

BOOK

35 CENTS • MAY 3, 1966

*see Ace Carter
reference on
P5*

ANNISTON-CALHOUN COUNTY PUBLIC LIBRARY
ANNISTON, ALABAMA

Alabama's
Richmond Flowers
tells what Congress
failed to learn
about the
**KU KLUX
KLAN**

**FOREIGN POLICY
FILMING**

ve interview
tor Fulbright
vareid

SUPREMES

on records

4431693 10-
ANNISTON CAL
O BOX 308
ALABAMA

See Carter reference
on P 5.

①

Southern plain talk about the

KU KLUX



Klansmen stalk at a rally. Night adds a chill to flame, smoke and hoods.

BY RICHMOND FLOWERS

ATTORNEY GENERAL OF ALABAMA

MY GRANDFATHER fought for the Confederacy. He was captured in the Battle of Nashville and taken up to a small town in Illinois, where he was put to work as a cook and house-boy for a Union colonel. When the war ended, Grandfather Flowers was taken back to Nashville and released. He began to walk to his wife and baby in southern Alabama.

He would walk awhile, and then do field chores along the way to earn his keep. He told me it took him six months. At Montgomery, he hopped a freight train that finally carried him home. For him, the War Between the States was over.

Today, the flag for which my grandfather fought is desecrated. The Stars and Bars should be a thing of honor. Instead, flaunted by racists whose forebears may never have served under it, it has come to mean one thing: hate. Our Confederate ancestors would spin in their graves if they saw their flag in the hands of those who trample upon everything

they fought for. It deserves a better place in history than on car bumpers or on the bloody robes of the killers, floggers and night riders who call themselves the Ku Klux Klan.

After the Supreme Court school-desegregation decision of 1954, quickly over the South there sprang up the Citizens' Councils. These were organizations of defiance, but in a legitimate manner. They resolved to fight integration in the courts, yet they took in everyone who talked segregation, down to the roughest element. I never joined, and I knew that when the court fights ended, the hoodlums given stature in the Councils would not disband.

The Citizens' Councils lost, and their leaders realized the solution would have to be compromise. But the rough element said: "No, you tried the peaceable way, and it failed. Now, we'll use ours."

The Ku Klux Klan had been a fragmented, bickering

continued

KKK CONTINUED

fringe of bigots, openly jeered when it paraded down the street. Suddenly, it began to grow. It promised that we could all return to the old days that never were, on big plantations, midst honeysuckle and magnolias, drinking mint juleps and eating ham hocks and black-eyed peas.

As Attorney General of Alabama, I've been investigating the Ku Klux Klan for a year. I've found the Klan more than just another secret society. It wields a frightening influence in Alabama. It resembles a shadow government, making its own laws, manipulating local politics, burrowing into some of our local law-enforcement agencies.

Klan membership in Alabama has doubled in the last several years to about 5,000 (still only .2 percent of the state's two and a half million whites). Of the ten rival Klans in Alabama, the largest by far is the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, run by Robert M. Shelton, Jr. Klan Klaverns, or chapters, are active in only 15 of Alabama's 67 counties. These are concentrated across the rural Black Belt and in the industrial complex around Birmingham. Some applicants have paid their initiation fees, but received only a membership pin and the usual hate literature. They don't even know where to report.

THE AVERAGE Kluxer is a fifth-grade school dropout, with a background of social and economic failure. He is often in job competition with the Negro. Because he cannot qualify for the future, he fights it. In doing so, he drives away the quality industries that could come in and lift him out of his squalor.

The Klan gives these rejects a channel for their frustrations. When a pitiable misfit puts on his \$15 sheet, society can no longer ignore him.

By paying a "Klectoken," or initiation fee, of \$10 to \$25 and an "Imperial Tax" of 50 cents a month, the Kluxer gains admission to the circus. He leaves the "alien world" for the Klan's "Invisible Empire." The Kleagle, or field organizer, who recruits him gets a commission of \$3 for each new member and \$2 for each reinstated old member.

The Kluxer pledges allegiance to the Klan and is even expected to lie to protect his Klavern. Yet someone tired of it all may just walk off and quit. His fellow Kluxers will holler and threaten, but if he has any nerve, they won't fool with him. If they know he is weak, they will go after him. And if they think that he ran under cover of night and talked, they will kick him to death.

An Exalted Cyclops runs each Klavern. He is assisted by a Klaliff (vice-president), a Kligrapp (secretary), a Klabee (treasurer), a Klokard (instructor), a Kludd (chaplain), a Kladd (custodian), a Klarogo (inner-guard), a Klexter (outer-guard), a Klokan (investigator) and a Night-Hawk (courier). Members sometimes take their weapons along to meetings. At one Klavern, the outer-guard is armed. Monthly attendance is small compared to membership.

The Ku Klux Klan, begun a century ago as a diversion in nonsense, would not be taken seriously today but for its history of mayhem. It says it exists: "First, to protect the weak, the innocent and the defenseless from the indignities, wrongs and outrages of the lawless, the violent and the brutal. . . ." Let's look at this Klan code put into practice.

In 1957, some Klansmen left a woodshed meeting to draw "nigger blood." They seized the first Negro they saw, an elderly yardman walking home from work. They castrated him and poured tur-

"I believe virtually all the violence we Southerners have been subjected to is Klan inspired," says

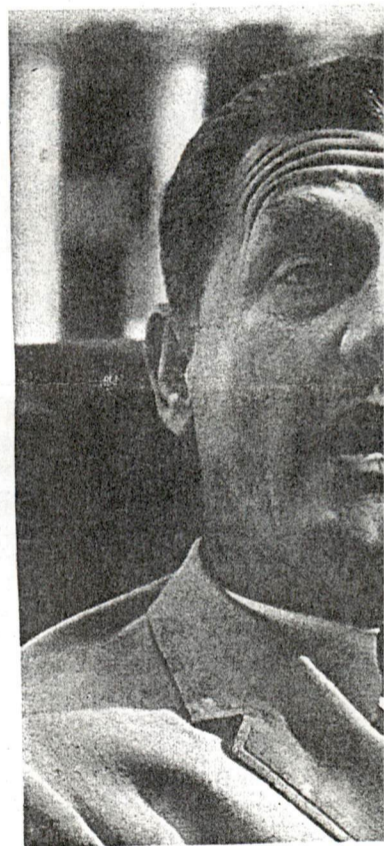
Richmond Flowers, right.

"The Kluxers carefully choose victims who cannot fight back."



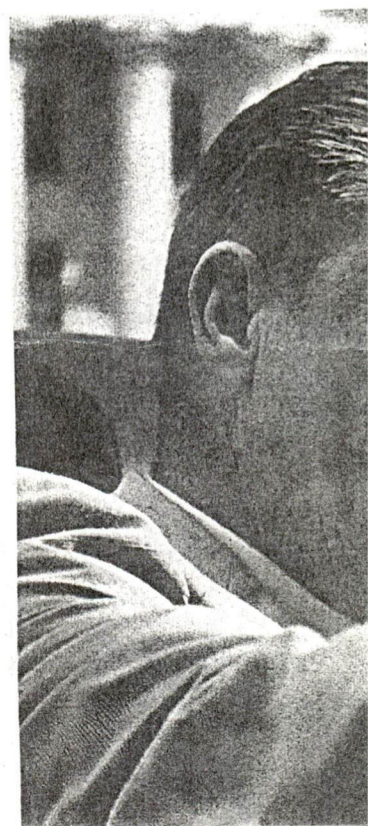
"The wrecking crew is drawn from different Klaverns, and its members may never have known each other.

They are the killers, the sadists, who enjoy their work."



"It is no wonder the average citizen of Alabama is reluctant to speak up.

He knows if he crosses the Klan, his home may be bombed by a self-appointed, self-anointed social misfit."



Judge Edward Aixon

continued

CONTINUED

openly jeered when it paraded. Suddenly, it began to grow. It could all return to the old days on big plantations, midst honeyolias, drinking mint juleps and s and black-eyed peas.

General of Alabama, I've been Ku Klux Klan for a year. I've more than just another secret so-frightening influence in Alabama. idow government, making its own ng local politics, burrowing into l law-enforcement agencies.

ership in Alabama has doubled l years to about 5,000 (still only e state's two and a half million ten rival Klans in Alabama, the e United Klans of America, Inc., u Klux Klan, run by Robert M.

Klaverns, or chapters, are active labama's 67 counties. These are oss the rural Black Belt and in the ex around Birmingham. Some ad their initiation fees, but received hip pin and the usual hate liter-t even know where to report.

SE Kluxer is a fifth-grade school with a background of social and failure. He is often in job com-Negro. Because he cannot qualify e fights it. In doing so, he drives industries that could come in and s squalor.

gives these rejects a channel for s. When a pitiable misfit puts on ciety can no longer ignore him.

"Klectoken," or initiation fee, of an "Imperial Tax" of 50 cents a er gains admission to the circus. lien world" for the Klan's "Invis- e Kleagle, or field organizer, who a commission of \$3 for each new for each reinstated old member.

pledges allegiance to the Klan and to lie to protect his Klavern. Yet it all may just walk off and quit. rs will holler and threaten, but if , they won't fool with him. If they , they will go after him. And if e ran under cover of night and kick him to death.

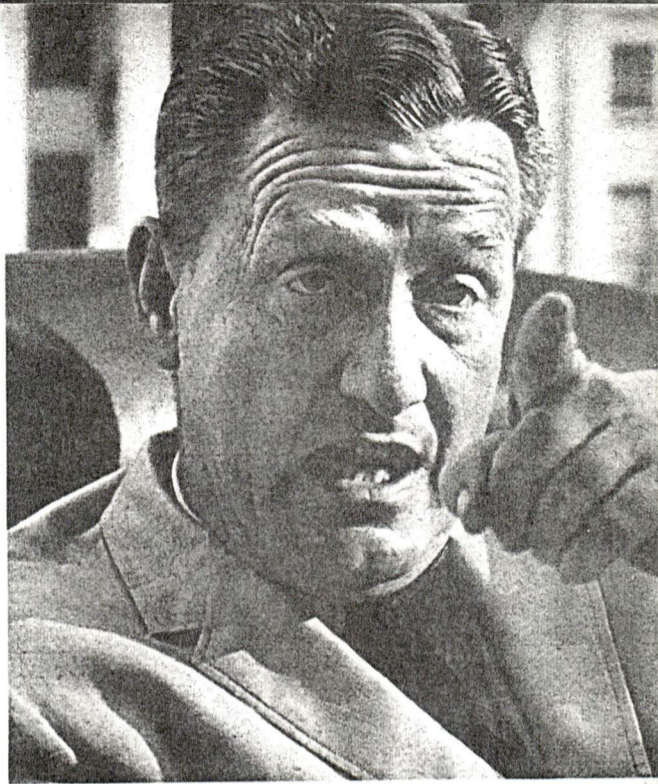
Cyclops runs each Klavern. He is cliff (vice-president), a Kligrapp Klabee (treasurer), a Klokard ludd (chaplain), a Kladd (custo- (inner-guard), a Klexter (outer- an (investigator) and a Night- . Members sometimes take their to meetings. At one Klavern, the med. Monthly attendance is small mbership.

ix Klan, begun a century ago as a ense, would not be taken seriously history of mayhem. It says it ex-rotect the weak, the innocent and rom the indignities, wrongs and awless, the violent and the brutal. this Klan code put into practice.

ne Klansmen left a woodshed meet- ger blood." They seized the first an elderly yardman walking home y castrated him and poured tur-

continued

"I believe virtually all the violence we Southerners have been subjected to is Klan inspired," says Richmond Flowers, right. "The Kluxers carefully choose victims who cannot fight back."



"The wrecking crew is drawn from different Klaverns, and its members may never have known each other. They are the killers, the sadists, who enjoy their work."



"It is no wonder the average citizen of Alabama is reluctant to speak up. He knows if he crosses the Klan, his home may be bombed by a self-appointed, self-anointed social misfit."



pentine into the wound to make him scream. Four were convicted by an Alabama jury and sentenced to 20 years. One was paroled over a year ago, after serving barely a third of his sentence.

More recently, in Bibb County, the widow of a Kluxer sent her retarded son out to fence up the trespassing cattle of her Klan neighbor. Several nights later, the Kluxers came hooded to her door and demanded the boy. They took him away and flogged him so brutally that he had to be treated by a doctor. Afraid to keep him at home, the mother sent her son to live with an uncle out of state.

Such cruelty directed against an elderly Negro and a retarded youngster has been reflected again and again in the news headlines. I believe virtually all the violence we Southerners have been subjected to is Klan inspired. The Kluxers choose victims carefully—victims who cannot fight back.

The Klan publishes its threats in semiliterate handbills. A typical leaflet orders:

"You niggers will not enjoy mixing with us white folks. We will see to that. . . . We do not want to resort to bloodshed, but if such is necessary . . . we will not hesitate. Stay away from the polls. We are watching you."

To enforce its edicts, the Klan uses what it calls "wrecking crews." Few Kluxers are trusted with such missions. The wrecking crew is drawn from different Klaverns, and its members may never have known each other. They are the killers, the sadists who enjoy their work, and they are picked for this very character defect.

The wrecking crew knows its business. It may have done the job before. The victim is pinpointed, and alibis are established. Trimmed down to two or three men, the wrecking crew goes to work.

If it is a flogging, the "whipping boys" kidnap the victim, with a painful half nelson so he cannot look up to identify them. They drive him to an isolated spot, force him to crawl from the car, then strip and beat him with leather straps or a rubber hose. Then the whipping boys leave him to make his own way to a hospital.

A wrecking crew, like the killers of Mrs. Viola Liuzzo after the Selma march, may set out to harass and end up murdering. The Klan gets weapons easily. It has stolen grenades, machine guns and ammunition from Army posts and National Guard armories. It makes its members join the National Rifle Association in order to get war-surplus weapons cheaply. Legislation restricting the sale of firearms would only hurt the legitimate sportsman, for the Klan would find a loophole.

The Alabama Klan depends most upon dynamite. In the last 15 years, there have been more than 45 bombings in Birmingham. The middle-class Negro neighborhood there is now nicknamed "Dynamite Hill." In 1963, after a bombing killed four Negro girls in Sunday school, a Klan leader

met a state police official in a Birmingham hotel to find a way to keep the Klan from being implicated.

Dynamite is used in highway construction, in coal mining, in stump clearing. Kluxers have practiced with it in clay pits outside Birmingham. One smuggled 16 to 18 sticks of the explosive daily in his lunch pail from where he worked.

Dynamite leaves no evidence, has a paralyzing psychological effect, and the wrecking crew can be 20 miles away when the blast goes off.

Last year, a bill was introduced in the Alabama legislature to control the possession and sale of dynamite. The measure passed the house, but was killed in the senate by administration forces of Gov. George C. Wallace.

The Klan shows its other face at rallies advertised for "Patriotic White Americans." A wooden cross, 15 to 20 feet high, is wrapped in burlap and baling wire, and saturated with gasoline to ignite it and used crankcase oil to keep it burning. One formula gives two quarts of gasoline and five pounds of oil for each foot of cross. The cross is winched into place by an old wrecker. When the rally begins, the cross is set aflame.

THE RALLIES are held to raise money, and sometimes, Kluxers are "salted" in the audience to shout out large contributions. A ladies auxiliary may bake pies and fry chickens for refreshments. Children in tiny robes look as if they were off to a Sunday school pageant. Last year, a speaker was criticized by other Kluxers for saying "nigger" excessively. The occasion had been a Mothers Day rally.

The speeches are laced with perverted Christian gospel. The average person would find them blasphemous, but a fanatic introduced as a man of God can spew hatred all night, and the Klan audience will listen. He cannot say, "We're together here because we hate." So he tells them, "Don't give what you are doing a thought." His listeners fear only the Bible and the policeman's badge. The Klan persuades them it owns both.

The agitators rail against Catholics and Jews as well as Negroes. We have traced racial violence to specific instances of Klan demagoguery. Last August, when my office proposed a bill to make incitement to violence a crime, it was killed by administration forces before it could get out of committee in the state legislature.

The paradox is that the Klan perpetuates the very poverty that spawned it. Alabama's per capita income of \$1,749 a year drops sharply from the national average of \$2,566. Alabama also has one of the lowest manufacturing per capita incomes. Outside industries are attracted by our natural and human resources, but each new atrocity keeps them out. The industrialist reads the headlines, and the man who suffers is the Kluxer himself.

Some less-ate the Klan, :offers. Unrest out. No competkets and pay h tremists of the enterprise" to f allowable if pe one case, a loc beat away a cc

Some Kl big cars, a fe When I ran fo Shelton was si by waiting for When I next Cadillac with fired by the B. give up his Kl as a public-rel the Dixie En seeking-state c

Calvin E C has said: "I c and that is jus can almost co city." In part

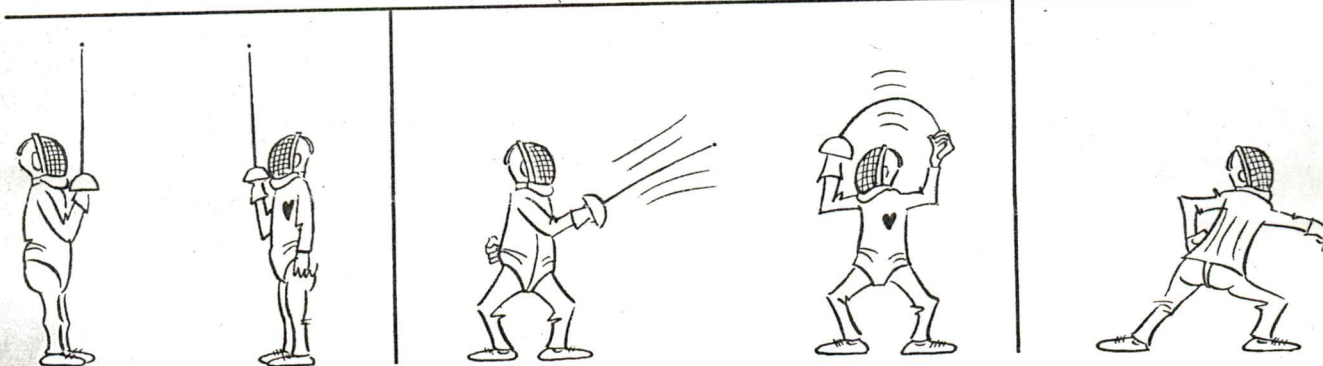
I first he A friend told candidate. I sa He said, "No, Kluxer came Klavern vote i interested. He switch gubern the campaign Overnight, th down and the

The Klur If they like o obligated to g ley, Shelton's openly in the : of a Klan spli Governor Wa of Investigati state in 1963 such men car

Kluxers their pulpits ing Negroes. fire its Negro lishing Co., i textbooks on newspaper, cards and K used to come themselves, a

The mc

?



LOOK 5-3-66

to make him scream. Four Alabama jury and sentenced [redacted] over a year ago, after [redacted] his sentence.

ibb County, the widow of [redacted] son out to fence up the [redacted] Klan neighbor. Several [redacted] came hooded to her door. They took him away and [redacted] that he had to be treated by [redacted] him at home, the mother [redacted] an uncle out of state.

ed against an elderly Ne- [redacted] ngster has been reflected [redacted] news headlines. I believe [redacted] we Southerners have been [redacted] ired. The Kluxers choose [redacted] is who cannot fight back. [redacted] its threats in semiliterate [redacted] let orders:

not enjoy mixing with us [redacted] o that. . . . We do not want [redacted] ut if such is necessary . . . [redacted] away from the polls. We

ts, the Klan uses what it [redacted] Few Kluxers are trusted [redacted] ; wrecking crew is drawn [redacted] s, and its members may [redacted] other. They are the killers, [redacted] their work, and they are [redacted] racter defect.

knows its business. It may [redacted] . The victim is pinpointed, [redacted] ed. Trimmed down to two [redacted] ing crew goes to work. [redacted] the "whipping boys" kid- [redacted] painful half nelson so he [redacted] ify them. They drive him [redacted] ce him to crawl from the [redacted] him with leather straps or [redacted] : whipping boys leave him [redacted] a hospital.

ke the killers of Mrs. Viola [redacted] a march, may set out to [redacted] urdering. The Klan gets [redacted] stolen grenades, machine [redacted] from Army posts and Na- [redacted] It makes its members join- [redacted] iation in order to get war- [redacted] ly. Legislation restricting [redacted] ld only hurt the legitimate [redacted] would find a loophole.

depends most upon dyna- [redacted] rs, there have been more [redacted] Birmingham. The middle- [redacted] od there is now nicknamed [redacted] 63, after a bombing killed [redacted] day school, a Klan leader

met a state police official in a Birmingham hotel to find a way to keep the Klan from being implicated.

Dynamite is used in highway construction, in coal mining, in stump clearing. Kluxers have practiced with it in clay pits outside Birmingham. One smuggled 16 to 18 sticks of the explosive daily in his lunch pail from where he worked.

Dynamite leaves no evidence, has a paralyzing psychological effect, and the wrecking crew can be 20 miles away when the blast goes off.

Last year, a bill was introduced in the Alabama legislature to control the possession and sale of dynamite. The measure passed the house, but was killed in the senate by administration forces of Gov. George C. Wallace.

The Klan shows its other face at rallies advertised for "Patriotic White Americans." A wooden cross, 15 to 20 feet high, is wrapped in burlap and baling wire, and saturated with gasoline to ignite it and used crankcase oil to keep it burning. One formula gives two quarts of gasoline and five pounds of oil for each foot of cross. The cross is winched into place by an old wrecker. When the rally begins, the cross is set aflame.

THE RALLIES are held to raise money, and sometimes, Kluxers are "salted" in the audience to shout out large contributions. A ladies auxiliary may bake pies and fry chickens for refreshments. Children in tiny robes look as if they were off to a Sunday school pageant. Last year, a speaker was criticized by other Kluxers for saying "nigger" excessively. The occasion had been a Mothers Day rally.

The speeches are laced with perverted Christian gospel. The average person would find them blasphemous, but a fanatic introduced as a man of God can spew hatred all night, and the Klan audience will listen. He cannot say, "We're together here because we hate." So he tells them, "Don't give what you are doing a thought." His listeners fear only the Bible and the policeman's badge. The Klan persuades them it owns both.

The agitators rail against Catholics and Jews as well as Negroes. We have traced racial violence to specific instances of Klan demagoguery. Last August, when my office proposed a bill to make incitement to violence a crime, it was killed by administration forces before it could get out of committee in the state legislature.

The paradox is that the Klan perpetuates the very poverty that spawned it. Alabama's per capita income of \$1,749 a year drops sharply from the national average of \$2,566. Alabama also has one of the lowest manufacturing per capita incomes. Outside industries are attracted by our natural and human resources, but each new atrocity keeps them out. The industrialist reads the headlines, and the man who suffers is the Kluxer himself.

Some less-skilled industries in Alabama tolerate the Klan, and a few have contributed to its coffers. Unrest keeps wages down and the unions out. No competitors will come in to take away markets and pay higher wages. These respectable extremists of the Bourbon aristocracy scream "free enterprise" to the extent that starvation wages are allowable if people will work for them. In at least one case, a local union has used Klan violence to beat away a competing integrated union.

Some Klan leaders have gotten themselves big cars, a few steaks and a little fancy living. When I ran for Attorney General in 1962, Robert Shelton was sitting around a Tuscaloosa hotel lobby waiting for someone to buy him a cup of coffee. When I next saw him, he was driving a shiny Cadillac with a two-way radio. He claims he was fired by the B. F. Goodrich Co. because he wouldn't give up his Klan activities. He was hired soon after as a public-relations consultant for an affiliate of the Dixie Engineering Corporation, which was seeking state contracts.

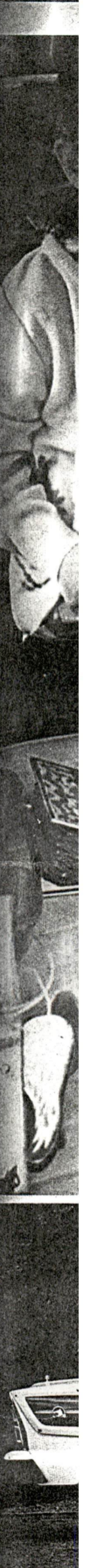
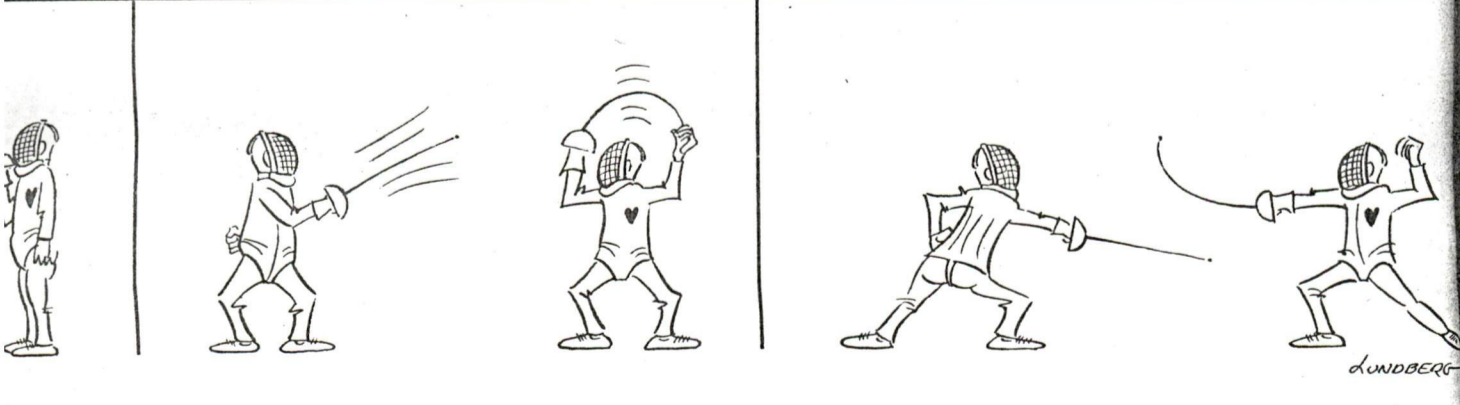
Calvin F. Craig, UKA Grand Dragon of Georgia has said: "I can take five men in a city of 25,000, and that is just like having an army. That five men can almost control the political atmosphere of that city." In parts of Alabama, it has happened.

I first heard of the Klan in politics in 1958. A friend told me the Klan was backing a particular candidate. I said, "You mean the Citizens' Council." He said, "No, I mean the Klan." Last election, a Kluxer came to me and said he could deliver his Klavern vote if I'd talk more racism. I said I wasn't interested. He told me that the Klan was about to switch gubernatorial candidates in the middle of the campaign. I doubted him, but he was right. Overnight, the old candidate's posters were torn down and the new candidate's put up in their place.

The Kluxers invite candidates to their rallies. If they like one, they back him. Once elected, he is obligated to give the Klan patronage. Claude Hensley, Shelton's contact in Montgomery, solicits openly in the state legislature. Ace Carter, founder of a Klan splinter group, was a special assistant to Governor Wallace. The head of the Klan Bureau of Investigation, Ralph Roton, was hired by the state in 1963 to investigate racial unrest. A few such men can pollute the entire body politic.

Kluxers have spied on moderate ministers in their pulpits and organized boycotts of stores hiring Negroes. One Klavern forced a nightclub to fire its Negro band. The American Southern Publishing Co., in Northport, Ala., which prints state textbooks on contract, has also printed the Klan newspaper, the *Fiery Cross*, Klan membership cards and Klan literature. Shelton and his wife used to come in to make up and set the *Fiery Cross* themselves, after which the plates were hidden.

The most dangerous infiltration is into la-
continued



enforcement. Most Alabama law officers are honest and hardworking. But a few, especially in the Black Belt, are known Kluxers or sympathizers. Once elected, they bring in deputies from the Klavern that supported them. Some law officers like Sheriff Jim Clark in Dallas County are openly sympathetic to the Klan. The impartial law officers were pressured from within as well as without when Col. Al Lingo, former head of Alabama's Department of Public Safety, sat on the dais at a Klan rally after he took office and was introduced to the crowd as "a good friend of ours."

The Klan has even rocked the scales of justice. Last August, I learned that Jon Daniels, a young seminarian, had been killed in Hayneville. The man who shot him, Tom Coleman, had confronted me in Hayneville ten days earlier and told me: "If you don't get off the Klan investigation, we'll get you off." After the shooting, Coleman called Lingo, who arrived with a bondsman, a known Kluxer. When my investigators asked Colonel Lingo for help, he told them: "I'm not giving you or the damn Attorney General or the damn FBI or anybody any information until I'm good and ready." He never did.

I stepped into the case when I suspected a whitewash. I was removed when I asked for a continuance and was denied. I had refused to prosecute until the star witness, the Rev. Richard Morrisroe, had recovered enough from the same shotgun assault to testify. Even if he had testified, I would have expected the acquittal that followed.

When I prosecuted the Liuzzo murder case against Collie Leroy Wilkins, Jr., the following month, I asked all the prospective jurors if they were Klan. One admitted former membership, and all the rest denied it, but I suspected three others who made up the final jury of membership. Half of one side of the spectators' gallery was filled with Kluxers. When I addressed the jury, I had an investigator stand behind me and face the gallery. So strong was the hostility in the courtroom that I took no chances.

I WOULD HAVE been happy to nail the killers on a speeding charge for leaving the murder scene too fast. Though the Klan had disclaimed any knowledge of the murder, it raised defense funds, packed the galleries and paraded the accused Kluxers at rallies across the South.

It is no wonder that the average citizen of Alabama is reluctant to speak up. He knows that if he crosses the Klan, his family may be in danger. His home may be bombed by a self-appointed, self-anointed social misfit. Since there would be little chance of a conviction, he keeps silent.

While Alabama boys, white and black, die for their country in Vietnam's jungles, the Kluxers claim to be fighting communism at home. A Communist, by their standard, is anyone who does not yell "nigger" loud enough. We have found the racist National States Rights party and the American Nazi party cozy bedfellows with the Klan. In fact, a Klan wrecking crew in at least one Birmingham bombing has been linked by investigators to synagogue bombings in Nashville, Knoxville, Atlanta and Miami.

Yet the Klan bears a frightening resemblance to the Communists. Both use terror, fear and innuendo. Both demand a blind fanaticism. Both have made the Justice Department's subversive list.

I have been asked if any Communists are in the Klan. The possibility is not as absurd as it sounds. The Communists are clever enough to slip a couple

of men into the Klan, for hate is a fertile field.

After the Liuzzo killing last spring, I became convinced that the Klan should be exposed by the people who have to live with this cancer. On April 22, I wrote Governor Wallace, asking him to join my office in a thorough investigation and give me the money for the job. He has never acknowledged that letter. Asked about it at a news conference several weeks later, he said: "Let's move on to something important." It is not surprising, for he has never admitted that the Klan exists.

I decided to go ahead with my limited staff and some local law-enforcement contacts. I flew to Washington for help, first to the House Un-American Activities Committee, and then to the Department of Justice. I quickly realized, and in fact was told by some HUAC members, that I shouldn't expect any assistance from HUAC's Klan investigation.

If the investigation had been conducted by the House Judiciary Committee, strong legislation might have resulted from the hearings. The mandate had only saved HUAC, which has never produced any effective legislation, from rigor mortis.

AT THE Justice Department, I was greeted warmly and left with a confident guarantee of assistance. Six weeks passed, and I received the Justice Department's total contribution: some news clippings and background data, three old copies of *Fiery Cross* (which we buy on the newsstand), the Klan constitution and a 1952 Florida grand jury report on the Klan.

I knew the Justice Department was reluctant, understandably, to give sources. When they brought forth a Communist informer, he was simply of no further use. But when they brought forth a Klan informer, they had to protect him, give him an assumed name, and move him across the country, because the Klan would kill him. So I had asked only for the chance to cross-check my own leads.

My request was interpreted as a political threat to the Alabama politicians entrenched in Washington. There are quicker ways to popularity in Alabama than to take on the Ku Klux Klan. Insiders told me word went out not to work with Richmond Flowers. Though I had been the only statewide officeholder to campaign for the national Democratic ticket in 1964, it was felt that a moderate would rock Alabama's status quo. It must have all been news to George Wallace, who has recently demanded my impeachment as Attorney General for "collaborating with the Federal Government."

One day, we are going to overturn the rock and expose the Ku Klux Klan. I don't like the smug Kluxers who return heroes from reciting the Fifth Amendment and brag how they outsmarted Washington. I don't like the hollow ache every time I learn of a new Klan outrage. I don't like the threats. I've even learned that some White Knights of the Mississippi Klan have

asked the Alabama Klux fraternal favor.

To beat the Klan w leadership we have seen in recently initiated by Gov. Mississippi. The solution islation, but local responsi This means the encourag officers and the weight o necessary. Most of all, w courageous juries, follow few convictions will shre

But the ills that nu cured only by social and e by good jobs with good that there is room in the la tury for white and Negro at the expense of one anot as much as a man can sta

When we stop flailing states in the South have pu will inherit a limitless fu for bigotry.

As for my investigati medicine. It may not have hasn't hurt. The Kluxers I don't like things as they is my birthright, and to le her to the killers, floggers.

I admired my Grandf before he was overrun in he said he was sitting in th because his boots had no by and asked him how lo had eaten. My grandfath His captain pointed to th "Jim, if I was in your sha Grandfather told him, no, guessed he'd stay around

When I think about The hooded haters of the well take notice of it. I've I guess I'll stay around a l

BUTCH



LOOK 5-3-66

"Did you just shake my shoulder and say birdfeeder is empty?"



Alabama law officers are honest a few, especially in the Kluxers or sympathizers. ng in deputies from the hem. Some law officers like Dallas County are openly The impartial law officers in as well as without when ad of Alabama's Depart- and was introduced to the of ours."

rocked the scales of jus- ned that Jon Daniels, a een killed in Hayneville. Tom Coleman, had con- ten days earlier and told the Klan investigation, the shooting, Coleman d with a bondsman, a y investigators asked he told them: "I'm not Attorney General or the y information until I'm r did.

use when I suspected a d when I asked for a l. I had refused to prose- the Rev. Richard Mor- gh from the same shot- n if he had testified, I equittal that followed. ne Liuzzo murder case ins, Jr., the following pective jurors if they rmer membership, and suspected three others of membership. Half of gallery was filled with the jury, I had an in- and face the gallery. in the courtroom that

to nail the killers on a ving the murder scene n had disclaimed any raised defense funds, ded the accused Klux- t. verage citizen of Ala-). He knows that if he ay be in danger. His lf-appointed, self-an- here would be little eps silent.

ite and black, die for jungles, the Kluxers sm at home. A Com- anyone who does not We have found the party and the Amer- ws with the Klan. In in at least one Bir- linked by investiga- in Nashville, Knox-

htening resemblance terror, fear and nd fanaticism. Both ent's subversive list. omunists are in the absurd as it sounds. ough to slip a couple

of men into the Klan, for hate is a fertile field.

After the Liuzzo killing last spring, I became convinced that the Klan should be exposed by the people who have to live with this cancer. On April 22, I wrote Governor Wallace, asking him to join my office in a thorough investigation and give me the money for the job. He has never acknowledged that letter. Asked about it at a news conference several weeks later, he said: "Let's move on to something important." It is not surprising, for he has never admitted that the Klan exists.

I decided to go ahead with my limited staff and some local law-enforcement contacts. I flew to Washington for help, first to the House Un-American Activities Committee, and then to the Department of Justice. I quickly realized, and in fact was told by some HUAC members, that I shouldn't expect any assistance from HUAC's Klan investigation.

If the investigation had been conducted by the House Judiciary Committee, strong legislation might have resulted from the hearings. The mandate had only saved HUAC, which has never produced any effective legislation, from rigor mortis.

AT THE Justice Department, I was greeted warmly and left with a confident guarantee of assistance. Six weeks passed, and I received the Justice Department's total contribution: some news clippings and background data, three old copies of *Fiery Cross* (which we buy on the newsstand), the Klan constitution and a 1952 Florida grand jury report on the Klan.

I knew the Justice Department was reluctant, understandably, to give sources. When they brought forth a Communist informer, he was simply of no further use. But when they brought forth a Klan informer, they had to protect him, give him an assumed name, and move him across the country, because the Klan would kill him. So I had asked only for the chance to cross-check my own leads.

My request was interpreted as a political threat to the Alabama politicians entrenched in Washington. There are quicker ways to popularity in Alabama than to take on the Ku Klux Klan. Insiders told me word went out not to work with Richmond Flowers. Though I had been the only statewide officeholder to campaign for the national Democratic ticket in 1964, it was felt that a moderate would rock Alabama's status quo. It must have all been news to George Wallace, who has recently demanded my impeachment as Attorney General for "collaborating with the Federal Government."

One day, we are going to overturn the rock and expose the Ku Klux Klan. I don't like the smug Kluxers who return heroes from reciting the Fifth Amendment and brag how they outsmarted Washington. I don't like the hollow ache every time I learn of a new Klan outrage. I don't like the threats. I've even learned that some White Knights of the Mississippi Klan have

asked the Alabama Kluxers to rub me out as fraternal favor.

To beat the Klan will take the strong state leadership we have seen in Tennessee, Georgia, and recently initiated by Gov. Paul B. Johnson, Jr., in Mississippi. The solution is not more Federal legislation, but local responsibility properly exercised. This means the encouragement of dedicated law officers and the weight of the National Guard if necessary. Most of all, we need convictions from courageous juries, followed by stiff sentences. A few convictions will shred the Kluxers apart.

But the ills that nurtured the Klan can be cured only by social and economic improvement—by good jobs with good pay and the realization that there is room in the latter half of the 20th century for white and Negro to prosper together, not at the expense of one another. We need education— as much as a man can stand.

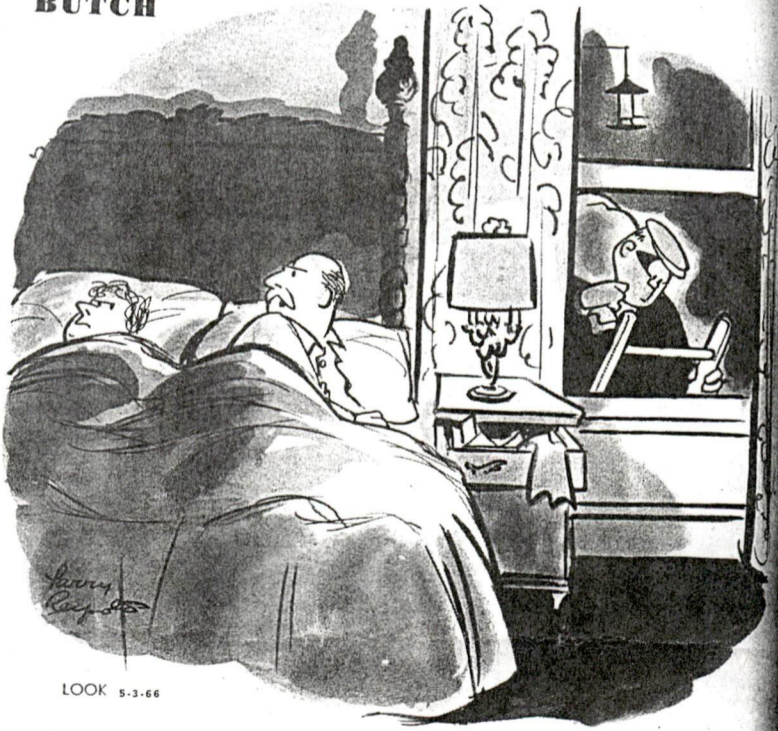
When we stop flailing the issues that our sister states in the South have put behind them, Alabama will inherit a limitless future that leaves no time for bigotry.

As for my investigation, it is like the doctor's medicine. It may not have helped, but it certainly hasn't hurt. The Kluxers suggest I move North if I don't like things as they have been. But Alabama is my birthright, and to leave would be to abandon her to the killers, floggers and night riders.

I admired my Grandfather Flowers. The night before he was overrun in the Battle of Nashville, he said he was sitting in the snow with his feet up, because his boots had no soles. His captain rode by and asked him how long it had been since he had eaten. My grandfather told him three days. His captain pointed to the Union fires and said, "Jim, if I was in your shape, I'd go to those fires." Grandfather told him, no, he had a job to do. He guessed he'd stay around a little longer.

When I think about that, I couldn't do less. The hooded haters of the Ku Klux Klan might as well take notice of it. I've also got a job to do, and I guess I'll stay around a little longer. **END**

BUTCH



LOOK 5-3-66

"Did you just shake my shoulder and say, 'Hey, Mac. Your birdfeeder is empty?'"

You famous man's model! Price FREE: (