic  
23 problems as far as the textile  
24 industries are concerned? Do you  
25 equate anything?



1           You know -- I maintain that the  
2           state of economy and jobs going  
3           overseas probably is the -- is a  
4           possible root cause of some of these  
5           problems -- you know. Do you? What  
6           is your assessment?

7           MR. ZESKIND: Our assessment is  
8           there -- there is no single answer to  
9           that. I think that when we do a map  
10          of areas of high concentration of  
11          planned activity and cross that with  
12          a map of high concentration of  
13          textile plants closing in the  
14          Piedmont area from North Georgia into  
15          North Carolina, we think that that is  
16          the same geographic area, but we  
17          can't prove that the people that join  
18          the Klan are displaced textile mill  
19          workers. There is no way to prove  
20          that on a one-to-one basis at the  
21          level that we are operating.

22          We do know that from our direct  
23          experience in Cedartown, Georgia,  
24          several years ago that the Klan moved  
25          in and built a trade union in

1 Cedartown based on anti-immigrant and  
2 anti-Mexican platform, and that job  
3 conditions and those kinds of -- you  
4 know -- those kinds of issues were  
5 directly related to that Klan growth.

6 I think that a general sense of  
7 alienation among some white people  
8 who see themselves outside the  
9 mainstream of society is another  
10 reason for some of these people being  
11 attracted to the organized hate  
12 groups, but they express that in a  
13 variety of ways, and there is -- it  
14 is not conclusive why some should  
15 choose to express it as Klansmen and  
16 others as other kinds of activities.

17 MS. ALEXANDER: Let me ask you  
18 a question. Did I understand you  
19 correctly in saying that it is your  
20 interpretation that this kind of  
21 activity is descending in North  
22 Carolina and ascending in Georgia?

23 MR. ZESKIND: Right.

24 MS. ALEXANDER: Do you -- well,  
25 can you speculate on the reason for

1           that?  Is it overall environment,  
2           legislation?

3                   MR. ZESKIND:  I don't think it  
4           is legislative in nature.  I think in  
5           fact Georgia has a history from our  
6           point of view of a more aggressive  
7           state posture.  The State Police  
8           here, the GBI have taken a more more  
9           aggressive posture towards the  
10          organized hate groups than the North  
11          Carolina State Police, for instance.

12                   I don't think it is legislative  
13          in nature.  I think that what we have  
14          is a racially polarizing situation  
15          primarily in North Georgia and the  
16          community there, and what you have in  
17          North Carolina is a circumstance  
18          where you have had heavy federal  
19          intervention against the hate groups  
20          last year which will cause them to  
21          take some time to recover.

22                   I don't know what it has done  
23          to the racial climate in North  
24          Carolina.  I suspect the racial  
25          climate isn't any better, but what

1 the law enforcement managed to do is  
2 prevent hate groups themselves from  
3 taking advantage of the situation.

4 MR. SCHWARTZ: You talk in  
5 terms of a dramatic increase of Klan  
6 membership, some two hundred and  
7 fifty, I think you said.

8 MR. ZESKIND: Somewhere up  
9 to -- to two hundred in the Invisible  
10 Empire.

11 MR. SCHWARTZ: And that may be  
12 a dramatic increase for the Klan, but  
13 in real numbers that is not a whole  
14 lot of folks, particularly in view of  
15 all of the publicity that the Forsyth  
16 rally, for example, Forsyth County  
17 rally, generated.

18 Seems like the Klan had lost  
19 and was in a waning posture for a  
20 number of years as far as membership.

21 Are you particularly alarmed by  
22 the increase of two hundred and  
23 fifty?

24 MR. ZESKIND: Well, what I see  
25 the situation is that, first off the

1           Klan membership is a part of the  
2           issue because in the State of Georgia  
3           you have a variety of other Neo-Nazi-  
4           type groups. So I think that that  
5           particular Klan faction combined with  
6           the growth of the Southern White  
7           Knights, combined with J. B. Stoner  
8           reorganizing himself, coming back and  
9           getting a handful of his coups back  
10          together adds up to a situation.

11                 They are not about to topple  
12          the state government and it seems to  
13          me that there needs to be some level  
14          of concern between -- it is not a  
15          problem and they are about to march  
16          on the State Capitol, and I think  
17          that our level of concern has to be  
18          that there is a racially-polarizing  
19          situation. It is getting worse, not  
20          better.

21                 There are more incidents this  
22          year than there were since January of  
23          this year, than there were in the  
24          period between January and June of  
25          1986 in the state, so that that to us

1           seems to be significant.

2           Also I might add that for the  
3           black woman in Gwinnett County that  
4           gets a cross burned on her yard or  
5           interracial couple that gets their  
6           home shot into in Carroll County, the  
7           situation is totally and absolutely  
8           serious, and I think that we have to  
9           be sensitive to that so that I think  
10          that there is a mix here. A mix of  
11          ways of understanding it.

12          You don't need to scream and  
13          say you know it is -- it is falling  
14          apart. It is falling apart. On the  
15          other hand, on the other hand it is  
16          not like it was a year ago and  
17          doesn't look to get better.

18          One final thing is the Klan  
19          understands Forsyth County and they  
20          may be wrong about this absolutely  
21          but the Klan and their groups  
22          understand the situation, they view  
23          the Forsyth County situation as a big  
24          victory for them.

25          They claimed to have mobilized five

1 thousand folks for the second Forsyth  
2 march. Our count is somewhere between two  
3 and three thousand folks they mobilized for  
4 the second Forsyth march.

5 By any estimate that was the  
6 largest organized white supremacist  
7 demonstration in fifteen years in  
8 this country.

9 MR. SCHWARTZ: Have you found  
10 any evidence of paramilitary-type  
11 training in any of the cities in this  
12 region by any of these groups?

13 MR. ZESKIND: Well, the White  
14 Patriot Party, that is what they got  
15 in trouble for with the law and we  
16 know that --

17 MR. SCHWARTZ: No, North  
18 Carolina.

19 MR. ZESKIND: In North  
20 Carolina, so we do know that this  
21 occurred in North Carolina. In the  
22 State of North Carolina we currently  
23 have a situation under investigation  
24 which we are not sure who is actually  
25 operating it, and whether or not it

1 is a paramilitary camp, but there is  
2 one circumstance in North Carolina  
3 that we are looking at.

4 MR. SCHWARTZ: To your  
5 knowledge does North Carolina have  
6 any paramilitary training statute?

7 MR. ZESKIND: My understanding  
8 of the statute in North Carolina is  
9 that running a paramilitary operation  
10 right now is a misdemeanor in that  
11 state, and they are currently  
12 investigating whether or not to make  
13 that a felony, and I suspect that if  
14 they haven't already, they will  
15 probably soon.

16 MS. STRONG: On the Christian  
17 identity group in Florida, do you  
18 know if there is any connection  
19 between the Christian identity group  
20 and this guy that has this cable  
21 vision show that emanates, I believe,  
22 out of California? Is there --

23 MR. ZESKIND: That is Race and  
24 Reason.

25 MS. STRONG: Yes. I am trying



1 to figure out --

2 MR. ZESKIND: No. Well, they  
3 are -- no. There is no direct  
4 connection. The Christian identity  
5 group in St. Petersburg, for  
6 instance, is mostly a bunch of older  
7 people that have old Klan  
8 connections.

9 The guy, Metzcur, that runs the  
10 cable television show, I understand  
11 hasn't been able to show that program  
12 on Atlanta Community Cable for the  
13 last several months, but they are not  
14 directly connected.

15 MS. STRONG: Okay. So none of  
16 the basic religious fundamentalists'  
17 groups --

18 MR. ZESKIND: No. Something  
19 you have to be clear about identity  
20 is opposition. The identify movement  
21 opposes itself to the fundamentalist  
22 religious movement. The Jerry  
23 Falwells, the Pat Robertsons are seen  
24 as enemies of the Identity Movement  
25 because they have sympathy for the

1 State of Israel, because of the  
2 fundamentalism they have for the  
3 State of Israel.

4 MS. ALEXANDER: One of the  
5 charges they keep telling people of  
6 having a very simplistic mind is the  
7 need to identify possible solutions,  
8 and I wonder if you have thought or  
9 dreamed of anything that perhaps the  
10 State of Georgia could do to defuse  
11 what may be about to happen in North  
12 Georgia?

13 MR. ZESKIND: I think that  
14 there is two things that need to be  
15 done with the situation in North  
16 Georgia. One, I think, is a public  
17 recognition that there is a situation  
18 that needs defusing so that the  
19 appropriate moral, intellectual,  
20 financial, et cetera, resources can  
21 be mobilized.

22 The second thing is that I -- I  
23 think that private institutions, the  
24 various religious groups, community  
25 organizations up there, the Chamber

1 of Commerce, et cetera, if they will  
2 address the problems seriously, I  
3 think that that will go a long way.

4 MS. STRONG: What has been the  
5 Chamber of Commerces' response out of  
6 the different cities in North  
7 Georgia? What has been their  
8 response?

9 MR. ZESKIND: Well, in the  
10 situation in Forsyth, as you all  
11 probably know, it is a mixed  
12 response. I think they had some  
13 immediate concern about the image of  
14 Forsyth, and I think there are  
15 probably people here that later on in  
16 the Georgia discussion can talk to  
17 you about that.

18 Oftentimes people are -- our  
19 experience is that people oftentimes,  
20 the people in the Chamber of  
21 Commèrce, view the Klan as a lower-  
22 class phenomenon outside of their  
23 purview, and would rather not dirty  
24 their hands with it. In these  
25 communities, because you have the gas

1 station attendant that is the  
2 Klansmen and you have the -- the one  
3 guy who was the banker in town that  
4 is the Chamber of Commerce guy, and  
5 they tend not to mix and don't -- the  
6 problem of one doesn't seem to be the  
7 problem of the other, so what I am  
8 saying is that these communities need  
9 to take a holistic approach to their  
10 own community relation standards.

11 MS. ALEXANDER: But there  
12 possibly comes, comes from without,  
13 that attitude to be instigated within  
14 the community, do they?

15 MR. ZESKIND: I think the most  
16 productive long-term response will be  
17 if the people in those communities  
18 take the problem seriously.

19 MR. BINKLEY: Yes. I would  
20 like to ask if you can generalize or  
21 characterize the response of the  
22 police departments around this region  
23 to deal with the public activities of  
24 these groups? Do they have to be  
25 kind of pushed?

1                   Do they voluntarily set up and  
2 deal with the klans? You mentioned  
3 something about some of them are now  
4 beginning to violate the Anti-Mask  
5 Law.

6                   MR. ZESKIND: No. I didn't say  
7 that. No, I didn't say that they  
8 were violating the Anti-Mask Law.  
9 What I was saying was that they were  
10 starting to wear masks in  
11 circumstances where they could, where  
12 previously they hadn't, which was  
13 part of their move towards secrecy.

14                   I have nothing but praise for  
15 the anti-terrorist unit inside the  
16 GBI. I think it has probably been a  
17 model police enforcement unit and  
18 responsible, I believe, for defusing  
19 a number of difficult situations that  
20 have emerged in this state, both  
21 before Forsyth County going back to  
22 Augusta with the Christian Knights  
23 March, and since then I think that  
24 sometimes local law enforcement  
25 officials need to more closely

1 regulate the time and manner of Klan  
2 marches.

3 If they would more closely  
4 regulate the time and manner of Klan  
5 marches those marches will have less  
6 of an effect in polarizing the  
7 community. I think, for instance, I  
8 think it was Dawsonville, Dawsonville  
9 or Dalonega. I have to check, but  
10 one of them did a very good job this  
11 winter of setting up --

12 MS. DOUGLASS: Dahlonga.

13 MR. ZESKIND: -- Dahlonga, of  
14 setting up circumstances where the  
15 Klan got to march right outside where  
16 the buildings were in town. Of  
17 course, you are dealing with a small  
18 town but when they regulate the time  
19 and manner of the expression of free  
20 speech I think you get a much more  
21 beneficial effect.

22 Also the City of Gainesville, I  
23 think, has also taken an aggressive  
24 stand towards Danny Carver and the  
25 Invisible Empire. The City of

1 Gainesville and the law enforcement  
2 officials in Hall County have taken a  
3 very good aggressive stand towards  
4 the Invisible Empire in that region.

5 I think that we have been happy  
6 with that.

7 MR. DARDEN: I have a question  
8 here, sort of a combined question  
9 dealing with both the severity of  
10 violence and the number of incidents.

11 I think you mentioned earlier  
12 that because of the changing  
13 alliances some of the Klan groups are  
14 turning more violent and I was just  
15 curious to know how? What do you  
16 mean by that, and then secondly you  
17 were setting out a comparison between  
18 the first of this year and the  
19 present, and last year and saying  
20 that was it in Georgia or across the  
21 region?

22 MR. ZESKIND: Across Georgia.

23 MR. DARDEN: Across Georgia.

24 MR. ZESKIND: In particular.

25 MR. DARDEN: The numbers have

1           increased and I was wondering if you  
2           could give us the numbers on that?

3           MR. ZESKIND:   I gave my Georgia  
4           sheet to --

5           MR. DARDEN:    Okay.

6           MR. ZESKIND:    -- to Jan and --

7           MR. DARDEN:    We will come to  
8           that later?

9           MR. ZESKIND:   Yeah.   She will,  
10          I think you will get some of that  
11          from her.   What we mean generally by  
12          more violent is the level of -- for  
13          hate groups nationally and the ones  
14          in the Southeast are no exception,  
15          the level of military sophistication  
16          has increased.

17          Their use of heavier weapons  
18          rather than just shotguns, et cetera.  
19          The other trend that we have noticed  
20          nationally is that their use of  
21          violence tends to be more ideological  
22          than it used to be.   They tend to  
23          pick and choose their targets based  
24          on political criteria rather than  
25          getting drunk and riding and just



1 shooting the first black person they  
2 see on the street, which was the set  
3 of circumstances that we ran into  
4 traditionally in the early '80s, and  
5 I think the other thing that is most  
6 significant is that the violent  
7 activity is organized outside of the  
8 view of the public.

9 The days where there were big  
10 street confrontations like there were  
11 in the early '80s I think are gone.  
12 I think that there is a sense of  
13 confrontation and it is that they  
14 should do it on their own terms when  
15 they think they are most likely to  
16 get away with what they want to do,  
17 so that is why I think that, for  
18 instance, when the defacing of the  
19 Jewish property around Snellville,  
20 Georgia, happened several weeks ago  
21 it will be very difficult to catch  
22 the perpetrator because that was  
23 obviously done at night and planned,  
24 planned to be done, and by the way,  
25 there is an identity church in

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1 Snellville.

2 It doesn't seem to me to be an  
3 accident that the two things are  
4 connected.

5 MS. STRONG: Let me ask you  
6 this. What about financing? You  
7 know -- you mentioned about the fact  
8 that some of the groups that are  
9 meeting, what we would normally  
10 identify as the old guard, okay,  
11 where they had the mask and all this,  
12 do you have any knowledge about  
13 whether some of these upstanding  
14 business people might be Klansmen on  
15 the side?

16 I mean -- you know -- that is  
17 really what happened before, so --

18 MR. ZESKIND: Yes.

19 MS. STRONG: Where does the  
20 financing come in?

21 MR. ZESKIND: I think that is  
22 the exception rather than the rule.  
23 It, the Klan, is not -- is not only a  
24 working-class phenomenon, although it  
25 is primarily in our opinion a

1 working-class phenomenon, it cuts  
2 across every thread of population,  
3 but for the most part because people  
4 being involved, they have no reason  
5 to be involved in the Ku Klux Klan,  
6 the Ku Klux Klan today is not about  
7 defending Jim Crow. It is about  
8 overthrowing the United States  
9 Government, and business people  
10 generally aren't involved in that  
11 kind of activity.

12 MR. DARDEN: Just one other.  
13 Both, the two proms, the Klan's  
14 thrust seems to be anti-semitism and,  
15 of course, anti-black or racist. Do  
16 you see them attacking both of those  
17 equally or is there some  
18 preponderance on either side?

19 MR. ZESKIND: Well, I might add  
20 also that in Georgia we have an  
21 increasing problem that showed itself  
22 to us in Cedartown where it was anti-  
23 Hispanic, against the Mexican labor  
24 force that was in that seems to me to  
25 be important for the future, that we

1           should look at but I think that what  
2           -- from our analysis that you can say  
3           that all bigotry is bigotry and it is  
4           of concern all the way across the  
5           board.

6                        I think from their point of view it  
7           is an anti-semitism and racism of two  
8           different functions, because in this  
9           ideology, and that is because their  
10          understanding of what happened to them, the  
11          Klan went out of business in -- by 1970  
12          after being defeated by the Civil Rights  
13          Movement, and they had to make an analysis  
14          of what led to their defeat by a group of  
15          people that they clearly decided were  
16          subhuman and dumber than they were,  
17          inferior people, and how could they defeat  
18          their movement? How could black people  
19          defeat their movement?

20                       So what they had done is they  
21          made an analysis of the American  
22          society that says that the American  
23          society and the force of government  
24          is run by the Jews, and so anti-  
25          semitism has that kind of a roll for

1           them, and so that the Jews in the  
2           federal government, which is the most  
3           powerful force in society, is the one  
4           that has run black people in -- into  
5           their lives.

6                     So they are -- you can't say.  
7           You can't quantify it -- you know --  
8           what is worse. I think you can  
9           qualify it.

10                    You can talk about it in terms  
11           of quality and they serve different  
12           functions in terms of their total  
13           ideology.

14                    I think that what they do is it  
15           makes Jews a higher ideological  
16           target and that is why they went  
17           after Allen Burg, for instance, in  
18           Denver because they see Jews as a --  
19           more of a long-term threat and they  
20           see blacks as just mixing of genetic  
21           material.

22                    MR. SCHWARTZ: Paul Byrd was  
23           the talk-show host.

24                    MR. ZESKIND: Who was murdered.

25                    MS. STRONG: I have one last

1 question. Do you have any knowledge  
2 about the Nazis that were led into  
3 the country after World War II, if  
4 these people in any kind of way are  
5 responsible for the Neo-Nazi Movement  
6 that is in the country?

7 I mean, is there any kind of  
8 connection at all?

9 MR. ZESKIND: There are certain  
10 individuals that were associated with  
11 Hitler's Germany in one fashion or  
12 another who are active in the Neo-  
13 Nazi Movement in the United States. 1  
14 Nationally there is a guy in Reading,  
15 West Virginia.

16 There is this Hans Schmidtt out  
17 in California. There is a couple of  
18 them but -- and there is some  
19 connection between some of the  
20 propoganda that is being done in the  
21 ethnic white communities in the North  
22 around the OSI, which is the office  
23 that is investigating war criminals  
24 in the United States. So there is  
25 some of those kinds of connections,

1 but on the whole what we are dealing  
2 with is a native-born home-grown Neo-  
3 Nazi Movement that is setting itself  
4 on political terms.

5 MS. ALEXANDER: I thank you  
6 very much. I am delighted that we  
7 had this extra time to --

8 MR. ZESKIND: Thank you very  
9 much.

10 MS. ALEXANDER: -- to pick your  
11 brain.

12 MR. ZESKIND: Glad to be here  
13 and thank you. I didn't need all  
14 these books either.

15 MS. ALEXANDER: It is ten  
16 minutes after five and time to begin  
17 our second panel, and during this  
18 panel we are going to be looking at  
19 the status of bigotry and violence in  
20 the State of Georgia.

21 PANEL II

22 Topic B: Status of Biggotry and Violence in  
23 Georgia: A Review of Information  
24 and Data Sources.

25 1. Bobby Doctor, Director for Research and  
26 Program  
27 Southern Christian Leadership  
28 Conference/Perpetrators and

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1

Victims

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- 1 2. Janet Douglas, Funds Developer  
2 Center for Democratic  
3 Renewal/Trends
- 4 3. Stuart Lewengrub, Director Anti-Defamation  
5 League of the B'nai  
6 B'rith/Characteristics  
7 of Hate Violence

8 MS. ALEXANDER: I would like to  
9 begin with Stuart Lewengrub, the  
10 Southeast Regional Director of the  
11 Anti-Deformation League of the B'nai  
12 B'rith.

13 MR. LEWENGRUB: Okay. That was  
14 quick. I think, is this working? Do  
15 I need it?

16 I think I am going to cover  
17 some of the same ground that Lenny  
18 did. I am sorry I missed the  
19 beginning of his presentation, and  
20 for the most part I will probably  
21 wind up agreeing with what Lenny said  
22 and hopefully won't be too  
23 repetitive.

24 As is evident to anyone who is  
25 involved in dealing with religious  
26 and racial bigotry, political  
27 extremism and violence often go hand-  
28 and-hand with prejudice. In a sense,

1           extremism and bigotry have always  
2           been two heads on the same body.

3                       Where you find extremism, you  
4           find bigotry and vice-versa. The  
5           words written and uttered by J. B.  
6           Stoner, a David Duke or a Lewis  
7           Farrakhan are more similar than they  
8           are different. The objects of hatred  
9           may change. The venom stays the  
10          same.

11                      What I would like to do in the  
12          few moments we have today is to  
13          examine the subject of organized  
14          racism and violence in Georgia in its  
15          historical perspective and context  
16          and not in its hysterical context.

17                      In order to understand where we  
18          are I think it is imperative to see  
19          where we have come from.

20                      Although religious and racial  
21          bigotry do not necessarily lend  
22          themselves to precise statistical  
23          measurements there is some criteria  
24          that we can use in assessing progress  
25          or lack of it, and I think there are

1 two errors that are often made by  
2 those of us who deal with these  
3 issues, and in fact, in one of his  
4 responses I think Lenny alluded to  
5 them in much the same way.

6 One of the things we do is we  
7 exaggerate the role of the impact and  
8 the influence that extremists have in  
9 our state and nation, and in fact  
10 when we ascribe to these groups more  
11 clout than they possess or when their  
12 leaders and acts are sensationalized  
13 it helps them to gain more adherence  
14 to their cause. It makes them seem  
15 more important.

16 This is not to say that their  
17 activity should be ignored. It is to  
18 say that when reported on they should  
19 be placed in proper perspective.  
20 Eight misfits in robes collecting  
21 forty dollars at an intersection does  
22 not a grand movement make.

23 The other mistake we can make  
24 is to ignore the existence of  
25 organized hate groups or to

1           underestimate the problems that they  
2           can create. What I see as our  
3           particular charge is to objectively  
4           assess these movements without  
5           exaggerating them, and then to deal  
6           with the real and potential problems  
7           that groups such as the Klan and the  
8           Identity Movement can generate in our  
9           communities.

10                   I want to use as an example  
11           Forsyth County because I think there  
12           are different perspectives that we  
13           can look at. In January, 1987, the  
14           nation's focus on the issues of  
15           racism and violence were directed at  
16           Georgia because of the events in  
17           Forsyth County.

18                   Some people who should know  
19           better were quoted as suggesting that  
20           the events in Forsyth proved that  
21           nothing has really changed in Georgia  
22           and the South. That, of course, is  
23           patent nonsense.

24                   What Forsyth County showed was  
25           how much has changed in the South,

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1 but it also revealed how far we still  
2 have to go before we can be satisfied  
3 with our condition. Recognizing that  
4 the Forsyth County story has been  
5 written and told ad infinitum, let me  
6 nevertheless use it to illustrate  
7 what I mean by looking at extremism  
8 in perspective.

9 No doubt what happened in  
10 Forsyth County was in some ways a  
11 rude awakening and a reminder of a  
12 distasteful past, but it was also  
13 encouraging.

14 On January 24, 1987, more than  
15 twenty thousand people marched for  
16 justice and racial understanding. We  
17 marched as a nation watched.

18 The group was greeted by  
19 numerous white public officials who,  
20 while not terribly pleased that this  
21 was occurring, had decided at least  
22 to be cordial and receptive.

23 The marches were guarded and  
24 protected by essentially sympathetic  
25 law-enforcement people from every

1 state agency, and particularly from  
2 the Georgia Bureau of Investigation,  
3 which, as Lenny noted a moment ago,  
4 did an outstanding job as they  
5 generally do in coordination and  
6 protection.

7 Across the way there were a  
8 number, and there are disagreements  
9 as far as what the number was, but  
10 our estimate was it was approximately  
11 five hundred hating counter-  
12 demonstrators. There were five  
13 hundred racists jeering twenty  
14 thousand marchers. Many of those  
15 marchers were southern whites.

16 To compare this event to what  
17 would have occurred twenty or twenty-  
18 five years ago, the numbers would  
19 have been reversed. The multitude  
20 would have been on the other side.  
21 Many, perhaps most, of the law-  
22 enforcement people present would have  
23 been harassing or ignoring the  
24 marchers while openly laughing and  
25 sympathizing with the Klan and their

1 friends, and certainly no white  
2 public official would have shown the  
3 slightest cordiality to a group of  
4 demonstrators to civil rights.

5 That does not change the fact  
6 that Forsyth County is still lily  
7 white or that people who -- many  
8 people there want to keep it that  
9 way, but it does tell us that we have  
10 come a way down the road.

11 Yes, the Ku Klux Klan and the  
12 White Patriots and the Neo-Nazis  
13 still exist, but who and what are  
14 they today, especially as compared  
15 with yesterday? Who are these often  
16 unkempt, toothless folks who  
17 represent, quote, white supremacy,  
18 unquote.

19 In the mid 1950's there were  
20 more than one hundred thousand active  
21 participating members of the Ku Klux  
22 Klan in America. More than twenty  
23 thousand of these were in the State  
24 of Georgia alone.

25 In the mid 1960's there were

1 still close to eighty thousand active  
2 Klan members and thousands of others  
3 who were affiliated with the slightly  
4 more civilized white citizens  
5 councils.

6 Those organizations existed to  
7 maintain white supremacy and to  
8 intimidate and harass those who saw  
9 change. Even more important than  
10 numbers was their influence.

11 As you are well aware, in  
12 Georgia and in every other Southern  
13 state there were hundreds, perhaps  
14 thousands of public officials, law  
15 enforcement officers, business and  
16 civic leaders who were bare-faced by  
17 day and masked riders by night. The  
18 Klan and their friends twenty-five  
19 years ago had substantial power and  
20 influence.

21 Today in Georgia, according to  
22 our accounting and maybe Lenny and I  
23 will have to get together and see  
24 where we are getting our numbers,  
25 although they are relatively similar,



1           according to the counting that we  
2           have, there are one hundred and  
3           twenty, between one hundred and one  
4           hundred and fifty actual card-  
5           carrying members of the Ku Klux Klan  
6           or the Klan. In the nation on a  
7           whole there are fewer than six  
8           thousand.

9                     Their visibility far exceeds  
10           their actual strength. True, there  
11           are others out there who sympathize  
12           with at least some of the white  
13           supremacy ideology, but the truth is  
14           that most southerners, most  
15           Americans, totally reject what the Ku  
16           Klux Klan stands for and what their  
17           allies represent.

18                    There are other groups that  
19           have emerged on the American scene.  
20           Let me refer to them as well. Most  
21           of them are in the Midwest and the  
22           Northwest. Some of them are now  
23           emerging in the South and in Georgia.

24                    They are more violent. They  
25           are smarter. They are better funded

1 and they are even more desperate than  
2 the Klan types. They fall under the  
3 loose rubric of the -- or the  
4 Identity Movement and, of course,  
5 they include Posse Comitatus, Aryan  
6 Nations, the order, the Christian  
7 Defense League, and the Covenant,  
8 Sword and Arm of the Lord. Their  
9 ideology is pure racism and anti-  
10 semitism.

11 They believe that they are the  
12 vanguard of White Patriots, saving  
13 America from this band of blacks,  
14 Hispanics, Jews and Asians who are  
15 about to overrun their country.  
16 These people do bear even greater  
17 observation than our old-line-racist.

18 But against these groups we  
19 have formidable opposition. The law  
20 enforcement agencies in Georgia, and  
21 especially the GBI, do an excellent  
22 job of monitoring and containing  
23 extremist activity within the  
24 parameters allowed by the law. There  
25 are a number of organizations that

1 monitor these groups and I also want  
2 to note that in its most recent  
3 session Georgia General Assembly  
4 enacted into law legislation proposed  
5 by the Anti-Deformation League known  
6 as the Georgia Anti-Terrorist Act.

7 This law will better enable  
8 Georgia law enforcement agencies to  
9 oversee and prosecute those engaged  
10 in creating paramilitary training  
11 camps that teach racism, anti-  
12 semitism and civil disorder.

13 The lack of influence and power  
14 does not mean that these groups are  
15 not a serious threat, although the  
16 number of active white supremacists  
17 in Georgia is now in the hundreds  
18 rather than the thousands, and  
19 although they no longer number more  
20 than a handful of people in any  
21 position of influence they do have a  
22 capacity for making trouble.

23 They are violence oriented.  
24 They are armed and they are filled  
25 with frustrations. The world has

1 passed them by.

2 Their only claim to superiority  
3 or personal worth, their skin color  
4 has been taken away from them.

5 If in recent years the soft  
6 core of groups like the Klan has  
7 left, then it is the hard core that  
8 remains.

9 While they cannot exercise any  
10 kind of power, they can serve as a  
11 devicive, troublesome, disruptive  
12 influence, especially with weapons  
13 and a few six-packs under their  
14 belts.

15 Let me conclude with a thought  
16 for all of us to consider. Bigotry  
17 comes in many faces and forms. The  
18 most obvious parade in our streets  
19 wearing robes, hoods, swastikas,  
20 fatigues and sneers. They represent  
21 only the tip of an iceberg. The body  
22 of the iceberg is what we really need  
23 to deal with.

24 Board rooms that remain almost  
25 exclusively white Christian and male,

1 the private clubs that retain the  
2 exclusive labels, these are the  
3 people that set and mold policies in  
4 our cities, states, and nations. Not  
5 the guys outside on the streets with  
6 hoods.

7 The hiring and promotion  
8 practices that are designed to employ  
9 minorities only to satisfy some  
10 numerical goal, but which neither  
11 seeks nor expects quality  
12 participation or involvement at  
13 decision-making levels.

14 It is getting better. Let's  
15 not mistake what we see today for  
16 what has existed twenty years ago,  
17 but there are still too many who  
18 can't or won't affirm the most  
19 important concept of our humanity.  
20 Namely, that we are different. That  
21 differences do exist among us.

22 The black experience and the  
23 Jewish experience and the female  
24 experience are different from one  
25 another, but there is nothing wrong

1 with that. What is wrong is when we  
2 look down upon our differences, and  
3 when we penalize people for not being  
4 just like us. That is far more  
5 harmful than some jackass in a hood  
6 in Cumming or College Park, Georgia.

7 Someone once described our  
8 nation as a melting pot. We are not  
9 a melting pot. Nor should we be.  
10 That is a dull and tasteless soup.  
11 Rather, let's strive to be a Mosaic,  
12 where each of us can be unique and  
13 yet contribute to the whole. When we  
14 are able to achieve that, the rodents  
15 of racism will recede even further  
16 into their holes.

17 MS. ALEXANDER: Thank you,  
18 Stuart. I am very glad you had  
19 breath left in your body after  
20 dealing with that 'til today.

21 Next we will hear from Janet  
22 Douglass, who is Funds Developer for  
23 the Center for Democratic Renewal and  
24 Jan will speak to emerging trends.

25 MS. DOUGLASS: Yes. I have

1           been asked to talk about incidents of  
2           violence and what those trends mean,  
3           and also to talk about the question  
4           of law enforcement in Georgia.

5                     Let me start out with talking  
6           about law enforcement. In agreement  
7           with everybody, the GBI in the State  
8           has done a very excellent job. They  
9           were not strong in the early '80s but  
10          as the Natzification and the growth  
11          of the Klan caused them to recognize  
12          a serious problem very similar to  
13          organized crime, they became really  
14          very strong on the case.

15                    What helped us too was the  
16          legislation that was passed here by  
17          organization and many others worked  
18          to see that it was passed, the Anti-  
19          Intimidation Law.

20                    The GBI has taken a strong  
21          position when that unit was  
22          developed. At one point their funds  
23          were cut, I believe, when Governor  
24          Harris first came in. We lobbied for  
25          some restoration and I would like to

1 say today in order to deal with the  
2 problem that we have in Georgia it is  
3 absolutely necessary that the GBI  
4 have additional resources to follow  
5 up and enough people to expand out  
6 and spread out in Georgia to keep up  
7 the kind of work that they have been  
8 doing.

9 They literally have cut these  
10 folks no slack. I should say that we  
11 are very different from the North  
12 Carolina Bureau of Investigation who  
13 have refused to deal with the  
14 situation and hence what grew there  
15 was Glen Miller and what you had was  
16 a very well-armed army. They kind of  
17 built a guerilla army there involved  
18 in arms deals as well as terrorizing  
19 communities.

20 The North Carolina Bureau of  
21 Investigation has, I even have a  
22 statement of them putting down the  
23 GBI for their concern and interest,  
24 but I believe if the GBI had not been  
25 vigilant, that we would have had a



1 Glen Miller here, and they have taken  
2 a great deal of withstanding between  
3 us and that North Carolina phenomena  
4 if it had been the GBI and their  
5 follow-through.

6 Now, on local law enforcement,  
7 the GBI, of course, has  
8 jurisdictional problems. On local  
9 law enforcement in Georgia I can best  
10 describe it as very uneven. Clearly  
11 the police chief and the county  
12 sheriff have a great deal of power  
13 and they are very tied to the  
14 municipalities, so in Gainesville at  
15 one point, and they got tougher  
16 later, Danny Carver almost started a  
17 riot by marching through a black  
18 community.

19 In Commerce, Georgia, the  
20 police dispatcher's son marches with  
21 the Klan. We had a whole series of  
22 night ridings there just last year.  
23 People using guns, shooting, shooting  
24 into a public housing project that  
25 was primarily black; Klansmen

1 appearing in City Hall and showing  
2 guns and not being stopped.

3 The situation in Commerce is  
4 now a lot -- a lot better, but it  
5 took a lot of effort.

6 Hartwell, Georgia, the Klan  
7 started organizing. There were  
8 clashes and threats, and the whole  
9 police acted immediately. They gave  
10 an affidavit on the behavior of the  
11 Klan and they were able to get an  
12 injunction and stop the Klan from  
13 continuing to move.

14 In Grovestown Christian Knights  
15 marched and no one in the town raised  
16 a question. Just kind of gave in to  
17 them, and it was Dawsonville that --  
18 that the city officials chose to  
19 control the march and put it in the  
20 wooded area where it was not in a  
21 crowded section, and they were also  
22 enjoined from saying the word nigger.

23 So they could not -- they could  
24 not use inflammatory kinds of  
25 statements, no nasty rhetoric. So

1 that will show you the kind of  
2 responsibility and the different  
3 responses that you might -- you might  
4 see.

5 In Carroll County when an  
6 interracial couple had their door  
7 blown in the police refused to come  
8 because they had heard the woman had  
9 jaundice and they told her that it  
10 was -- might be infectious, so  
11 they -- there was nothing they could  
12 do to stop the terrorism.

13 I recall a situation 'out here  
14 in Cobb County where a night rider  
15 shot into a black woman's house who  
16 had moved on the edge of a white  
17 community almost killing her  
18 children. They continued to harass  
19 her and come on the property, and  
20 some of us went and sat with her  
21 because she could not get good police  
22 response, and in fact one statement  
23 to her, and I quote, was when she  
24 said there are strange white people  
25 on my lawn throwing things, they told

1 her to go out and investigate it  
2 herself, and said after all, the  
3 worst thing that could happen is you  
4 might be raped.

5 So we can give you a series of  
6 different kinds of responses to both  
7 racial attacks and to marches and  
8 taking an interest. Many law-  
9 enforcement officials are --  
10 characterize what is terror in many  
11 communities as meaningful pranks.  
12 For instance, Sheriff Walraven in  
13 Forsyth County when the fireman,  
14 black fireman on a picnic a few years  
15 ago was shot in the neck by whites  
16 who were known as racists said there  
17 was no apparent motive for the  
18 assaults, and -- you know -- so many  
19 people move to deny and not move  
20 quickly, I think maybe if some things  
21 had been dealt with in Forsyth County  
22 earlier we may not have had the  
23 problem that we have today.

24 Clearly the number of incidents  
25 that we have shared with you in the

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1 report that you have we collected  
2 that happened in Georgia over the  
3 last five or six years doesn't begin  
4 to chronical all of the cases, and  
5 most of them have not been taken to  
6 their logical conclusion, and that is  
7 arrest and stopping terrorism of that  
8 -- of that kind, and so, therefore,  
9 we do have a way to go.

10 For instance in Cedartown  
11 during the couple of years at  
12 Cedartown it was so difficult.  
13 Mexicans were shot at, harassed in  
14 trailer parks. People killed. They  
15 were stopped from going to the  
16 Catholic church.

17 Signs were put up. Doors were  
18 broken in, that kind of harassment.  
19 There was very little help there to  
20 help people who were being  
21 terrorized, so those are some  
22 examples I wanted to share with you,  
23 and I wanted to admonish the  
24 Committee to take a very careful look  
25 at law enforcement, and it cannot --

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1           it has to be individualized because  
2           there are some departments that have  
3           really done very well, and I want to  
4           share with you a few cases in 1987.  
5           The first brotherhood march, this is  
6           to add to the chronology, the first  
7           brotherhood march in Forsyth County  
8           attacked by six hundred racists. We  
9           have people counting, and we had  
10          monitors there checking out the  
11          numbers, and I should note that there  
12          has been some discussion that many of  
13          these people came from outside.

14                 We only identified about thirty  
15          known Klan members. The rest of them  
16          were probably local and you can see  
17          most of the arrests were local.

18                 People who were marching  
19          identified relatives as well as  
20          people that they went to school with.

21                 January 24, the second  
22          brotherhood march. Twenty thousand  
23          civil rights activists and counter-  
24          rally of approximately three thousand  
25          counter demonstrators.

1                   February 6 in Young Harris,  
2                   Towns County, City Hall burned down  
3                   by the Klan; Mount Zion in Carroll  
4                   County, eight white students  
5                   suspended for erecting a cross on  
6                   campus and hanging a black doll to  
7                   protest interracial dating. Half the  
8                   senior class stages a one-day boycott  
9                   of classes in support of the racist  
10                   demonstration.

11                   February 21, a rally of the  
12                   Southern White Knights and the  
13                   Invisible Empire on the Winder County  
14                   Courthouse steps. Approximately  
15                   sixty Klansmen rallied. Afternoon  
16                   Klan rally, same forces, in  
17                   Bethlehem. Approximately one  
18                   hundred, one hundred fifty in  
19                   attendance.

20                   Cross burned at a home of a  
21                   Chicano family in Gwinnett the second  
22                   week of the march. March 11,  
23                   Invisible Empire rally of  
24                   approximately twenty robes in Young  
25                   Harris in Towns County.

1                   April 5, Christian Knights  
2 rally in Dawsonville. Less than  
3 twenty Klansmen and about five  
4 onlookers.

5                   First week of April multi-racial  
6 family shot at in their home in Carroll  
7 County. Latest incident in a series of  
8 harassment directed at the family.

9                   April 11, Southern White  
10 Knights rally in Monroe, Georgia.  
11 Approximately thirty robed and  
12 uniformed Klansmen. Approximately  
13 one hundred fifty spectators, thirty  
14 of whom were black. The majority of  
15 the rest were young whites.

16                   April 14, Mexican immigrants  
17 are assaulted in a series of  
18 racially-motivated incidents in  
19 Cedartown. April 18, Invisible  
20 Empire rally and nighttime cross-  
21 burning in Mount Zion, Carroll  
22 County. Approximately fifty robed  
23 Klansmen, another one hundred  
24 sympathetic onlookers.

25                   April 23, Christian Knights cap



1 a series of rallies in the Augusta  
2 area with a nighttime cross-burning  
3 that results in the arrest of  
4 thirteen Klansmen.

5 I should say too that you  
6 should know there were some incidents  
7 after the march in Forsyth County of  
8 people being shot at, church burned  
9 and so forth, and we believe that  
10 they are related to the march in  
11 Forsyth.

12 What I have given you is a kind  
13 of a shopping list of various kinds  
14 of incidents that are occurring in  
15 Georgia. I think we can say two or  
16 three things about the trends.

17 The victims are primarily black  
18 and Hispanic. Just a few incidents  
19 of vandalism and so forth against the  
20 Jewish community, and also attacks  
21 against whites who have been  
22 sympathetic with people of color who  
23 tried to take position against racist  
24 violence.

25 The kinds of incidents that are

1 occurring we kind of divide into  
2 three parts. One are certainly  
3 direct Klan activities. The other is  
4 what we would call random racial  
5 violence, and then there is a third  
6 category of Klan imitative violence  
7 that may be random but very often  
8 they are imitating the Klan.

9 Counting is not always the way  
10 to measure what is happening. We  
11 have some communities that are very  
12 terrorized and continue to have  
13 problems. I think we need to look at  
14 the total situation that we are in.

15 Stu testified that it certainly  
16 was not like fifty years ago, but it  
17 certainly is not what we have  
18 expected 1987 to be.

19 I sit on the Forsyth County  
20 Bi-Racial Committee. The effort is  
21 to desegregate Forsyth County.

22 I must say that it seems that I  
23 know more about what happens in the  
24 streets of Forsyth County than do  
25 some of the business people. I am

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1 concerned and I don't think it can be  
2 ignored because history is made not  
3 only by famous people but it is also  
4 made by masses of people moving.

5 When Forsyth marchers and  
6 monitors said they saw folks coming  
7 out of their house to join the  
8 protestors coming down there is a  
9 community there. Forsyth does have a  
10 problem that they have to struggle  
11 with but it is no different than the  
12 problem that is facing the whole  
13 nation and in particular Georgia, and  
14 that is a rise in racism and  
15 polarizing between races, and it  
16 might happen for economic reasons,  
17 but in some areas it is just pure  
18 racism.

19 I think it is something that we do  
20 have to be alarmed about because unless we  
21 begin to organize against it we will  
22 continue to have problems and see growth.

23 MS. ALEXANDER: Thank you very  
24 much, Jan. Next we will hear from  
25 Bobby Doctor, who is now the Director

1 of the Research Program for the  
2 Southern Christian Leadership  
3 Conference, and we are delighted to  
4 have you here.

5 I'd feel a lot more familiar if  
6 you were on the other side of it,  
7 Mr. Doctor.

8 MR. DOCTOR: Well, I am in a  
9 very very interesting position, Madam  
10 Chair. I have been on the other side  
11 of the table, as you well know, and I  
12 have had the occasion to work and  
13 interact with all of you at the  
14 table, and it is because of a deep  
15 sense of respect and, I guess, love,  
16 admiration as well, that we are here  
17 today representing SCLC.

18 It is because of the John  
19 Binkleys and the Ed Dardens and  
20 Elaine Alexanders and Dale Schwartzes  
21 and the Rose Strongs that we at SCLC  
22 still have some hope for the U.S.  
23 Commission on Civil Rights, and  
24 subsequently the Reagan  
25 administration. I thank you very

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1 much for this opportunity.

2 I said that with tongue and  
3 cheek. I thank you very much for  
4 this opportunity.

5 We at SCLC, as you well know,  
6 have been very actively involved in  
7 not only looking at the question of  
8 hate group activities throughout the  
9 country, but we, as you well know,  
10 were very heavily involved in the  
11 Forsyth County situation. Ed has  
12 asked me to share with you all our  
13 involvement as it relates to those  
14 events in Forsyth County, and at  
15 least significant factors that led to  
16 that situation, and certainly have  
17 developed, that have developed since  
18 that time.

19 We have done a magazine, as we  
20 normally do every other month, but in  
21 this particular edition of the  
22 magazine, which was printed for the  
23 March, the months of March and April,  
24 we devoted much of the contents to  
25 the Forsyth situation.

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1           The Forsyth County demonstra-  
2           tions, what it accomplished, why it  
3           started, and I just simply would like  
4           to sort of focus my presentation  
5           around the articles that appeared in  
6           the magazine, and certainly we would  
7           like to share a copy of the magazine  
8           with you once we have completed our  
9           presentation, but in the magazine,  
10          for example, we talk about the surge  
11          for Forsyth County blacks which are  
12          shared by SCLC. We talk about SCLC's  
13          staff participation in that  
14          particular effort along with the  
15          NAACP'S participation, along with the  
16          King Center's participation, and  
17          certainly along with the Center for  
18          Democratic Renewal, and there were a  
19          number of folks from the white  
20          community, particularly from the  
21          Jewish Community, who were supportive  
22          and certainly were there when it  
23          really meant something, and a number  
24          of them are around this table,  
25          including the chair of this

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1 committee, but it is important, I  
2 think, to note that there has to be  
3 some sort of historical count of what  
4 took place in that particular effort.

5 In the magazine we also talk  
6 about some sort of chronological  
7 development of what occurred in  
8 Forsyth and we also deal with the  
9 demographics of that particular  
10 community, and I might just share  
11 some of those demographics with you,  
12 if I may.

13 Forsyth County; not to be  
14 confused with Forsyth, Georgia, which  
15 is located in Monroe County, rather  
16 is located approximately forty miles  
17 from Atlanta, Georgia, and just  
18 outside of Cumming, Georgia.

19 Forsyth is one of the fastest  
20 growing counties in the State. From  
21 1980 to 1985 Forsyth County's  
22 population grew from twenty-seven  
23 nine fifty-eight thousand to thirty-  
24 five six hundred thousand or an  
25 increase of some 27.3 percent.

1 Unemployment in that particular  
2 county is approximately 3.7 percent,  
3 well below the national average, well  
4 below the state average, I might add.

5 Located on the outskirts of  
6 Lake Lanier the County per capita  
7 income jumped from just twenty-six  
8 hundred fifty-five dollars in 1970 to  
9 ten thousand six hundred and forty-  
10 five dollars in 1988.

11 There are some fifteen major  
12 corporations in Forsyth County and  
13 poultry is the major industry.

14 I share that with you because I  
15 think it is important that you  
16 understand what is going on in  
17 Forsyth County has to do more with an  
18 institutional problem of racism than  
19 an individual problem of racism, and  
20 I will get back to that in just a  
21 minute or so, but we also talked in  
22 this magazine about the Oprah Winfrey  
23 T.V. show which, as you well know,  
24 aired in Forsyth County immediately  
25 on the heels of the march.

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1                   In addition, we share with our  
2 readers a list of the demands which came  
3 from the coalition that I alluded to that  
4 was organized against fear and intimidation  
5 in Forsyth County.

6                   We also share with you a  
7 position paper which was developed by  
8 the coalition and certainly the  
9 manifesto which was also developed by  
10 the coalition, and it was my  
11 privilege to serve as chair of the  
12 Strategy Committee of the Coalition  
13 which developed the manifesto and  
14 position paper, and the list of  
15 demands.

16                   It is important that we share  
17 with you, if we may, and I realize  
18 that much of what we are talking  
19 about at this point has already been  
20 gone over by Stu and by my  
21 distinguished colleague to my left  
22 here, who serves on the Bi-Racial  
23 Committee there in Forsyth County,  
24 and I think she did not allude to  
25 that or make any comments about that.

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1 Did you?

2 But she is in a position  
3 certainly to comment on a lot of what  
4 we are talking about here,  
5 particularly in the aftermath of the  
6 march. But, for example, in 1912  
7 there was allegedly a rape which  
8 occurred in the County and an  
9 eighteen-year-old white girl by the  
10 name of May Crow was allegedly raped  
11 by three back youngsters, Ernest  
12 Knox, Ed Collins, and Oscar Daniels.  
13 May Crow died and all of the three  
14 black men were subsequently hanged.

15 As a consequence of the  
16 incident nearly one thousand blacks  
17 were forcibly removed from Forsyth  
18 County. Their farms and property in  
19 Forsyth County and in neighboring  
20 Dawson County, I might add, were  
21 literally confiscated and certainly  
22 never to be returned, at least not up  
23 to this point anyway.

24 On Saturday, January 27, 1980,  
25 a black fire-fighter from the City of

1 Atlanta journeyed up to Forsyth  
2 County to picnic in that area, and he  
3 was shot in the neck, and he was  
4 forcibly evicted from that particular  
5 county.

6 In 1986 you know about the  
7 first effort to make the march by  
8 Chuck Blackburn, a white member of  
9 that particular community up there,  
10 and needless to say, he was  
11 intimidated to the extent that he  
12 decided to cancel his effort to have  
13 that brotherhood march to honor  
14 Dr. King.

15 As you probably have heard and  
16 certainly you have heard by now,  
17 there were a number of people who  
18 picked up the <sup>Quintet</sup> goblet. Dean Carter  
19 was one of them. Hosea Williams was  
20 another, and on January 15, Martin  
21 Luther King, Jr.'s birth date, they  
22 decided to take up the march where  
23 Mr. Blackburn left off.

24 It obviously erupted into  
25 violence, violence, the kind of

1 violence we have not seen in a number  
2 of years in this region. The kind of  
3 violence that I maintain is still  
4 there potentially but we have not  
5 seen it as we saw it on January 15.

6 It is clear at that point that  
7 something had to be done in response  
8 to that effort to that situation, and  
9 so SCLC and the NAACP, and the other  
10 groups that I have named came  
11 together to form a coalition designed  
12 to take up that effort that obviously  
13 was met with violence on January 15.

14 We came together and we came  
15 together in full force. There were  
16 some thirty thousand people from  
17 around the country and believe me,  
18 when you talk about trying from a  
19 logistical standpoint to pull  
20 together thirty thousand people into  
21 the City of Atlanta then transport  
22 them up to Forsyth County, you are  
23 talking about a horrendous logistical  
24 effort, and it is a miracle that we  
25 were able to do it, and we are

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1 talking about a period of something  
2 like two weeks in which we did all of  
3 that, but thirty thousand people did  
4 converge on Forsyth County to  
5 register their outrage over what took  
6 place on the 15th.

7 It didn't stop there. We  
8 obviously were met with a great deal  
9 of hatred and although well protected  
10 the hatred was there. It was in the  
11 air.

12 I submit that it was not  
13 atypical. I maintain that it  
14 certainly is perhaps the tip of the  
15 iceberg as it relates to what is  
16 going on in this country today, but  
17 it was there and we were forced to  
18 deal with it.

19 We subsequently developed a  
20 list of demands and, of course, those  
21 demands are reflected in this  
22 magazine, so I won't get into them in  
23 detail, but we also again prior to  
24 the march developed the position  
25 paper which made it very very clear

1           why we were going back to Forsyth  
2           County. That too is in the position  
3           paper as I indicated earlier.

4           We also developed the manifesto  
5           which also speaks to our reasons for  
6           being in Forsyth County. After  
7           Forsyth County there were a number of  
8           mass meetings, mass rallies. There  
9           were a number of pronouncements,  
10          announcements and certainly there was  
11          the formation of a bi-racial  
12          committee which was one of the list  
13          of demands, by the way, that was made  
14          by the coalition.

15          We have since had the  
16          development of a bi-racial committee  
17          and there is a story to that in and  
18          of itself, but any number of efforts  
19          were made with the governor to try  
20          and have the bi-racial committee be  
21          formed with the idea in mind that it  
22          was the suggestion of the coalition  
23          and, therefore, the coalition  
24          should -- the coalition took the  
25          position rather that we should name

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1           our representatives to that bi-racial  
2           committee.  Initially the governor  
3           took the position that this should  
4           not necessarily be the case.

5           I recall going to his office  
6           along with a number of our colleagues  
7           and, of course, his position was,  
8           well, I spent a number of dollars,  
9           millions of dollars to provide  
10          safety, to provide protection, so if  
11          -- you know -- why should I not take  
12          the same position that you all are  
13          taking.  I have a tremendous  
14          investment in this, so then I should  
15          make the appointments, and he  
16          literally did, by the way, make the  
17          initial appointments.

18          It became very very clear that  
19          the coalition was not going to buy  
20          that and under the threat of  
21          continued marching and continued  
22          demonstrations, we reached some  
23          compromise which allowed the  
24          coalition to appoint its own  
25          representatives on that bi-racial

1 committee, and certainly the folks up  
2 in Forsyth appointed their  
3 representatives to that committee.

4 I bring that up because I think  
5 it is important to note, especially  
6 when you talk about what needs to be  
7 done in this state to deal with the  
8 question of improving race relations  
9 and improving the situation as it  
10 relates to hate group activities,  
11 there needs to be a formation in this  
12 state of a human relations  
13 commission. No ifs, ands or buts  
14 about that.

15 It is interesting to know,  
16 though, that a number of our sister  
17 states, surrounding sister states,  
18 have taken a lead in developing such  
19 a commission. In Florida, for  
20 example, there is a Human Relations  
21 Commission. In South Carolina there  
22 is a Human Affairs Commission.

23 I wish I could say the same  
24 about Alabama and Mississippi, but in  
25 Kentucky there is a Human Rights



1 Commission in that state. Perhaps  
2 the best model in this region,  
3 because they do have significant  
4 authority in that particular  
5 commission.

6 In North Carolina there is also  
7 a human, Human Relations Commission,  
8 but the very fact that we did not  
9 have and do not have a Human  
10 Relations Commission here in this  
11 state, I think, could have placed  
12 this state in serious jeopardy  
13 inasfar as tranquility is concerned.

14 We dealt directly with the  
15 Governor. We dealt directly with he  
16 and his staff, and I am pleased to  
17 note the presence of my good friend,  
18 Jackie, down on the other end down  
19 there. Jackie was very instrumental  
20 in helping us through those difficult  
21 periods over in the Governor's  
22 Office, but I think it is important,  
23 the need, that it needs to be  
24 understood that we need a human  
25 relations commission in this state to

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1 deal with issues like Forsyth County.

2 There are five counties in this  
3 state that have very little, if any,  
4 black citizens. Forsyth County is  
5 not by itself in that regard.

6 Dawson County is another county  
7 that has little, if any, black  
8 representation, and there are three  
9 other counties. It is important to  
10 note that in this day and time no  
11 county in this state should be  
12 allowed to operate like that. It is  
13 very very clear that if something is  
14 not done about that we are going to  
15 continue to have Forsyth Counties  
16 around the State of Georgia.

17 As far as -- you know -- what  
18 needs to take place, I think it is  
19 important that we need to begin to  
20 focus more attention not only on hate  
21 group activities in the State of  
22 Georgia, but we also need to focus  
23 more attention on the question of  
24 what I view to be a renewed emphasis  
25 on institutional racism. Not only in

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1 the State of Georgia, but in a number  
2 of different states, and throughout  
3 the country as a whole, for that  
4 matter. I think we should point out  
5 that we have institutional problems  
6 that essentially have gotten worse,  
7 and I maintain they have gotten worse  
8 because there has been absolutely no  
9 leadership on this particular issue,  
10 on this particular question coming  
11 from the National Administration.

12 I think the Reagan  
13 Administration has <sup>abdicated</sup> ~~advocated~~ itself  
14 <sup>responsibility</sup> ~~probably~~ to provide leadership on  
15 race-related questions. They have  
16 <sup>abdicated</sup> ~~advocated~~ their responsibility ~~only~~  
17 to provide leadership on the question  
18 of affirmative action, on school  
19 desegregation, and you can probably  
20 go on down the list as it relates to  
21 social issues.

22 If that is going to continue to  
23 be the case, and I suspect that it is  
24 through the remaining two years of  
25 this administration, then the states

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1 have to begin to assume more  
2 responsibilities in that regard. On  
3 that note I will close.

4 MS. ALEXANDER: Bobby, thank  
5 you very much. I appreciate the time  
6 allowed for us to ask questions of  
7 all three participants in this panel,  
8 but since this is being billed as a  
9 transcript report, we don't have the  
10 time to do anything but thank you all  
11 very much.

12 PANEL III

13 Topic C: State Law on Racial/Religious Violence  
14 and Biggotry: Legislative and Law  
15 Enforcement Responses.

- 16 1. Robbie Hamrick, Director  
17 Georgia Bureau of  
18 Investigation/Anti-  
19 Terrorism Task Force  
20 and State and Local  
21 Police Efforts
- 22 2. Michael Bowers, State Attorney General/Laws  
23 and Legislation
- 24 3. Jackey Beavers, Executive Assistant to the  
25 Governor/Policy

26 MS. ALEXANDER: The third  
27 panel. The third panel is in  
28 reference to state law on  
29 racial/religious violence and  
30 bigotry, legislative and law

1 enforcement responses.

2 We will begin with Robbie  
3 Hamrick, who is Director of the  
4 Georgia Bureau of Investigation/Anti-  
5 Terrorism Task Force.

6 Jan. There is something very  
7 significant that Jan forgot to  
8 mention. Can you briefly in just two  
9 minutes.

10 MS. DOUGLASS: Yes. I forgot I  
11 wanted to mention two items. One,  
12 many, many of us know about the  
13 LaRouche Movement into the State last  
14 year and that should be noted, and  
15 what form that it took, and secondly,  
16 the beginning contact with these,  
17 quote, Nazi folks with the Farm  
18 Movement.

19 The Larushes, a number of them  
20 have moved major farm officials and  
21 farmers around the country out to the  
22 Aryan nation and this circuited in  
23 the Midwest and they have also been  
24 here to visit, and you need to know  
25 that there is encouragement going on

1           there that we should be wary of.  
2           Many of these people are not  
3           familiar, so I have very often, not  
4           very often, but have been in position  
5           of calling people saying, hey, I  
6           don't think you want to speak there  
7           because you have got a bunch of Nazis  
8           on the platform with you, and they  
9           did not know that, and that is  
10          happening here in Georgia.

11                       MR. ZESKIND:   The spring  
12          organization form of that is called  
13          National Farm Production Minimum  
14          Pricing Unit based in Newmanville,  
15          Georgia.

16                       MS. ALEXANDER:   Made in U.S.A.  
17          Okay.   Mr. Hamrick.

18                       MR. HAMRICK:   I appreciate the  
19          invitation to be here today.   I would  
20          probably address two main issues that  
21          -- that are dealing with the GBI and  
22          I appreciate the kind words that the  
23          panel before us had to say about the  
24          job that we are attempting to do.   I  
25          think there are -- there are two main

1 things that Georgia has done that has  
2 taken the lead.

3 One was the passage of the  
4 Anti-Terrorist Act in 1983 that gave  
5 us the law and the power to do what  
6 is necessary to monitor and attempt  
7 to enforce the laws of the terrorist  
8 groups or groups that, for whatever  
9 reason, caused these problems.

10 The second thing is a program  
11 that we have in the State that was  
12 started through the Governor's  
13 Office, the Crisis Intervention  
14 Program. I will address these two  
15 issues and then the laws can be  
16 addressed by the Attorney General's  
17 Office, and I will be glad to answer  
18 any questions.

19 In 1983 the Legislature passed  
20 an Anti-Terrorist Law in the State of  
21 Georgia giving the Georgia Bureau of  
22 Investigation the responsibility for  
23 monitoring activities of the groups  
24 that, for whatever their reasons,  
25 were to create disturbances

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1 throughout the State. It has been a  
2 law that has been used very often and  
3 we see it very much in the Forsyth  
4 County incident. We have also seen  
5 it in the Farm Movement situation  
6 that arose in the State of Georgia  
7 some several years back, but I think  
8 that with this law it gave us, us  
9 being the State, the responsibility  
10 to do and to monitor the movement of  
11 these groups as they came through the  
12 State, and as they gathered and had  
13 their movement come into this area.

14 The second thing that -- that I  
15 feel is responsible for a lot of  
16 success that we have had in dealing  
17 with situations like Forsyth County  
18 and others is a crisis intervention  
19 concept that was created and that was  
20 started here, I guess about four or  
21 five years ago. And that there are  
22 representatives from most state  
23 agencies that are -- that make up a  
24 crisis intervention team. It is  
25 supported one hundred percent by the

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1 Governor's Office and Mr. Beavers is  
2 a representative of the Governor's  
3 Office to the Crisis-Intervention  
4 Team.

5 The Director of the Georgia  
6 Bureau of Investigation is the  
7 coordinator of the task force, and it  
8 operates in that if a situation  
9 arises that it appears that there is  
10 going to be a problem, then the  
11 coordinator of this task force  
12 designates a team to go out, evaluate  
13 the situation and report back to the  
14 director, who in turn reports to the  
15 Governor's Office to see what, to  
16 make his evaluation and his  
17 recommendations.

18 This would -- went into effect  
19 immediately in the Forsyth County  
20 situation. It has gone into effect in a  
21 lot of other situations that were not as  
22 near as spectacular or had the attention  
23 that the Forsyth County situation had.

24 As we all know, problems can  
25 arise for many different reasons.

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1 Anything from the closing of a  
2 swimming pool to, as was in Forsyth  
3 County's situation, the right to  
4 march. So we have used this Crisis-  
5 Intervention Team and Task Force to  
6 deal with a lot of different things,  
7 and a lot of different areas that I  
8 feel otherwise would have presented  
9 and been a major problem for this  
10 State.

11 Had it not been for the support  
12 of the Governor's Office and the  
13 support of all state agencies, we  
14 would not have been as successful in  
15 monitoring and dealing with crises as  
16 they have come up in the State.

17 I think it is important too  
18 that -- that we note the help that we  
19 get from local law enforcement. We  
20 realize and we -- we accept that  
21 under the law, the Anti-Terrorist  
22 Law, that we have the responsibility  
23 to enforce it and we accept that, but  
24 in many cases there is no way that we  
25 can do it without the help of local

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1 law enforcement, and we, we count on  
2 them a tremendous amount for their  
3 help and support.

4 These two things I think are  
5 very important. There are a lot of  
6 cases, a lot of instances that have  
7 happened. Most of them have been  
8 addressed prior to by the previous  
9 panel but a lot of these also are  
10 current open investigations that are  
11 still being conducted, and I do not  
12 feel that we can -- we can openly  
13 discuss those at this time as long as  
14 they are open investigations.

15 I will be glad to answer  
16 questions after or --

17 MS. ALEXANDER: Okay. Perhaps  
18 we will have time this time and my  
19 understanding is that Michael Bowers  
20 was ill today?

21 MS. MANIS: I am Stephanie  
22 Manis, Senior Assistant Attorney  
23 General. Mike went home with the flu  
24 about three.

25 He and I talked about his ahead

1 of time and he asked me to substitute  
2 for him. I am one of the senior  
3 assistant attorney generals and have  
4 helped coordinate some of the  
5 activities.

6 I was -- I haven't seen Janet  
7 in fifteen years and she may not even  
8 remember me. In previous lives our  
9 paths crossed but it was good to hear  
10 that the community at large  
11 recognizes the type of cooperation  
12 and commitment that I believe that  
13 our office provides along with the  
14 GBI in providing support to the  
15 Governor's Office. I think Mike  
16 would have been pleased to hear that  
17 it recognized that we are on the side  
18 supporting the even-handed but firm  
19 enforcement of the law.

20 There is a lot of law on the  
21 Georgia books. It is surprising.  
22 For example, I didn't know until I  
23 looked it up yesterday that it is a  
24 felony in Georgia, I should have  
25 known; I don't normally do criminal

1 law, to deface a place of worship.

2 What our office does, it  
3 provides backup support. As Robbie  
4 knows, we were extremely active in  
5 the planning of Forsyth and when Mike  
6 and I were talking this afternoon he  
7 said one of the things about Forsyth  
8 was that it was very clear planning.  
9 It was very decisive.

10 It was. Everyone knew what was  
11 going to go on but that the law was  
12 enforced. In other words, you  
13 enforce the law with an even hand.

14 Mike worked very closely with  
15 Robbie and I think that is one of the  
16 major contributions. Other areas  
17 that our office does that you might  
18 not be aware of that Robbie touched  
19 on, and that is that we provide kind  
20 of an informal backup but certainly  
21 not an official role working with  
22 local, local law enforcement, local  
23 officials.

24 My division, in fact, one of  
25 our responsibilities is local county

1 government and more and more over the  
2 last, say, eight years I get calls at  
3 a level way below the convening of  
4 the commissions and the groups that  
5 go out and investigate terroristic  
6 tactics, but I get it from the folks  
7 on the scene who say we know what the  
8 law is. We know what we have to do,  
9 but can you give it to us in writing,  
10 and our office provides informal  
11 backup support at a very basic level  
12 to law enforcement.

13 I don't say that it is always  
14 positive and I don't say that we are  
15 always able to prevent escalation,  
16 but at least for those local  
17 officials who know what the law is  
18 but feel somewhat that they need some  
19 assistance, our office tries to get  
20 it to them firmly and directly.

21 Most of you are aware and have  
22 focused mostly on the anti-terrorist  
23 changes in the law. In '83 there  
24 were a lot of other provisions that  
25 have had some growing interest but

1 very slightly.

2 One is the statute dealing with  
3 discrimination in housing, which has  
4 been surprisingly in Georgia when I  
5 heard reference by Bobby to a human  
6 rights commission that you don't see  
7 in Georgia. You don't see much  
8 activity in addressing racial issues  
9 by triggering the Fair Housing  
10 Statute in Georgia.

11 There was some movement, I  
12 understand last session, to put more  
13 teeth in it but there are provisions  
14 in that law for an injunction for the  
15 denial of housing rights.

16 There are also -- it is per se  
17 to violate that statute, it gives the  
18 Real Estate Commission the right to  
19 move against real estate sales people  
20 and brokers, and I can't tell you  
21 that those cases are in our office,  
22 because our office prosecutes action  
23 against Lindsey. They may not have  
24 the present coverage that Forsyth  
25 County does by ten thousand but they

1 go to the top of our list of cases  
2 that are prosecuted any time a  
3 licensee violates one of the laws,  
4 and particularly where issues of race  
5 or discrimination are at the heart of  
6 the charge we have been fairly  
7 successful as has the Real Estate  
8 Commission. That is an example.

9 The others, of course, that you  
10 are aware of is the wearing of gloves  
11 and masks, and there are some odd  
12 anti-discrimination statutes. Mainly  
13 they have added to the licensing  
14 provision that was added to the  
15 statute.

16 Interestingly, that was passed  
17 I believe in '83. No, it was later  
18 than that. No, '85 when the State  
19 decided to license or the General  
20 Assembly decided to license  
21 polygraphers and that was -- there  
22 had been some incident in South  
23 Georgia.

24 You are also aware of the Fair  
25 Employment PASS Act in Georgia which

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1 is extremely involved in this area  
2 which is the State mirror of Title  
3 VII.

4 I would say basically the  
5 message from our office is that Mike  
6 feels that we are doing our job, and  
7 that that is all that you can ask of  
8 us, and I think we are doing it  
9 fairly, strongly, firmly and  
10 certainly in cooperation with all  
11 other state law enforcement.

12 Mike has put together or did  
13 about three or four years ago a  
14 special task force of three attorneys  
15 who are free to go and with their --  
16 well, their primary role is to assist  
17 in the prosecution of state  
18 officials, but they also are free to  
19 give assistance at the trial level to  
20 local district attorneys, and I know  
21 that in many areas, particularly in  
22 cases where the community is watching  
23 and that it is a case that needs to  
24 be done and needs to be done quickly,  
25 our office can dispatch attorneys to

1 assist at the trial level when the  
2 district attorney wants it.

3 The other topic, of course, is  
4 the ability to have statewide grand  
5 juries, but I will leave that to  
6 another time since you are focused on  
7 the question of racial violence. I  
8 will be happy to answer any  
9 questions.

10 MS. ALEXANDER: Rather than  
11 taking questions.

12 MS. MANIS: All right.

13 MS. ALEXANDER: Now, I would  
14 like to hear Jackey Beavers, who is  
15 the Executive Assistant to Governor  
16 Harris.

17 MR. BEAVERS: My job is to be  
18 the go-between between the Governor's  
19 Office and this Crisis Intervention  
20 Task Force. That is one of my jobs,  
21 and I meet with this Crisis  
22 Intervention Task Team and keep the  
23 Governor informed on the meeting  
24 level where the GBI director would go  
25 directly to him, and I would get the

1 details of the meeting and give them  
2 to him, and I have been with him  
3 four-and-a-half years, and this was  
4 the first thing assigned to me to be  
5 a part of this task force, and  
6 anything that would happen in this  
7 state that would infringe on the  
8 rights of others will not be  
9 tolerated and be it Klan or any anti-  
10 group, and so this is the Governor's  
11 stand on this, and he said it  
12 wouldn't be tolerated and you can see  
13 in Forsyth County what happened with  
14 all of the security and all of the  
15 people that we had there, and to the  
16 tune of about six hundred thousand  
17 dollars, and if it had taken more to  
18 protect the rights of others of any  
19 group, this would be done.

20 But as a pastor and minister  
21 and advisor to the Governor my job is  
22 to keep him advised on just the  
23 rights of others, and to try to  
24 figure out why these things are.

25 They have been going on from

1 the beginning of time and if I were  
2 talking to a group of clergy I could  
3 explain to them spiritually why these  
4 things happen, but since we are just  
5 here dealing, we will deal on some  
6 actual facts, but we know that  
7 terrorism is not a new phenomenon.  
8 It has been going on since the  
9 beginning of time, but in a nation  
10 like ours where we have laws and it  
11 is governed by a democratic society,  
12 that it is harder to deal with than  
13 in a nation that if you did something  
14 wrong they took you out and shot you.

15 But over here you go through  
16 the process of law and law and law,  
17 and I think that is why, that we have  
18 a lot of people playing on the law  
19 doing these things up to the point of  
20 prosecution.

21 We know that terrorism, and it  
22 starts in the hearts and the minds of  
23 people, we know this. So we try to  
24 figure out what motivates this.  
25 Whether it be a march or anti-march

1 or some kind of demonstration or what  
2 have you, and we know that no  
3 government, be it Georgia or be it  
4 this national government, can afford  
5 to allow terrorism to go unheeded,  
6 nor can we at any time put any laws  
7 that are going to be so strict that  
8 it is going to put people under  
9 bondage, and we know that that has  
10 happened with the last Czar of  
11 Russia. We know this, that he  
12 ignored the little people and they  
13 turned and now we have strong  
14 Communism.

15 But the goals of terrorists, we  
16 know that his goal is to disrupt  
17 government. That is his goal. He is  
18 competing for the media's attention.

19 He will do anything criminal or  
20 what have you to get attention. Like  
21 his act of blowing up an airplane  
22 might not be looked upon as a  
23 criminal act, although he will do it  
24 just to get the attention. In other  
25 words, theatrics, and most times

1           these things are politically  
2           motivated, so in the State of Georgia  
3           knowing all of this we are able to  
4           put this task force together and  
5           monitor it and keep abreast of it,  
6           and every little thing that goes on  
7           here we know about it, and my job is  
8           to inform the Governor of what is  
9           going on.

10                   We know that in 1988 our National  
11           Democratic Convention will be here, and we  
12           have had some -- our fellows are already  
13           gone to Germany for their training. We had  
14           some fellows go to Washington already for  
15           this training, so we are trying to get  
16           ahead of things and giving you that, that  
17           is what I do. So I am open for questions.

18                   MS. ALEXANDER: Okay. Thank  
19           you. What I think I am going to do  
20           is for the past two panels to combine  
21           the remaining time so that -- well, I  
22           thought that Earl was to speak after  
23           this panel. You just added him to  
24           the panel? We are running late.

25                   MR. SHINHOLSTER: I am not

1 controlling anything, Madam Chair, so  
2 at whatever point you can tell me, if  
3 I can do it I will.

4 MS. ALEXANDER: I misunderstood  
5 my instructions. So Earl  
6 Shinholster, NAACP.

7 MR. BINKLEY: I am not sure you  
8 misunderstood your instructions at  
9 all. I just feel that if time does  
10 get short we want to hear from him,  
11 and we have a transcript and we could  
12 possibly call and ask them for  
13 questions or information from the  
14 other panelists, so I didn't want to  
15 get the original record -- that is  
16 all I had in mind, and we are happy  
17 to stay as long as anybody can stay.

18 MS. ALEXANDER: And I would  
19 like to take one more minute of your  
20 time to -- to publicly apologize to  
21 Earl for not contacting him sooner  
22 than we did of having his name  
23 formally appear on our agenda here  
24 today.

25 I am very pleased that he could

1           come and work with us as we get  
2           acquainted with the community here  
3           from Washington we will be doing a  
4           better job, I hope, of contacting all  
5           of the people in the community when  
6           we look at particular problems or  
7           issues, and we are very pleased that  
8           at the last minute or late  
9           arrangements Mr. Shinholster could  
10          join us.

11                       MR. SHINHOLSTER: Thank you  
12           very much, Madam Chair, Members of  
13           the Commission, the Georgia Advisory  
14           Committee. My remarks will be very  
15           very brief and I just appreciate this  
16           opportunity to state them before this  
17           particular body today.

18                       One, I have one central theme  
19           and one central issue that I think  
20           from our vantage point summarizes the  
21           crux of my remarks, and that is that  
22           with respect to state laws on racial  
23           and religious violence and bigotry,  
24           legislative and law-enforcement  
25           responses that leadership from the



1 top is sorely lacking, notwith-  
2 standing the love fest we have had so  
3 far today.

4 The public policy of this State  
5 of Georgia is quite frankly  
6 exemplified by the current official  
7 state flag which carries the  
8 confederate battle flag on its main  
9 portion. This flag was instituted in  
10 1956 and remains today as an  
11 expression of resistance and defiance  
12 to fundamental, social, racial,  
13 political and economic justice, and  
14 change.

15 The true picture of racial and  
16 religious bigotry really cannot be  
17 accurately quantified simply for the  
18 mere reason that incidents of such  
19 behavior off times goes unreported.  
20 It has been said that racial  
21 incidents and religious bigotry,  
22 perhaps racial incidents more than  
23 the others, are perhaps put in the  
24 same category as reporting sex  
25 crimes. They are perhaps the most

1 under-reported kind of conduct which  
2 is perpetuated against individuals  
3 which simply goes unreported.

4 We believe that elected  
5 leaders, elected officials at all  
6 levels, federal, state and local,  
7 having all too often too many are  
8 reluctant to speak out on matters of  
9 this nature.

10 Also, it would help this State  
11 and others if there were a state  
12 human affairs commission which was  
13 charged by law with enforcing the law  
14 and coordinating the diverse laws  
15 against discrimination and racial  
16 violence and bigotry, which are  
17 scattered among many many different  
18 agencies within state government.

19 Lastly, we do not believe that  
20 any new criminal laws are needed.  
21 What is needed is enforcement and  
22 strong leadership from the top. Even  
23 from the bottom because there are  
24 those on the bottom once they begin  
25 to make their voices heard, perhaps

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1 the top will take greater heed.

2 Thank you, Madam Chairman.

3 MS. ALEXANDER: Thank you. We  
4 -- we have ten minutes now and I --  
5 and I want to suggest that any  
6 questions that any of us might have  
7 might be directed to any of the six  
8 speakers who are still here. I am  
9 going to take the prerogative of the  
10 chair and ask Mr. Beavers if, since  
11 it seems to be a prevalent feeling on  
12 our state legislators, is a  
13 commission of human affairs, human  
14 relations committee, if the  
15 recommendation of this body is that  
16 such a committee be established by  
17 Governor Harris do you foresee any  
18 reluctance on his part to do so?

19 MR. BEAVERS: I don't, no.

20 MS. STRONG: Do you happen to  
21 know the reasons that nothing has  
22 been done so far or are you in the  
23 process or so things are in the --  
24 things are in the process?

25 MR. BEAVERS: Yes.

1                   MR. BINKLEY: We are talking  
2 about legislation, aren't we? Not  
3 just establishing committees by  
4 appointment. That is, there has been  
5 effort in the past, I recall, for  
6 legislation for a state human  
7 relations commission in Georgia.

8                   MS. STRONG: Could that be done  
9 by executive order?

10                   MS. ALEXANDER: I am talking  
11 historically because I don't  
12 remember.

13                   MR. BEAVERS: Historically in  
14 Georgia they have utilized executive  
15 order but the problem is that unless  
16 you have a statutory obligation the  
17 power of such commission by executive  
18 order would be strictly advisory and  
19 it would basically have no teeth.

20                   It could be done by  
21 proclamation and its value is really  
22 limited to that type of activity. To  
23 have any substance you would need an  
24 act of the General Assembly.

25                   MS. STRONG: However,

1 Mr. Beavers, is that on the  
2 legislative agenda?

3 MR. BEAVERS: I don't know  
4 about legislative.

5 MS. STRONG: So you were  
6 talking about executive order?

7 MR. BEAVERS: Right, because --  
8 you know -- when you are talking  
9 about legislative you have got to go  
10 to both houses. It has got to be  
11 worked out.

12 MR. DARDEN: On that point we,  
13 again, just to sort of follow that,  
14 we said earlier unfortunately we  
15 don't have the complete array of  
16 people to speak to the issue that we  
17 would like to. For instance, there  
18 is one legislator. I forget who, who  
19 is one of the authors of the Anti-  
20 Terrorism Act in conversation  
21 explained that in past sessions of  
22 the legislature attempts have been  
23 made to enact laws to create a human  
24 relations commission, but there have  
25 been few supporters to it to pass the

1 legislature -- excuse me -- and I  
2 wonder, just to follow up once again  
3 with the Governor and the Attorney  
4 General's Office, whether these past  
5 efforts have gone without notice or  
6 is it just the people who are here  
7 aren't aware of it?

8 You are unaware of the past  
9 legislative efforts?

10 MS. STRONG: Jan, I would like  
11 to ask Jan a question on financing.  
12 Nobody has been able to answer this  
13 on financing.

14 You know -- financing of these  
15 different Klan-like groups and Neo-  
16 Nazi groups, do you have any idea?  
17 Bobby is not here and Mr. -- what was  
18 his name, the first guy?

19 MS. DOUGLASS: Zeskind.

20 MS. STRONG: Yes, he has left.  
21 Do you have any idea on the  
22 financing? See, you have got to have  
23 money.

24 MS. DOUGLASS: Sure.

25 MS. STRONG: I agree. You are

1 not just using shotguns and rifles  
2 but you have got sophisticated kinds  
3 of weaponry and sophisticated kinds  
4 of paramilitary training, do you have  
5 any knowledge about whether the  
6 people in South Africa like -- you  
7 know -- some of them did contribute,  
8 I understand, to some of these  
9 senators losing elections in 1980,  
10 because they moved the --

11 MS. DOUGLASS: Lyndon Larushe  
12 Intelligence Agency was under  
13 contract to Botha which has counter-  
14 intelligence agencies. At one period  
15 of time he had one of the best  
16 intelligence agencies in the country,  
17 in the world, but basically and  
18 Mr. Zeskind can speak much more  
19 clearly to this, basically you have  
20 funding, everything from road blocks.

21 I don't know. Here in Georgia  
22 very often folks will have road  
23 blocks or events and -- you know --  
24 pick up money, pass out literature,  
25 that kind of thing. People make

1 contributions and there is lots of  
2 activity on private property that  
3 does not go reported.

4 MS. STRONG: Fund raisers?

5 MS. DOUGLASS: Yes. But on a  
6 larger scale, if you recall the  
7 arrest of the Order people you should  
8 know that they have been in Forsyth  
9 for a while breaking into banks,  
10 having bank robberies.

11 They have gotten huge caches of  
12 money. They have safe houses across  
13 the country, whether it be here in  
14 the South or Alabama or Georgia or in  
15 Aspen, Colorado, or up in Seattle,  
16 Washington, or in California. There  
17 is a lot of that money that has not  
18 been recovered.

19 Secondly, there is a major  
20 counterfeiting operation going on and  
21 that has not been broken yet, and you  
22 can see the monies being poured in  
23 and you can watch them move around  
24 the country as you see people get  
25 equipment and the kinds of operations



1 that they are beginning to deal with.

2 There was a recent arrest,  
3 major arrest where a lot of people  
4 were broke in just a few months ago,  
5 came down and we will see what, what  
6 breaks open.

7 But with this underground  
8 operation that is fairly well  
9 financed the money sources have not  
10 been totally broken down.

11 MR. LEWENGRUB: I just want to  
12 disagree with you on one thing and  
13 agree with you on something else. To  
14 think Lyndon Larushe, to say that he,  
15 he has what he proclaimed and his  
16 people proclaimed was one of the top  
17 flight intelligence operations in the  
18 country, but if you read Executive  
19 Intelligence Review, about ninety  
20 percent of it is pure fiction. About  
21 ten percent of it has to do with  
22 fact.

23 So his operation, Jan, I mean,  
24 it sounds great if you read New  
25 Solidarity or Executive Intelligence

1 Review, but if you ever try to verify  
2 that they claim in terms of their  
3 intelligence network, it is like most  
4 else of what Larushe says. It was  
5 pure fantasy.

6 I mean, part of that  
7 intelligence operation had B'nai  
8 B'rith and Henry E. Kissinger leading  
9 the international drug cartel. So  
10 that --

11 MS. DOUGLASS: That is not -- I  
12 am pointing to Begin on that.

13 MR. LEWENGRUB: Let me get back  
14 to the question that you asked about  
15 financing because the ABL has done  
16 substantial research, so to speak, on  
17 the financing. Number one, they are  
18 not well financed. The only group  
19 mentioned of all these that really is  
20 well financed was the order and they  
21 were well financed based on what Jan  
22 just said. They held up Brinks  
23 trucks and banks. They stole five-  
24 and-a-half million dollars. Of the  
25 five-and-a-half million dollars only

1           about a million and a half has been  
2           accounted for.

3                       Reportedly Glen Miller received  
4           three hundred thousand dollars to  
5           distribute to local Klan groups seven  
6           years ago. That money may or may not  
7           be running throughout. I think that  
8           the deceptive thing as far as  
9           financing is they don't need that  
10          much money.

11                      Lots of their people work.  
12          They don't live terribly high. The  
13          arms that they buy, they are not  
14          buying nuclear weapons. They are  
15          buying somewhat more sophisticated  
16          weapons than they used to have. Some  
17          of them, as we understand it, they  
18          steal.

19                      Some of the weapons they have  
20          had, they simply stolen. Gun  
21          shipments have disappeared. A lot of  
22          the weapons they have, a number of  
23          these people are Vietnam veterans.  
24          They stole the weapons that they had  
25          when they came back from the war, but

1 the financing of this, of all of the  
2 groups with the exception of the  
3 order, is very very limited and they  
4 do set up those road blocks and --  
5 you know -- they tell -- take in  
6 forty-five dollars here and fifty-six  
7 dollars there, but most of what they  
8 put out is very very unsophisticated  
9 and thankfully, and we say thankfully  
10 they are under-financed and hopefully  
11 that will remain so.

12 MS. ALEXANDER: I would like to  
13 ask what is, to me, a follow-up  
14 question to that. There is some  
15 conversation going on now on a  
16 federal level about creating a  
17 reporting system, a national  
18 reporting system of incidents of  
19 bigotry and violence, and I am sure  
20 that Jan and Stuart are probably the  
21 most familiar.

22 Of course, they are talking. I  
23 am --

24 MR. LEWENGRUB: I am sorry.

25 MS. ALEXANDER: They are

1           arguing now. An argument here? I am  
2           -- I wonder if you think that it is  
3           practical for the federal government,  
4           for the Civil Rights Commission to  
5           pursue the concept of a national  
6           reporting system of all incidents,  
7           and do you think it is -- it is a  
8           realistic goal, and this is -- this  
9           is also, I would certainly like input  
10          from all of you to -- to any one of  
11          you?

12                       MR. LEWENGRUB: You know, Earl  
13          raised a problem with that is to how --  
14          many incidents. Now, we track anti-  
15          semantic incidents and some racial  
16          incidents. Well, we do an audit each  
17          year, which compares one year to the  
18          next, but as much as we stand by the  
19          figures we also recognize full well  
20          that those figures are not  
21          necessarily -- they are accurate  
22          insofar as we get them, but we have  
23          no idea how many incidents go  
24          unreported, and I think Earl is  
25          correct in presuming that the

1 majority of racial and religious  
2 incidents do go unreported.

3 How can we encourage people?  
4 Maybe if there were a central  
5 reporting system, but the only thing  
6 is, and this I have got to tell you  
7 from our own experience, if that  
8 reporting system gets bogged down in  
9 bureaucracy people ain't going to use  
10 it. That is one of the biggest  
11 problems with reporting systems. You  
12 have got to fill things out. You  
13 have got to interview this.

14 One has got to interview that  
15 one and what we try to do is say just  
16 call us and tell us what happened,  
17 and we will do the rest.

18 MR. HAMRICK: One thing that  
19 you would have to maybe not guard  
20 against but one thing I think, one  
21 problem that I see with that, and  
22 this is -- this may be one of the  
23 reasons that, as Mr. Shinholster  
24 said, that they are under-reported,  
25 is establishing that a white-on-black

1 and black-on-white crime was actually  
2 racially motivated. You know that,  
3 that is a problem that law  
4 enforcement has when you are asked  
5 these questions about this.

6 Just because it is white-on-  
7 black or black-on-white does that  
8 make it a racially-motivated crime or  
9 was that just a crime that occurred  
10 between the two races, and I think  
11 that to have a national system which  
12 -- which would mandate that that be  
13 reported, you could very well wind up -  
14 exactly as Stu said. You could wind  
15 up with everybody trying to spend a  
16 lot more time trying to determine,  
17 well, should this be reported as a  
18 racially-motivated crime or should we  
19 go out and investigate the crime and  
20 try to find out who did it, and I --  
21 that immediately, that criminal-law  
22 enforcement standpoint, that  
23 immediately comes to my mind.

24 MS. DOUGLASS: Also, I am  
25 working with the Community Relations

1 Commission and the Police Department  
2 in Cleveland, Ohio, and they have the  
3 criteria problems that you are  
4 discussing but we are making headway.  
5 My organization will be releasing  
6 with the Congressional Black Caucus a  
7 major chronology of racially-  
8 motivated violence in the United  
9 States.

10 The cases we have investigated  
11 are so far beyond what is reported by  
12 the Justice Department. I mean, just  
13 absolute -- they are talking about a  
14 couple hundred. We are talking about  
15 over a thousand, and we are talking  
16 about just the tip of the iceberg.  
17 For our government to be unable to  
18 assess what is happening in this  
19 country, there is -- is just kind of  
20 a crying shame.

21 I think we need to struggle  
22 with these. Of course, there are  
23 things which fall into a gray area,  
24 black and white kids get into fights  
25 and racial anticipation at that time

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1           -- you know -- starts, but when you  
2           have somebody in Philadelphia who is  
3           walking the streets looking to shoot  
4           a black person -- you know -- and  
5           that kind of thing moves along and  
6           has ballooned as it has in this era  
7           and public officials, because they  
8           don't have an account, are not  
9           gearing agencies to deal with it,  
10          I think it is a very frightening kind  
11          of thing for the American people, so  
12          we are lobbying for that kind of  
13          statistic, not to be lodged in arson, =  
14          not to be lodged in murder or  
15          shooting, but to at least give us  
16          some indication of what is --what is  
17          happening in the country.

18                 MS. STRONG:    You know --

19                 MS. ALEXANDER:  Just go ahead.

20                 MR. DARDEN:    Okay.  I think  
21                 this follows on the line that you  
22                 were just drawing and I wanted to ask  
23                 the state people if they feel that  
24                 there is anything in the example of  
25                 other states, for instance, Maryland,

1           which might apply and carry forward  
2           the efforts that is going on here in  
3           Georgia, particularly with respect to  
4           a system for categorizing,  
5           identifying incidents, training  
6           officers in analyzing the data that  
7           develops?

8                     Are you familiar with the  
9           example that, I mean --

10                    MR. HAMRICK:  No, I am not.  I  
11           think that it -- you know -- we are  
12           always willing to learn and listen  
13           because that is how we better what we  
14           have.  I think that it is -- I don't  
15           mean to dodge your question here, but  
16           one thing that -- and I think that it  
17           is -- maybe it is or maybe it is not  
18           important to be said at this point,  
19           but Earl mentioned earlier about the  
20           leadership and so forth, and a lot of  
21           credit for situations in Forsyth  
22           County that went down has got to be  
23           given to Earl Shinholster for  
24           bringing the thing, a certain  
25           situation under control that could

1           have gotten into -- could have  
2           developed.

3                     I think that the fact that he  
4           |       came forward and the fact that he and  
5           I were able to say what we needed to  
6           be done and what should be done at  
7           that particular point shows that  
8           there is a line of communication and  
9           shows that it will work as long as  
10          you keep that line open.

11                    But he -- he was helpful.       /

12                    MR. SHINHOLSTER:   May I,  
13           please?  Thank you, Robbie.  This  
14           love feast, I love it to death, but I  
15           do think that on the point of the  
16           reporting, it is back to that one  
17           second.  I am very doubtful, while we  
18           support the legislation in Congress  
19           on reporting, I am very doubtful,  
20           quite frankly, that we will ever see  
21           that and if we do see it on a federal  
22           level I am doubtful on present  
23           circumstances on state level that it  
24           will ever be effective and operative,  
25           and mean much of anything.

1                   If you don't have the  
2                   intervening bureaucratic structure,  
3                   state legislation, local with respect  
4                   to this there is no state nor local  
5                   promotion or information on what  
6                   people can do and how to do it, then  
7                   I think we will still be pretty much  
8                   where we are now, but we do favor  
9                   that concept and we will work towards  
10                  it and, again, the leadership  
11                  questions and the communication  
12                  questions -- you know -- I spent a  
13                  number of years in state government  
14                  so I worked with Robbie Hamrick  
15                  before he became the director. I  
16                  worked with Mike Bowers before he  
17                  became General -- Attorney General,  
18                  so on a personal relationship I can  
19                  always make greater progress in terms  
20                  of interpersonal relations and human  
21                  relations, and as long as someone can  
22                  get in the door and say, ask the  
23                  right questions and engage in the  
24                  right kind of dialogue, then I can, I  
25                  think you can facilitate a great deal

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1 more.

2 The need for institutionaliza-  
3 tion, however, is great because that  
4 experience is very limited. Very  
5 limited in the general population.

6 It is even very limited among  
7 the ranks of professionals in this  
8 particular arena, so while that may  
9 be an exception, I hope it doesn't  
10 always be the rule, which is, again,  
11 the need for a specific concentration  
12 in this particular area if we are  
13 really going to address the problem.

14 MS. STRONG: Elaine, let me  
15 just say this, Ed, you and John, when  
16 y'all go back to Washington, and I am  
17 going to follow this up with some  
18 things that I said when I was in  
19 Washington last month, I certainly  
20 hope -- you know -- I said it before  
21 and I am an elected official and I am  
22 black and I am female, and I am a  
23 republican, I sure hope that y'all  
24 would go back --

25 MR. SCHWARTZ: That is four

1 different minorities.

2 MS. STRONG: I hope that y'all  
3 would go back to Washington -- you  
4 know -- because I think that the  
5 groups that have gathered -- you know  
6 -- you know -- we talked about this  
7 in Washington, making sure that  
8 groups that worked in this area were  
9 well listened to by the Commission  
10 itself, and I would certainly hope  
11 that you are going back and talking  
12 with Mr. Pendleton and hopefully  
13 eventually with the President and the  
14 people of the Justice Department,  
15 that y'all will convey the concerns  
16 that these people have, groups have  
17 concerning this problem in the State  
18 of Georgia and throughout the country  
19 itself, and I am speaking as an  
20 individual and a person that is a  
21 vindicator, okay, because I feel that  
22 there are probably a lot of substance  
23 to some things that the National  
24 Administration that I am sitting here  
25 being with -- you know -- a person of

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1 a member of the same party who shares  
2 those concerns that the people have  
3 voiced here today concerning the lack  
4 possibly of recognition of dealing  
5 with the problems that we have  
6 because, after all, they are not  
7 going to get any better. They will  
8 get worse, and I certainly hope that  
9 y'all would strongly convey to them  
10 those sentiments and especially my  
11 own.

12 MS. ALEXANDER: Well, Rose has  
13 articulated my sentiments and I have  
14 a feeling coming from an elected  
15 official, black woman and Republican,  
16 they will far, be heeded far greater,  
17 the same sentiments coming from me,  
18 so I thank you.

19 It is now almost twenty minutes  
20 of seven and I want to thank  
21 everybody who has participated and  
22 hopefully our time spent here today  
23 will make a difference. Thank you  
24 for coming.

25 (Hearing concluded.)

1                   C E R T I F I C A T E

2       G E O R G I A:

3       FULTON COUNTY:

4                   I hereby certify that the foregoing  
5       hearing was taken down, as stated in the  
6       caption, and the questions and the  
7       answers thereto were reduced to type-  
8       writing under my direction; that the  
9       foregoing pages 1 through 127 represent a  
10      true and correct transcript of the  
11      evidence given by said witness upon said  
12      hearing, and I further certify that I am  
13      not of kin or counsel to the parties in  
14      the case; am not in the regular employ of  
15      counsel for any of said parties; nor am I  
16      in anywise interested in the result of  
17      said case.

18                   This day of June 16, 1987.

19  
20                   Sandra D. Steele, Notary Public  
21                   Certified Shorthand Reporter  
22                   My Commission Expires: 4-12-90  
23                   #B-330

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