

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : M. C. Miscovsky

DATE: January 9, 1968

FROM : Harold Hair *SHH*

SUBJECT: Ku Klux Klan

Confidential FBI Reports on Robert Marvin Shelton, Imperial Wizard of the UKA, reflect a shift in emphasis in recent months -- perhaps inspired by the HCUA investigation of klan activities and Shelton's indictment in the U.S. District Court, Washington, D. C., in March 1966.

At any rate, informants of the FBI have reported on a number of speeches and meetings at which Shelton took a soft line toward Negroes and vented his spleen against the Jews, Communists, and selected officials of the Federal Government.

I think it is safe to assume that this shift in emphasis is for tactical purposes only, and that the true feelings of klansmen toward Negroes remain unchanged.



5010-108

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DRAFT - 1-8-68

MEMORANDUM

TO : Mr. Miskovsky

FROM: Harold Hair *HAA*

The following items are submitted to show the attitude of the Ku Klux Klan *toward* regarding Negroes.

House Report 648, submitted by the House Committee on un-American Activities on September 19, 1967, has the following statement: ". . . a major portion of their acts of intimidation and terror is undoubtedly racially motivated. . ."

The same committee issued a "committee print" report on the present day Ku Klux Klan movement. On page 138 the report states "The pre-occupation of present klans with racial issues has undoubtedly contributed to their remaining a regional movement, by and large."

The HCUA Committee Print (page 81) quotes from a speech made by Robert M. Shelton, at a United Klan rally in North Carolina on October 28, 1961 "We are one klan in our unchangeable determination that these United States will be saved from destruction under this foul combination of Negro-Jewish communism. Yes, our mortal enemy as of old is the jungle descendant of the Negro. . ." Shelton is the Imperial Wizard of the United Klans of America, the dominant klan organization.

The HCUA Committee print (page 87 and 88) also quotes from a speech made by Charles Conley (Connie) Lynch at a rally of the United Florida Ku Klux Klan on September 18, 1963

on the outskirts of St. Augustine, Florida. The Congressional Committee reports that Lynch's harangue lasted more than an hour and "was couched in almost incredibly bloodthirsty language." Following his speech the audience administered a physical beating to a Negro dentist and three companions. Excerpts from Lynch's speech are: "We need a good strong group in St. Augustine. You come and sign up. But don't come if you are weak or a coward. This ain't no peaceful organization. We aim to do whatever is necessary to put the Nigger back in his place, preferably in his grave."

"I believe in violence, all the violence it takes whether to scare the Niggers out of the country or to have 'em all six feet under. In spite of what those numb-skull idiots on the Supreme Court say, they ain't got no right to mix with you and don't you let 'em. If you have to fight and shed blood, theirs or yours, do it! The Niggers started the war, and when you start a war, you expect some to die. More will die, and you'd better be ready to see to it that they do. I'm speaking for God, and you'd better listen."

HH:aye 1-8-68

KU KLUX KLAN ORGANIZATIONS

Although Ku Klux Klan organizations have not been directly cited as causing or participating in any of the 1967 riots, Klan-connected racial violence continues and could be considered a factor in keeping racial unrest at a high pitch.

At Bridgeton, New Jersey, for example, a cross was burned approximately two hours before the riot took place. Responsibility for the cross burning has not been established. The Mayor said it was blamed on the Klan although he thought kids--not Klan members--may be responsible. The head of an Office of Economic Opportunity program in Bridgeton made the statement that there had been 18 cross burnings in the area in the winter of 1966-67.

There are an estimated 17 Ku Klux Klan organizations with approximately 15,000 members and thousands of additional sympathizers. Klan groups are located in 18 states, as follows:

<u>State</u>	<u>Estimated active membership as of January 1967</u>
Alabama.....	40
Georgia.....	57
North Carolina.....	192
South Carolina.....	50
Florida.....	27
Virginia.....	32
Mississippi.....	76
Louisiana.....	30
Texas.....	14
Arkansas.....	10
Tennessee.....	10
Ohio.....	100
Pennsylvania.....	50
Delaware.....	100
Maryland.....	25
New York.....	25
New Jersey.....	negligible
Michigan.....	<u>200</u>
Total active members, 17 states.....	15,075

The secret manner in which most Klan organizations operate enables them to exert their influence, power, and terror without swift detection. Secrecy also permits small hard-core groups to act without their identities becoming known to the general membership or to the public.

Newspaper accounts of a series of five racial bombings in Mississippi since September 1967, attribute them to unidentified Klan members.

Another example of the Klan penchant for violence against Negroes was disclosed last December in Maryland in the trial of Klan members found guilty of setting fire to the home of a Laurel, Maryland, Negro. One of the men testified that shortly after getting KKK membership cards they decided the house-burning was "a sure way to get accepted by the Klan."

The report on the present-day Ku Klux Klan movement released by the House Committee on Un-American Activities on December 11, 1967 contains the following comments:

"Committee investigations and hearings into the activities of the major klans demonstrated nevertheless that ~~klans operate--today as in the past--as conspiracies to deprive certain citizens of rights guaranteed by the Constitution.~~

"Klans moreover have continued to rely on terrorism as an instrument for achieving so-called "white supremacy" and other objectives. This terrorism runs the gamut from telephoned threats or intimidatory cross-burning to various forms of physical violence. ~~Klans involvement in kidnappings and beatings, arson, bombings, and outright murder in recent years, compels the committee to view a klan as a vehicle for death, destruction, and fear.~~ *continue*

all

"Arrests of klan officers and members frequently have led to the uncovering of caches of arms. X
In addition to rifles, shotguns, and handguns in quantity, klansmen maintained stocks of explosive devices. Klan units have sponsored courses of instruction for their members in the use of fire-arms and the art of demolition. Robert M. Shelton, the imperial wizard of the United Klans of America, has himself attended such a course.

"Public disavowal of violent intent by klan officials are unworthy of credence in light of other statements by the same leaders and the actions of klansmen on both officer and rank-and-file levels.
X A study of the evidence amassed during the committee's investigation leads to the conclusion that klans and their leaders actually incite disrespect for the law and encourage acts of violence."

The HCUA is concluded that klans

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1 - Organization

KU KLUX KLAN

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There are an estimated 17 Ku Klux Klan organizations with approximately 15,000 members and thousands of additional sympathizers. Klan groups are located in 18 states, mostly in the South.

The secret manner in which most Klan organizations operate enables them to exert their influence, power, and terror without swift detection. Secrecy also permits small hard-core groups to act without their identities becoming known to the general membership or to the public.

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Harold H. Hair
Investigator

HHH/RAF
12/13/67

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1 - Organizations

KU KLUX KLAN

References, 1962-1965.

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- Gillette, Paul J. and Eugene Tillinger. Inside Ku Klux Klan. New York, Pyramid Books [1965] 180 p.
- Randel, William Peirce. The Ku Klux Klan; a century of infamy. Philadelphia, Chilton Books [c1965] 300 p. E668.R18
- Haas, Ben. KKK. Evanston [Ill.] Regency Books [1963] 158 p.
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- Mecklin, John Moffatt. The Ku Klux Klan: a study of the American mind. New York, Russell and Russell, 1963. 244 p. HS2330.K53M4 1963
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II. Periodical articles

- Extremism in American politics, by Arthur M. Schlesinger. Saturday Review, 11/27/65, p. 21-25. Historical survey of extremist movements, from the Anti-Masonic hysteria beginning in 1826 to the Goldwater campaign of 1964. Includes account of the first Ku Klux Klan, 1865-1872, and the second, 1915-1928.
- Jewish-born Klansman apparent suicide, by Homer Bigart. New York Times, 11/1/65, p. 1, 52. Background story on suicide of Daniel Burros, King Kleagle of the United Klans of America in New York.

Little Klan influence seen here and no early inquiry expected, by Emanuel Perlmutter. New York Times, 11/1/65, p. 52. Story of current efforts of the Ku Klux Klan to penetrate the Northern States, and speculation about the HUAC investigation. Some comment on Klan membership and activities in the nineteen-twenties, in the Northern States and particularly in the New York and New Jersey area.

The terror of Bogalusa: a case in point. Speech on Hon. Charles L. Weltner. Congressional Record, 10/27/65, p. A6181-A6182.

'Wizardry' on trial. Extension of remarks of Hon. William F. Ryan. Congressional Record, 10/22/65, p. A5997. Reprint of Murray Kempton article on Ku Klux Klan hearings of HUAC, from New York World Telegram and Sun, October 20, 1965.

The Klan mask is off. Congressional Record, 10/19/65, p. 26521-26526. Address by Hon. John M. Ashbrook, including text of opening statement by HUAC Chairman Edwin E. Willis, and text of Miami Grand Jury report to U. S. District Court, in the matter of violent acts in the Miami region attributed to the Klans.

The "unlisted" Klans are listed. Drew Pearson. Washington Post, 10/19/65, p. B31. Identifies, and connects with recent news stories, the following Klans:

- United Klans of America, Inc.
- White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Mississippi.
- The Original Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.
- The Association of South Carolina Klans.
- The Improved Order of the U. S. Klans.

Probing the Klan. Extension of remarks of Hon. Peter W. Rodino, Jr. Congressional Record, 10/18/65, p. A5849-A5850.

Keep Klan out of Illinois. Extension of remarks of Hon. Donald Rumsfeld. Congressional Record, 10/18/65, p. A5856-A5857. Reprint of editorial from Chicago Daily News, October 18, 1965.

Klan modernizes its terrorism. Drew Pearson. Washington Post, 10/18/65, p. B11. Story of Klan use of citizens band radio, infiltration of police forces, money-making enterprises, and instruction in guerrilla-type activities.

Anatomy of the Klan. Seymour Martin Lipset. Commentary, October, 1965, p. 74-83. Background report, concerned chiefly with the first Klan, founded in 1856, and with the second Klan, active in the 1920's.

Klan hits whites and Negroes. Christian Science Monitor, 9/30/65, p. 9. Resume of history of Ku Klux Klan, with brief discussion of today's Klans, and of the planned investigation. Includes listing of "Ku Klux Klan vocabulary."

U. S. puts spotlight on Klan, by Richard L. Strout. Christian Science Monitor, 9/30/65, p. 1. Background story occasioned by prospective investigation of Klan by HUAC.

The Ku Klux Klan, the Invisible Empire. Congressional Record, 9/23/65, p. 24070. Address by the Hon. Charles Weltner, commending CBS Reports upon the documentary of this name, presented Sept. 21, 1965.

Virginia's Grand Dragon puts politicians on list, by Helen Dewar. Washington Post, 9/20/65, p. A3. Account of address given by Marshall Kornegay, Grand Dragon of the Ku Klux Klan of Virginia, attacking both Democratic and Republican gubernatorial candidates.

The Klan comes north. Extension of remarks of Hon. Clarence D. Long. Congressional Record, 8/13/65, p. A4531. Editorial from Bel Air Aegis, on subject of Ku Klux Klan rally at Glasgow, Delaware, and the danger of the spread of Klan influence to the neighboring Harford County, Maryland.

The Ku Klux Klan is not wanted here. Extension of remarks of Hon. John A. Race. Congressional Record, 7/15/65, p. A3793. Editorial by Carl Zimmerman, broadcast on WITI-TV, urging the Klan to stay out of Wisconsin.

What's behind the Klan's resurgence, by T. Earl Heffner, Jr. National Catholic Reporter, 7/7/65, p. 1, 7. Dispatch from Charlotte, N. C., recounting virtual disappearance of Carolina Klan in 1957, following the Lumbee Indian incident at Maxton, and phenomenal increase in Klan membership in North Carolina since 1963.

Ku Kluxers. Congressional Record, 6/29/65, p. 14514. Address by Hon. Stephen M. Young, on Ku Klux Klan rally and cross-burning near Lebanon, Ohio, attended by 300 instead of the 50,000 that had been claimed in advance.

"War" declared on Klan in Ala. Washington Daily News, 6/23/65, p. 2. Story of denunciation of Ku Klux Klan by Richmond Flowers, Attorney General of Alabama, and his declaration of intention to press murder charges against the three Klansmen indicted for the murder of Mrs. Viola Gregg Liuzzo.

The Ku Klux Klan; a century of infamy, by William Peirce Randel. Review by W. F. Minor. America, 6/19/65, p. 884.

Gathering of the Klan. Commonweal, 6/11/65, p. 373-374. Account of Klan march and spectator reactions in Durham, N. C., in April, 1965.

Klan investigation. Extension of remarks of Hon. Thomas L. Ashley. Congressional Record, 6/9/65, p. A2993. Reprinting, with commendation and support, editorial from Toledo Blade, April 17, 1965, urging that the HUAC, in investigating the Klan, "polish up its tarnished image."

Kluxers march in Georgia. Northern Virginia Sun, 6/7/65, p. 5. Account of march by more than 300 Klansmen in Atlanta, Georgia.

Kluxers in Alabama say they've lost good name. National Catholic Reporter, 6/2/65, p. 7. Account of suit by United Klans of America against National Council of Christians and Jews and other defendants, based upon protests against Alabama State Fair exhibit sponsored by the Klan.

3rd time up for "hooded bigots," by Robert E. Baker. Washington Post, 5/16/65, p. E1, E3. Analysis of Ku Klux Klans, 1865-9, 1915-44, and 1946--. Gives headquarters, area, name of head, and membership of 13 present-day Klans.

Klan rally celebrates bus fire. Northern Virginia Sun, 5/10/65, p. 5. Story of Klan rally, Anniston, Alabama, marking the fourth anniversary of the "freedom rider" bus burning.

Investigating the Ku Klux Klan. Congressional Record, 5/6/65, p. A2208-A2209. Extension of remarks of Hon. Morris K. Udall. Reprint, inserted at the request of constituents, of article, "Gambling on the House Un-American Activities Committee," Commonweal, April 16, 1965.

Ku Klux Klan disloyalty. Extension of remarks of Hon. Charles S. Joelson. Congressional Record, 4/27/65, p. A1967-A1968. Reprint of article, "Former Klansman a good prophet," by Ralph McGill, from Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, April 15, 1965.

Unmasking the Ku Klux Klan - II. Extension of remarks of Hon. George W. Grider. Congressional Record, 5/4/65, p. A2145.

Unmasking the Ku Klux Klan. Extension of remarks of Hon. George W. Grider. Congressional Record, 5/3/65, p. A2096-7. Includes reprints of articles on FBI investigation of Klan, and on related topics, from Memphis (Tenn.) Commercial Appeal, April 25 and 26, 1965.

Against House Un-American Activities Committee appropriation. Congressional Record, 4/26/65, p. 8107. Statement by Hon. Richard L. Ottinger, criticising record of HUAC, and disputing propriety of non-legislative investigations by congressional committees.

Additional expenses of the Committee on Un-American Activities. Speech of Hon. Carlton R. Sickles. Congressional Record, 4/21/65, p. A1917. Opposing Bill, on the grounds that the investigation should be carried out by the House Judiciary Committee.

The Klan: its growing influence, by John Herbers. New York Times, 4/20/65, p. 1, 24. Survey of the four major Klan groups, with comments on the Klan mentality, and a glossary of Klan terminology.

Additional expenses of the Committee on Un-American Activities. Congressional Record, 4/14/65, p. 7740-7751. Discussion, by various Members, of Bill to authorize the expenditure of a sum not to exceed \$50,000 by HUAC in the investigation of the Ku Klux Klan.

[Additional expenses of the Committee on Un-American Activities] Congressional Record, 4/14/65, p. 7779. Statement by Hon. Henry Helstoski, in opposition to proposed Bill, on the grounds that the investigation of the Ku Klux Klan should be conducted not by HUAC but by the House Judiciary Committee.

Wipe out the Klan. Extension of remarks of Hon. James A. Mackay. Congressional Record, 4/14/65, p. A1852. Inserting reprint of editorial from De Kalb New Era, April 1, 1965, commending President Johnson's statement on the Ku Klux Klan.

The last stand of the Ku Klux Klan, by Haynes Johnson. Washington Star, 4/12/65, p. A1, A4. (Special report--part two.)

The Klan's last stand: South's moderates are the target of hooded racial fanatics by Haynes Johnson. Washington Star, 4/11/65, p. A1, A14. (Special report--part one.)

The various shady lives of the Ku Klux Klan. Time, 4/9/65, p. 24-25. Brief account, concentrating on the second Klan, 1915-1930.

House Committee on Un-American Activities to investigate the Ku Klux Klan. Congressional Record, 4/8/65, p. 7188-7189. Address by Hon. J. Arthur Younger, with text of ADA statement on HUAC investigation of Klan.

Iowa newspaper points out effective method of fighting the Ku Klux Klan and other forms of extremism. Extension of remarks of Hon. Bert Bandstra. Congressional Record, 4/7/65, p. A1705. Editorial from Centerville Iowegian, March 30, 1965, recommending elimination of Klan by local opposition and rejection.

- House Un-American Activities Committee should investigate the Ku Klux Klan. Extension of remarks of Hon. Jonathan B. Bingham. Congressional Record, 4/6/65, p. A1679-A1680. Inserting editorial broadcast March 31 and April 1, 1965, over WTOP radio and television.
- A fiery cross burns in Detroit. Congressional Record, 4/5/65, p. 6673. Remarks by Hon. Paul J. Krebs, about the burning of a cross in the yard of the Liuzzo home in Detroit.
- House Un-American Activities Committee and the Klan. Extension of remarks of Hon. William F. Ryan. Congressional Record, 4/5/65, p. A1649-A1650. Reprinting editorial from New York Post, March 31, 1965, opposing Klan investigation by HUAC, on the grounds: "There are far more responsible congressional bodies to which the mission can be entrusted."
- To make murder committed to deprive another of any federal right an offense against the United States. Congressional Record, 4/1/65, p. 6275-6277. Address by Hon. Ancher Nelsen, proposing a Bill occasioned by the Viola Liuzzo murder and other killings attributed to the Ku Klux Klan.
- Birmingham, Ala. Congressional Record, 4/1/65, p. 6488-6489. Address by Hon. John Buchanan, condemning Birmingham bombings, and supporting HUAC investigation of Klan violence and of other organizations disturbing the peace.
- Investigation of the Ku Klux Klan. Congressional Record, 3/30/65, p. 6106. Remarks by Hon. Charles S. Joelson, recalling that on March 1, 1961, he had made the recommendation that HUAC investigate the American Nazi Party, the White Citizens Council, and the Ku Klux Klan.
- Let's investigate all un-American groups. Congressional Record, 3/30/65, p. 6108. Recommendation by Hon. James D. Martin that HUAC investigate, in addition to the Ku Klux Klan, such organizations as CORE, SNCC, SCLC, NAACP, and the Southern Conference Education Fund.
- Ku Klux Klan. Congressional Record, 3/30/65, p. 6115. Address by Hon. Silvio O. Conte supporting administration efforts to "eliminate the evil influence of the Ku Klux Klan."
- Assassination of Mrs. Viola Liuzzo, Michigan housewife and mother. Congressional Record, 3/29/65, p. 5983. Address by Hon. Pat McNamara.
- Support on the President's statement concerning the Ku Klux Klan. Congressional Record, 3/29/65, p. 6011-6012. Address by Hon. Thomas J. Dodd, including text of statement on Ku Klux Klan by President Lyndon B. Johnson.

[Ku Klux Klan] Congressional Record, 3/29/65, p. 6037. Address by Hon. William M. Colmer, proposing that investigation of the Ku Klux Klan be broadened to include Black Muslims, SNCC, and other organizations.

The Ku Klux Klan of Alabama. Congressional Record, 3/29/65, p. 6053-6054. Address by Hon. Sidney R. Yates, recommending that the Klan be investigated by the House Judiciary Committee.

Idaho's Ku Klux Klan headed by a Negro. Washington Post, 2/25/65, p. A4.

A Negro in the Klan. Washington Daily News, 2/25/65, p. 4.

The Klan's man in Idaho a card-carrying Negro. New York Times, 2/25/65, p. 18. Story of Paul L. Bellesen's application for Ku Klux Klan membership, acceptance, and appointment to the post of Great Titan, to organize a klavern in Idaho.

Probe of Klan is endorsed by Humphrey. Washington Post, 2/14/65, p. A2.

2 'Hill' Southerners urge Klan probe. Washington Post, 2/2/65, p. A2.

The 100th anniversary of the Ku Klux Klan. Congressional Record, 2/1/65, p. 1592. Speech by the Honorable Charles L. Weltner, proposing investigation of the Klan by the House Un-American Activities Committee, with endorsement of the Honorable George W. Grider.

Klantown, USA. Paul Good. The Nation, 2/1/65, p. 110-113. Story of Ku Klux Klan activity in and around Bogalusa, Louisiana.

'We got nothing to hide.' The Ku Klux Klan is moving boldly into the open in a last-ditch fight against integration. By Harold H. Martin and Kenneth Fairly. Saturday Evening Post, 1/30/65, p. 27-33.

Anarchy in St. Augustine. Larry Goodwyn. Harper's, Jan., 1965, p. 74-81.

Ku Klux Klan's White Knights: they practice a Mississippi brand of Klansmanship. Newsweek 12/21/64, p. 22-24. Account of the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, "the newest and meanest of a bewildering assortment of pretenders to the century-old Invisible Empire."

Mississippi: 'Jesus, no!' Newsweek, 12/21/64, p.21-22. Story of dismissal of charges against Meridian, Miss., defendants, with emphasis on alleged Ku Klux Klan assassination plot, and on anti-Klan speeches.

Strange, tight little town, loath to admit complicity. David Nevin. Life, 12/18/64, p. 38-39. Story of the domination of the town of Philadelphia, Mississippi, by the Ku Klux Klan.

Civil rights worker tells of Klan's work in South. By William L. Pierce. National Catholic Reporter, 12/16/64, p. 3. Chiefly concerned with segregationist activities of Ku Klux Klan in North Carolina.

Neshoba Klan sprouted last spring after 50 years dormancy. By Dick Schaap. Washington Post, 12/11/64, p. A16. Story of the recent rise of the Ku Klux Klan in Neshoba County, Mississippi, and in Philadelphia, the county seat.

The Ku Klux Klan on the way back. U. S. News and World Report, 10/19/64, p. 51-52.

Most Southerners regard reborn Klan with contempt. Its estimated 75,000 members stir trouble in rural areas. By Paul Good. Washington Post, 10/8/64, p. A29. Dispatch from Atlanta, dealing with Klan manifestations chiefly in Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi.

Big gains scored by Carolina Klan. Resurgence most vigorous since the early 1920s. New York Times, 9/6/64, p. 34. Story of Ku Klux Klan growth and activities in North Carolina.

Portrait of an extremist. By Trevor Armbrister. Saturday Evening Post, 8/22-29/64, p. 80-83. Account of segregationist activities of Rev. Charles Conley (Connie) Lynch and the Ku Klux Klan in northern Florida.

The four Klansmen. Newsweek, 8/17/64, p. 29-30. Story of arrest of men accused of the murder of Lemuel A. Penn near Colbert, Georgia, on July 11.

Revived KKK isn't funny any more. Fragmented Klans getting together under leaders bent to violence. By Robert E. Baker. Washington Post, 7/5/64, p. E1. Survey of Ku Klux Klan growth and activities over recent years, and in many States.

The Imperial Wizard explains the Klan. By Margaret Long. New York Times Magazine, 7/5/64, p. 8, 25-26.

Klan to organize its own towns as havens from desegregation. By John Herbers. New York Times, 3/23/64, p. 1, 16, Atlanta dispatch based upon statements by Robert M. Shelton, Imperial Wizard of the United Klans of America.

The KKK rides again. Washington Star, 7/15/63, p. A6. Editorial on the theme, "KKK revivals are old hat--or hood."

Klan furnishes Kremlin propaganda. By Ralph McGill. Washington Star, 7/16/63, p. A10. Column, "People and problems," concerned with Klan's relationship to Negro effort to obtain vote and the right to education, equal opportunity, and the use of public facilities.

Klan rally a dud. Only cross is fiery. Washington Star, 6/10/63, p. 1.
Story of rally at Tuscaloosa, Alabama.

Ku Klux Klan: button-down bed sheets. Newsweek, 8/26/63, p. 32-33.
Discussion of Ku Klux Klan rallies held in the summer of 1963 at
Athens, Augusta, and Savannah, Georgia.

Once more--the K. K. K. New York Times Magazine, 8/11/63, p. 8. Brief
sketch of Klan strength and objectives in the South.

A new Klan reported planned. Washington Post, 2/21/63, p. A3. Story of a
proposed revival of the Ku Klux Klan in South Carolina under the
name of Majority Citizens League.

Integration: then school bells rang. Newsweek, 9/17/62, p. 31-34. Spot
check of race relations and school integration in the South, with a
comment on school boycott in Englewood, N. J. Emphasis on Ku Klux
Klan rally in Albany, Georgia.

Ku Klux Klan threatens Arlington librarian. Library Journal, 5/15/62,
p. 1866.

Kenton Kilmer
Government and General Research Division
December 8, 1965

KICK - JVS

COMMITTEE ON
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

ANNUAL REPORT
FOR THE YEAR 1965
(89th Congress, 1st Session)



AUGUST 31, 1966.—Committed to the Committee of the Whole House
on the State of the Union and ordered to be printed

Prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities
U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1966

65-006 O

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
(89th Congress, 1st Session, 1965)

EDWIN E. WILLIS, Louisiana, *Chairman*

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ALFRED M. NITTLE, *Counsel*

LETTER OF SUBMITTAL

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, August 31, 1966.

Hon. JOHN W. McCORMACK,
The Speaker,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: Pursuant to House Resolution 8, 89th Congress, 1st session, and by direction of the committee, I herewith transmit the Annual Report of the Committee on Un-American Activities for the year 1965 (89th Cong., 1st sess.).

Sincerely yours,

EDWIN E. WILLIS, *Chairman.*

Union Calendar No. 884

89TH CONGRESS } HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES { REPORT
1st Session } No. 1928

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES ANNUAL REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1965

AUGUST 31, 1966.—Committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the
State of the Union and ordered to be printed

Mr. WILLIS, from the Committee on Un-American Activities,
submitted the following

R E P O R T

[Pursuant to H. Res. 8, 89th Cong., 1st sess.]

CONTENTS

	Page
Foreword.....	1
Chapter I. Hearings Conducted for Legislative Purposes:	
Hearings relating to proposed legislation for creation of a Freedom Commission and Freedom Academy.....	5
Communist Activities in the Chicago, Ill., Area.....	28
Testimony of Juanita Castro Ruz (continuation of pro-Castro propa- ganda activities in the United States and illegal travel connected with these activities).....	49
Activities of the Ku Klux Klan Organizations in the United States....	55
Chapter II. Reports Compiled To Assist the Congress in its Legislative Deliberations:	
World Communist Movement: Selective Chronology 1818-1957, Volume IV, 1954-1955.....	58
Chapter III. Reference Service for Members of Congress.....	61
Chapter IV. Bibliography of Committee Publications for the Year 1965..	62
Chapter V. Contempt Proceedings.....	63
Chapter VI. Legislative Recommendations.....	65
Index.....	i

PUBLIC LAW 601, 79TH CONGRESS

The legislation under which the House Committee on Un-American Activities operates is Public Law 601, 79th Congress [1946]; 60 Stat. 812, which provides:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, * * **

PART 2—RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

RULE X

SEC. 121. STANDING COMMITTEES

* * * * *
17. Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * *
(q)(1) Committee on Un-American Activities.
(A) Un-American activities.
(2) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (i) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

* * * * *
RULE XII

LEGISLATIVE OVERSIGHT BY STANDING COMMITTEES

SEC. 136. To assist the Congress in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the Senate and the House of Representatives shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the Congress by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

RULES ADOPTED BY THE 89TH CONGRESS

House Resolution 8, January 4, 1965

* * * * *

RULE X

STANDING COMMITTEES

1. There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress,

* * * * *

(r) Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

* * * * *

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * *

18. Committee on Un-American Activities.

(a) Un-American activities.

(b) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (1) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (2) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (3) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

* * * * *

27. To assist the House in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the House shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the House by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

FOREWORD

The committee's hearings on Ku Klux Klan organizations have raised the question of whether the committee looks at the Klans in the same light as it does the Communist Party, the organization to which it has devoted most of its attention during recent years.

The committee does not regard the two movements in the same light. It sees essential, major differences between them.

First and foremost, the Communist Party is the agent of a foreign power, owned lock, stock, and barrel by Moscow. There is no evidence that the Klans fall into this category or that they have foreign ties of any kind.

Second, the Communist Party, as our courts have found, seeks at the first opportunity the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence. The Klans operate on a warped and perverted interpretation of the Constitution, but they do not desire to destroy our Government and replace it with a totalitarian form that is completely alien to American traditions and principles.

These fundamental differences between the Klan and Communist movements cannot, and should not, be overlooked because they govern, in the legislative and other areas, the methods which should be used to combat the dangers and evils of the two movements.

Despite these important differences, it must be stated that in the area of tactics and methods of operation, the committee's investigation and hearings have revealed certain similarities between Klan and Communist groups.

First, there is the matter of secrecy. Deliberate, carefully planned steps are taken by both groups to keep from public knowledge the identity of the bulk of their membership. Membership lists are not maintained by either organization. Both groups try to conceal their meeting places. A relative handful of top-ranking Communists will admit their party affiliation. The same is true of high-ranking Klan officials but, as far as rank-and-file members are concerned, a calculated effort is made by both them and officials of the organization to keep their identity secret.

Both organizations use cover names to conceal their operations. The Communist Party sets up fronts with noble-sounding names to promote, and at the same time conceal, its activities in certain areas. The Klans use cover or front names in an effort to disguise the identity of their local operating units—calling their local Klaverns improvement associations, hunting and fishing clubs, and so on.

Both appeal to potential members and sympathizers through distortion and deceit and by not fully revealing what they stand for. The Communists talk about peace, rights, security, and equality for all. They profess dedication to "democracy" and to our Constitution and laws. They do not reveal—and deny when challenged—that they are stooges of the Kremlin and are prepared to use any means, including violent revolution, to impose on the American people a totalitarian government that would render our Constitution and laws meaningless

and destroy individual rights and security, as well as equality before the law.

The Klans talk about promoting patriotism, opposing communism, and defending the Constitution of the United States. They say nothing about the fact—or deny—that they are prepared to use, and have used, illegal means to achieve their primary objectives of maintaining white supremacy and segregation.

Both use this same device to milk the gullible of money to promote their activities.

Both groups, in attempting to sell their program or “line,” appeal to emotion rather than to reason.

In both organizations, full knowledge of their basic nature and intent and all the means and devices used to achieve them are known only to a relatively small hard core of officials and agents.

Because both groups operate outside the law, both have devised elaborate security measures to prevent penetration by law enforcement agencies.

Because both organizations operate outside the law, they fear the defection of members or officials who have inside knowledge of their operations. For this reason, both use intimidation and threats in their efforts to prevent former members from revealing what they know about the organizations’ activities.

Both use the device of making harassing and threatening anonymous phone calls in an effort to intimidate their enemies.

Both organizations are characterized by a self-perpetuating leadership and largely cut-and-dried elections.

Both organizations are characterized by a military-type organizational structure and chain of command.

Both try to undermine the principles, traditions, and institutions of this country which run contrary to, or in any way impede the implementation of, their policies, programs, and objectives.

The rank-and-file membership in both organizations has little or no say in policy decisions. All members are expected to give blind obedience to all orders and directives coming from the leadership.

In the areas of propaganda, agitation, and appeals for support, each group feeds on the other. The Communist Party rants and raves about the evils of klanism, grossly overrates its strength and influence, and tries to create the impression that it is rife throughout the country. The Klans, on the other hand, declaim about the horrors of communism, exaggerate its strength within the U.S., and try to create the impression that it is about to take over the country and that they are the only ones doing anything to prevent such a development.

By talking much about the evils of communism, the need to combat it, and grossly exaggerating their role in doing so, the Klans attract some well-meaning persons of conservative bent who, if they knew the full truth about the Klans, would never have anything to do with them.

The Communists, by talking about peace, constitutional rights, equality, economic security, etc., win the support of some well-intentioned persons of liberal persuasion who, if they fully comprehended the nature and purposes of the Communist movement, would never have anything to do with the party or its fronts.

Finally, it is my view that if the Klans and the Communist Party were trying to sell merchandise instead of an ideology, they could peddle it under a common sign, “Hate for sale.”

Both groups preach hatred of all individuals, organizations, or Government officials who oppose and fight them.

Hate is cheap. Communists and Klanners peddle it at no great cost to themselves, measured in dollars and cents. But the country pays a high price for their hate-peddling. The price is national discord and friction, destruction of accepted principles of constitutional government, disrespect for law and order, and violations of the rights of others.

Klanism and communism are far apart in some respects. Communism is much the greater danger. It is certainly a very real and immediate threat to our security and to our very existence as a free nation. The Klans are not. At the same time, however, our country cannot afford the damage done to our national unity and the indirect long-range threat to democratic principles of government posed by terroristic Klan operations. In both the legislative and educational fields, steps should, and must, be taken to eradicate the evils of klanism, just as we must take additional measures to put an end to the evils of communism.

It is my hope—and my trust—that all Americans of good will, regardless of race, color, or creed, will unite in both these endeavors.

EDWIN E. WILLIS, *Chairman.*

JULY 15, 1966

**HEARINGS ON THE ACTIVITIES OF THE KU KLUX KLAN
ORGANIZATIONS**

A subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities held 12 days of hearings in Washington, D.C., between October 19 and November 4, 1965, on the activities of Ku Klux Klan organizations. The subcommittee members were: Representatives Edwin E. Willis (D-La.), chairman; Joe R. Pool (D-Tex.); Charles L. Weltner (D-Ga.); John M. Ashbrook (R-Ohio); and John H. Buchanan, Jr. (R-Ala.).

Early in January 1965, the chairman had directed the staff to make a preliminary inquiry into Klan organizations. At a meeting held on February 2, the committee unanimously adopted a resolution directing the chairman to continue the preliminary inquiry. On March 30, 1965, the chairman made a report to the committee outlining the results of that inquiry. Thereupon the committee unanimously adopted a resolution approving a full-scale investigation and public hearings for the purpose of aiding Congress in passing remedial legislation. On April 14, the House, by a vote of 312 to 43, approved H.R. 310, authorizing a supplemental appropriation of \$50,000 for the committee to conduct the Klan investigation.

On October 19, the opening day of the hearings, the chairman outlined the kind of information about the Klans which Congress would need to enact effective legislation. It must, he said, know—

[A] the objectives and purposes of the Ku Klux Klans, their structure and organization, their affiliated organizations, and groups created or controlled by them or organized to support, defend, and assist them. * * *

[B] the type of activities in which they engage, how they are controlled, who their key officers are, how Klan groups are financed, and what their funds are used for. * * *

[C] whether the Klans subscribe to—and use—illegal means to achieve either declared or concealed objectives. * * * It must know whether Klan recruits are informed of the true nature and purposes of the Klans—or whether they are hoodwinked into joining them. * * *

Inasmuch as the Klan hearings will be continued in 1966 and a comprehensive report on Klan organizations and activities released after their completion, only a brief and general summary of the 1965 hearings is presented in this report.

Mr. Donald Appell, the committee's chief investigator and first witness, gave the subcommittee members a brief history of the Klan movement and Federal legislation relating to it. He pointed out that the first Klan was formed in Pulaski, Tenn., in December 1865. It grew rapidly and soon spread throughout the State and beyond its borders. The Klan dens or local clubs began to engage in acts of violence. Their lawlessness grew to such proportions that on March 23, 1871, President Grant sent the following message to Congress:

A condition of affairs now exists in some of the States of the Union rendering life and property insecure * * *. The proof that such a condition of affairs exists in some localities is now before the Senate. That the power to correct these evils is beyond the control of State authorities, I do not doubt. * * *

Following his recommendation for legislation, a joint congressional committee was formed and held hearings from April to September 1871 relating to the lawless conduct of "The Ku-Klux Conspiracy" in North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi. In addition, a law "to enforce the provisions of the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and for other purposes" (now sections 241, 242, 243, Title 18, U.S. Code) was enacted in April 1871. Klan activity subsequently decreased.

The Klan was revived in 1915 and within 10 years achieved its alltime membership peak of between 3 and 5 million persons. Following exposés of Klan activities by many newspapers in the early 1920's, the House Rules Committee held brief hearings in 1921. Klan membership again began to decline following press revelations in 1924 of various murder cases in which the Klan had been involved.

Klan participation in a German-American Bund rally held on August 18, 1940, led to investigations and hearings by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in 1940 and 1942.

Following World War II, there was a limited revival of Klan activity and membership in the late 1940's and early 1950's. In more recent years, Klan strength has increased at a greater rate, and their leaders have considered organizing on a nationwide basis.

Continuing his testimony under oath, Mr. Appell stated committee investigation had revealed that a real fear of the Klan exists among Klansmen themselves, ex-Klansmen, victims of the Klan, and the public. Klan threatening letters and telephone calls, economic reprisals, cross-burnings, beatings, bombings, and murders are the basis for such fears.

Because of such fear, Mr. Appell testified, a considerable period of time often elapses before the police learn that an act of violence has been committed. This presents a very real obstacle to the apprehension of the guilty parties. Moreover, Klansmen use citizens band radios for intra-Klan communication and also receiving equipment which enables them to intercept police radio calls. Being in a position to know where police patrol cars are located at any given time, the Klan can judge when and where to commit illegal acts with assurance that there will be adequate time for escape.

The committee's investigative chief also testified that while there has been some infiltration of the law enforcement agencies by Klansmen, the overwhelming majority of police and law enforcement officers in the South are neither Klan members nor sympathetic to the KKK. Committee investigators have received excellent cooperation from both State and local law enforcement agencies, he said.

Facts developed in the 12 days of hearings in 1965, which were devoted primarily to the United Klans of America, revealed that:

The Klan movement is not a monolithic development, but rather is composed of about a dozen separate Klan organizations. Membership in all Klan groups was considerably greater than was estimated at the time the investigation began. However, this membership began to decline when the committee's public hearings commenced.

The largest and predominant Klan organization in the United States is the United Klans of America (UKA), which is most active in the following States: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana,

Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.

The UKA has not been fully reporting its income in its corporate tax returns, nor has it paid taxes on the income it has reported. The hearings also disclosed that the Grand Dragons of three of the major realms (State organizations) of the UKA, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia,⁶ have not deposited in the realm bank accounts many checks received by them as dues and have, instead, cashed them without any accounting to the membership. Moreover, insurance programs supposedly intended for the benefit of Klan members have been used instead for the personal gain of UKA officers.

The hearings demonstrated that a considerable number of UKA officers and members have criminal records—and some of them extensive records for carrying concealed weapons, burglary, inciting to riot, breaking out of prison, interfering with law enforcement officers in the performance of their duties, operating disorderly houses, etc. Moreover, UKA leaders have not made genuine efforts to prevent such persons from joining the Klan, nor have they expelled them after they have joined and their records have become known.

The UKA conducted secret schools in which its members were taught how to use rifles and pistols, the skills of judo and karate, and how to make booby traps and Molotov cocktails, as well as other demolition devices, from easily obtainable materials such as farm fertilizer, gasoline, flashlight batteries, and electric light switches. The record shows that the "graduates" of these schools formed the nucleus of hush-hush squads of men called wrecking crews, which carried out acts of violence, terrorism, and intimidation. These "enforcers" had a ready supply of weapons, sometimes purchased from other Klansmen who had obtained Federal licenses as commercial gun dealers.

The hearings also revealed the existence within various Klan organizations of secret terrorist groups known by such names as the Vigilantes or Black Knights, the Underground, or the White Band.

UKA propaganda states that the organization is based upon the highest moral principles of Christianity and that Klansmen must be patriotic and loyal to the Government and its institutions. It appeals, in other words, to noble ideals and objectives to which all men might subscribe. The record revealed, however, that such Klan platitudes were used to hoodwink the public, enlist the naive, and bilk essentially well-meaning people of their hard-earned savings. A considerable number of basically good and decent American citizens have apparently been deceived into joining the Klan by its patriotic-sounding propaganda. These persons have not subscribed to the violence and other reprehensible tactics used by Klan leaders, nor have they condoned the financial doubledealing which has gone on in official Klan circles.

⁶ Only States reached during 1965 hearings.

CHAPTER II
REPORTS COMPILED TO ASSIST CONGRESS IN ITS
LEGISLATIVE DELIBERATIONS

WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT: SELECTIVE CHRONOLOGY
1818-1957

Volume IV, 1954-1955

The fourth volume of the chronology of the World Communist Movement series records factually the highlights of the cold war during the two significant post-Korean war years.

Volumes I, II, and III of the chronology covered major Communist activities during the years 1818-1945, 1946-1950, and 1951-1953, respectively. A subsequent volume will extend the series to the end of 1957, at which time an index for the entire set of volumes will be published.

Representative Edwin E. Willis, committee chairman, stated in the foreword to Volume IV of the chronology that "We must face the fact that many more people dream of world conquest today than did in the days of Caesar, Genghis Khan, Napoleon—or even Stalin." He added that:

These people are organized in the World Communist Movement, with affiliated Communist parties in over 90 nations. The Soviets claim a formal membership of 40 million persons in this international conspiratorial organization. Many, many more millions are fellow travelers, sympathizers, and collaborators with the movement.

* * * * *

We cannot ignore these people and their power—because they will not let us. Every day, in one form or another—political, economic, military, diplomatic, cultural, scientific—they are employing their power against us in South Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos; in Cuba and Venezuela; * * *; here in the United States; in every corner of the earth where there is a Communist.

It was noted in Volume III that the Communist "war policy" was at its height throughout the world during the period 1951-1953 particularly in Korea, Indo-China, the Philippines, Tibet, and Iran. As usual, the Communists coupled their worldwide aggressive behavior during that period with an intensive international "peace" propaganda campaign. The 1965 volume of the chronology recorded that Soviet-Sino paramilitary activities continued during 1954. Dienbienphu fell to the Viet Minh on May 7, 1954, leading to the partition of Vietnam and the creation of a political base and sanctuary which Ho Chi Minh, aided by Peking and Moscow, used to launch fresh attacks on South Vietnam.

ORGANIZATIONAL CONSPIRACIES ACT OF 1967

SEPTEMBER 19, 1967.—Referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed

Mr. WILLIS, from the Committee on Un-American Activities,
submitted the following

R E P O R T
together with
DISSENTING VIEWS

[To accompany H.R. 7025]

The Committee on Un-American Activities, to whom was referred the bill (H.R. 7025) to amend the Internal Security Act of 1950, and for other purposes, having considered the same, report favorably thereon with amendments and recommend that the bill as amended do pass.

The amendments are for the purpose of correcting typographical errors in the bill and, as they appear in the reported bill, are as follows:

1. On the first page, line 7, strike out "1966" and insert in lieu thereof "1967".
2. Page 4, line 16, immediately after "employs," insert "or".
3. Page 4, line 20, immediately after "engaged in," insert "or".
4. Page 4, strike out line 25 and all that follows down through page 5, line 7, and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"(D) any part of the resources of which have been applied, within the aforesaid three years, in aid or toward the commission of, acts of violence, threats, or intimidation, for the purpose of or having the effect of preventing or hindering any citizen of the United States from freely exercising or enjoying any right, liberty, privilege, or immunity granted or secured to him by the Constitution and laws of the United States.

"PROHIBITED ACTS

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of the bill, as amended, is to provide criminal penalties against terroristic activities of certain clandestine organizations, and to provide injunctive relief against certain criminal conspiracies.

LEGISLATIVE HISTORY

The bill H.R. 7025 introduced by Mr. Willis on March 9, 1967, and herein reported, is identical to the bill H.R. 16606 introduced by him and as reported in the 89th Congress, with the exception that an additional section (No. 407, entitled "TEACHING TECHNIQUES OF FORCE TO DEPRIVE CITIZENS OF RIGHTS") has been included.

The aforesaid bills were introduced by Mr. Willis as the result of investigations and hearings conducted by the committee during the 89th Congress on the subject of Ku Klux Klan organizations.

Following the report of a preliminary inquiry which had been directed by the chairman, the committee on March 30, 1965, adopted a resolution authorizing a full-scale investigation of Ku Klux Klan organizations. On April 14, 1965, by House Resolution 310, the House authorized a supplemental appropriation for the conduct of the investigation.

The subcommittee appointed to conduct the investigation held public investigative hearings on 36 days between October 19, 1965, and February 24, 1966. The testimony of 187 witnesses was received in these hearings.

Following the completion of the hearings, the chairman on June 14, 1966, introduced H.R. 15678. Four companion bills were introduced—H.R. 15689, by Mr. Weltner; H.R. 15744, by Mr. Minish; H.R. 15754, by Mr. Ashbrook; and H.R. 16099, by Mr. Senner.

The subcommittee held legislative hearings on these bills on July 20, 21, and 22, 1966, during which it received the views of the Department of Justice, Members of Congress, and various organizations and individuals, both through receipt of testimony and the submission of written statements for inclusion in the record.

After the conclusion of the legislative hearings, the committee on July 26, 1966, met and considered H.R. 15678 and companion bills. Several amendments were proposed. It was agreed by the committee that a clean bill incorporating these proposals be introduced by Chairman Willis. Accordingly, on July 27, 1966, Mr. Willis introduced H.R. 16606. Mr. Ashbrook and Mr. Senner introduced identical bills H.R. 16605 and H.R. 16630, respectively.

The committee met for consideration of H.R. 16606 and companion bills. On October 21, 1966, the committee favorably reported H.R. 16606 and filed its Report No. 2335, which included separate and dissenting views.

In light of the fact that the committee's investigation and hearings on this subject in the 89th Congress have been so recently concluded, it was not deemed necessary to hold additional hearings with regard to H.R. 7025. The committee, however, has sought the view of the Department of Justice with regard to H.R. 7025. Although requests have been made of that Department for its written expres-

sion of views on this bill, the committee has not received them prior to the filing of this report. In hearings conducted in the 89th Congress, with regard to the predecessor bill H.R. 15678, the then Attorney General, the Honorable Nicholas deB. Katzenbach, appeared in opposition to the bill and expressed the view that title V of the proposed Civil Rights Act of 1966, in his opinion, possibly represented a "wiser response to this problem." (See hearings before the Committee on Un-American Activities, "Hearings Regarding H.R. 15678, H.R. 15689, H.R. 15744, H.R. 15754, and H.R. 16099, Bills To Curb Terrorist Organizations," U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1966.)

On March 22, 1967, the full committee met, a quorum being in attendance, and considered the bill H.R. 7025. It was agreed to report the bill favorably with the above amendments. Mr. Tuck, Mr. Ichord, and Mr. Culver dissent. Their views are appended to this report.

NEED FOR LEGISLATION

An important duty and concern of government is the protection of its citizens from the incursions of illicit, secret groups which use unlawful means to achieve their purposes. Highly organized and secret Klan activity, designed to terrorize substantial segments of our population, affects interstate commerce and has aroused national concern. Although much of this activity is prohibited by State law, and some of it by Federal statutes surviving from the Reconstruction era (18 U.S.C. 241, 242), Klan organizations have been growing in recent years in both numbers and in membership. Their acts of violence against citizens and property, much of which goes unpunished, have tended to increase both in frequency and in wantonness.

The committee's investigation reveals that 17 Klan organizations are operating in 18 States and that overall Klan membership totals more than 18,000 individuals.

Secrecy, the cornerstone of Klan organizational and operational structure, has enabled a relatively few Klansmen to operate outside the law, to obtain an influence and power, and to terrorize individuals and groups which they otherwise might not successfully accomplish. The United Klans of America and most of the major Klan organizations require the recruit to swear before God that he will at all times maintain in "rigid secrecy" and "die rather than divulge" matters and knowledge of the Klan, and to keep secure to himself all secrets of a Klansman committed to him, excepting only "treason against the United States of America, rape, and malicious murder."

The identities of Klan units, including their bank accounts and financing, are concealed under innocent-sounding cover names with a view toward creating the impression that they are civic, improvement, sporting, or even service organizations. The largest existing Klan organization operates under the cover name "Alabama Rescue Service" and under that name conducts much of its business. Fictitious names of individuals have been utilized as authorized signatures for withdrawals from Klan bank accounts.

Secrecy is maintained with respect to the identity of Klan officers and members, Klan rituals, Klan meetings, and special projects. Meetings of klaverns are preserved from public scrutiny and are protected against intrusion by maintenance of inner and outer guards.

Citizens band radios and low-frequency walkie-talkies are utilized to provide additional security for Klan activities, both at klavern and higher levels, to warn of the movement of strangers and to regulate the execution of Klan projects by the interception of police radio messages.

The Klan not only generally preserves its activities in secrecy as against the public, but also maintains in secrecy the membership and activities of certain groups within it. Within the Klan are small, hard-core "action groups" of trusted members whose identities are unknown to the general membership. To these highly secret action groups, ranging in size from three to as many as a dozen men, are generally committed the planning and execution of lawless acts. Committee investigations disclose that major atrocities attributed to the Klan are committed by these selected groups, frequently termed "wrecking crews," but also known by other appellations.

Members of these action groups engage in special training, usually under the instruction of ex-servicemen with experience in military organization and operation. They are trained in the practice of judo, karate, and the firing of pistols and rifles. Secret schools are conducted to instruct in the fabrication of boobytraps, bombs, and Molotov cocktails. Supplies of weapons, ammunition, and explosives are accumulated by their members. Their efforts are aided by Klan members who, issued Federal licenses as gun dealers, have sold firearms to members in wholesale lots. Klansmen have frequently carried pistols, rifles, shotguns, and explosives on their person and in their automobiles.

Committee investigation and hearings have demonstrated that major Klan organizations appear today, as they have in the past, essentially as conspiracies, relying principally on terrorism to accomplish their professed objectives of defending the Constitution and "Christian civilization." While the literature issued by the Klan for public consumption discloses little which reflects its basically conspiratorial and terroristic nature, the investigation reveals an extensive record in practice of threats, cross-burnings, the firing of churches and schools, bombings, beatings, maimings, murders, and other acts of violence to further Klan objectives. Although a major portion of these acts of intimidation and terror is undoubtedly racially motivated, the record demonstrates that there are also a number of other underlying motivations.

In the light of the evidence it appears that Federal responsibility can be more effectively served by the enactment of more comprehensive and sophisticated legislation. It seems quite clear that presently existing sections of the Federal criminal code, as well as the limited approach of the "civil rights" bills, are not adequate to cope with the problems disclosed in the investigation. The bill herein reported is not a "civil rights bill." Racial motivation need not be shown in order to invoke its sanctions.

The reported bill is, in several respects, broader and of more general application than any of the existing or proposed Federal legislation. This is not to say, of course, that there are circumstances where certain offenses may not be embraced both within sections of this bill and under other statutes. In the application of criminal law, many activities are found frequently to offend more than one criminal statute. Where this occurs the prosecution is afforded the opportunity to proceed

under that statute which best fits the available evidence and the circumstances.

Moreover, the bill herein reported is not directed exclusively at Klan organizations, although it does cover their major terroristic and conspiratorial activities within the Federal jurisdiction. It is a statute of general application covering the activities of any clandestine organization now in existence, or which might hereafter be established, whose activities of terror and violence come within the purview of its provisions. The bill H.R. 7025, we believe, would add an effective and essential weapon to the Federal arsenal of law enforcement.

While as a matter of history and constitutional law it is generally agreed that the police power is a major and, on many subjects, a primary or even exclusive State responsibility, the State interest is neither exclusive nor primary on all subjects. The Congress has seen fit, when necessary, to give a great deal of support to the States in the exercise of the States' reserved powers, especially where criminal activities affect interstate commerce. This is evident in such Federal statutes as those controlling the liquor traffic, the white slave traffic, traffic in stolen motor vehicles, traffic in stolen property, kidnaping, gambling, racketeering, and in other respects. The concept of our Federal system does not bar the Federal Government from concern with problems that affect the security and welfare of our people. As was said by the Court in *Hoke v. United States* (227 U.S. 308, 322 (1913)), which sustained the "White Slave Act":

Our dual form of government has its perplexities, State and Nation having different spheres of jurisdiction, as we have said, but it must be kept in mind that we are one people; and the powers reserved to the States and those conferred on the Nation are adapted to be exercised, whether independently or concurrently, to promote the general welfare, material and moral. * * *

It is also recognized that under certain circumstances Federal intervention is not only justified, but called for. When Federal interests are involved, as in the protection of Federal rights or the exercise of Federal powers, the authority and police power of the Federal Government is not only concurrent with that of the States but is, on several subjects, even primary or exclusive. Indeed, both the State and Federal Governments have expressed an interest and have found it necessary to exercise their respective powers in dealing with the matters which have been the subject of this committee's investigations and hearings, both with regard to Klan organizations and internal subversion. The bill H.R. 7025 is confined solely to bases on which the Federal Government, we believe, properly and necessarily exercises its police powers, bases which include the protection of Federal rights, interstate commerce, and the enforcement of Federal law.

ANALYSIS OF THE BILL

The bill amends the Internal Security Act of 1950. No change is made in that act except to add thereto a new title IV. The provisions of the bill are separable, and they neither affect, nor are they affected by, the provisions of the prior titles.

The bill is principally directed at secret organizations which as a pattern or practice engage in terroristic activities to accomplish their purposes. It is not intended to encompass organizations whose purposes and activities are innocent and lawful, although secret. The bill's provisions are applicable only to organizations—that is, clandestine organizations, as defined in the bill—whose history, purpose, or activities include the unlawful use of violence, threats, or intimidation in accomplishing their objectives.

The bill does not, moreover, outlaw or punish clandestine organizations as such or mere membership in them. It makes criminal certain specified acts of members of clandestine organizations and other persons. It also establishes a basis for preventive relief against organizations operating as "criminal conspiracies," as defined in the bill. On the whole, the provisions of the bill are limited to the prevention and punishment of certain overt activities which affect interstate commerce, deny the enjoyment of federally guaranteed rights, or involve the commission or concealment of Federal offenses, and which are perpetrated in furtherance of the purposes or objectives of clandestine terrorist organizations.

FINDINGS OF FACT

Section 402 of the bill, "Findings of Fact," points to the circumstances prompting Congress to act, and also indicates the nature of the activities the bill is intended to encompass. The Congress finds and declares that—

(1) There exist within the United States certain clandestine organizations which in varying degree and manner engage in activities which adversely affect the general welfare of the United States and tend to subvert constitutional processes.

(2) Such organizations endeavor to effect certain social, economic, or political objectives without regard to the propriety of the means, and frequently engage in activities destructive of the peace and security of the United States.

(3) These organizations, though often unrelated to one another, and having different objectives or purposes, share, nonetheless, the common traits of secrecy and a pattern and practice of intimidating, threatening, or otherwise coercing citizens of the United States to compel such citizens to do or not to do those acts which will conform with the purposes and objectives of such organizations.

(4) Due to the nature and scope of such organizations, and the existence of affiliated elements, working toward common objectives in various States of the Nation, the activities of such organizations affect interstate and foreign commerce.

(5) Although Federal agencies have undertaken a sustained and vigorous enforcement of laws hitherto enacted, activities of the kind above set forth continue to expand and pose an increasing threat to the security of the Nation and the peace and tranquillity of its citizens.

DEFINITIONS

Section 403, "Definitions," defines certain terms which recur in the provisions of the bill. Both in the definition of "clandestine organization" and of "criminal conspiracy" it is apparent that fraternal, benevolent, labor, or other commonly "innocent" associations are not embraced within the intendment or language of the bill.

"Clandestine organization," as used in the bill, is defined as—

any organization (A) which conceals, or attempts to conceal, its name, activities, or membership, or the name, activities, or membership of any chapter, branch, unit, or affiliate thereof, by the use of cover names, codes, or any deceptive practice or other means, or (B) whose members shall be required, urged, or instructed, or shall adopt any practice to conceal their membership or affiliation and that of others in or with such organization, or (C) whose members shall take any oath or pledge, or shall administer any such oath or pledge to those associated with them, to maintain in secrecy any matter or knowledge committed to them by the organization or by any member thereof, or (D) which shall transact business or advance any purpose at any secret meeting or meetings which are guarded or secured against intrusion by persons not associated with it, and (E) whose history, purpose, policy, or activity includes the unlawful use of violence, threats, or intimidation in accomplishing any of its objectives.

"Criminal conspiracy," as used in the bill, is defined as any organization in the United States which advocates, teaches, or employs; or which has, within 3 years, engaged in; or whose leaders, officers, or members, within 3 years, in furtherance of any purpose of such organization, have participated in; or any of the resources of which have been applied, within 3 years, in aid of the commission of: acts of violence, threats, or intimidation, for the purpose of preventing or hindering any citizen from freely exercising any federally protected right.

The term "clandestine organization" establishes the framework for most of the criminal provisions of the bill. "Criminal conspiracy," as the term is used in the bill, is the subject of injunctive relief provided by section 412. It is important to note that these definitions do not and are not intended to constitute substantive offenses in themselves. They are not to be considered in isolation. They are used contextually in sections of the bill which follow, specifying and penalizing certain prohibited activities and authorizing injunctive relief for specified and threatened misconduct.

PROHIBITED ACTS

Crimes of violence to person or property

Sections 404 to 406, inclusive, punish certain criminal acts committed by persons who are members or agents of clandestine organizations acting in furtherance of, or in relation to, an objective or plan of such organization. The offenses are limited to those which involve travel or movement of the offender or victim, and the use by the offender of any

facility, in interstate or foreign commerce. Penalized are crimes of violence to person or property, murder, manslaughter, kidnaping, assault, and the unlawful obstruction by force or threat of the free movement of any citizen in interstate commerce.

Teaching techniques of force

Section 407 prohibits the making, or the teaching or demonstrating of the use of, any explosive or incendiary device, or any other device or technique capable of causing injury to person or property, with the intent that any such device or technique be employed by another to accomplish an unlawful purpose of any clandestine organization operating in interstate or foreign commerce, or to injure any citizen in the enjoyment of rights guaranteed to him by Federal law.

Use of wireless or telephone to commit or conceal offense

Section 408 would punish the use of radio, wireless, or telephone by members or agents of any clandestine organization, acting in furtherance of any purpose of such organization, for transmission of any message or signal intending to assist in the commission or concealment of an offense against the United States.

The committee's investigation revealed the use by Klan organizations of a system of wireless communication in aid of the commission of certain criminal acts and the concealment of unlawful Klan activities.

Oath or pledge to conceal offense

Section 409 makes punishable the taking or administering of an oath or pledge in relation to the business or activities of a clandestine organization to conceal from lawful authority of the United States any offense committed, or to be committed in the future, against the United States by a member of such organization.

An oath administered by major Klan organizations, for example, swears the recruit to maintain securely to himself all Klan secrets, "treason against the United States of America, rape, and malicious murder alone excepted." Such oaths promote unlawful organizational activity, the concealment of crime, and the obstruction of justice. This section embodies a principle underlying a well-known offense at common law, "misprision of felony," which makes punishable the concealment of knowledge of the commission of a felony. This principle has likewise been adopted in a Federal statute, 18 U.S.C. 4. However, the latter statute does not encompass the activity covered by the provisions of section 409 of the bill.

Misappropriation of organizational assets

Section 410 of the bill makes punishable the willful misappropriation or conversion of the assets of a clandestine organization doing business in interstate or foreign commerce.

The committee's investigation—and Klan history—reveal that in many instances Klan assets have been misapplied or converted to personal use by a number of Klan leaders with criminal records or backgrounds of financial irregularity. Testimony received at the hearings indicates that the rank-and-file membership of Klan organizations are frequently neither informed of, nor in accord with, the criminal purposes toward which organizational assets and property have been applied.

Forfeiture of vehicle

Section 411 of the bill authorizes the forfeiture to the United States of any motor vehicle which is operated upon any highway in interstate or foreign commerce by the owner, or any person with the knowledge and consent of the owner, for the transportation of himself or any other person, or the transportation of any firearm, explosive, or device capable of causing injury to person or property, with the intent that they or any such firearm, explosive, or device shall be employed or used to commit any crime of violence against the person or property of another.

Similar provisions relating to forfeiture of vehicles used in the commission of unlawful activity have been utilized by both the State and Federal Governments. For example, many States authorize forfeiture of vehicles used in the transportation of untaxed or contraband alcohol; Federal statutes (49 U.S.C. 782, 19 U.S.C. 1453, and 8 U.S.C. 1185, respectively) expressly authorize forfeiture of vehicles involved in the unlawful transportation of contraband (narcotics, firearms, counterfeit coins, and securities), the unlawful unloading of merchandise and baggage in violation of customs, and the unlawful transportation of citizens and aliens.

INJUNCTIVE RELIEF

Section 412 authorizes injunctive relief on application of the Attorney General to restrain a "criminal conspiracy," as defined, which he has reason to believe is engaging, or is about to engage, in any violation of Federal law, or in the commission of any act of violence or intimidation by which any citizen or class of citizens would be injured in the exercise of federally protected rights.

The utility of an injunctive remedy has been well demonstrated under a number of Federal statutes which authorize its use, as for example, in antitrust cases, the administration of the Labor-Management Relations Act, and particularly in the Civil Rights Acts. It is directed toward the prevention of unlawful activity rather than punishment after commission.

IMMUNITY

Section 413 authorizes the grant of immunity for compelled testimony when the privilege against self-incrimination is invoked in any proceeding under the bill.

The principle of immunity has already been adopted in some 55 different Federal statutes. In Klan activity, as in racketeering, the "code of silence" is a major obstacle to effective law enforcement. The immunity provision will greatly alleviate problems of proof and make an effective contribution to law enforcement in dealing with Klan and other terrorist organizations.

CRIMINAL CONTEMPT

Section 414 establishes procedures and maximum penalties in cases of criminal contempt which arise in proceedings under the bill. The accused is entitled to trial by jury. Where the accused is a natural

person the fine shall not exceed the sum of \$5,000; imprisonment shall not exceed the term of 5 years.

The courts possess inherent power to impose fine or imprisonment in cases of criminal contempt. Where punishment is not fixed by statute, however, it is discretionary. In view of the scope of the bill, cases of criminal contempt may arise with some degree of frequency, particularly in the application of its injunctive relief and immunity provisions. It is therefore desirable that maximum penalties for criminal contempt be fixed. The actual penalty imposed in a particular case will be at the discretion of the court and in accordance with the circumstances of each case, but the penalty must not exceed the authorized limits. (For general exposition of the contempt power, see *Cheff v. Schnackenberg* and *Shillitani and Pappadio v. U.S.*, decided June 6, 1966, and cases therein cited. On propriety of penalties fixed by the bill, see *Green v. U.S.*, 356 U.S. 165; *Brown v. U.S.*, 359 U.S. 41; and *U.S. v. Levine*, 288 F. 2d 272.)

NONPREEMPTION

Section 415 of the bill expressly provides that Congress does not intend to occupy the field in which the provisions of the bill operate to the exclusion of State law. The concurrent jurisdiction of the State is thus clearly preserved.

CHANGES IN EXISTING LAW MADE BY THE BILL, AS REPORTED

In compliance with clause 3 of rule XIII of the Rules of the House of Representatives, changes in existing law made by the bill, as reported, are shown as follows (new matter is printed in italic, existing law in which no change is proposed is shown in roman):

INTERNAL SECURITY ACT OF 1950 (64 STAT. 987)

AN ACT To protect the United States against certain un-American and subversive activities by requiring registration of Communist organizations, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Internal Security Act of 1950".

* * * * *

TITLE IV—ORGANIZATIONAL CONSPIRACIES

SEC. 401. This title may be cited as the "Organizational Conspiracies Act of 1967".

FINDINGS OF FACT

SEC. 402. The Congress of the United States hereby finds and declares that—

(1) *There exist within the United States certain clandestine organizations which in varying degree and manner engage in activities which adversely affect the general welfare of the United States and tend to subvert constitutional processes.*

(2) *Such organizations endeavor to effect certain social, economic, or political objectives without regard to the propriety of the means, and fre-*

quently engage in activities destructive of the peace and security of the United States.

(3) These organizations, though often unrelated to one another, and having different objectives or purposes, share, nonetheless, the common traits of secrecy and a pattern and practice of intimidating, threatening, or otherwise coercing citizens of the United States to compel such citizens to do or not to do those acts which will conform with the purposes and objectives of such organizations.

(4) Due to the nature and scope of such organizations, and the existence of affiliated elements, working toward common objectives in various States of the Nation, the activities of such organizations affect interstate and foreign commerce.

(5) Although Federal agencies have undertaken a sustained and vigorous enforcement of laws hitherto enacted, activities of the kind above set forth continue to expand and pose an increasing threat to the security of the Nation and the peace and tranquillity of its citizens. In order to advance the general welfare, to preserve constitutional processes, and to secure to all citizens the protection of life, liberty, and property to which they are entitled under the Constitution and laws of the United States, it is therefore provided:

DEFINITIONS

SEC. 403. For the purposes of this title—

(1) "Attorney General" means the Attorney General of the United States.

(2) The term "person" means an individual or an organization.

(3) The term "organization" means any group, society, association, or any chapter, branch, unit, or affiliate thereof, and any partnership, trust, foundation, fund, or combination of individuals associated together for joint action on any subject or subjects, whether incorporated or not; and includes two or more members thereof combined or confederated for any purpose, or acting in concert to perform any act.

(4) The term "clandestine organization" means any organization (A) which conceals, or attempts to conceal, its name, activities, or membership, or the name, activities, or membership of any chapter, branch, unit, or affiliate thereof, by the use of cover names, codes, or any deceptive practice or other means, or (B) whose members shall be required, urged, or instructed, or shall adopt any practice to conceal their membership or affiliation and that of others in or with such organization, or (C) whose members shall take any oath or pledge, or shall administer any such oath or pledge to those associated with them, to maintain in secrecy any matter or knowledge committed to them by the organization or by any member thereof, or (D) which shall transact business or advance any purpose at any secret meeting or meetings which are guarded or secured against intrusion by persons not associated with it, and (E) whose history, purpose, policy, or activity includes the unlawful use of violence, threats, or intimidation in accomplishing any of its objectives.

(5) The term "criminal conspiracy" means any organization in the United States—

(A) which advocates, teaches, or employs, or

(B) which within three years prior to the filing of any action or other proceeding by the Attorney General against such organization pursuant to section 412 hereof, has engaged in, or

(C) whose leaders, officers, or members, within the aforesaid three years, in furtherance of any purpose, objective, or plan of such organization, have participated in, aided, or encouraged, or

(D) any part of the resources of which have been applied, within the aforesaid three years, in aid or toward the commission of, acts of violence, threats, or intimidation, for the purpose of or having the effect of preventing or hindering any citizen of the United States from freely exercising or enjoying any right, liberty, privilege, or immunity granted or secured to him by the Constitution and laws of the United States.

PROHIBITED ACTS

SEC. 404. UNLAWFUL TRAVEL OR USE OF FACILITIES IN COMMERCE.—

(a) Any person who, being a member or agent of a clandestine organization and acting in furtherance of or in relation to any purpose, objective, or plan of such organization, moves or travels in interstate or foreign commerce or uses any facility in interstate or foreign commerce, including the mail, with intent to—

(1) commit any crime of violence to the person or property of another, or

(2) promote, manage, or facilitate the commission of any act specified in subparagraph (1), and thereafter performs or attempts to perform any act specified in subparagraph (1), or

(b) Any person who conspires with or solicits any such person described in subsection (a) to move or travel in interstate or foreign commerce or to use any facility in interstate or foreign commerce, including the mail, for any of the purposes specified in subparagraphs (1) and (2) above, upon any such act as specified in said subparagraph (1) being performed, or attempted, by such person described in subsection (a),

shall be fined not more than \$10,000 or imprisoned not more than twenty years, or both; and if death results from the commission of any such act, shall be subject to imprisonment for any term of years or for life.

SEC. 405. KILLING, KIDNAPING, AND ASSAULT.—(a) Any person who, being a member or agent of a clandestine organization and acting in furtherance of or in relation to any purpose, objective, or plan of such organization, kills any person moving in interstate commerce, shall be punished as provided by sections 1111 and 1112 of title 18, United States Code.

(b) Any person who, being a member or agent of such organization and acting as aforesaid, kidnaps any person moving in interstate commerce, shall be punished (1) by imprisonment for any term of years or for life, or (2) by death or imprisonment for any term of years or for life, if death results to such individual.

(c) Any person who, being a member or agent of such organization and acting as aforesaid, attempts to kill or kidnap any person moving in interstate commerce, shall be punished by imprisonment for any term of years or for life.

(d) Any person who, being a member or agent of such organization and acting as aforesaid, assaults any person moving in interstate commerce, shall be fined not more than \$5,000 or imprisoned not more than five years, or both.

SEC. 406. UNLAWFUL OBSTRUCTION OF MOVEMENT OF CITIZEN.—Any person who, being a member or agent of a clandestine organization and acting in furtherance of or in relation to any purpose, objective, or plan of such organization, willfully by force, intimidation, or threat, unlawfully obstructs or impedes the free movement of any citizen in interstate commerce, shall be fined not more than \$1,000 or imprisoned not more than two years, or both.

SEC. 407. TEACHING TECHNIQUES OF FORCE TO DEPRIVE CITIZENS OF RIGHTS.—Any person who teaches or demonstrates to another the use, application, or making of any explosive or incendiary device, or any other device or technique capable of causing injury to person or property, intending that such explosive or incendiary device, or any such other device or technique be employed by another to—

(1) further or accomplish any unlawful purpose, objective, or plan of any clandestine organization doing business or operating in interstate or foreign commerce, or

(2) injure, oppress, threaten, punish, or intimidate any citizen in the free exercise or enjoyment of any right, liberty, privilege, or immunity granted or secured to him by the Constitution and laws of the United States,

shall be fined not more than \$10,000 or imprisoned not more than ten years, or both.

SEC. 408. USE OF RADIO, WIRELESS, OR TELEPHONE TO COMMIT OR CONCEAL OFFENSE.—Any person who, being a member or agent of any clandestine organization and acting in furtherance of or in relation to any purpose, objective, or plan of such organization, by means of any radio or wireless device or telephone transmits, or causes to be transmitted, any message or signal, with the intent to aid or assist any other person or himself in the commission or concealment of any offense against the United States, or to prevent detection or arrest for such offense, shall be fined not more than \$5,000 or imprisoned not more than five years, or both.

SEC. 409. OATH OR PLEDGE TO CONCEAL OFFENSE.—Any person who, in relation to the business or activities of a clandestine organization, administers to another, or takes, an oath or pledge to conceal from lawful authority of the United States any knowledge either may have, or which either may thereafter acquire, of the commission of any offense, or of any offense that may in the future be committed, by another member of said organization against the United States, shall be fined not more than \$500 or imprisoned not more than two years, or both.

SEC. 410. MISAPPROPRIATION OF ORGANIZATIONAL ASSETS.—Any person who, being an agent, officer, director, or employee of a clandestine organization doing business in interstate or foreign commerce, embezzles, steals, or willfully misapplies any of the moneys, funds, credits, property or assets, owned, possessed, or in the custody of such organization, shall be fined not more than \$5,000 or imprisoned not more than five years, or both.

SEC. 411. FORFEITURE OF VEHICLE.—Any motor vehicle which is operated upon any highway in interstate or foreign commerce, by the owner thereof, or by any person with the knowledge and consent of the owner, for the transportation of himself or any other person, or the transportation of any firearm, explosive, or device capable of causing injury to person or property, with the intent that such person, firearm, explosive, or device shall be employed or used to commit any crime of violence against the person or property of another, shall be forfeited to the United States.

INJUNCTIVE RELIEF

SEC. 412. (a) *The Attorney General may institute for the United States, or in the name of the United States, a civil action or other proper proceeding for preventive relief, including an application for a permanent or temporary injunction, restraining order, or other order, against any criminal conspiracy, or against any of its officers, leaders, members, agents, confederates, and associates, whenever he has reasonable grounds to believe that such criminal conspiracy, or any of its officers, leaders, agents, members, confederates, or associates acting in furtherance of or in relation to any purpose, objective, or plan of such organization, is engaging in or is about to engage in (1) any act or practice which is an offense against, or declared unlawful by, the laws of the United States, including but not limited to any act prohibited by the provisions of this title, or (2) the commission of any act of violence, threats, or intimidation, that injures, oppresses, or punishes any citizen or class of citizens in the free exercise or enjoyment of any right, liberty, privilege, or immunity granted, secured, or protected by the Constitution or laws of the United States. In any proceeding hereunder the United States shall be liable for costs the same as a private person.*

(b) *The district courts of the United States shall have jurisdiction of proceedings instituted pursuant to this title and shall exercise the same without regard to whether the petitioner shall have exhausted any administrative or other remedies that may be provided by law.*

IMMUNITY

SEC. 413. *In any action for injunctive relief pursuant to the provisions of this title, or in any case of contempt relating thereto, or in any prosecution instituted for the commission of any offense prohibited in this title, or in any proceeding for the forfeiture of any motor vehicle as provided herein, whenever in the judgment of the Attorney General, or of the United States attorney, upon the approval of the Attorney General, the testimony of any witness, or the production of books, papers, or other evidence by any witness in any such proceeding is necessary to the public interest, he shall make application to the court that the witness shall be instructed to testify or produce evidence, and upon order of the court such witness shall not be excused from testifying or from producing books, papers, or other evidence on the ground that the testimony or evidence required of him may tend to incriminate him or subject him to a penalty or forfeiture. But no such witness shall be prosecuted or subjected to any penalty or forfeiture for or on account of any transaction, matter, or thing concerning which he is compelled, after having claimed his privilege against self-incrimination, to testify or produce evidence, nor shall such testimony so compelled, nor any fact or information which may be discovered as a result of such testimony or evidence, be used as evidence in any criminal proceeding against him in any court except for prosecution for perjury or contempt committed while giving testimony or producing evidence under compulsion as herein provided.*

CRIMINAL CONTEMPT

SEC. 414. (a) *In all cases of criminal contempt arising under the provisions of this title, the accused upon conviction shall be punished by fine or imprisonment, or both: Provided, however, That in case the accused is a natural person the fine shall not exceed the sum of \$5,000*

nor shall imprisonment exceed the term of five years. The accused shall, upon demand, in any case of criminal contempt arising under the provisions of this title be entitled to a trial by jury: Provided, however, That the accused may, at the discretion of the court, be tried before a judge without a jury, in those cases of criminal contempt committed in the presence of the court or so near thereto as to obstruct the administration of justice, or with respect to those cases of criminal contempt to punish the misbehavior, misconduct, or disobedience of any officer in respect to the writs, orders, or process of the courts, in which the penalty shall not exceed the limits fixed for petty offenses.

Nothing herein or in any other provision of law shall be construed to deprive courts of their power, by civil contempt proceedings, without a jury, to secure compliance with or to prevent obstruction of, as distinguished from punishment for violations of, any lawful writ, process, order, rule, decree, or command of the court in accordance with the prevailing usages of law and equity, including the power of detention.

(b) Any acquittal or conviction in a prosecution for a specific crime under the laws of the United States shall bar a proceeding for criminal contempt, which is based upon the same act or omission and which arises under the provisions of this title; and an acquittal or conviction in a proceeding for criminal contempt, which arises under the provisions of this title, shall bar a prosecution for a specific crime under the laws of the United States based upon the same act or omission.

NONPREEMPTION

SEC. 415. Nothing contained in this title shall be construed as indicating an intent on the part of Congress to occupy the field in which this title operates to the exclusion of a law of any State, territory, Commonwealth, or possession of the United States, and no law of any State, territory, Commonwealth, or possession of the United States which would be valid in the absence of the section shall be declared invalid, and no local authorities shall be deprived of any jurisdiction over any offense over which they would have jurisdiction in the absence of this section.

SEPARABILITY OF PROVISIONS

SEC. 416. If any provision of this title or the application thereof to any person or circumstances is held invalid, the remainder of the title and the application of the provision to other persons not similarly situated or to other circumstances shall not be affected thereby.

DISSENTING VIEW OF CONGRESSMAN WILLIAM M. TUCK
(DEMOCRAT, VIRGINIA), IN OPPOSITION TO H.R. 7025
(THE KLAN BILL)

Irrespective of the merits or demerits of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, I do not believe the facts will justify the passage of legislation of the type embraced in H.R. 7025.

The States of the Union have primary responsibility to maintain the peace and good order of their citizens. It is the duty of the States to suppress public mischief within their own boundaries. Under our constitutional system the Federal Government has no right to enforce law and order in the respective States unless their assistance is requested by the legislature or the Governor of said State. In short, generally speaking I am opposed to the Federal Government projecting itself into State areas where the primary responsibility is that of the localities and the States, and this is particularly true with reference to the exercise of police powers.

For these reasons and others, I am filing this brief dissenting view.

WILLIAM M. TUCK.

DISSENTING VIEW OF CONGRESSMAN RICHARD H. ICHORD (DEMOCRAT, MISSOURI), IN OPPOSITION TO H.R. 7025

My opposition to H.R. 7025 stems not from any desire to protect the Ku Klux Klan or any of its members. Personally, I consider the Ku Klux Klan a contemptible organization composed in the main of "illiterate and bigoted rednecks" who have little conception and no appreciation for the true ideals and principles for which America stands. Its leadership consists of a great many individuals who appear to be motivated primarily by the desire to profit rather than by sincerity of convictions. But regardless of how unworthy the organization may be, that fact alone will not impart constitutionality to H.R. 7025.

Many of my objections to the prior bill, H.R. 16606, 89th Congress, have been cured by the adoption of committee amendments, but H.R. 7025 remains too vague and ambiguous for me to approve. I am constrained to agree with the witnesses who testified in opposition to the bill in the 89th Congress. I believe that many of the provisions are unconstitutional and unworkable.

H.R. 7025 proposes to make it a crime—

1. For any member of defined "clandestine organizations" to travel in interstate commerce or use the mails with the intent to commit or promote, manage or facilitate any crime of violence (sec. 404).
2. For any member or agent of such organizations to harm, kill, or obstruct or impede any person who is moving in interstate commerce.
3. To teach techniques of violence to further any unlawful purpose of any "clandestine organization" or to deprive U.S. citizens of any constitutional or legal right (sec. 407).
4. To use a radio or telephone by a member of any "clandestine organization" with the intent to aid any person in the commission of or concealment of, any offense against the United States or to prevent detection or arrest for any offense (sec. 408).
5. To give or take an oath or pledge by a member of a "clandestine organization" to conceal knowledge of any offense against the United States, past, present, or future (sec. 409).

The bill also authorizes the Attorney General of the United States to apply for an injunction against any "criminal conspiracy" when he has reasonable grounds to believe that any member of such conspiracy is engaging in or about to engage in any (1) unlawful act, or (2) any act of violence, intimidation, or harassment, that injures, oppresses, or punishes any citizen in the free exercise of any lawful or constitutional right.

In its original form H.R. 16606 would have made it exceedingly dangerous to be a member of such venerable organizations as the Masonic Lodge and the Knights of Columbus. Other organizations

in which membership would have been dangerous were the Democratic Study Group, John Birch Society, NAACP, college fraternities and sororities, labor unions, as well as many others. It is true that clause (E) of section 403(4) has been added defining a "clandestine organization" as one whose history, purpose, policy, or activity includes the unlawful use of violence, threats, or intimidation in accomplishing any of its objectives. But since the word "or" is used, it would seem clause (E) would not exclude any organization which unlawfully used violence, threats, or intimidation at any time in its history, without regard to whether it has ceased such activity. One cannot judge an organization by its history alone, or by its membership. The organization changes as its membership changes, and the membership must necessarily change if the organization endures longer than a lifetime. This is true of the House of Representatives, the House Committee on Un-American Activities, or any other organization. Both the House of Representatives and the House Committee on Un-American Activities have different leadership and membership than when they began. Change is the inevitable lesson of nature. The language of clause (E) seems especially important because it is the only provision in section 403(4) which refers to anything other than secrecy. I cannot bring myself to believe that the committee or House of Representatives would wish to apply any of the sanctions of the bill to organizations which practice secrecy but do not engage in any unlawful or undesirable acts.

The bill still contains references to matters of speech which raise questions in my mind as to whether the bill is valid under the first amendment. I also believe that the bill is unconstitutional because it does not satisfy the due process rules against vagueness. "No one may be required at peril of life, liberty or property to speculate as to the meaning of penal statutes * * * [A] statute which either forbids or requires the doing of an act in terms so vague that men of common intelligence must necessarily guess at its meaning and differ as to its application violates the first essential of due process of law." (*Lanzetta v. New Jersey*, 306 U.S. 451 (1938) at 453; also see *Winters v. New York*, 333 U.S. 507, 509-510, 515 (1948)). Moreover, stricter standards are applied to an enactment having a potentially inhibiting effect on speech (*Cramp v. Board of Public Instruction*, 368 U.S. 278, 285-288 (1961); *Baggett v. Bullitt*, 377 U.S. 360 (1964)).

It should be noted that nearly all of the witnesses during the legislative aspects of the hearings spent in the 89th Congress most or all of their time "damning" the Klan, rather than analyzing and appraising the provisions of H.R. 15678, later revised as H.R. 16606. Attorney General Katzenbach praised the motives and objectives of the sponsors of the bill, but backed off from supporting the legislation. Instead, he expressed doubt about its efficacy and constitutionality. I think it would be helpful to read his brief statement before the committee, which follows:

I have a very brief statement here I would like with your permission to read. I am accompanied here this morning by Mr. Kevin Maroney, an attorney in the Department of Justice.

Mr. Chairman, I welcome your invitation to appear before this committee. It affords a double opportunity; to salute the chairman and the members of this committee for

the careful and illuminating investigation they have made of the Ku Klux Klan and also to comment on the legislative proposals you are making in H.R. 15678.

Terrorism and intimidation are an intolerable affront to the spirit and meaning of our democratic system. Though the Ku Klux Klan no longer has as pervasive and malignant an influence as it once did, we have found that it still possesses considerable and in some areas growing strength. Its activities remain a serious blight and threat.

This committee has clearly revealed a number of vital facts.

That the strength of Klan membership is well above the common estimates;

That Klans have frequently employed deceptive "cover" arrangements to conceal existence of their Klaverns and bank accounts;

That many Klan officers and members have criminal records; the involvement of the Klan in several brutal killings such as that of Mrs. Liuzzo is clear;

That within the Klan there are a number of secret organizations formed for the express purpose of carrying out acts of terrorism and violence;

That generally members of the Klan have easy access to a variety of weapons and to training in their use, that Klan members purchase weapons from other Klan members licensed as gun dealers and that citizen band radios are often used by the Klan for communication purposes.

Mr. Chairman, you and your colleagues have brought to public scrutiny a compelling and disturbing account of organized terrorist activity.

The facts you have developed in your hearings have had the closest attention of my Department. In drafting title V of the proposed Civil Rights Act of 1966, which seeks to deal with terror and violence, we have been conscious of your work and your findings. The Department of Justice has drawn much benefit from the searching hearings and has been pleased to cooperate. From the committee's efforts, the public now has a much fuller awareness of the structure and activities of the Klan.

As presiding officer, you have, Mr. Chairman, set an example both by your courage and the judiciousness of your approach. May I observe that you and the committee have shown a full concern for due process and rules of fairness in the hearings. The Department of Justice had your complete cooperation in not prejudicing the rights of any individuals in pending criminal prosecutions.

It is appropriate that this committee should now seek legislative remedies for the evils which it has identified. The President and the Department of Justice are also determined to find proper correctives. H.R. 15678 and title V of the proposed Civil Rights Act of 1966 both aim at the same target. Both approaches deserve consideration.

While it is impossible for any of us to claim certainty as to the right course to counter and deter violence by Klan members, I believe that title V of H.R. 14765 possibly represents the wiser response to this problem. Then, too, there are constitutional difficulties and problems with some aspects of the committee's bill.

And finally, in my judgment, the organizational and conspiracy concepts upon which the bill is based might unnecessarily complicate prosecution of the perpetrators of such violence.

There are very real problems. I am not certain that all of them can be solved in a bill which is both constitutional and effective. I am sure, however, that the committee will continue to attempt to meet these problems and it will have the cooperation of the Department of Justice in that effort.

I regret very much that I must dissent from the views of a majority of the committee and particularly from the views of my distinguished and highly respected chairman, Edwin Willis, who is generally recognized as one of the most outstanding, if not the most outstanding, legal mind in the House. He is not only chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, but also chairman of four subcommittees of the House Judiciary Committee. He is chairman of more committees than any other Member of the House. His colleagues recognize him as one of the most congenial and fairest minded Members of the House of Representatives who is very zealous to protect the constitutional rights of all witnesses appearing before the committee. A well-organized effort is being directed by numerous extremists and libertines, with the aid and assistance of uninformed and misinformed individuals and groups, to discredit him and the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Such efforts are shameful and disgraceful. However, I cannot judge the character of the committee's work by the character of its enemies alone. I must dissent.

In sum, I believe the provisions of the bill are not only unenforceable and unconstitutional, they are also so broad and so general that they might very well cover activities and organizations which do not pose a significant threat to the security of the Nation and the peace and tranquillity of its citizens. Many of our States, no doubt, have failed to take steps that should have been taken to curb the type of reprehensible and unlawful activity to which H.R. 7025 is directed, but the failure of the States to act does not make vague and imprecise criminal statutes enforceable. I am also concerned about the broad extension of Federal power into an area of primary State responsibility.

RICHARD H. ICHORD.

DISSENTING VIEW OF CONGRESSMAN JOHN C. CULVER
(DEMOCRAT, IOWA), IN OPPOSITION TO H.R. 7025 (THE
KLAN BILL)

I have studied the history and language of H.R. 7025 and have concluded that the bill should not be passed in its present posture and, therefore, I file this dissent for the following reasons.

This proposed legislation, which is very similar to H.R. 16606, the 1966 amendment to the Internal Security Act of 1950, resulted from full-scale hearings late in 1965 and early in 1966 and followup legislative hearings in July 1966. The present legislation is complicated, embracing as it does a wide variety of proscribed conduct and employing several types of sanctions. It received a mixed reaction from witnesses at the hearings, all of whom complimented the committee for its judicious approach to a serious and vexing problem. Two major objections have been made to this legislation: First, on constitutional grounds, specifically that parts of the bill are unconstitutionally vague and also that one provision violates the first amendment; and, second, that the legislation is unnecessary as the Civil Rights Act of 1967 provides the best avenue for control of illegal Klan activities.

I do not dissent from the majority report on these grounds. I am convinced that the constitutional objections conceivably could be met by certain changes in the language of several sections of the bill and the elimination of certain improper but not essential parts of the bill. Moreover, Congress should not be estopped from taking important and necessary action in one respect simply because other means are also available. Where the public need is great and the legislative action is proper, the legislation may not be ignored because other possibilities exist.

I turn now to the specific provisions of H.R. 7025. Section 404 makes it a crime for a member of a clandestine organization to travel interstate or to use interstate facilities intending to commit a crime, or to conspire or solicit such conduct, if thereafter a criminal act is performed or attempted. There is precedent for this legislation in the organized crime legislation passed by Congress in recent years and so far upheld by the Federal courts (18 U.S.C. 1084; 18 U.S.C. 1952, 1953). The only serious question raised by opponents of this legislation is the vagueness of the term "clandestine organization" in the statute. But it was made quite clear by the legislative history scrupulously and consistently developed during the hearings that the statute contemplates Klan and Klan-like organizations and would not embrace innocent groups having legitimate objectives like labor unions, fraternal societies, and the like. As long as this is made quite clear, preferably by further precise definition within the legislation or at least indirectly in the context of the legislative history of H.R. 7025, I see no objection to this part of the bill.

Section 405 is certainly proper in making it a crime for members of secret organizations to murder, kidnap, assault, or attempt killing or

kidnaping people moving interstate. Although it is a local crime in every jurisdiction to murder, there is no reason in law why Congress cannot additionally make it a Federal crime to commit such an act when it involves interstate commerce. The one does not preclude the other.

Section 406 makes it a crime for members of secret groups to forcefully impede interstate travel in furtherance of the organization's purpose, and is also proper legislative action.

Section 407 makes it a crime to teach the use of explosives to accomplish unlawful purposes or to injure innocent citizens. This section raises a serious first amendment question and probably would not be upheld by the courts. Without some changes in the description of the specific conduct sought to be prohibited and taking this constitutional issue into consideration, I could not vote for this section.

Section 408 adds use of interstate wire facilities by members of secret groups to commit crimes against the United States to the list of punishable conduct. I find this section unobjectionable.

Section 409, on the other hand, would make it a crime to administer an oath of secrecy concerning the commission of Federal criminal offenses by clandestine groups. The gist of this wrong would be the potential later obstruction of justice and not the administration of the oath which itself is just talk. Sufficient State and Federal laws exist to cover this specific misconduct, and section 409 adds nothing new or necessary. Therefore, I would not endorse this part of H.R. 7025.

Section 410 makes it a crime to embezzle or steal from a clandestine organization doing business in interstate commerce. I do not believe that such a statute is sustainable as the crime here is larceny and is a local crime only. Congress would do itself and the country no useful service by discovering some national interest in the elevation of clandestine organizations to the status of a federally protected agency. Without some fiction like this there would be no proper jurisdiction upon which to predicate a Federal offense. Therefore, I cannot vote in favor of this section.

Section 411 providing for forfeiture of vehicles used in interstate commerce to transport people or firearms with the intent to commit crimes is not an improper or unprecedented exercise of Federal police powers (26 U.S.C.A. 7302). Therefore, it is a proper exercise of congressional legislative discretion and a proper punitive provision of H.R. 7025.

Section 412 allows the Attorney General to seek an injunction against criminal conspiracies or conspirators engaged in or about to engage in Federal crimes or deprivations of Federal constitutional rights. This provision is a valid technique for providing the protection of the Federal courts in cases where Federal interests are subjected to imminent dangers. I believe that the words "or is about to engage in" must be deleted from this section, however, in order for the statute to meet established legal standards. There is ample authority allowing injunctions against ongoing illegality (in this case, those "engaging" in the proscribed conduct). If the objectionable above-mentioned words are eliminated, this section would be proper (42 U.S.C. 1983; also see 21 U.S.C. 332).

Equally permissible and proper is the provision of section 413 allowing immunity against prosecution for witnesses required to

testify in cases arising under the other provisions of this statute. There is ample precedent for this technique of law enforcement in various criminal laws already on the Federal books and which have been upheld by the Federal courts. There are presently more than 20 witness immunity statutes in existence. (See, e.g., 15 U.S.C. 49, FTC Act; 18 U.S.C. 1406, Narcotics Control Act; 47 U.S.C. 409(1), Communications Act.) A bill to establish a general immunity statute has passed the Senate (S. 677). However, that part of section 414 which allows nonjury trials for certain classes of criminal contempts arising under section 413 is unconstitutional and unwise, and I could not vote for this unless the section was changed and jury trials were provided for in all criminal contempts arising out of misconduct proscribed by this legislation.

Therefore, without the above-mentioned exclusions and changes in H.R. 7025 taking these objections into consideration, I have filed this minority report.

JOHN C. CULVER.

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ON THE KU KLUX KLAN

BY ARNOLD FORSTER AND BENJAMIN R. EPSTEIN

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The Ku Klux Klans — 1965

In a desperate effort to halt the gradual progress of racial desegregation in the South, the Ku Klux Klan and its allies have been responsible for a major portion of the violence, killings, bombings, and other acts of intimidation seen in recent years.

The Klans provide the organizational framework and the emotional stimulus necessary to incite Klansmen and non-member followers to acts of violence and terror, while their leaders need not necessarily order or involve themselves in the actual incidents. On their own, Klansmen and their sympathizers translate the Klans' inflammatory incitements into action. The watchword of the Klans is "Fight!" and their tools are the shotgun, the rifle, the pistol, the bull-whip, the gasoline-soaked rag, and the cluster of dynamite sticks.

In their growing strength, and in their fanatical dedication to the waging of race war, Klansmen and their followers are arming themselves heavily. Gun dealers are doing a brisk business, and advertisements in gun journals across the country reflect a short supply of small arms. The hooded empire's security guards—they sometimes wear storm-troop type uniforms of gray, paratrooper boots and Army-style helmets—carry no weapons in public, but they make no secret of the fact that they often have them on hand in their cars. These guards keep outsiders at arm's length, and try to keep Klansmen themselves "in line."

Other special cadres, operating not quite as openly as the security guards, often have more ominous missions. In Georgia, for instance, one Klan numbered in its midst a group of "enforcers" known as the "Secret Six." In the Spring of 1964, Morris Abram, an attorney prominent in Jewish affairs, Vice-Mayor Sam Massell of Atlanta, and a Southern white clergyman—each well known as an opponent of the Klans and a defender of the rights of Negroes—were marked for assassination by the Secret Six. The FBI was alerted and the plot was never carried out. In February, 1965, another Klan-type secret squad met covertly at a headquarters of the Invisible Empire in Georgia to plan the assassination of the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. (Word of the plot to kill the leader of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference leaked out, and the FBI and other law enforcement authorities threw a heavy guard around him.)

A Klan Upswing

The Klans' violent activities have helped attract significant new membership and support during the last six months. As a result, the hooded orders are in the

midst of one of the periodic upswings on the fluctuating graph of their strength in recent years. In the late 1950s and early 1960's, the White Citizens Councils, whose weapon was economic pressure, spearheaded Southern resistance to the imperatives of desegregation. Today, the Klans have replaced the declining Councils as the symbol and the instrument of last-ditch resistance.

Klan Strength

The provable hard-core of Klan membership is estimated at 10,000. But the Invisible Empire includes an additional 25,000 to 35,000 like-minded racists who belong to an assortment of Klan-type groups or "gun clubs," plus others who, without any formal Klan affiliation, stand ready to do its work of terror.

Despite this flurry of growth, the Klans are today a divided movement ruled by competing promoters of racism. A common bond, and their real danger, is lawless violence.

The largest Klan group in the South today is the United Klans of America, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc., with headquarters in Tuscaloosa, Ala., and members and supporters in nine states. It is led by Robert Shelton, an energetic man in his mid-thirties, who has been an active Klansman for about a decade. The United Klans can probably count on active membership and sympathetic support from 26,000 to 33,000 adherents throughout the South. This support includes Klans directly affiliated with the United Klans and some semi-autonomous Klan groups in Alabama, Georgia, the Carolinas, Tennessee, Florida, Louisiana, Texas and Virginia.

The United Klans' rival, not nearly as strong, is the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc., with headquarters in Tucker, Ga., near Atlanta. It is headed by James Venable, an Atlanta attorney who has long been an extreme and active segregationist. The National Knights has the support of 7,000 to 9,000, mostly in Georgia, with some scattered strength elsewhere.

The present resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan began during 1963, and it can be linked to the climate brought about by a certain series of events—the drama of the civil rights movement in Alabama since the spring of that year, when the use of police dogs and fire hoses against civil rights demonstrators in Birmingham shocked the nation and attracted world-wide attention; that summer's proposal by the late President John F. Kennedy of broad civil rights legislation; the prolonged controversy over such legislation and the inflammatory propa-

ganda against the bill disgorged by segregationist, Klan and Far Right organizations throughout the country.

The United Klans of America

The main strength of Robert Shelton's United Klans is in his home state of Alabama, where he is assisted by Grand Dragon Robert Creel of Bessemer. Shelton's 10,000 to 12,000 supporters there reportedly are organized into at least 70 klaverns.

In Georgia, the United Klans are headed by Grand Dragon Calvin Craig of Atlanta and have some 39 klaverns, with an estimated overall strength of at least 7,000.

The United Klans in North Carolina, headed by Grand Dragon J. Robert Jones of Granite Quarry, boast some 42 klaverns in what is the best run state organization in Shelton's hooded order. There are some 8,000 to 9,000 men aligned with the organization which, hoping to attract still greater numbers, recently offered a special accident insurance policy to its members and started a fund to pay \$1,000 death benefits to widows of dead Klansmen.

In South Carolina, the Grand Dragon of the United Klans is Robert F. Scoggins of Spartanburg. This group, relatively inactive in the winter of 1964-1965, claims 46 small klaverns—one in each county of the State—and an estimated strength of 1,500 to 2,500 supporters.

The militant Original Knights of the Ku Klux Klan in northern Louisiana is another United Klans affiliate. Shelton also claims the loyalties of a number of smaller Klan groups in several states which, however, retain a somewhat independent identity and have little influence. One of these, the Improved Order of U.S. Klans, headed by Earl E. George, has two small klaverns in Georgia, another in Ocala, Fla., and two in Alabama. The other, the Association of Georgia Klans, is headed by Charlie Maddox of Savannah and has two or three small klaverns there.

During the Klan resurgence of 1964, the United Klans of North Carolina sent organizers into Virginia under Shelton's direction and succeeded in setting up four klaverns, three in the Norfolk-Portsmouth area, and one at Petersburg. But these klaverns have shown little sign of activity, their total strength hovering between 100 and 300.

In Tennessee, the Dixie Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc., headed for a number of years by Jack and Harry Leon Brown of Chattanooga, has associated both with Shelton's United Klans and with its chief rival, James Venable's National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. Thus guarding their autonomy more jealously than most

other local KKK groups, the **Brown brothers** control one strong klavern in Anniston, Ala., and a few small ones in the northwest corner of Georgia, but their main strength is centered in Eastern Tennessee where they have perhaps 2,000 to 3,000 supporters. The United Klans, as such, has very little strength in Tennessee. There are, however, a few small klaverns directly identified with the Shelton organization, and Raymond Anderson of Maryville is its Grand Dragon in the state where the Invisible Empire was first launched a century ago.

Texas has been singularly free of Klan activity in recent years, but in the Winter of 1964-65, the United Klans undertook an intensive recruitment campaign in the Dallas and Houston areas and scored some limited success.

In Florida, the United Florida Klan, Knights of the KKK, headed by Jason Kersey of New Smyrna Beach, is directly associated with the United Klans. In the last year or so, it has been the target of membership raids by other Klans and they have sapped its strength and influence. Superseding it is the Florida Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, run by Don Cothran of Jacksonville. Cothran's Klan is extremely radical, and it has attracted members at a rapid rate. In the early part of 1965 it was veering toward an affiliation with Shelton's United Klans. There were already signs, however, of a slowing-up of its growth as even more radical groups began luring its members into their ranks. From all indications, northern Florida appears to be a center of extreme and dangerous Klan-type activity.

The National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc.

James Venable, the Atlanta attorney who heads the National Knights of the KKK has long been identified with extreme racist activity. In recent years, he has been a leader of the Defensive Legion of Registered Americans, an anti-Negro and anti-Semitic group closely linked to the Christian Voters and Buyers League. In this activity, Venable has been associated with Wally Butterworth, a former radio personality who has recently devoted himself to recording hate speeches. Anti-Jewish, anti-Negro, anti-government record albums narrated by Butterworth are circulated throughout the nation's racist and anti-Semitic hate fringe, and are often used for Klan recruiting purposes.

Long rumored to have had KKK associations, Venable emerged as an open Klan leader in the early 1960s. Today, he is the main rival of the more powerful Shelton for the position as top leader over all Klans.

To promote his ambition, Venable has formed the

FACTS

32

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Federation of Klans, a paper organization which purports to be the opposite number of Shelton's United Klans, but which is not nearly as strong as its rival.

Efforts to work out a merger agreement and other forms of cooperation between Shelton and Venable have been talked about, but the talks have come to nothing, each of the men being unwilling to concede the top position of Klan leadership to the other.

Main Strength in Georgia

The focal point of the Venable Klan is Georgia, where it has some 4,500 supporters, more than half its national total. In addition, several smaller Georgia Klan groups are tied in with the National Knights, none of them having notable size or influence. These include the Federated Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc., headed by William Hugh Morris of Buchanan; the U.S. Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc., now headed by H.L. Jones of Jonesboro; and the Association of Georgia Klans, which Charlie Maddox of Savannah runs, maintaining an affiliation with the Shelton United Klans as well as with Venable's group.

The "U.S. Klans," with one klavern and 200 followers from areas east and south of Atlanta, is extremely radical and weapons-conscious.

The Association of South Carolina Klans, a Venable affiliate headed by Robert Hodges of Columbia, vies with Robert Scoggins's more powerful Shelton affiliate in that state.

A new Knights of the Ku Klux Klan organization was recently formed in Ohio, and it has ties with Venable's Klan Federation. A charter was granted, then withdrawn, by the Ohio Secretary of State pending an investigation of the Klan's possibly subversive nature. With Flynn Harvey of Columbus serving as temporary Grand Dragon for Ohio, Klan groups have met in Columbus, in Cincinnati, and in at least one Cincinnati suburb.

Venable has even signed up new Klansmen from Canada. Recently, he contemplated a change in Klan rules that would permit foreign-born Americans to join the hooded knights—a departure from the "native-born" membership tradition.

Louisiana and Mississippi

A significant highlight of the Klans' 1964 gains was their emergence, for the first time since World War II, in Louisiana and Mississippi, traditional strongholds of the White Citizens Councils.

The Councils, dominant for more than a decade, had failed to prevent passage of the Civil Rights Bill, and the resulting disillusion of die-hard segregationists offered a fertile field for Klan recruitment. By early 1965, some 17 klaverns with an estimated strength of 1,000 had sprung up in Louisiana, some of them extremely militant and violent. There was growing evidence of Klan-type efforts at intimidation in smaller Louisiana towns and cities, notably in Bogalusa, a paper-mill town with a population of 25,000.

Mississippi was, in the summer of 1964, the focal point for a voter registration drive and related educational activities carried out by several civil rights organizations linked together as the Congress of Federated Organiza-

tions (COFO). As part of this activity, hundreds of civil rights workers, students and other volunteers, many of them from the North, came into Mississippi, some of them remaining into the Winter of 1964.

White Knights of the KKK

The effort by COFO, like all other dramatic thrusts of the civil rights movement, provoked reaction. And in Mississippi, a major aspect of the reaction was the emergence of the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, an independent organization linked with no other Klans, and viewed by law enforcement agencies as perhaps the most die-hard, well-organized and violent order yet to appear.

It numbers an estimated 3,000 supporters, operates on military lines, is extremely security-conscious, and believes that the only way to maintain White Supremacy is through violence and bloodshed. It boasts adherents and supporters in local law enforcement agencies, Civil Defense organizations, police auxiliaries, and even some segments of the Mississippi business community.

The order is headed by Sam Bowers of McGee, Miss., who argues that all who advocate moderation in racial matters are traitors to the White Race.

A History of Terror

Since 1960, when today's Klans began to emerge in their present basic structure, there have been hundreds of bombings and beatings, and acts of arson, terror and intimidation. Many such crimes have been reported in the newspapers; others have not. Some of this violence has been traced directly to Klansmen. Some crimes have resulted in convictions; many have gone unsolved.

In some cases there are simply no witnesses to acts of violence, planned in secret and executed in the dark of night. Often those who may know the facts are reluctant to come forward, fearing reprisals. Others, intimidated by the existence of the Klans, their allies, and their henchmen, live in a grudging, enforced conspiracy of silence with the members of the Invisible Empire. Still others approve such activities and would not betray the Klansmen under any circumstances.

Klan leaders like Shelton and Venable piously disavow violence and deny using it. Yet in their speeches, and in those of other Klan leaders, the very same sentences that contain the disavowals also contain incitements to extremist action.

In August, 1964, for instance, Robert Scoggins, Grand Dragon of the United Klans in South Carolina, addressed a large Klan rally near Salisbury attended by some 2,000 persons gathered near three burning crosses:

"We are not a violent order. But it is better to die for something than to live for nothing!"

There was thunderous applause.

A few years ago, James Venable of the National Knights shouted to an Atlanta Klan audience that the schools should be burned down if necessary to prevent them from being desegregated. And Robert Shelton has declared:

"We don't advocate violence. If someone steps on our

toes we are going to knock their heads off their shoulders."

When the 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham was bombed in September, 1963, and four little Negro girls, attending Sunday school, were killed, a Klan speaker in St. Augustine, Fla., told a crowd of Klansmen there:

"If they can find those fellows, they ought to put medals on them. It wasn't no shame they was killed. Why? Because when I go out to kill rattlesnakes, I don't make no difference between little rattlesnakes and big rattlesnakes . . . I say good for whoever planted the bomb."

A Call to Race Warfare

The Klansmen speak publicly of using "ballots and boycotts—not bullets"—but even their printed literature reflects a belief in race warfare as the only way to preserve White Supremacy. In the summer of 1964, about the time the Civil Rights Bill was enacted, Klan recruiting posters in Jackson, Miss., declared:

"If we don't win in the next eight months, we're all destined for Communist slavery and our wives and daughters will be chattels in Mongolian and African brothels . . .

"Absolutely refuse to register or give up your arms . . .

"Stock up on rifles and shotguns and pistols, all of standard make, and lots of ammunition . . .

"Form an organization with next door neighbors but wear distinguishing marks, such as caps of the same color, so you won't be firing at your own people . . .

"Be your own leader of your own household and make it an armed arsenal."

Such inflammatory advice, steeped in fear, was in keeping with traditions that are now a century old. The history of the Klans in the United States is an almost unvarying record of masked terror, night-riding, and violence.

The First Klan

In the one hundred years since the close of the Civil War, America has experienced three distinct periods of activity on the part of the Ku Klux Klan.

The first of these occurred in the years of the Reconstruction. The original Klan was started on December 24, 1865, when a group of Confederate soldiers just out of uniform met in their home town of Pulaski, Tenn., to form a fraternal order shrouded in mystery and secrecy. From all indications, their secret society was, at the start, innocent and purely social in nature. It was not more than a matter of weeks, however, before the newly-organized group—deriving its name from the Greek "kyklos" (circle) to which was added an alliterative form of "clan"—began frightening local Negroes by parading in white sheets. It soon formulated the racist platforms on which the Klans have operated to this day.

Within a very short time the organization spread throughout the entire South, attracting thousands of bitter and violent men who feared the newly-freed Negro and despised the incoming Northern "carpetbagger." At a large convention held in Nashville, Tenn., in April, 1867, the Klan declared: "Our Main and Funda-

mental Objective is the MAINTENANCE OF THE SUPREMACY OF THE WHITE RACE in this Republic." By 1871, the hooded society had reached a membership of more than 550,000.

A Reign of Terror

The Klan's chief aim was to intimidate the Negro into absolute submission, to drive out the "carpetbaggers" and to destroy every vestige of Negro political power in the Southern states. In pursuing this goal, the Ku Klux Klan instituted a relentless reign of terror throughout all the states of the former Confederacy from 1867 until 1871.

In those four years of activity, the Klan helped to overthrow the state governments of North Carolina, Tennessee, and Georgia, and played a major role in the suppression of the Negro and the reestablishment of White Supremacy throughout the South. In 1871, a Congressional committee conducted an extensive investigation of Klan violence and uncovered hangings, shootings, torturings, whippings, and mutilations in the thousands.

The commanding general of Federal troops in Texas, reported: "Murders of Negroes are so common as to render it impossible to keep accurate accounts of them."

Statistics of Violence

In Louisiana, testimony revealed at least 2,000 had been killed, wounded, or injured in a few weeks preceding the Presidential election of 1868. Seventy-five killings were reported in Georgia, and 109 in Alabama. One count showed that in a single county in northern Florida during a period of a few months, more than 150 men were murdered by Klansmen, at a rate of more than one killing a day.

The Klan Grand Wizard, former Confederate Gen. Nathan Bedford Forrest, ordered the Klan disbanded in 1869, but it was not until 1871, when outraged Northern public opinion forced the Congressional investigation and Federal legislation, that the first Klan was finally destroyed.

Although the Klan had disappeared, a highly romanticized legend of its prowess lingered on, especially in rural areas of the South where its secret rites held a fascination for back-country whites.

Adding to the legend of the Invisible Empire were such glorifications as "The Clansman," a 1905 novel by Thomas Dixon, a North Carolina minister—the basis of the now-famous D. W. Griffith 1915 motion picture masterpiece, "The Birth of a Nation."

The Second Klan

William Joseph Simmons, a lanky Alabamian who had failed both as a medical student and a Methodist minister, founded the second Klan on Thanksgiving night, 1915, atop towering Stone Mountain, just outside of Atlanta. There, he and about fifteen followers stood below a burning cross and swore allegiance to the Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, in a ceremony similar to that held in Tennessee 50 years earlier.

The second Klan expanded on its original anti-Negro ideology, stating that it aimed to keep "the Caucasian Race and its civilization pure by preserving it from the

contaminating intermixture of alien races and their influences." It became, in fact, at least as anti-Semitic, anti-Catholic, and anti-foreigner as it was anti-Negro. It plainly stated that its Northern Klaverns were "to be mainly an instrument of anti-Semitism." Its anti-Catholic hatred included such nonsense as the claim that the Pope was about to transfer his headquarters from Rome to Washington, and that arms were being stored in cathedrals in readiness for a Catholic seizure of the United States government.

The revived Klan remained a small, not-very-effective Georgia organization of only 5,000 members for the first five years of its history. But in June, 1920, Simmons hired two publicity agents, Edward Young Clarke and Mrs. Elizabeth Tyler, and they were primarily responsible for the subsequent growth of the Klan into a multi-million dollar operation and a significant national political power. Its days of greatest prosperity and growth were from 1922 to 1925, under the leadership of Simmons' successor, Hiram Wesley Evans, a Texas dentist. In 1925, at the peak of its power, Klan membership stood between 4,000,000 and 5,000,000 and its income was in the millions of dollars.

A National Phenomenon

Unlike the Klan of Reconstruction days, the second Klan was a national phenomenon. It amassed substantial political power in the North and West, as well as in the South. In New Jersey, there was a Klan organization in every county. In Indiana there was a virtual KKK dictatorship over state politics under Grand Dragon D. C. Stephenson. The order held strong power in Colorado, Oregon, Texas, Oklahoma, Louisiana, Maine and Kansas. Even on Long Island, N. Y., crosses were burned and Klan rallies were held. The Klan was a major issue at the 1924 Democratic national convention and the following year 40,000 Klansmen paraded down Washington's Pennsylvania Avenue in a show of strength.

As had been the case a half-century earlier, a great wave of public indignation over the Klan's violence contributed to its downfall. So, too, did internal bickering and some personal transgressions by Klan leaders which were exposed in the press. The death blow, perhaps, was a daring series of articles published in "The New York World." The Pulitzer newspaper had compiled statistics on Klan violence from October, 1920, to October, 1921. The findings: "Four killings, one mutilation, one branding with acid, forty-two floggings, twenty-seven tar-and-feather parties, five kidnappings, forty-three persons warned to leave town or otherwise threatened, fourteen communities threatened by warning posters, and sixteen parades by masked men with warning placards."

Fought Smith in 1928

The Klan went into a rapid decline in 1926, and was down to about 350,000 members by the end of the following year. It did not die out completely, however, but continued to attract support from those who inherited the movement's legacy of racist violence, shunned by all men of social standing or respectability.

In 1928, despite declining membership, the Klan was able to put up a vigorous, bitter fight against the first Catholic nominee for President, Alfred E. Smith. Six years later, still under Hiram Evans' leadership, the organization concentrated its attack on the New Deal. By 1939, Evans had given up the leadership of the Klan, selling its charter to Dr. James H. Colescott, a veterinarian from Terre Haute, Ind., and Samuel Green, an Atlanta doctor. On August 18, 1940, a year after its new leadership took over, the Klan engaged in some highly-publicized pro-Nazi activity in the state of New Jersey. Klansmen joined the German-American Bund in a large meeting at the Bund's Camp Nordland, and there they burned a cross forty feet high and sang Nazi marching songs. As America entered World War II, the Klan disappeared as a national movement and its little local groups eventually dissolved into obscurity.

The Third Klan

The present Klan—the third Klan incarnation—has its roots in the period immediately following World War II when it was reorganized by Green. For four or five years thereafter, the Green-controlled Klan was active in parts of the South, but it splintered into fragments when Green died in 1949. One reaction to the activities of the post-war Klan was the passage of legislation against the wearing of masks and the burning of crosses in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, and Virginia.*

Following Green's death there was a scramble for power between his successor, Samuel Roper, and various splinter leaders who sought to carve for themselves a slice of Green's Klan. The struggle for power, along with a mounting public reaction against Klan excesses, weakened the hooded order, but it managed to survive into the early 1950s.

In 1952, Federal law enforcement agencies and authorities in North Carolina undertook a mass roundup of Klansmen. Their action was touched off by a wave of terrorism that had swept over Horry County, South Carolina, the bailiwick of Thomas L. Hamilton, Imperial Wizard of the Carolina splinter group, and had spread into North Carolina. The terrorism had been marked by a series of brutal night-time kidnappings and floggings which terrorized citizens of Columbus County, North Carolina, for more than a year. Night-riders had administered beatings to Negroes and whites alike for a variety of "sins"—alleged drunkenness, failure to attend church regularly, and failure to provide support for home and family.

The reign of terror ended in February, 1952, when the F.B.I., aided by local police, staged a series of early morning raids and arrested 11 former members of Hamilton's Klan, charging them with violations of the Federal (Lindbergh) Kidnapping Law—two victims had been carried across the State line to be flogged. Among those arrested was a local constable and former police chief of Fair Bluff, N.C., and another who was a deputy sheriff of Columbus County and former police chief in Tabor

*Fifty-two key Southern communities also adopted anti-mask and anti-cross burning laws and ordinances. The Anti-Defamation League played a leading role in drafting model legislation.

City, N.C. Ten of the 11 defendants were found guilty and received sentences of up to five years in the Federal Penitentiary.

Later that year, State authorities in North Carolina arrested additional Klansmen identified as having been involved in other flogging cases—including Imperial Wizard Thomas Hamilton himself. In July there was a mass trial of 71 Klansmen; 63 were convicted and sentenced, charged with 180 offenses in 12 separate flogging incidents. Hamilton drew four years at hard labor.

The North Carolina trials temporarily broke the Klan's power in the Carolinas and had a sobering effect on the hooded Klaverns elsewhere in the South. For the next four years—until 1956—local splinter groups continued to exist, but their influence was negligible.

The Citizens Councils

The first wave of Southern resistance to the school desegregation decision handed down by the U.S. Supreme Court in May, 1954, was spearheaded by the new White Citizens Councils, which had sprung up across the South in the Summer of 1954. The Councils now sought, by "persuasion" based on the threat of economic reprisals, to choke off local activity by individuals and organizations favoring compliance with the Supreme Court decision. The Citizens' Councils included members drawn from the respected levels of Southern life—bankers, mayors, planters, businessmen, sheriffs, politicians and other influential citizens—and their stated purpose was the preservation of a segregated South. Originated in Mississippi, the Councils soon spread to other Southern states, and by early 1956, boasted an estimated membership of some 100,000.

Respectable though they claimed to be—they rejected violence as a means of preserving segregation—there was nevertheless early evidence that the Councils had been infiltrated by anti-Semites, and that crude anti-Jewish propaganda was being recommended and circulated by some of their units. As time went on, moreover, extremist elements joined local Citizens Councils. Wholly extremist independent Councils, led by anti-Semites, sprang up.

Nevertheless, those Citizens Councils directed from Mississippi continued to wield considerable influence, and during the administration of former Governor Ross Barnett played a significant, if not dominant, role in Mississippi political and governmental affairs.

As the first steps toward desegregation in the South were accomplished, extremist elements in the Citizens Council movement began to gravitate toward the more extreme Councils, in which Klan elements were active, or toward the dormant KKK itself.

1956 Upsurge

By the second half of 1956, there was a sharp increase in Klan activity. In September, a crowd of 3000 attended a Klan rally at Stone Mountain, near Atlanta, where the second Klan had begun 41 years earlier. They came from seven Southern states in 1000 cars, many painted with KKK emblems. The rally was organized by the late Eldon Edwards, an auto paint sprayer from Atlanta who

had, in 1955, obtained a charter for a new hooded empire to be known as "The U.S. Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan." As Edwards sought to organize new klaverns throughout Georgia—and later in Alabama and the Carolinas—Klan parades, rallies and cross-burnings became frequent spectacles once more.

Other small Klan units, one of them organized by Asa E. Carter, former leader of the extremist North Alabama Citizens Council, began to stir in Florida, Texas, Alabama and the Carolinas. A crowd of 1000 attended a Klan rally at a drive-in theater near Concord, N.C.—the first such conclave to be held in that part of the state since the 1920s.

Nevertheless, the Klans which came to life in 1955-1956 failed to achieve any cohesion and remained a fragmented assortment of feuding wizards, dragons, and kleagles, rejected by the overwhelming majority of Southerners who spurned the Klan while remaining opposed to integration.

The Edwards Klan, with an estimated 12,000 to 15,000 members, was the largest of the scattered Klan organizations. Some seven other scattered orders could boast no more than 1000 or 1500 members each.

Despite their relatively small membership, however, the danger posed by the Klans stemmed from their role as breeders of lawlessness and as magnets for the worst elements. Some Klan leaders were pistol-packing hoodlums familiar with the use of dynamite as a weapon of terrorism. Early in 1958 several members of a KKK group in North Carolina were seized in connection with an attempted bombing of a Negro elementary school in Charlotte.

Alabama Mutilation Case

Klansmen in Alabama were involved in one of the most sordid instances of violence on record. In September, 1957, a group of them met in a private home to decide what action to take in protest against efforts to desegregate schools in Birmingham. Deciding to pick up a Negro—any Negro—and to scare him, they found a poor handyman named Judge Aaron, dragged him to a small house with a dirt floor, emasculated him with a razor blade, and then tortured him by pouring turpentine on his wounds. The mayhem was carried out by lamplight under the supervision of an "Exalted Cyclops" who wore a Klan robe trimmed in red. The victim, later found by police in critical condition on a roadside, survived his ordeal.

Six Klansmen were arrested and charged with mayhem. Four were convicted and received 20-year terms. The trial judge called the offense one of the worst crimes in his 35 years of legal experience.

The Birmingham mutilation highlighted a series of outrages carried out by Klansmen during the summer and fall of 1957. In August, James E. Folsom, then Governor of Alabama, issued a public statement calling on all law enforcement agencies to crack down on Klan "hoodlumism." His message came after six Negroes had been beaten in one Alabama town, four in another.

In February, 1960, the Negro sit-in movement was launched at Greensboro, N.C., and brought new and

mounting pressure for desegregation to the entire South. While no concrete proof of a cause-and-effect relationship can be offered, 1960 marked a sharp increase in Klan activity and the consolidation of previously-splintered Klan organizations in seven Southern states.

Klan Gains in 1960-1961

The Klans gained considerable strength during 1960 and by the start of 1961, their Southwide membership was estimated to be 35,000 to 50,000. Two major Klan "federations" emerged during 1960—the Edwards U.S. Knights of the KKK and the newly-formed National Knights organized by anti-Edwards splinter Klans in seven Southern states. A few local Klans—notably the Alabama Knights of the KKK, headed by Robert Shelton—remained unaffiliated at that time. Shelton had been head of the Edwards U.S. Knights of the KKK in Alabama until he was ousted by Edwards in the Spring of 1960, a falling-out typical of the persistent feuding between the petty lords of race warfare.

In January, 1961, the strength of the Edwards Klan was placed at 15,000 to 20,000, the National Knights at some 10,000 to 15,000. Another 10,000 to 12,000 supported various unaffiliated Klans and klaverns scattered through the South.

The significant growth of 1960 and 1961, however, was not so much in Klan membership as in Klan activity and violence. In March, 1960, to show its strength, the newly-formed National Knights of the KKK staged a series of carefully coordinated cross-burnings throughout the South on the last weekend of the month. Newspapers at the time reported that on Saturday, March 26, more than 1,000 crosses were burned in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina and other Southern states.

'Axe Handle' Saturday

There was evidence that Klansmen from Florida and South Georgia played an organized role in the race riots that rocked Jacksonville, Fla., for almost a week beginning on "Axe Handle" Saturday—August 27, 1960. Tactics to counteract the sit-in movement, of which Jacksonville was then a target, were discussed at a meeting of the Jacksonville klavern of the Florida Knights of the KKK four days earlier. From that meeting a call went out to other Klan units urging them to converge on Jacksonville the following Saturday and to bring Klan sympathizers with them. They were to leave all Klan identification at home and to come to Jacksonville in street clothing.

Scores of Klansmen and other whites appeared in downtown Jacksonville on the morning of August 27. Stores selling baseball bats and axe handles reported heavy sales—one store alone sold 50 axe handles. Violence soon broke out and during the disorders, shouts that "For every nigger, we got to kill two Jews!" were heard. Sporadic disorder and violence continued for several days.

The death of Eldon Edwards on August 1, 1960, brought new and more violent leadership to his U.S. Klans organization, which remained the largest of the splinter Klan groups, though relatively inactive. Edwards

had sought to convey an image of respectability, in part by public statements rejecting violence, in part by inaction. His critics said his real interest in the Klan had been increasing his personal wealth. In any event, during his five years of leadership, the activities of the U.S. Klans appeared to consist for the most part of an occasional picnic or fish-fry. But Edwards' successor, aptly named "Wild Bill" Davidson (real name Robert Lee Davidson); soon made it clear that he intended to pursue an "activist" policy. Unlike Edwards, Davidson publicly advocated extreme measures to preserve segregation.

"If it takes buckshot to keep the black race down," he was quoted as saying publicly in November, 1960, "Klansmen will use it." The Klan chaplain was quoted as saying that "If it takes saving the American way at the cost of our lives, then let's make that sacrifice."

Atlanta newsmen reported that the Klan speakers, while professing love for all races and creeds, shouted about "Jew boys" and "niggers," and that while protesting their respect for law and order, they talked of using buckshot, burning schools and sacrificing Klan lives in the cause.

Riot on a Campus

In January, 1961, when the University of Georgia at Athens was ordered desegregated by a Federal Court—two Negro students were then admitted—a riot took place on the campus. Newspaper reports noted the presence of known Klansmen in street clothing at the scene. They were led by Calvin Craig, then Grand Dragon of the U.S. Klans for the State of Georgia.

Nine out-of-towners—from Atlanta—were arrested in Athens and all but one were Klan members. Two of them were special Fulton County (Atlanta) deputy sheriffs. Police confiscated a small arsenal of guns.

On July 8, 1961, the United Klans of America was formed at Indian Springs, Ga., with some 500 Klansmen from seven Southern states present. The plan was to merge various splinter groups into a unified hooded empire and to fill the leadership vacuum that had developed after the death of Edwards and the failure of the National Knights, formed a year earlier, to bring cohesion to the movement.

The leading figure at the Indian Springs meeting was Shelton, who had come with an eight-man security guard dressed in black boots and red ties. The apparent show of strength by the Alabama leader had its effect, and Shelton was named Imperial Wizard of the new Klan union.

The desegregation efforts of the civil rights movement at Albany, Ga., during 1962, sparked Klan efforts at recruitment, and by early 1963, the United Klans' Albany klavern, numbering some 300, was one of the largest in Georgia. On Labor Day, 1962, in Albany, a 40-foot cross was burned before an estimated crowd of 5,000 or 6,000 with Shelton and other bigwigs present. In August, 1963, a United Klans cross-burning at Lakeland, Fla., attracted an estimated 8,000.

Such cross-burnings and public "speaking" staged by the United Klans, coupled with Shelton's organizing energy and the growing pressures of desegregation,

NEWSPAPER CLIPPINGS

(AJ)

CHICAGO (UPI)--TWO MORE MEMBERS OF THE CHICAGO POLICE FORCE WERE UNMASKED TUESDAY AS MEMBERS OF THE KU KLUX KLAN. ERNEST SEMET, 32, AND WILLIAM HARVEY PLOGGER, 43, WERE NAMED BY CHICAGO POLICE SUPT. JAMES B. CONLISK AS MEMBERS OF THE RACIST ORGANIZATION. IN NAMING THE TWO CONLISK COMPLETED IDENTIFICATION OF SIX POLICEMEN FOUND TO BE MEMBERS OF THE KLAN.

BOTH SEMET AND PLOGGER WERE UNIFORMED PATROLMEN ASSIGNED TO THE SHAKESPEARE AVENUE DISTRICT. SEMET WAS A 10-YEAR VETERAN OF THE FORCE AND PLOGGER HAD SERVED FOR 13 YEARS. THE SHAKESPEARE DISTRICT ENCOMPASSES A PREDOMINANTLY WHITE AREA.

CONLISK SAID BOTH SEMET AND PLOGGER HAD REFUSED TO RESIGN FROM THE FORCE WHEN CONFRONTED WITH THE ACCUSATION OF KLAN MEMBERSHIP. AS A RESULT, THE SUPERINTENDENT SAID, THEY WERE BOTH EXCUSED FROM DUTY PENDING THE OUTCOME OF A POLICE DISCIPLINARY BOARD HEARING.

THE REVELATIONS ABOUT KLAN MEMBERSHIP ON THE FORCE BEGAN LAST THURSDAY. AT THAT TIME CONLISK SAID THERE WERE SIX KNOWN KLANSMEN IN THE DEPARTMENT BUT NAMED ONLY THREE.

ONE OF THE THREE NAMED, DONALD HEATH, WAS LATER REVEALED AS THE HEAD OR GRAND DRAGON OF THE ILLINOIS KU KLUX KLAN. HEATH WAS ACCUSED OF RECRUITING THE OTHER FIVE POLICEMEN INTO THE WHITE SUPREMECIST ORGANIZATION.

THE OTHERS NAMED AS KLAN MEMBERS BY CONLISK IN PRECEDING ANNOUNCEMENTS WERE RICHARD STANTON, 33; DENNIS ALOIA, 25, AND JON T. JOHANSSON, 26.

ALTHOUGH THE KU KLUX KLAN IS ON THE ATTORNEY GENERAL'S LIST OF SUBVERSIVE ORGANIZATIONS, THE PARTICULAR KLAN ORGANIZATION THE POLICEMEN BELONGED TO, THE NATIONAL KNIGHTS OF THE KU KLUX KLAN, IS NOT.

CONLISK SAID HE FELT THIS WAS "HAIR SPLITTING," AND THAT IN HIS OPINION AND THE OPINION OF THE DEPARTMENT THE KLAN DID NOT RESPECT THE RIGHTS OF ALL THE PEOPLE.

CONLISK SAID HE HAD NO PLANS TO MAKE UP HIS OWN LIST OF ORGANIZATIONS IN WHICH POLICE MEMBERSHIP WOULD BE PROHIBITED.

THE AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION HAS SAID IT WILL CHALLENGE THE POLICE DEPARTMENT'S ACTIONS TOWARDS THE KLANSMEN. THE ACLU HAS CONTENDED THAT THE ACTIONS INFRINGED ON THE POLICEMENS' FREEDOM OF ASSOCIATION.

IN REGARD TO POSSIBLE POLICE MEMBERSHIP IN THE BLACK MUSLIMS, AN ANTI-WHITE ORGANIZATION, CONLISK SAID "I DON'T KNOW AND IF I DID, I WOULDN'T TELL YOU."

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KKK

DEC 29, 1967

6 Chicago Policemen Charged With Klan Activity

Special to The New York Times

CHICAGO, Dec. 28 — Police Superintendent James Conlisk disclosed today that a year-long investigation had uncovered Ku Klux Klan activity in the Chicago Police Department.

Mr. Conlisk said that six patrolmen were involved. A raid today on the home of one turned up a supply of weapons.

The patrolman whose home was raided was identified as Donald Heath, assigned to the Fillmore District on the predominantly Negro West Side. The other patrolmen were not identified.

Mr. Conlisk said that all six would face department disciplinary action.

Survey Planned

Meanwhile, Mayor Richard J. Daley announced plans to get more policemen on the streets following a wave of violence Tuesday night in which a woman was murdered, one Alderman was shot and a second Alderman was the victim of an attempted robbery.

The Mayor's plans call for a

survey to determine if policemen now doing civilian type jobs can be reassigned to patrol jobs.

He said that such reassignment would come "after we appraise the effects of adding 700 more men to the force." The force now has about 10,000 policemen.

The Mayor vowed yesterday to add as many more men to the department as necessary to curb "crime and violence in the streets."

More policemen were assigned to the Hyde Park District where Alderman Leon Despres was shot twice in his right leg. He was recovering at the Billings Hospital at the University of Chicago.

The policemen were taken from patrols at the Chicago Transit Authority and will be replaced by rookies.

The Mayor said he has asked Raymond F. Simon, city corporation counsel, to determine whether the city had the power to adopt a "stop and frisk" ordinance.

Such an ordinance would

permit policemen to halt and search persons who might be suspected of having committed a crime or who might be suspected of the intent to commit a crime.

All city Aldermen, including those who have frequently opposed the Mayor, have promised full support. Many agreed that more policemen were needed.

Most district police commanders also agreed. Comdr. Harold L. Miles of the Engle-

wood District on the South Side said he could use "100 more men to get the job done."

It was in his district that Mrs. Mary Virginia Tunney, 42 years old, was shot and killed Tuesday night. Her purse was missing when her body was found on the sidewalk leading up to her apartment house.

The fatal shooting took place not far from where Alderman Joseph Burke foiled an attempt to rob him in the backyard of his home.

India's High Court Upholds Suspensions of Civil Rights

NEW DELHI (AP)—The Indian Supreme Court has upheld the right of the Government to suspend constitutional rights of citizens by means of a presidential declaration of a state of emergency.

The court dismissed a petition by 21 Kashmiris arrested Nov. 19, 1966, under Defense of India Rules.

The rules have been in ef-

fect since November, 1962, when Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, the President of India, declared a state of emergency during the border clash with Communist China.

Fighting ended that fall, but the emergency was never rescinded and provisions have been used since for indefinite detention without trial of smugglers, Communists, newspaper editors or any others who officials feel are violating law or "endangering the country's security."

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Man Pleads Guilty to Arson Of Maryland Negro's Home

One of four white men and a juvenile who allegedly set fire to the home of a Laurel Negro on July 10 after obtaining membership cards for a local Ku Klux Klan group pleaded guilty yesterday in Calvert County Circuit Court to aiding and abetting arson.

Judge Perry G. Bowen Jr. deferred sentencing William E. Neilson Jr., 20, who faces a maximum 20-year jail term, pending a presentence investigation.

Neilson abruptly reversed his original plea of innocent after the juvenile who had

participated in the arson attempt testified that Neilson also was involved.

The youth, who was placed on probation by juvenile authorities, said Neilson "just set (sic) in the car and laughed" while the others started the fire.

Two men indicted with Neilson, Ronald K. Butina, 22, and Paul David White, 19, have already been sentenced to 10 years, and the third, Marcus J. Pressley, 18, was given a five-year suspended sentence.

At White's Prince George's trial, the prosecution quoted

Neilson as telling police that the house-burning was decided upon as "a sure way" to get accepted by the Klan.

According to Kemper's testimony yesterday, he and the four others drove up in Neilson's car to a Jessup gas station then owned by KKK Imperial Wizard Xavier Edwards and was given membership cards.

In the early morning hours of July 10, Kemper testified, they drove to a home in the Negro area of Laurel, poured a can of gasoline on the side of the house and set it afire.

15

House Panel, in Final Report, Says Klan Is Still a Terrorist Conspiracy

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Dec. 10—The House Committee on Un-American Activities made public today its final report on an investigation of the Ku Klux Klan that began three years ago.

The report is a low-keyed accounting of the history and horrors of America's most durable terrorist movement, which began after the Civil War. It is 371 pages long.

The committee's final judgment, delayed a year and a half after the end of its hearings, was stern. Today's Klans, like those of the past, operate as

"conspiracies to deprive certain citizens of rights guaranteed by the Constitution," it concluded.

"Klans moreover have continued to rely on terrorism as an instrument for achieving so-called 'white supremacy' and other objectives," the committee declared in the summary of its report.

"This terrorism runs the gamut from telephoned threats or intimidatory cross-burnings to various forms of physical violence," it continued. "Klan involvement in kidnappings and beatings, arson, bombing and outright murder in recent years

compels the committee to view the Klan as a vehicle for death, destruction and fear."

Delayed By Other Work

Donald Appell, the committee's chief investigator, said the final report had been delayed because of the committee's limited staff and because of the press of other work, such as an investigation into urban rioting.

The report added little beyond the information disclosed in the committee's public hearings between Oct. 19, 1965, and Feb. 24, 1966.

The committee raised its

estimate of the number of members in the nation's 14 Klan organizations from 15,000 in October, 1966, to 16,810 in January, 1967.

It credits the United Klans of America, Inc., with 15,075, or about 90 per cent, of those members. The United Klans is headed by Robert Shelton of Tuscaloosa, Ala. Shelton, the Imperial Wizard, was sentenced to a year in prison and fined \$1,000 for contempt of Congress on Oct. 14, 1966, for refusing to produce subpoenaed Klan records for the committee.

The United Klans' member-

ship ranged from 10 persons in Delaware to 7,500 in North Carolina in early 1967, the committee reported.

Representative Edwin E. Willis, Democrat of Louisiana, who is chairman of the committee, noted in a foreword to the report that he had twice introduced a bill aimed at curbing Klan activities, once in 1966 and again this year.

The bill is pending before the House. No action on it has been scheduled and it is not likely to be passed this year.

The committee report accused the Klans of exploiting a fear

of communism to advance their own goals of white supremacy.

"The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, then conducting voter registration drives, was unjustly accused by the Klan of being a Communist organization," the report said, "and the public was told to beware of the Congress of Industrial Organizations on the grounds that the C.I.O. was 'teaching and practicing communism' by trying to place white workers on a level with the Negroes."

REMEMBER THE NEEDLEST!

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Study Finds Klan Vehicle Of Death

Associated Press

The House Committee on Un-American Activities reported yesterday the Ku Klux Klan remains "a vehicle of death, destruction and fear," counting some 17,000 members in 18 states.

The Committee, summarizing two years of hearings into Klan activities, said 16,810 Klansmen were enrolled in 14 Klan groups it had studied, that a 15th had become defunct and that three new groups had appeared on the scene.

Half of the Klans have 100 or fewer members, the Committee said, and by far the heaviest membership 15,025 is in the United Klans of America, headed by Robert Shelton of Tuscaloosa, Ala.

Chairman Edwin T. Willis (D-La.), in a letter accompanying the 371-page report, said Klan membership dropped during the Committee's hearings but "was once more on the rise" by the summer of 1968.

"Whereas the upsurge in the early 1960s was viewed as a response to civil rights demonstrations in the South," Willis wrote, "the latest gains appear to have been stimulated to a great extent by riotous situations in Northern cities."

Although the organization of the Klan has changed substantially from the monolithic unit which broke up in 1944, the Committee said, "Klans operate today, as in the past, as conspiracies to deprive certain citizens of rights guaranteed by the Constitution.

States in which the Committee found Klan groups operating include Arkansas, Georgia, South Carolina, Ohio, Delaware, Maryland, Michigan, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Texas and Virginia.

Wash. Post

Dec 11, 1967

Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

Mississippi Violence Refutes Reports of Ku Klux Klan Death

A NEW REIGN of night-rider terror in Mississippi, unnoticed beyond the State's borders, is proving that reports of the death of the Ku Klux Klan are somewhat exaggerated. On the contrary, the Klan is very much alive.

Indeed, the epidemic of well-planned, perfectly executed bombings and burnings in November points to a new crisis of law and order in the Deep South.

One trigger to the new crisis was an event hailed as the Klan's death knell: the conviction on Oct. 20 by a Federal jury in Meridian, Miss., of seven Klansmen for conspiracy in the murder of civil rights workers. Federal officials had long felt that the KKK, splintered by factionalism and infiltrated by the FBI, could not survive a conviction in a civil rights murder case.

But three days after those convictions, their meaning was blunted by a strange sequence of events. Federal Judge Harold Cox, an arch-segregationist with a low boiling point who presided over the Meridian trial, blew up over courthouse hallway talk by Klansmen threatening to use "dynamite" to retaliate.

Accordingly, Cox attached a provision to the bonds for three convicted Klansmen. "If any explosives are used in any sort of violence in the counties in the southern district of Mississippi . . . this bond is thereupon revoked and canceled," Cox ruled.

Some crowed that the Klan was dead. But others, including Federal officials, feared the Judge might actually, though unwittingly, be inciting the KKK to violence. They were right. Klansmen began a new terror campaign to call Cox's bluff.

THE JUDGE'S ban was defied on Nov. 15 in Laurel, Miss., when the home of a Negro minister, active in voter registration, was damaged by a bomb. Three days later, the Jackson home of a white Methodist layman sympathetic to civil rights was bombed. Three days after that, bombers in Jackson struck the home of a Jewish rabbi. Two Head Start centers in Lincoln County and a poverty office in Kemper County were burned down the same week. Cox has remained silent.

But the threats of a single judge cannot be fully blamed for the new wave of terrorism. Just before the Meridian convictions, night-riders bombed first the cottage of the white dean of mostly Negro Tougaloo College and then Jackson synagogue.

Thus, the largest trigger may not be the Cox order at all but the Democratic primary runoff of Aug. 29, which nominated (tantamount to election) Rep. John Bell Williams for Governor.

GOV.-ELECT Williams



Novak

Evans

has strongly denounced the latest bombings. However, three leaders of Americans for Preservation of the White Race, an extremist group tied into the Klan, donated money to the Williams campaign and the APWR press agent is a Williams adviser. At the Meridian trial, some defendants and their attorneys sported "Williams for Governor" buttons. The Klan cannot be blamed for hoping, perhaps incorrectly, that it will have a sympathizer in the Governor's chair.

Moreover, the new terror

is harder to detect because it is more sophisticated than the old mass murders. The present terrorists, a faction of younger Klansmen, operate in groups of two or three men to avoid FBI penetration.

Neither local nor State police have been able to cope with terror, partly because of incompetence, partly because of sympathy for the Klan. Recent formation of an antibomb squad by the Jackson police is belated good news.

But more is needed. Law enforcement officials believe that once the Klansmen convicted at Meridian are finally behind bars, the terror will end. Other Mississippians fighting for law and order think only John Bell Williams can achieve that goal. And for him to show the required strength may require pressure from the Mississippi business interests— and from Federal authorities in Washington.

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Short Story . . .

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Racial Bombings May Be Reprisals

By William Chapman
Washington Post Staff Writer

A wave of terror bombings directed primarily against white sympathizers of the civil rights movement has produced Mississippi's worst outbreak of violence in three years.

In Jackson, the state capital, the nighttime bombers hit three homes and a synagogue. A Negro minister's home in Laurel was blasted and civil rights leaders believe the bombings of two rural Head Start school centers may be part of the current wave.

Mississippi's white political leadership—including the Governor and the Governor-elect—have denounced the blasts and the city of Jackson has offered a \$25,000 reward for information on the bombers.

Another unrelated outburst of racially oriented attacks has occurred in western Tennessee in the wake of a court decision requiring consolidation of a rural county's Negro and white schools. The burning of five homes and a Negro-owned store is being investigated locally but no arrests have been made.

In Jackson, since late September, bombers have struck a synagogue; the home of its rabbi; the home of a white dean of predominantly Negro Tougaloo College; and the

home of a Methodist missionary director.

After his home was bombed last Monday, Rabbi Perry E. Nussbaum charged that apathy of Mississippi's white leadership was responsible for the terrorism because, he said, it gave encouragement to the Ku Klux Klan and Americans for the Preservation of the White Race.

Rabbi Nussbaum was a founder of a biracial group that helped to rebuild some of the many Negro churches burned in the summer of 1964 when a major civil rights drive led to bombings, burnings, and the murder of three rights workers.

Late last week, Gov. Paul B. Johnson and Gov.-elect John Bell Williams urged Mississippians to help apprehend "these depraved bombers."

The city of Jackson offered a \$25,000 reward, assigned extra patrols to keep night watches, and brought additional detectives to work on the case.

Detective Chief M. B. Pierce said, "We think we have narrowed this down to a limited number of people." He indicated that arrests might be made soon.

A fifth bombing occurred in Laurel at the home of the Rev. Allen Johnson, a Negro

minister who had been active in voter registration work.

None of the bombings has caused injuries, but there were several close calls. Rabbi Nussbaum said he and his wife had just retired when the Monday night explosion rocked their house. He said he believed he would have been killed if the explosive had been placed on the left side of his front door instead of the right side.

Some Mississippi civil rights leaders speculate the latest bombings might be a form of reprisals provoked by the conviction in a Federal court of seven Ku Klux Klansmen in the 1964 killings of the three civil rights workers in Neshoba County.

Among those convicted was Sam H. Bowers Jr., Imperial Wizard of the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, accused of masterminding the slayings.

The burning of homes in Tennessee all followed a Federal court decision last summer requiring the consolidation of Negro and white schools in Haywood County and specifying that some Negro teachers should be placed in white schools.

The homes of three Negroes active in civil rights work were burned either with kerosene or gasoline. One of them

was owned by Odell Sanders, a Negro community leader in Brownsville who was a major witness in the school suit.

Two other vacant homes and one Negro-owned store were also burned.

Local civil rights workers said they believed the burnings were reprisals for civil rights activity.

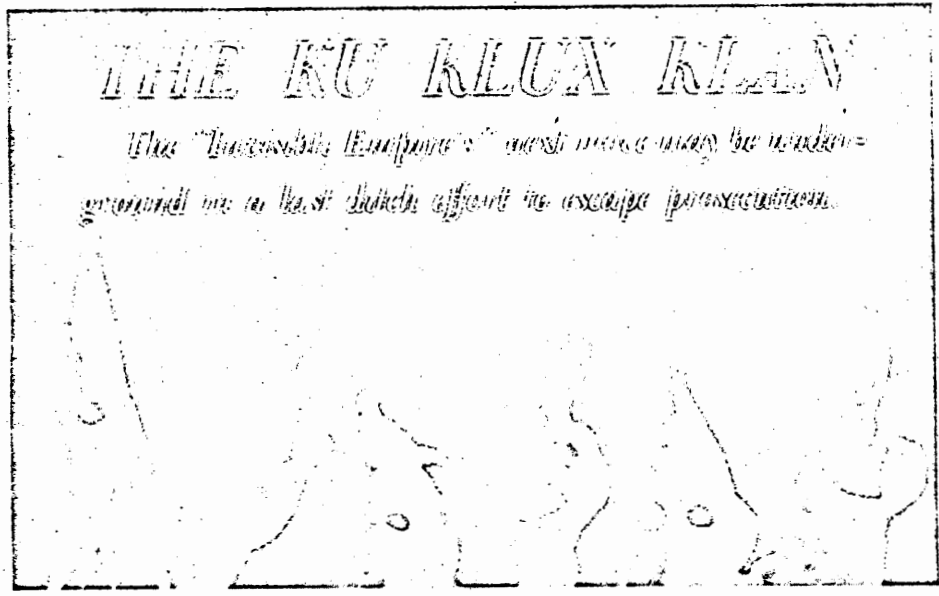
A special Haywood County deputy sheriff, Charles Fisher, said, however, he believed the fires were set by Negroes connected to a local Black-Power movement.

"We think they were an inside job," Fisher said.

County Sheriff George Sullivan said he did not know who set the fires. He said the investigation is continuing.

FBI is investigating bombing of synagogue in Jackson and Rabbi Nussbaum's house (per 11/22 memo Selected Racial Developments and Disturbances.

APRIL, 1965



THE KU KLUX KLAN

The "Invisible Empire's" most daring may be undertaken in its latest effort to escape prosecution.

by JUSTIN J. FINGER

THE SUMMER EVENING was hot and humid. An elderly Negro handyman, Judge Edward Aaron, slowly walked to his home in the Negro quarter of Birmingham. Without warning, six white men attacked and mutilated him.

The six, identified as Klansmen, were later arrested and convicted. After leaving a Klan meeting they had chosen their victim at random, "to scare hell out of him," one said. Testimony at the trial disclosed that the leader of the band had mutilated the innocent Aaron solely in the hope that the act would help him gain promotion to the post of Assistant Exalted Cyclops.

This was not an isolated event. Similar acts of terror by Klansmen or fellow-travelers, some buried in back pages of newspapers, other unreported, have been committed in many Southern communities.

Still fresh in the public mind are the shotgun slaying of Mrs. Viola Liuzzo on Highway 80 in Alabama, the vicious killing of three civil rights workers in Mississippi, and the murder of U.S. Army Reserve Colonel Lemuel Penn in Georgia—all allegedly committed by Klansmen. Following the acquittal of the two defendants in the Colonel Penn murder,

James Venable, Imperial Wizard of the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, commented, "It shows that you won't never convict a white man for killing a nigger who is encroaching on the white people of the South."

KLAN LEADERS have attempted to dissociate themselves from the old Klan and project a new non-violent image. Robert Shelton, Imperial Wizard of the United Klans of America, Inc. sporting a crew-cut and a three-button Ivy League suit said, "Sure, we're trying to change the image of the Klan. This is a semi-religious, fraternal organization . . . We don't go in for floggin', lynchin' and hangin'." But when the Alabama Legislature was considering an anti-flogging bill, Shelton testified as a witness against it. "Speaking from personal standpoint," he said, "I am glad that there are still men somewhere who will take matters into their own hands when the hands of the law are tied."

Not only is the Klan a constant oppressor of Negro civil rights, but it holds itself out as the protector of white morality. Thus, Klansmen flogged a white couple who allegedly permitted a Negro maid to punish their son, and a forty-one-year-old white grandmother was beaten by a hooded gang of men who told her, "Thou shalt not commit adultery."

Even before President Johnson announced his war against the Klan, the "invisible Empire," as it sometimes calls itself, was preparing to go underground. Gun clubs, hunting clubs, sportsmen clubs and "county improvement associations" are among the front operations for Klan-type activities operating without the mumbo-jumbo of hoods and cross-burnings—but not forsaking the nefarious aims of the Klan. Forty-two such clubs operate in Alabama, with others active in North Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi and Florida. For example, the 500 member Klavern in Rocky Mount, North Carolina, began its operations under the name of "Tri-County Sportsmen's Club." The Klan is also prepared to incorporate as a church in a further effort to avoid exposure and possible persecution.

ALTHOUGH Klan membership is open only to "native-born white Protestants," its chieftains piously deny that they espouse or practice bigotry.

A recently issued brochure of the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan asserts, "The Klan does not hate. The Klan is not anti-Catholic." Yet the very same brochure declares that the Klan "pities all Catholics in their foreign papal enslavement."

A flyer distributed by the Georgia branch of Robert Shelton's United Klans of America speaks of the "Jew scum of the NAACP," and Shelton's official publication, the *Fiery Cross*, claims Adolph Eichmann was tortured for a year by the Jews before being brought to trial and that the Jews are "the most criminal race on earth."

Klan organizer, Connie Lynch, a fire and brimstone preacher, informed his followers at St. Augustine, Florida, that "the Klan is on the move again and it is not going to let niggers and Jews take over the country. I don't know who bombed that church in Birmingham but if I did, I'd pin a medal on him . . . Besides, little niggers ain't little children. Children are human . . . so . . . if there's four less niggers tonight, then I say good for whoever planted the bomb."

SOME 13 Klan organizations are today active in the states that comprise the Old Confederacy. Because the Klans are usually clandestine, it is often difficult to measure membership accurately. Authori-

Mr. Finger is director of ADL's fact finding department.