

# SPLC REPORT



SOUTHERN POVERTY LAW CENTER  
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## Klanwatch Publishes Special Report On Patriot Movement

In April, the Center's Klanwatch project will issue *False Patriots: The Threat of Antigoovernment Extremists*, a 72-page special report based on information collected by its Militia Task Force. The report will detail the antigovernment Patriot move-

ment — who they are, what they believe, how they operate and the threat they present.

"We hope *False Patriots* will help clear away the smoke that Patriot leaders have set up for the news media and the public," said Klanwatch Director Joe Roy.

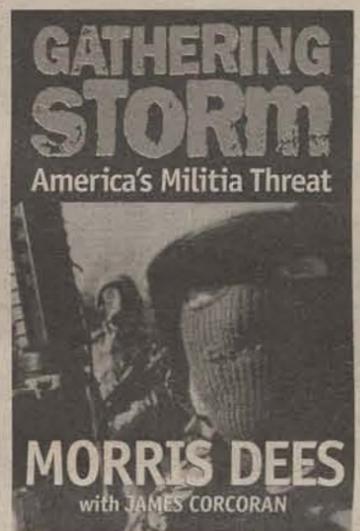
"The threat to our society posed by the growing Patriot movement is serious and often not well understood by our law enforcement agencies. We want to get information about this rising extremist movement into the hands of government and law

enforcement officials all across the nation."

The report will feature informative articles, scores of photographs, profiles of movement leaders, an extensive listing of Patriot groups and a list of recommended reading. It will also suggest measures citizens and law enforcement officials can take to diminish the threat of Patriot violence.

*False Patriots* will be sent to media, law enforcement and government agencies nationwide. It will be mailed to the governor and attorney general of each state, as well as federal legislators and the heads of regional and national agencies such as the Federal Bureau of Investigation; Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms; and the Internal Revenue Service.

Organizations and individuals who would benefit from the information in *False Patriots* may request a copy by sending a written request to Klanwatch, 400 Washington Ave., Montgomery, AL 36104.



Center Co-founder Morris Dees' third book warns about the potential for more violence like the Oklahoma City bombing.

## Dees Book Exposes Dangers Of Militia Movement

Center Co-founder and Chief Trial Counsel Morris Dees' latest book, *Gathering Storm: America's Militia Threat*, was recently released by HarperCollins. The book tells the chilling story of racist and neo-Nazi involvement in today's citizens' militias and warns about the potential for more violence like the Oklahoma City bombing.

*Gathering Storm* promises to be as successful as Dees' 1991 autobiography, *A Season for Justice*, and his 1993 account of the legal battle that crippled Tom Metzger and the White Aryan Resistance, *Hate on Trial*. Both books received wide acclaim and helped increase public awareness of the Center's work.

After reading an advance copy of the book, renowned trial lawyer Gerry Spence, of Jackson, Wyo., said, "If you could read only one book about the Oklahoma City bombing, the Randy Weaver tragedy, the fiery deaths  
*Please turn to page 11, Gathering Storm*



*False Patriots*, a Klanwatch Militia Task Force Special Report, focuses on the growing antigovernment "Patriot" movement. Above, paramilitary training in Idaho in 1995.

## Center Film Nominated for Academy Award

LOS ANGELES — *The Shadow of Hate*, one of the most widely distributed educational videos in the United States, has been nominated for an Academy Award in the Short Documentary category by the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences.

The 40-minute film is part of *The Shadow of Hate: A History of Intolerance in America*, a video-and-text teaching kit produced by Teaching Tolerance, a project of the Southern Poverty Law Center in Montgomery, Ala. Another Teaching Tolerance film, *A Time for Justice*, received

last year's Academy Award in the same category.

Using historical footage, still photographs, and the voices of individuals closest to the events depicted, *The Shadow of Hate* chronicles the haunting legacy of prejudice toward Native Americans, African Americans, religious minorities, European and Asian immigrants, and other groups.

Charles Guggenheim of Washington, D.C., who directed *The Shadow of Hate*, says that he is gratified that the Academy responded to the film's message. "At last year's awards ceremony,

there was a great expression of support from the audience when the Southern Poverty Law Center was mentioned. Obviously, the Academy members recognize the importance of promoting understanding and tolerance."

Guggenheim has received four Academy Awards for documentaries. Among his 10 previous Oscar-nominated films were two others produced for the SPLC: the 1995 winner, *A Time for Justice*, and *The Klan: A Legacy of Hate in America*, nominated in 1983.

*The Shadow of Hate* curriculum kit, used in over 50,000

schools throughout the country, has been enthusiastically received by educators. All Teaching Tolerance materials, including the award-winning semiannual magazine *Teaching Tolerance*, are made possible by over 250,000 individuals who support the nonprofit Southern Poverty Law Center.

Sara Bullard, the Director of Teaching Tolerance, congratulates "Law Center donors from around the country who made production and distribution of this film possible. With their support, America's schoolchildren are learning powerful lessons that most history books overlook."

MAILBOX

I read with outrage your letter regarding Ray Lampley's plot [to bomb the Center]. I'm thankful that their plans were foiled and that you at the SPLC can continue your important work. I honestly feel that your projects are among the most important nonprofits in the country.

Keep the strength, and know that there are people in all corners of the country who support you wholeheartedly and who admire your courage.

E.H.  
Berkeley, Calif.

My husband and I think your endowment fund is a truly intelligent use of donations. For instance, my enclosed check for the endowment fund will be working for your causes for years to come, whereas the other enclosed check will probably be totally spent within a month of its arrival.

A worthwhile group such as the SPLC should definitely have a constant and steady source of income and be able to pursue its goals even when times are tough and donations are down.

J.F.  
Phoenix, Ariz.

I am an educator. Every day I watch children, pre-K to 12th grade, express and form their values. *Teaching Tolerance* is a valuable tool which I share with my peers. Thank you for everything you do.

C.A.  
Ketchum, Idaho

Thank you for creating the SPLC video [*Seeking Justice*] and for sharing it with the educational community. It is only through education that we can break the cycle of ignorance which fuels the Klan and other such destructive hate groups.

The lessons students learn from the SPLC help them to shape a more hopeful future; to become tomorrow's leaders who will not turn a blind eye to injustice but will know that their actions can create change.

S.M.  
Wynantskill, N.Y.

I opened [the letter from your organization] again after reading only about half way through *Us and Them* [the text from *The Shadow of Hate* teaching kit]. I have been sending you money for quite a while ... but I've resisted raising my pledge recently because I have been spreading out what I give over a lot of important issues.

But you are doing what is so important, so basic, striking so hard at the long-term root of most of the evil in our national history and consciousness. So I think I need to put more of my money where your mouth is, so to speak!

D.K.  
Berkeley, Calif.

I teach history at a local community college and have informed my students of your wonderful organization. I was able to give a lecture on the KKK because of one of the publications you sent. So far this semester I've referred to your organization a half dozen times. Thank you for the materials I've received.

R.L.  
Los Angeles, Calif.

# Bullard Speaks at Teachers Conference in Singapore

Teaching Tolerance Director Sara Bullard was a plenary speaker at the 15th annual Southeast Asia Teachers' and Counselors' Organization (SEATCO) conference held in Singapore in November 1995. Bullard was invited, along with other educators and authors from the U.S.,

Canada and Europe, to participate in the three-day meeting.

Over 1,000 teachers and counselors from Indonesia, Japan, Thailand, Cambodia and other Southeast Asian countries attended the SEATCO conference. The theme was "Global Maker or Global Taker: Develop-

ing Reason, Respect and Responsibility." In her talk "Nurturing the Tolerant Personality," Bullard spoke about what teachers, counselors and parents can do to raise children who are bias-free and accepting of those who are different from them.

In addition to informing the audience about the Teaching Tolerance project, Bullard led workshops in which the Teaching Tolerance films *A Time for Justice* and *The Shadow of Hate* were shown and discussed.

"The commitment to multicultural understanding shown by teachers in Southeast Asia was impressive," stated Bullard. "Many of the attendees were aware of the Law Center and its projects and are working hard to ensure a more peaceful world."

Bullard's latest book, entitled *Teaching Tolerance: Raising Open-Minded, Empathetic Children*, will be released by Doubleday in the fall of 1996.



Sara Bullard, Director of Teaching Tolerance, presents information about the Teaching Tolerance project to educators gathered in Singapore.

## Dees Authors *Gathering Storm*

Continued from page 1  
at Waco and the dangerous militia movement, it should be this brave account by one of America's top trial lawyers."

In *Gathering Storm*, Dees ties together for the first time the events, the players and the history that gave life to the militia armies now operating across the country. He traces Oklahoma City bombing suspect Timothy McVeigh to the shadowy fringes of the militia movement and makes a com-

pellent case that there are other McVeighs waiting to strike.

Dees shows how racist leaders used the deaths of Randy Weaver's wife and son at Ruby Ridge and the Branch Davidian tragedy at Waco to convince thousands that the government had turned against its own citizens. He goes behind the scenes to explore secret paramilitary cells training deep in mountainous back-country, shows how militias are fueled by talk radio hosts and those who preach hatred

of government, and suggests ways to stop extremist militias.

Writer Leon Uris said of the book, "Morris Dees, one of our foremost fighters for civil justice, again displays infinite courage in unmasking the forces of evil in this country. *Gathering Storm* is a wake-up call to those who believe the Oklahoma City bombing was an isolated incident. Its chilling pages reveal the dark society who would turn the American dream into an American nightmare."

## Special Letter

Dear SPLC:

Thank you for sending the video on the SPLC [*Seeking Justice*]. As a new supporter, I appreciate the opportunity to "meet" the Center's staff and to be shown your operational techniques. I would also like to share with you why being a supporter of the Center has special meaning for me.

Currently, I am working towards my Masters in American Studies at a university in New York. While vacationing in Turkey last summer, I was discussing possible thesis topics, and, as soon as I mentioned that the

topic I would probably choose would cover the law enforcement response to racist hate violence throughout American history, several members of the

*"The more I learn about the Center and Klanwatch, the more proud I become to be a supporter."*

group related that they are supporters of the SPLC and that I should look into this as a valuable resource.

Upon my return, I contacted the Center and asked for some information which might assist me in my thesis research. After perusing the materials which your staff was kind enough to send, I was so impressed with the work you are doing that I sent in my check for support that very day. So long as the Center continues its work, I will continue to support it.

Thank you not only for all the great work you are doing, but for providing an example-for me to follow in pursuit of a meaningful and fulfilling career.

Valerie Penn

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SPLC



REPORT

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MARCH 1996

# 25 Years of Seeking Justice

**M**ONTGOMERY, ALA. — On July 6, 1996, the Southern Poverty Law Center celebrates 25 years of achievements in the courtroom and in the classroom.

The Center, which began as a small civil rights law firm in 1971, is now internationally known for its legal victories against white supremacist groups, its sponsorship of the Civil Rights Memorial and its national tolerance education project.

## BEGINNINGS

In the late 1960s, the major legislative victories of the Civil Rights Movement had been won. In Montgomery, Ala., two white Southern lawyers who shared a commitment to racial equality were determined to exercise the new laws to their fullest potential.

In the face of opposition from city and state officials, Morris Dees and Joseph Levin pursued equal opportunities for minorities and the poor. By taking *pro bono* cases that few others had the time and resources to pursue, they helped implement the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Some of their early lawsuits resulted in the desegregation of recreational facilities, the reapportionment of the Alabama legislature, the integration of the Alabama state troopers and the reform of state prison conditions.

Committed to continuing their efforts on behalf of minori-

ties and the poor, Dees and Levin in 1971 formally incorporated the Southern Poverty Law Center and began seeking nationwide support for their work. They mailed out thousands of letters detailing the needs of their clients and received donations from committed activists all over the country. These donations enabled them to hire a staff of lawyers and to stretch the boundaries of their former practice. (In 1976, Joe Levin resigned as the Center's Legal Director to serve on newly elected President Jimmy Carter's transition team. In 1979 Levin returned to chair the SPLC Board of Directors, a position he continues to hold in 1996.)

During the 1970s and '80s, the Law Center's persistent courtroom challenges led to the end of practices that discriminated against women in the armed forces, the end of involuntary sterilization of women on welfare, the granting of monetary awards to textile workers with brown lung disease, and the development of comprehensive trial strategies for lawyers doing death penalty defense work. (See *Legal*, pp. 8-9)

## COMBATING THE KLAN

In 1979, the resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan in the South brought back horrible reminders of the lynchings and bombings of the Civil Rights era. When Klansmen in Decatur, Ala., attacked a peaceful civil rights gathering on May 26, 1979, the



THOMAS ENGLAND/PEOPLE MAGAZINE

Each year, thousands of schoolchildren visit the Civil Rights Memorial in front of the Southern Poverty Law Center's Montgomery, Ala., offices. The Memorial honors 40 people who died during the Civil Rights Movement.

Law Center brought its first civil suit against a major Klan organization, and in 1981 created a new department, Klanwatch, to monitor organized hate activity across the country.

In the mid-1980s, under the guidance of a new legal director, Richard Cohen, Center attorneys developed strategies to hold white supremacist leaders accountable for violence committed by their followers. Suing for monetary damages for victims of Klan violence, the Center was able to bankrupt several major Klan organizations and to

draw national attention to the growing threat of white supremacist activity.

Law Center civil suits would eventually result in judgments against 37 individuals and seven major white supremacist organizations for their roles in hate crimes. Multimillion-dollar judgments against the United Klans of America and the neo-Nazi White Aryan Resistance effectively put those organizations out of business. Other suits halted harassment of Vietnamese fishermen in Texas by the Knights of the KKK and para-

military training by the White Patriot Party in North Carolina.

The mother of a lynching victim was able to buy her first home with money received in a Center civil suit against the Klan. The college education of an Ethiopian youth has been paid for in advance by the White Aryan Resistance, the group held liable for his father's murder.

As the white supremacist movement became more sophisticated — its members trained in the use of weapons and explosives and organized into secret

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# 25 Years of Seeking Justice

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cells — the data compiled by Klanwatch became even more important to law enforcement officials. By 1995, the *Intelligence Report*, a bimonthly newsletter published by Klanwatch, was read by law enforcement officers in more than 6,000 agencies nationwide. Research provided by Klanwatch led to criminal convictions in several cases. (See *Klanwatch*, p. 12)

In 1994, Klanwatch formed a special Militia Task Force to investigate white supremacist activity within the antigovernment militia movement. Shortly before the April 1995 bombing in Oklahoma City that took the lives of 169 people, Morris Dees wrote a letter warning U.S. Attorney General Janet Reno of the danger posed by militias.

After the bombing, the Center's Militia Task Force was able to supply investigators nationwide with critical information about the militia movement. In April 1996, Klanwatch will publish a comprehensive militia report, *False Patriots*, which traces the roots of paramilitary antigovernment activity.

## RUNNING RISKS

Morris Dees and Joe Levin never expected that their work would be popular in the South.

When the Law Center began taking on the Klan in court, the

threats of retaliation against the Center became real. The original Law Center offices were burned by Klansmen in 1983 (see *Arson*, p. 19). In 1984, Morris Dees' name was at the top of a hit list compiled by The Order, the nation's most lethal white supremacist terrorists of the time. In 1985, an intruder was observed spying on Dees' home. Twice,

*Center officials saw a growing need to combat the causes, not just the consequences, of hate.*

plots to bomb the Center were narrowly thwarted — in 1985, White Patriot Party members were arrested in the process of stealing money to buy explosives; in 1995, suspected militia followers were caught in the process of manufacturing explosives.

Security at the Center was dramatically heightened following the bombing of the federal building in Oklahoma City, with the hope that stricter precautions and state-of-the-art protection will deter attackers. Still, the threats continue.

## NATIONAL ATTENTION

While attracting the rage of racists everywhere, Morris Dees and the work of the Southern Poverty Law Center also earned

widespread acclaim. By the mid-1990s, more than 290,000 individuals nationwide had become loyal contributors to the Law Center. (See *Fundraising*, p. 16)

Organizations such as the American Bar Association, the National Education Association, the American Civil Liberties Union, the NAACP and the

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith recognized the Center as a leader in anti-bias litigation and education.

Dees became the subject of an NBC movie, and he co-authored three books about the Center's work. Over the years, national leaders such as George McGovern, Paul Simon, Barbara Jordan and Myrlie Evers have praised the Center's work.

## THE NEXT GENERATION

Center lawsuits were effective in weakening organized white supremacist activity, but random hate crime was still rising in the late 1980s, particularly among the nation's youth.

It seemed that a whole generation of children were growing

up with little knowledge of the realities of segregation and the sacrifices that were made to bring legal apartheid to an end. In 1989, the Center took on an ambitious project to memorialize those killed during the Civil Rights Movement and to make the stories of their lives accessible to schoolchildren. Artist and architect Maya Lin was commissioned to design the Civil Rights Memorial, which now stands on a plaza in front of the Center in Montgomery.

The stories of the 40 people whose names were engraved on the Memorial were told in the award-winning book *Free at Last: A History of the Civil Rights Movement and Those Who Died in the Struggle*. The Memorial quickly began to draw visitors from all over the world and is daily visited by schoolchildren. (See *Civil Rights Memorial*, p. 10)

In 1991, the Center expanded its educational efforts when it launched a new multimillion-dollar project, *Teaching Tolerance*, to provide teachers with free, top-quality classroom materials on tolerance and diversity. The first issue of *Teaching Tolerance* magazine was published in January 1992, and, at the same time, a video-and-text teaching kit for secondary school students on the Civil Rights Movement was

released. The award-winning magazine is now read by more than 150,000 teachers, and two *Teaching Tolerance* curriculum kits are in use in more than 50,000 schools. (See *Teaching Tolerance*, p. 14)

## A LASTING LEGACY

The Center's founders and directors realized when the organization was still young that the work it was undertaking required a long-term commitment and a substantial, lasting source of income. Many lawsuits take years to litigate, and a single issue of *Teaching Tolerance* magazine costs hundreds of thousands of dollars to produce and distribute.

To ensure the Center's long-term survival, supporters have generously contributed to an endowment fund. If Center financial progress continues apace, the endowment will become large enough in the early years of the 21st century to fund the entire Center operation, regardless of annual contributions.

That these programs will still be needed in years to come is beyond doubt. As the nation grows more diverse, the Center will continue to challenge and protect our nation's most cherished democratic ideals, both in the courtroom and in the classroom. ☺

## COMMENTARY



# A Smith Corona and a \$15 Check

BY MORRIS DEES

Chairman, Executive Committee

On a cold winter day in January 1971, Joe Levin and I opened the Southern Poverty Law Center for business. We had some old furniture, one typewriter, a line of bank credit and no donors. But we did have a few civil rights cases inherited from our private law practice.

I was able to work without pay for a few years because of past investments, but Joe was a young lawyer with a wife and two small children — and no money. We also needed funds to pay our secretary and the rent and to support a major lawsuit we filed to integrate the Alabama State Highway Patrol.

Enthusiasm for the Civil Rights Movement had waned. Many lawyers who had helped in early suits for racial justice had gone back North. A backlash was developing against gains made by minorities. Riots in Newark and Watts had not engendered favorable feelings towards civil rights initiatives. It seemed we had

picked a poor time to start a new organization.

I remember the first letter we sent asking for financial support. It was on behalf of a black man charged with capital murder in the death of a white schoolteacher. The trial judge had pronounced the man "probably guilty" before the trial began, a comment carried in bold headlines in the *Montgomery Advertiser*.

We copied the story and sent it with a letter

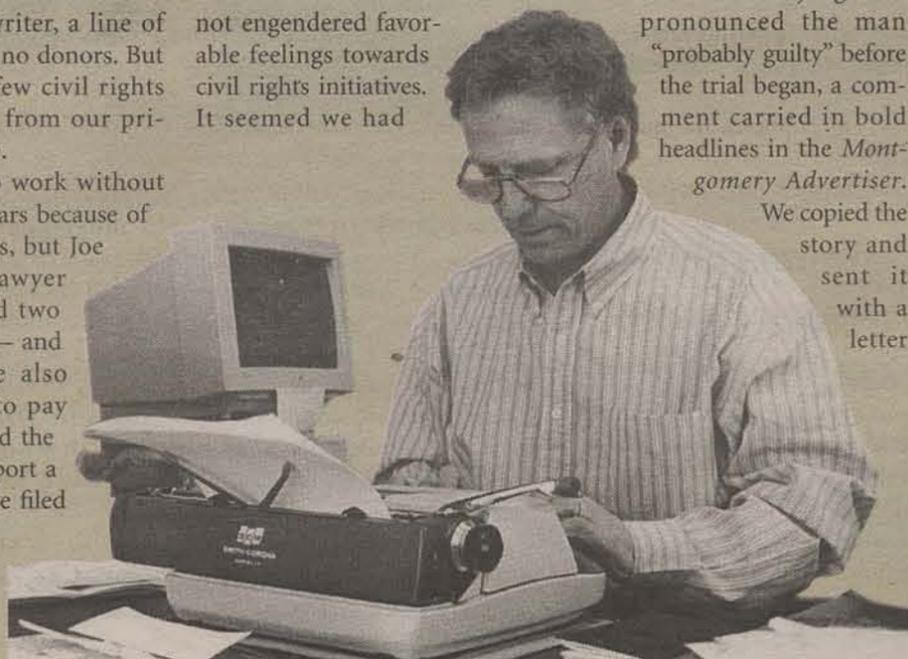
asking for help from people on mailing lists provided by other national groups. In a few days, our first Center donor mailed a check for \$15.

I'm still typing on the same Smith Corona manual typewriter I used to compose that first appeal, but everything else has changed. By 1996 we had over 290,000 donors who contributed over \$14 million in a single year to support a wide range of exciting programs. I never dreamed of in 1971.

Over the years our supporters have consistently told me: "We know more about what our money goes for than any other group we assist. We read your letters and material because they tell what you do in simple, compelling terms. We feel we get more for our gifts than elsewhere, and we applaud your frugal operation which has allowed you to build an endowment for the future."

Raising funds was difficult in 1971, but it is far more expensive and difficult today. That is why we are building an endowment to ensure that our work will continue well into the next century. Because of our donors' continued support, we have been able to let our endowment grow — not touching the income or the principal — and to operate out of current gifts. Each year we transfer from 10 to 20 percent of our net income to the endowment. Our goal for the endowment is \$100 million, and as of December 1995, we are almost two-thirds of the way there.

Some things have changed; others have not. I have a computer sitting behind my desk that I'm trying to learn to use, we have 55 devoted Center employees, and we have a dedicated group of donors willing to be part of our dream. ☺



# Julian Bond Reflects on Center's Evolution



**T**HE SOUTHERN POVERTY LAW CENTER'S FIRST ADVISORY council included, among others, notable civil rights workers John Lewis and Fanny Lou Hamer. The council's president was activist Julian Bond.

Bond had been one of the foremost leaders of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) during the Civil Rights Movement. He served as Center president from 1971 to 1979 and gave the keynote address at the dedication of the Civil Rights Memorial in 1989. In

the early '90s, he narrated the documentary films included in the first two Teaching Tolerance video-and-text kits.

In 1995, Bond was serving as a lecturer in history at the University of Virginia in Charlottesville, Va., and as Distinguished Adjunct Professor of Government at American University in Washington, D.C. He reflected on his ongoing involvement with the Center in an interview with SPLC Researcher Gabrielle Lyon.

## Why did you want to get involved with the Southern Poverty Law Center?

In early 1971, Morris asked to meet me in Atlanta to talk about the organization he was forming and the part I might play in it. I remember being taken with him — here was this white Alabamian setting up a civil rights law firm. I remember asking myself, "Why is he interested in doing this?"

But he was tremendously compelling and convincing, and whatever hesitation I had quickly went away. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 had been passed and upheld on appeal. We needed lawyers who would file the cases that would implement these laws.

And back then, most lawyers were reluctant to take on civil rights cases. They didn't pay well, if at all, and the community reaction often meant the attorney, if in private practice, lost a significant part of his practice. Morris' proposal for the Center promised a way to provide desperately needed civil rights attorneys.

## Did you think that the SPLC was going to be something special?

I had no idea that the Law Center would become as big, as adventurous or as precedent-setting as it has. I'm not quite sure what I did envision, but I didn't have the larger vision that Morris obviously had from the very beginning. I've watched the organization grow into one of the foremost legal centers in the nation — quite an evolution from the civil rights law firm that Morris described to me in Atlanta that day.

## You were the master of ceremonies at the Civil Rights Memorial dedication in 1989. What was your feeling at the time?

I was tremendously excited. When you see the Memorial,

you're so moved by it; it is so compelling. I've been out in front of the building numerous times in the evening and seen people get out of cars — couples or parents and kids — and walk over there. They can't keep their hands off those names. Maya just had a sense — I guess she just *knew* that people would reach down and touch the monument.

The night before the dedication, we had a dinner just for the family members, and a couple of them got up and gave testimony. It was so moving — in some ways more moving than the ceremony. The next day, before the public was allowed access to the monument, the family members were allowed to visit. Their tears mingled with the flowing waters and will forever be a part of the Memorial.

## Do you think that the Memorial makes a difference?

Oh, yes. I'm teaching students who have been to see it. And these are people who have no conscious memory of the Civil Rights Movement — they couldn't have; they're too young. But the Memorial brings it home to them in a way that nothing else does.

## You wrote an editorial for an early Poverty Law Report in which you described the "new civil rights movement" as "winning justice for poor people." What do you see as today's "new civil rights movement"?

I think it's almost the same thing. Today we have a structure of laws which, while imperfect and imperfectly enforced, offers some protection against the most egregious kinds of racial discrimination. But they've clearly not dented the serious problems that people have at the lower end of the economic ladder. It is the articulate and the

prepared who are able to take advantage of the law, and the inarticulate and powerless find that their situation hasn't changed much.

## As a university teacher, you have a lot of contact with young people. Do you think attitudes about race

## relations have changed much since you were a student?

Yes. And it's true not only in the university setting and among young people, but, I think, in the general population, too. What's changed is that we're seeing a reversion to the kind of Social Darwinism and scientific racism that was popular almost a *hundred* years ago.

The growing sentiment is that whatever difficulties racial minorities face are *their* fault: They're not smart enough, they don't work hard enough — and that if they did, they could be just as well off as everybody else. It's an absolute ignorance of both past *and* present racism; and an absolute abdication of any societal responsibility to do anything about these problems.

## Do you think a general lack of education plays a part in this ignorance?

Yes. I don't think most Americans have any kind of appreciation of our history as a common culture, or the history of individual groups within that common culture. And because they don't, they cannot understand things which seem to me self-

evident, such as the reasons for the enormous disparity between black and white views of O. J. Simpson's guilt or innocence, or black and white perceptions of the police.

That's not to say that every white person and every black person stands on opposite sides of a big divide, but there are clearly big differences in the experiences and, therefore, the perceptions of these two groups of people. That Teaching Tolerance is addressing some of these issues is one reason the project is so important.

## Do you think that the Center will have a role to play in the next decade?

Sadly, I think so. And I say 'sadly' because we'd like to hope that our society improves and that the need for the Center's work diminishes. But it's evident that the need is, in fact, increasing. While the number of lawyers is generally going up, the number of lawyers who do civil rights work is going down. The Southern Poverty Law Center and the work it does — both the education and the legal aspects — are probably more needed now than ever before. ☺

## Bond Speaks About the Struggle for Civil Rights

"The victories we've won in recent months — winning equal treatment in the judiciary system, equal job opportunity in public employment, equal representation in local government, equal opportunity for quality education, and others — demonstrate that real gains can be made.

"The fight for equal rights for America's poor is the new civil rights movement. And that movement is well underway."

— *Poverty Law Report*  
March 1973; Vol. 1 #1

"Lately, increasing numbers of Americans have begun to realize that our 'melting pot society' need not boil all of us down to one bland consistency. We should all have a real opportunity to participate in the mainstream of American economic and social life without giving up our distinctive ethnic cultural values. Those values lend flavor to the life of the individual as well as seasoning to the melting pot as a whole."

— *Poverty Law Report*  
August 1974; Vol. 2 #4



Jimmy Hicks, Julian Bond, John Lewis and Jeremiah X wait for the funeral of four young girls killed in the Klan bombing of a church in Birmingham, Ala., in 1963.

"As a sociological phenomenon, racism exists in two forms — institutional and attitudinal. The hope of organizations like the Southern Poverty Law Center is that the elimination of institutional racism will work toward the erosion of attitudinal racism. While some victories have been won, the struggle continues — and the opponent has become more elusive on both fronts."

— *Poverty Law Report*  
December 1974; Vol 2 #6

"Most of those who made the movement weren't the famous; they were the faceless. They weren't the noted; they were the nameless — the marchers with tired feet, the protesters beaten back by billy clubs and fire hoses, the unknown women and men who risked job and home life."

— Keynote Address  
Civil Rights Memorial  
Dedication  
November 5, 1989

# In the Courtroom

## Center Wins Justice for Victims of Intolerance & Unfairness

WHEN MORRIS DEES AND JOE LEVIN FOUNDED THE SOUTHERN Poverty Law Center in 1971, their mission was to win equal rights for the poor and minorities by taking high-impact, high-risk cases that other attorneys had neither the willingness nor the resources to tackle.

In the quarter century since then, the practice of law at the Center has been characterized by the same imagination, daring and dogged persistence that proved successful for Dees and Levin. Center attorneys have fought segregation, protected society's most vulnerable members, and battled hate groups whose followers have violated the rights of others.

The Center prides itself on handling pioneering lawsuits, some taking years to complete. Many of these cases have resulted in landmark rulings.

In a series of successful lawsuits, the Center's legal staff has devel-

oped novel strategies to shut down white supremacist paramilitary activity and to help victims of hate crimes win monetary damages against groups like the Klan. These cases have put out of business or crippled many of the nation's most notorious hate groups. (See pp. 6-7)



Center Senior Attorney Rhonda Brownstein and Paralegal Lanita Crawford prepare materials for a court hearing.

The Center has also litigated scores of civil rights cases in other areas of the law — cases on behalf of minorities, women, factory workers, poor people in need of health care, average citizens suffering under the yoke of unfair tax practices, mentally ill persons, children in foster care, prisoners facing barbaric conditions of confinement, and many other victims of injustice. Some of the most significant of these cases are described on these pages.

Although the federal courts have grown more and more inhospitable to civil rights claims, Center attorneys are committed to continuing the fight for justice.



SPLC Chief Trial Counsel Morris Dees questions one of the Skinheads who murdered an Ethiopian student in Portland, Ore., in 1988. A jury awarded \$12 million in damages to the victim's relatives.

MICHAEL LLOYD/THE OREGONIAN

## Starting Out: Challenging the Status Quo

In 1969, fifteen years after *Brown v. Board of Education*, the YMCA was in its 100th year of being a social institution in Montgomery, Ala. — and a powerful symbol of the old order and segregation. When it refused to admit two black youngsters to its summer camp, the YMCA sowed the seed that grew into the Southern Poverty Law Center.

In spite of his law degree, Morris Dees' career to that point had been rooted more in business than in the courtroom. That would change with *Smith v. YMCA*. Challenging a private organization would break new legal ground but would also mean taking on an institution whose governing board included stalwarts of the social, business, and landed community.

Like so many other places, Montgomery took extraordinary steps after 1954 to resist integration. Rather than operate

integrated swimming pools, parks and recreational facilities — as ordered to do by the courts in 1958 — the city closed them all. Later, it filled the pools with dirt and sold off or gave away much of the land.

Filling the void left after the City closed its parks, the YMCA experienced phenomenal growth and became the main provider of recreation in the city — on a segregated basis. The kids who swam at the pool for blacks, for example, were excluded from competing in city-wide meets.

In June 1969, Dees filed a class action suit to stop the Y's policy of racial discrimination. He knew the suit was a long shot because private organizations were considered to be beyond the scope of civil rights law. But as he investigated, he uncovered a secret 1958 agreement between city officials and the YMCA giv-

ing the Y control of many of the recreational activities formerly sponsored by the city. Because of the secret agreement, Federal Judge Frank Johnson ruled that the city had invested the Y with a "municipal character." He ordered the Y to stop its discriminatory practices.

Another young Alabamian, Joe Levin, followed the case closely. He was looking for a way to challenge the injustices that were still so pronounced in the South. He knew

Morris through a college friend, Morris' younger brother, Allen. Soon Dees and Levin would

begin a collaboration that would become the Southern Poverty Law Center. ☺



Today, children of all races have equal access to Montgomery's YMCA facilities. A 1969 lawsuit by Morris Dees was the first to desegregate a private organization.

COURTESY CLEVELAND AVE. YMCA



# Balancing the Scales

BY RICHARD COHEN  
Legal Director

It was an exciting day. Morris, Pat, Joe, Danny and I had flown into a small airport in Many, La., piled into a pickup truck, and driven a few miles over to Florien (population 626). We had come to see Loyal Garner Jr.'s family.

Along with two friends, Garner had been thrown in jail on

Christmas day 1987 in the East Texas border town of Hemphill (population 1,187) after being stopped for a minor traffic violation. A black man who worked for his local county government, Garner had never been in trouble before in his life. When he complained about being kept in jail, a white lawman hit him in the head with a blackjack. Garner died, leaving behind a wife and six young children.

We had read about Garner's death in the *New York Times*. Hoping to bring attention to the rough justice black people like Garner often receive at the hands of smalltown Southern lawmen, we had offered our services to the Garner family. I was going to be the lead attorney on the case. I had talked on the phone with Garner's widow, Corrine, but had never met her face-to-face.

The meeting scared me. Talking on the phone was one thing, but seeing Corrine and her six children was something else. Perhaps for the first time in my life, the law was no longer just a set of abstract principles. I had a family's future in my hands.

Things got a lot scarier before long. The lawmen who had beaten Garner to death were acquitted of criminal charges by their hometown jury. They then turned around and sued us for supposedly conspiring against them. The case against us was set for trial before the same local judge who had presided over the lawmen's acquittal.

We fought back, throwing everything we had into the civil case we had brought on behalf of the Garner family.

Joe and I spent hours traveling the piney woods of East Texas interviewing witnesses. We met people in the middle of the night who were afraid to talk. We chased down every lead, no matter how slim many of them seemed to be.

Our long hours paid off. Some of the leads that seemed so slim panned out. We uncovered crucial evidence that had never been presented at the criminal trial. Eventually, prosecutors in a neighboring Texas town would use the evidence to convict the lawmen on related charges. In the meantime, we won financial security for the Garner family, and the case against us was dismissed.

At the final hearing, the federal judge said, "Mrs. Garner, when this whole scenario started, I didn't know any more than you who the Southern Poverty Law Center was. I have come to greatly appreciate their efforts.



It's a first-class organization with first-class lawyers."

As the judge spoke, the only thing I could think about was how incredibly relieved I was that we had not let the Garners down.

Faced with the long odds of winning a case for a black family against white lawmen in East Texas, few private attorneys would have ever taken the Garner case. Without our help — help made possible only because of the help we receive from others — there simply would have been no justice for the Garner family.

Justice is inevitable only in the movies. In the real world, it does not always triumph. Sometimes it takes a little luck and an organization like the Southern Poverty Law Center to balance the scales. ☺



(left to right) Morris Dees, Joe Roy, Danny Welch, Pat Clark and Richard Cohen in Louisiana to work on the Loyal Garner Jr. case in 1988

## Center Victories in the U.S. Supreme Court

### 1973 FRONTIERO V. RICHARDSON

In a landmark decision in the struggle of women to achieve equal treatment under the law, the Supreme Court ruled that Department of Defense regulations granting certain benefits to the dependents of servicemen but not to the dependents of servicewomen were unconstitutional. *Frontiero* was the first successful sex discrimination case against the federal government.

### 1974 GILMORE V. CITY OF MONTGOMERY

In this case, the Center filed suit to stop the city of Montgomery from permitting segregated private academies from using city-owned recreational facilities. The Supreme Court ruled that the city's practice was unconstitutional.

### 1974 DOTHARD V. RAWLINSON

Kim Rawlinson applied for a job as an Alabama prison guard but was rejected because she was 10 pounds under the minimum weight set by the state. The Center sued, arguing that the height and weight limits were arbitrary. When a three-judge federal court

ruled in Rawlinson's favor, the state appealed to the Supreme Court. The Court upheld key rulings of the lower court, opening the way for women to be hired for law enforcement jobs traditionally reserved for men.

### 1980 BECK V. STATE OF ALABAMA

Gilbert Beck was involved in a robbery/murder in 1978. He had never been convicted of a felony before, and testimony reflected that an accomplice actually killed the victim. At the time, Alabama's death penalty statute included a unique feature called the "kill 'em or let 'em go" provision by Alabama lawyers. It gave juries in capital cases only two choices — a guilty verdict, carrying an automatic death penalty, or acquittal. Under the statute, Beck was convicted and sentenced to death.

The Supreme Court upheld the Center's claim that Alabama's

statute was unconstitutional. The Court ruled that the failure to give the jury the option of finding the defendant guilty of something less serious than capital murder — manslaughter or first-degree murder, for example — was unfair because it created the risk that the jury would vote to convict the defendant of capi-

tal murder merely to avoid setting him free. "Such a risk cannot be tolerated in a case in which the defendant's life is at stake," the Court stated. The Court reversed Beck's conviction and ordered a new trial.

The decision vacated the convictions of 10 other death row inmates whose cases were pend-

ing before the Court and paved the way for new trials for all those convicted while the unfair statute had been in effect.

### 1987 UNITED STATES V. PARADISE

As a result of a Center suit that began in 1972, the federal court ordered the Alabama State Troopers to hire one qualified black trooper for every white trooper hired until black troopers accounted for 25 percent of the force.

By the time the case reached the Supreme Court 15 years later, the issue was the constitutionality of a similar numerical remedy for promotions.

Because of the Alabama Troopers' long history of discrimination, the Supreme Court upheld the remedy won by the Center over the objections of the state and the Reagan Justice Department. ☺



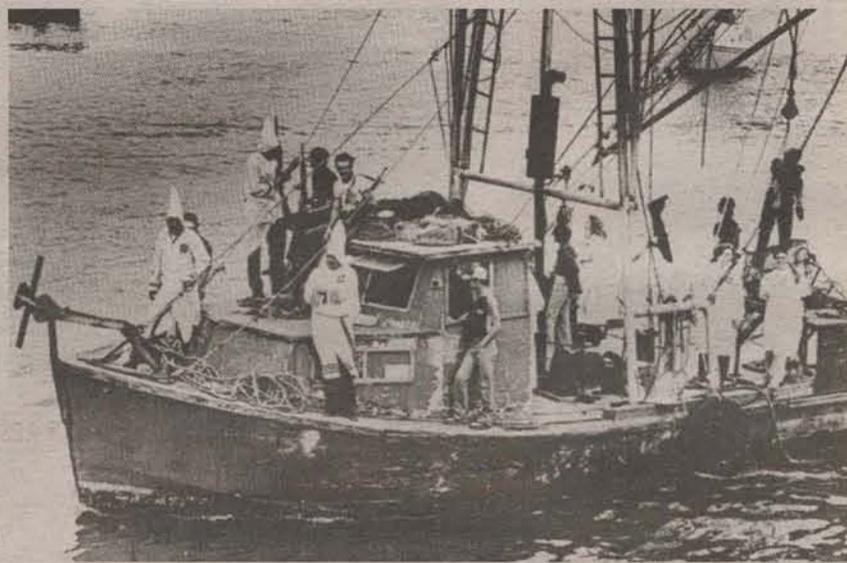
Five landmark Center lawsuits have gone to the nation's highest court. Above, Legal Director Richard Cohen talks to reporters during the State Trooper case.

# Law Center Cases Cripple White Supremacist Groups

SINCE 1979, THE CENTER HAS CRIPPLED SOME OF THE nation's largest white supremacist organizations by helping victims of racist violence sue for monetary damages. These courtroom victories were funded entirely by Center supporters; the Center accepts no legal fees from its clients.



CHRIS BELL



JOHN VAN BEERDUM

## PROTECTING VIETNAMESE FISHERMEN FROM THE KLAN

Texas Klansmen in 1981 tried to destroy the fishing business of Vietnamese immigrants by burning their boats and threatening their lives. Armed Klansmen cruised Galveston Bay and practiced guerrilla tactics at secret paramilitary camps.

Klanwatch intervened and convinced the Vietnamese fishermen to stand up for their rights. Center attorneys filed a lawsuit that halted the Knights of the KKK terror campaign and shut down its paramilitary training bases.

## THE DECATUR CASE: A 10-YEAR LEGAL BATTLE

In 1979, over 100 members of the Invisible Empire Klan group — armed with bats, ax handles and guns — clashed with a group of peaceful civil rights marchers in Decatur, Ala. The FBI investigated the incident but could not find enough evidence of a conspiracy to charge the Klansmen involved.

Undeterred, the Center filed a civil suit against the Invisible Empire and numerous Klansmen. During the course of discovery, Klanwatch investigators uncovered evidence that convinced the FBI to reopen the case. Nine Klansmen were eventually convicted of criminal charges stemming from the attack.

In 1990, the Klanwatch civil suit was finally resolved through a unique settlement. In addition to requiring the Klansmen to pay damages, perform community service and refrain from white supremacist activity, the settlement required them to attend a course on race relations and prejudice. The course was taught by the leaders of the civil rights group that had been attacked by the Klansmen back in 1979.



## HALTING PARAMILITARY TRAINING

Klanwatch lawsuits in 1982 and 1984 brought about the end of Klan paramilitary activity in Texas and Alabama. Klan groups in these states were training paramilitary forces in the use of grenades, explosives, weapons, techniques of ambush and hand-to-hand combat, all in preparation for what they believed was an impending "race war."

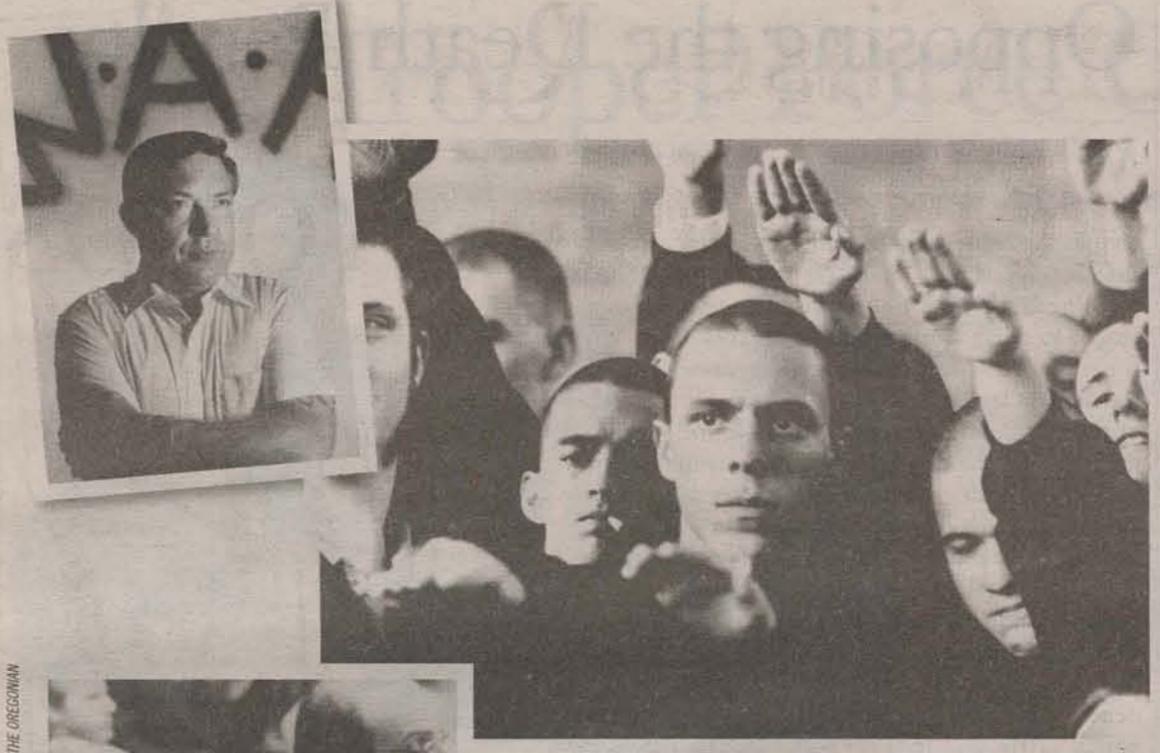


## SHUTTING DOWN THE WHITE PATRIOT PARTY MILITIA

In the mid-1980s, the White Patriot Party was the South's most militant Klan group. With more than a thousand armed members, the group held well-attended public rallies almost every week.

But there was a side to the White Patriot Party that the public did not know. A Klanwatch investigation revealed that the group was using U.S. military personnel to train Klan recruits and had acquired stolen military weapons for its secret arsenal.

Center attorneys took the North Carolina-based White Patriot Party to court. A jury found the group and its leaders guilty of operating a paramilitary army and forced them to disband. Several members were later convicted of plotting to blow up the Law Center in retaliation for the suit.



MICHAEL LLOYD/THE OREGONIAN



**TAKING ON THE WHITE ARYAN RESISTANCE**

In 1988, Tom and John Metzger sent their best White Aryan Resistance (WAR) recruiter from California to organize a Portland Skinhead gang. After being trained in WAR's methods, the gang killed an Ethiopian student. Tom Metzger (upper left) praised the Skinheads for doing their "civic duty."

Center attorneys filed a civil suit claiming that the Metzgers and WAR were as responsible for the killing as the Portland Skinhead gang. In October 1990, a jury agreed and awarded \$12.5 million in damages to the family of the victim Mulugeta Seraw.

In 1994, the U.S. Supreme Court refused to review Metzger's appeal, opening the way for Center attorneys to begin distributing funds collected from the sale of WAR's assets. The principal beneficiary of the verdict will be Seraw's son, Henok (at left with SPLC Chief Trial Counsel Morris Dees in 1989).



REX PERRY/NASHVILLE BANNER

**THE HAROLD MANSFIELD CASE**

On May 17, 1991, Harold Mansfield, a black sailor who served in the Gulf War, was killed by a member of a white supremacist organization called the Church of the Creator. After Klanwatch documented the group's violent history, the Center sued and obtained a \$1 million default judgment against the so-called "Church."

Prior to the conclusion of the case, the Church transferred ownership of its headquarters to neo-Nazi leader William Pierce to keep it from falling into the hands of Mansfield's heirs. In 1995, Center attorneys sued Pierce for his role in the fraudulent scheme.

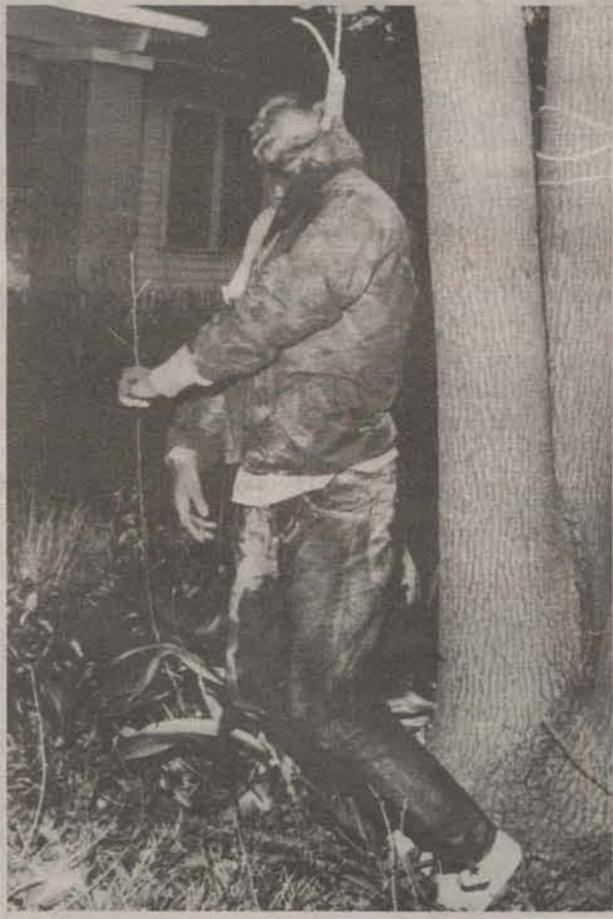
Pierce heads the National Alliance, one of the country's fastest-growing neo-Nazi groups. He is the author of *The Turner Diaries*, a fictional account of the overthrow of the U.S. government by a racist group, that has inspired many real-life terrorists. In a scene that is strikingly similar to the Oklahoma City bombing, *The Turner Diaries* describes the destruction of a federal building by a fuel oil and ammonium nitrate fertilizer bomb. Oklahoma City bombing suspect Timothy McVeigh often carried a copy of the book and reportedly placed a call to Pierce's unlisted number shortly before the bombing.

**THE MICHAEL DONALD LYNCHING CASE**

Nineteen-year-old Michael Donald was on his way to the store in 1981 when two members of the United Klans of America abducted him, beat him, cut his throat and hung his body from a tree on a residential street in Mobile, Ala. The two Klansmen who carried out the ritualistic killing were eventually arrested and convicted. There the case would have ended but for Klanwatch.

Sensing a larger conspiracy and convinced that the Klan itself should be held responsible, Center attorneys filed a civil suit on behalf of Michael Donald's mother. In 1987, the Center won an historic \$7 million verdict against the United Klans and all the Klansmen who had played a part in the lynching.

The verdict marked the end of the United Klans, the Klan group that had beaten the Freedom Riders, murdered civil rights worker Viola Liuzzo during the Selma-to-Montgomery march, and blown up Birmingham's Sixteenth Street Baptist Church, killing four young black girls. As a result of the case, the group was forced to turn over its headquarters to Beulah Mae Donald, and two additional Klansmen were convicted on criminal charges stemming from the lynching.



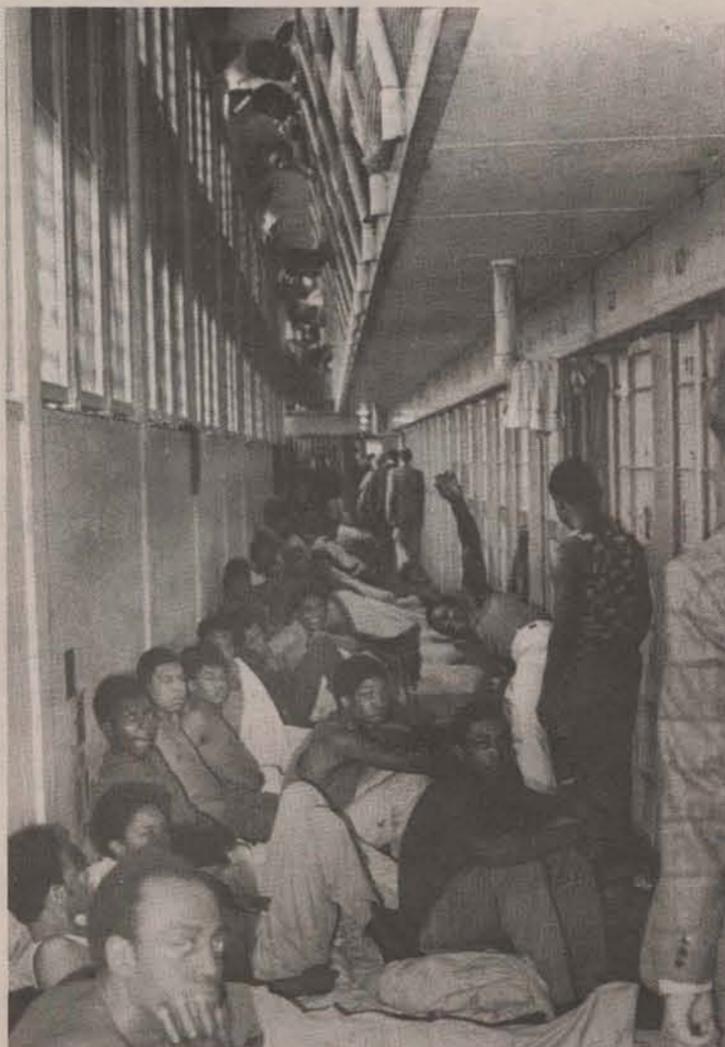
**ATTACK ON FORSYTH COUNTY MARCHERS**

To honor Dr. King's legacy on the anniversary of his birth, an interracial group marched in all-white Forsyth County, Ga., on January 17, 1987. The group was met by Klansmen throwing rocks and bottles. Fearing serious injury, the marchers turned back.

After a Klanwatch investigation, Center attorneys sued to vindicate the marchers' rights. In October 1988, a federal court jury assessed nearly \$1 million in damages against two Klan organizations and eleven Klan followers who were responsible for the attack.

To ensure that the Klan felt the financial pinch of the jury verdict, Klanwatch investigators traced the assets of the Invisible Empire, the major Klan defendant in the case, over a five-year period. In 1994, the Invisible Empire's leader was forced to pay damages and disband his organization. The group's office equipment was given to the NAACP.

TOMMY GILES



Gross overcrowding in Alabama's prisons in 1975 was the basis of a Center suit that forced correctional institutions to reform their treatment of inmates.

## Challenging Prison Conditions

The Center has long fought to ensure that prisons and jails are not barbaric institutions. In a 1976 case in which the Center was involved, a federal court ruled that Alabama prisons were "wholly unfit for human habitation." The Court found that the filth and "rampant violence" within the prisons created "an environment that not only ma[de] it impossible for inmates to rehabilitate themselves but also ma[de]

dehabilitation inevitable." After the decision, Center attorneys worked for more than a decade to force the state to bring the prisons up to constitutional standards.

In 1995, Alabama took a giant step backwards when it reinstated the notorious chain gangs. The Center contends that chain gangs deprive prisoners of their constitutional rights and has gone back to federal court to challenge the practice. ☺

## Voting Rights and Election Reforms

Despite the 15th Amendment's guarantee that the right to vote may not be abridged on the basis of race, it was not until the passage of the 1965 Voting Rights Act that black persons had a right to cast a meaningful and effective vote, not one diluted by unfair electoral practices. The Center has long been fighting to ensure that states, counties and municipalities live up to their obligation to see that every vote matters.

At the start of the 1970s, one-fourth of Alabama's citizens were black, but they were unable to elect representatives to the halls of power where

laws were made. One of the Center's most significant lawsuits, *Nixon v. Brewer*, forced the state to give up an election system that submerged black communities into legislative districts dominated by white majorities unwilling to vote for black candidates. As a result of the lawsuit, 17 black legislators were elected in Alabama in 1974. Since *Nixon v. Brewer*, the Center has continued to challenge practices that exclude or limit minority participation in civic and political affairs. Cases like those filed by the Center have helped change the face of the South. ☺

## Opposing the Death Penalty

While the Center's primary legal weapon has been the civil lawsuit, there have been compelling requests for criminal defense, especially in capital cases. Whether someone is sentenced to death is often more a function of the competency of the defense lawyer and the race of the victim and accused than the nature of the crime. To help balance the scales of justice, the Center has taken on many noteworthy criminal cases.

• Joan Little was a black prison inmate accused of murdering a white jail guard in North Carolina. He was found dead in her cell without his pants. Little said that he had tried to rape her. The trial plunged the Center into the national spotlight in 1975. A jury found Little not guilty.

• Roy Patterson, a highly decorated black Marine Sergeant, faced the death penalty after he shot two white Georgia lawmen who had been abusive toward him and his family. After a 12-year legal battle, Center attorneys finally won Patterson's freedom.

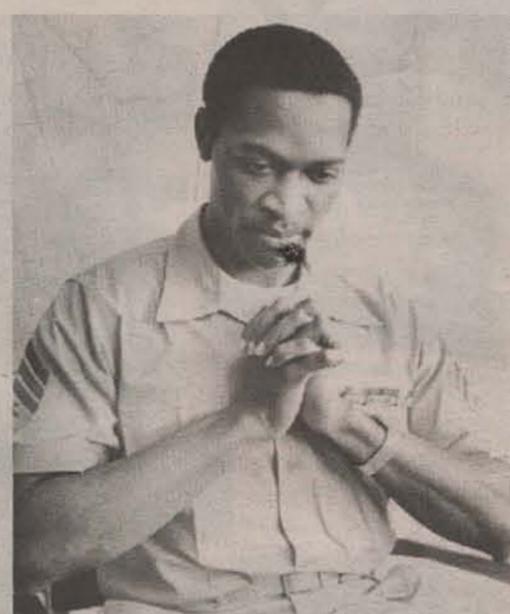
• Johnny Ross became the nation's youngest resident of "Death Row" at age 16 after he was convicted of the rape of a white woman in Louisiana in 1975. Center attorneys then stepped in and proved that Ross was innocent through blood tests that should have cleared him at his original trial.

In 1976, the Center started a project known as Team Defense.

Selecting particular capital cases to serve as models, Center attorneys developed trial strategies for capital cases. The trials became laboratories for the proper use of pre-trial motions, expert witnesses, and jury selection procedures. The lessons learned were passed on in seminars and published in trial manuals that provided guidance to lawyers across the country involved in death penalty cases.

Because defendants facing the death penalty are still frequently represented by inexperienced lawyers — attorneys who bear no resemblance to the "Dream Team" that defended O. J. Simpson —

the Center is still involved in providing trial manuals for capital cases. These manuals often make the difference between a fair trial and one marked by prejudice and politics. ☺



Roy Patterson was freed after 12 years in prison when Center attorneys proved he was wrongfully convicted.

FENNY WEAVER



The Center's help in gaining an acquittal for Joan Little, accused of murdering a jail guard, brought national attention to the plight of female inmates.

JILL ARGENTZ

## Protecting Worker Safety

For 27 years, Nat Thomas Wilkins labored at the Westpoint Pepperell cotton mill in Opelika, Ala., where he cleaned and combed cotton to get it ready for spinning. Day after day, he breathed in millions of microscopic cotton dust particles that clogged his lungs and made it difficult for him to breathe.

When Wilkins became so ill that he could barely work, his

employers sent him to a doctor and placed him on medical leave. After helping Wilkins apply for Social Security benefits, the company terminated his employment.

Westpoint Pepperell never informed Wilkins of what it had suspected for years — that mill workers like him were in danger of contracting byssinosis, a preventable work-related lung disease commonly known as

"brown lung." By the time Wilkins discovered the truth about his condition, the disease had progressed to the point that he needed a respirator to breathe.

To remedy the injustice, the Center took Westpoint Pepperell to court. Center attorneys alleged that the company never warned its employees about the health hazards of working in the mills. Center researchers uncovered evidence that proved that the industry had concealed information about brown lung disease from its workers.

While the Center suit could not restore Wilkins' health, it did clear the way for him and other brown lung victims to receive some financial security. Since Wilkins' case ended in 1983, new federal regulations control the level of dust to which cotton workers may be exposed and require textile companies to provide regular medical screenings for their workers. ☺



Nat Wilkins was one of six brown lung victims represented in Center lawsuits against a textile company. The victory paved the way for new laws protecting textile workers.

# State Trooper Force Opened to All

Alabama State Troopers long symbolized the system of oppression that existed in the South. In 1963, the troopers stood with George Wallace when he promised "segregation now,

segregation tomorrow, and segregation forever." In 1965, the troopers beat civil rights activists who dared to challenge Wallace by trying to march from Selma to Montgomery to protest the denial of their right to vote. As late as 1972, little had changed. The trooper force was still all-white.

A lawsuit filed that year by the Center transformed the trooper force forever. In a precedent-setting case, the Center secured an order that required the state to hire one

qualified black trooper for every white trooper hired until blacks made up 25 percent of the trooper force.

State officials resisted in every way possible. At first, they imposed a virtual ban on hiring to preserve the all-white force. They then tried to force newly hired blacks off the force by making it more difficult for them to complete their training and by subjecting them to unfair disciplinary practices. To keep the black officers who survived at the bottom rung of the trooper force, state officials refused to implement fair promotion tests.

• Every time state officials showed, Center attorneys pushed back. Time and again, Center attorneys went back to court to hold the state's feet to the fire. In

1987, the case reached the United States Supreme Court. (See p. 7) After the Center's victory there, state officials decided to end their resistance and to work with the Center to make the trooper force a model for the nation.

The case finally ended in 1995, more than 23 years after it began. Instead of being a symbol of oppression, the trooper force — with the highest percentage of minority officers in the nation — is now a symbol of the success of a vigorous and fair affirmative action program.

Since filing the State Trooper case back in 1972, the Center has litigated many other employment discrimination cases against state and local governmental entities. It has also challenged discrimination in the private sector. ☺



Alabama's first black troopers are sworn in during a 1972 ceremony. By 1996, the state had the highest percentage of minority officers in the nation, with many serving in supervisory positions.

## Improving Health Care and Social Services for the Poor

The Center has long been a tireless advocate for medical care and social services for the poor and those dependent on the state. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, for example, Center attorneys worked to force Alabama to

provide adequate care to the thousands of mentally ill and mentally retarded persons committed to state institutions. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, Center attorneys turned their attention to the abysmal services

offered to the thousands of mentally ill and mentally retarded persons committed to state institutions. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, Center attorneys turned their attention to the abysmal services

offered emotionally disturbed children in foster care. Working with mental health law experts from the Bazelon Center in Washington, D.C., the SPLC legal team secured a pathbreaking court agreement. Most recently, the Center challenged Alabama's failure to abide by the federal requirement that it provide Medicaid recipients with medically necessary transportation. For the poor, the absence of transportation can mean the difference between life and death. Many Center clients are dialysis patients who had to go without food in order to save enough money to get to their regularly scheduled treatments. Some were forced to miss their appointments altogether, with tragic results. In 1995, a federal court ruled that Alabama had to implement a new medical transportation plan. Thousands of poor people will benefit from the case. ☺



Medicaid patients in Alabama are now provided with transportation to medical facilities for such life-saving treatments as dialysis.

## Fighting for Tax Equity in Kentucky

For years, the Appalachian counties in Kentucky were an anomaly. Despite the fact that they sat on rich mineral

deposits, the counties were among the poorest in the nation. A tax system that virtually exempted unmined coal from

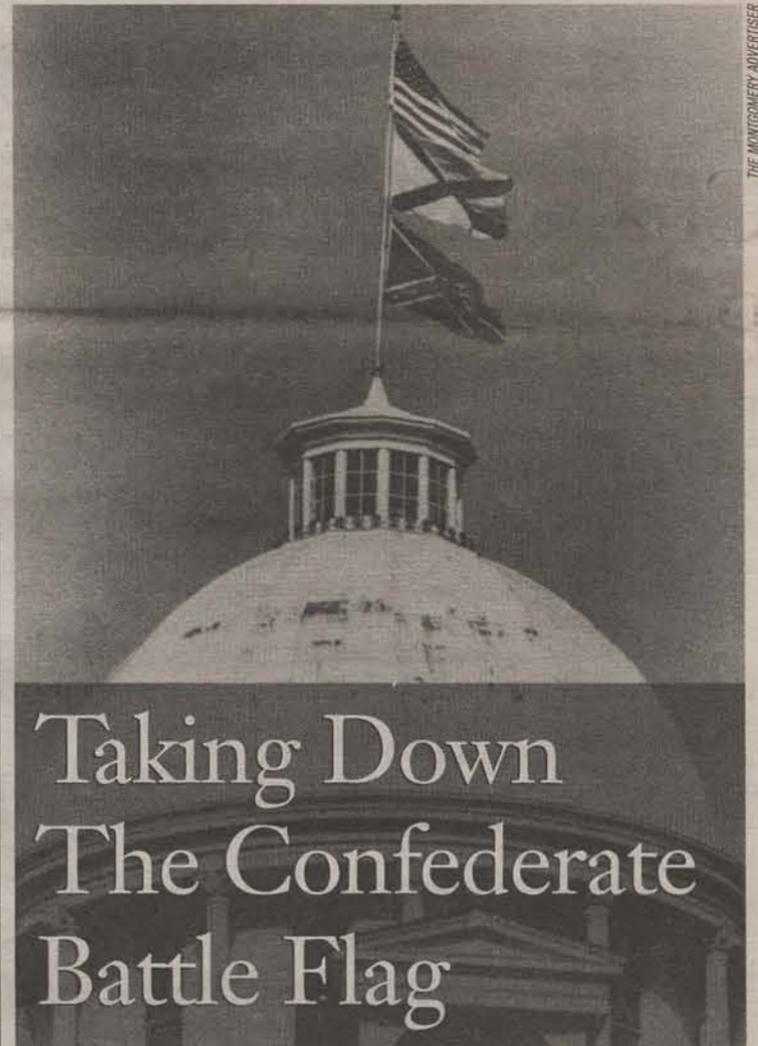
taxation was one of the culprits. The typical miner who worked long, dangerous hours would pay more in taxes on his pickup truck than the out-of-state coal owner would pay on coal reserves.

Without tax revenues, schools and other local facilities languished. Lawsuits filed by the Center in cooperation with Kentucky fair tax advocates helped change the financial landscape. The lawsuits forced the state to begin collecting a fair share of taxes from owners of valuable coal reserves.

The new tax "is the greatest thing since sliced bread," said a Pike County, Ky., official after the local schools began receiving over a million dollars annually in additional revenue. Another official credited the new taxes with allowing the county to develop an industrial park to provide hundreds of jobs for local citizens. ☺



Kentucky coal companies reaped millions in profits without paying taxes on mineral reserves prior to the Center's lawsuit.



## Taking Down The Confederate Battle Flag

The Confederate flag had flown from the dome of the Alabama Capitol since it was raised by Gov. George Wallace in 1963. The battle flag, often associated with white supremacy, was removed as a result of a 1993 Center suit.

On April 25, 1963, the day that U.S. Attorney General Robert Kennedy came to Montgomery to urge the state to integrate its university, Alabama Gov. George Wallace raised the Confederate battle flag over the dome of the State Capitol. There the flag flew for nearly 30 years as a constant reminder of the state's determination to maintain white supremacy.

A lawsuit by Center attorneys finally brought the flag down in 1993. Working with black Alabama state legislators, the Center used a forgotten sentence in the

state code to argue that the law permitted only state and national flags to fly above the capitol. A state judge agreed and issued an injunction prohibiting the governor from flying the flag.

While supporters of the flag defended its historical significance, the majority of blacks and whites viewed it as a painful reminder of intolerance and bigotry. In his opening statement, Center Chief Trial Counsel Morris Dees had urged the court to help heal the painful racial tensions that mar our nation's past and threaten its future. ☺

# Until Justice Rolls D

## The Story of the Civil Rights Memorial

Morris Dees called out the names to his audience. "Emmet Till, Andrew Goodman, James Chaney, Michael Schwerner, Medgar Evers, Viola Liuzzo..."

Dees was speaking at a 1988 NAACP meeting about the Center's recent victory in a case against the Ku Klux Klan for the lynching of Michael Donald. Repeating for the audience a portion of his closing argument at the trial, Dees recited the names of people who had been killed during the Civil Rights Movement.

After the talk, a young member of the audience approached him. "Excuse me, Mr. Dees, but who were these people — Medgar Evers and Viola Liuzzo?"

Others gathered to listen as Dees proceeded to give the students a mini-lesson on the history of the Civil Rights Movement. The next day, Dees vowed to create a monument to honor the memory and achievements of those who had died, and to educate future generations about the important events of the movement.

### CREATING THE MEMORIAL

Dees brought his idea for a memorial to the SPLC Board of Directors, and work began immediately to bring that vision into being. Center researchers

compiled a list of people who had been killed between May 17, 1954 (when the Supreme Court outlawed school segregation) and April 4, 1968 (the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.). Architect and artist Maya Lin, creator of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, began drawing plans for the new memorial.

Lin created a design meant to encourage reflection and education. A circular black granite table records the names of 40 martyrs and chronicles the history of the Movement in lines that radiate like the hands of a clock. Water emerges from the table's center and flows smoothly over the top. Water also cascades over a curved black granite wall behind the table. Engraved on the wall are words from the Book of Amos that Dr. King quoted on several occasions: *... until justice rolls down like waters and righteousness like a mighty stream.*

The water, Lin hoped, would have a soothing effect. And "the ability to see and touch the names glistening in the water — and simultaneously to see one's own reflection — would add to the sacredness of the site."

The memorial was built at the entrance to the Law Center, just blocks from the First White House of the Confederacy and a stone's throw from the Dexter

Avenue church where Dr. King served as minister when he led the Montgomery bus boycott.

In the spring of 1989, the front steps of the Center's Washington Avenue building were removed, and construction of the monument began. By that fall, the last of the work was done, and the Civil Rights Memorial was dedicated.

### THE DEDICATION

Over 6,000 people gathered in Montgomery on November 5, 1989, to witness the dedication of the Memorial. Julian Bond, President Emeritus of the Center, gave the keynote address; Rabbi Aaron Krupnik gave the invocation. Rosa Parks and Martin Luther King III offered personal observations.

The crowd included hundreds of relatives of the 40 people whose names were engraved on the Memorial. Several relatives were among the speakers: Rita Schwerner Bender, widow of Michael Schwerner; Mamie Till Mobley, mother of Emmett Till; Chris McNair, father of Birmingham bombing victim Denise McNair; and Myrlie Evers, widow of Medgar Evers. Ethel Kennedy, widow of Robert Kennedy, was also present.

In his address, Bond honored those "who died so all might be

free." He asked those at the dedication to gather "not in recrimination, but in reconciliation, remembrance and resolve." The monument was then opened to the public, and, as Morris Dees and Maya Lin looked on, family members moved toward the black granite table, reaching through the thin veil of water to touch the names of their loved ones.

### HISTORY SET IN STONE

Every year, the Civil Rights Memorial attracts over 300,000 visitors from around the world. Civil rights activists from Europe, Africa, Asia, the Middle East and Central America who visit the memorial are inspired to continue their efforts for equal rights and world peace.

The Memorial's educational purpose is fulfilled daily. The majority of visitors to the monument are school children. Through a powerful lesson written in stone, they learn about the "ordinary" people who lost their lives in the struggle for justice and equality.

The Civil Rights Memorial chronicles an important part of our continuing struggle against racism. It keeps alive the dreams of those who died during the Civil Rights Movement and inspires those who still dream of a better world. ☺

## Maya Lin, Memorial Designer



When Center officials decided in 1988 to build a memorial to honor victims of the Civil Rights Movement, then-board member Eddie Ashworth thought immediately of Maya Lin. Seven years earlier, when she was a 21-year-old senior at Yale, Lin had been chosen in a national competition to design the Vietnam Veterans Memorial. That memorial had proven to be a place of

healing, a place where, as one veteran described, "the living and dead could meet."

As soon as the Center's board of directors approved the idea for a Civil Rights Memorial, Ashworth set out to locate Lin.

"I called every Lin in the New York City phone book until I found her," he explains. "When we asked her if she would be interested in designing a memorial to civil rights movement victims, she was surprised that one didn't already exist."

It was on a plane trip to Montgomery to visit the site of the proposed memorial that Lin got her inspiration. Reading through some research material, she came across the words "until justice rolls down like waters and righteousness like a mighty stream," a paraphrase from the Book of Amos that Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. had used in his "I Have a Dream" speech and at the

start of the bus boycott in Montgomery eight years earlier.

"The minute I hit that quote I knew that the whole piece had to be about water," Lin has stated. "Suddenly the whole form took shape, and half an hour later I was in a restaurant in Montgomery with the people from the Center, sketching it on a paper napkin. I realized that I wanted to create a time line: a chronological listing of the movement's major events and its individual deaths, which together would show how people's lives influenced history and how their deaths made things better."

Like the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, the Civil Rights Memorial invites visitors to touch the engraved names. As Lin envisioned, the Memorial plaza is "a contemplative area — a place to remember the civil rights movement, to honor those killed during the struggle, to appreciate

how far the country has come in its quest for equality, and to consider how far it has to go."

At the dedication of the Memorial, before the public was admitted into the plaza, the families of the slain civil rights victims gathered. As they touched the names of their loved ones, their tears fell into the flowing water. "I was surprised and moved when people started to cry," said Lin. "Emmett Till's mother was touching his name beneath the water and crying, and I realized her tears were becoming part of the Memorial."

During the dedication ceremonies in 1989, shooting began for a documentary film on the work of Maya Lin. That film, *A Strong Clear Vision*, went on to trace the creation of several of Lin's commemorative pieces, and in 1995 it won an Academy Award for best feature-length documentary. ☺



# own...



**CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT**

Civil Rights Memorial being constructed, October 1989. (SPLC Archive)

1964 Freedom Summer volunteers. (Steve Shapiro/Black Star)

Martin Luther King Jr. with his wife, Coretta, and their children. (Black Star)

Mamie Till, overcome with grief when the body of her son, Emmett, arrives at the Chicago train station. Emmett, 14, was killed for speaking to a white woman in Mississippi. (SPLC Archive)

Viola Gregg Liuzzo, killed by the Klan while transporting marchers along the Selma-to-Montgomery highway. (Bruce Davidson/Magnum)

Freedom Summer student volunteers being trained in nonviolence techniques. (Danny Lyon/Magnum)

Boston Seminary student Jonathan Daniels with children of Lowndes County, Ala. Daniels, who helped with black voter registration, was shot in

Hayneville, Ala., in 1965. (UPI/Bettman Newsphotos)

From far left: Denise McNair, Cynthia Wesley, Addie Mae Collins and Carol Robertson, four young girls killed in the bombing of the Sixteenth St. Baptist Church in Birmingham, Ala. (Birmingham News)

Civil rights worker James Earl Chaney, killed, along with Michael Schwerner and Andrew Goodman, after being released by a sheriff into the hands of Klansmen. (Bettman Newsphotos)

Family of Willie Edwards Jr. at Memorial dedication. Edwards was forced by the Klan to jump off a bridge into the Alabama River. (AP/Wide World Photos)

Memorial Dedication ceremony, Nov. 5, 1989 (center). Left to right: Maya Lin, Rabbi Aaron Krupnik, Rita Schwerner-Bender, Mamie Till Mobley, Martin Luther King III, Rosa Parks, Julian Bond, Ayinde Jean Baptiste, Chris McNair, Vanzetta McPherson, Michael Figures, Ethel Kennedy. (Paul Robertson)

# Klanwatch

## Monitoring Hate and Fighting for Justice

In 1979, Curtis Robinson, a black man, shot a Ku Klux Klansman in self-defense during an attack on peaceful civil rights marchers in Decatur, Ala. When Robinson was convicted of assault with intent to murder by an all-white jury, the Law Center appealed the conviction and brought its first civil suit against the Klan.

In the course of that trial, SPLC attorneys and investigators discovered the extent to which

Klanwatch documented a record 31 bias-motivated murders and a sharp rise in the number and brutality of hate crime assaults (up from 27 hate-motivated homicides in 1991 and 20 in 1990). This made 1992 the deadliest and most violent year since Klanwatch began tracking hate crimes in 1979.

As hate crimes became a nationally recognized problem, Klanwatch was instrumental in persuading law enforcement and

track of the changing faces of hate in our country."

Today Klanwatch is the nation's most comprehensive source of information on hate groups. The project's files contain over 15,000 photographs and 57,000 documented reports of bias incidents. In addition to sharing this information with local and state law enforcement agencies, Klanwatch provides data to offices of the FBI; the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms; the Department of Justice; and Congress.

Dick Thornburgh, former Attorney General, has stated, "I am particularly grateful for the cooperation extended by the Center to the Civil Rights Division of the U.S. Department of Justice during my tenure as Attorney General. Your support of our efforts in the prosecution of hate crimes and in other significant civil rights initiatives was most productive."

In the aftermath of the bombing of the federal building in Oklahoma City in April 1995, Klanwatch fielded hundreds of requests from law enforcement agencies for information about militia groups and their leaders. (Earlier, in October 1994, Klanwatch had established a Militia Task Force to monitor the infiltration of private militias by white supremacists. See *Militia Task Force*, p. 13)

On April 27, Morris Dees, the Center's Chief Trial Counsel, testified before the Senate Judiciary Committee at a hearing on terrorism that was prompted by the bombing. Dees shared Klanwatch data on the rapid growth of extremist militias across the country and urged Congress to take action to curb their activities.

Later in 1995, Klanwatch Associate Director Brian Levin testified before the Crime Sub-

the federal government to institute monitoring of hate groups and their leaders, to track hate crimes, and to develop procedures and training standards for law enforcement.

In 1991, then-Klanwatch Director Danny Welch was among the experts invited to testify at a U.S. Civil Rights Commission hearing to examine racial tensions in America. In addition to briefing the commission on the rise in hate crimes, Welch called for states to enforce bias crime laws and report hate crimes to the FBI.

### MONITORING HATE

While the original purpose of Klanwatch was to gather information about the Klan, the project evolved over the years into monitoring hate crimes and other hate groups, including paramilitary Klan groups, The Order, the neo-Nazis and Skinheads, Christian Identity and the extremist militias. Today the most violent hate groups that Klanwatch monitors are not associated with the Klan.

"The names of hate groups have changed through the years," said Klanwatch Director Joe Roy. "Even though the names may become outdated, there will always be a need for monitoring, as the groups split and regroup. Our job is cut out for us: to keep



In the early '80s, Klanwatch investigations led to lawsuits that crippled Klan groups in Texas, Alabama and North Carolina.

the KKK had rebounded after its decline in the 1960s. Scores of crossburnings, beatings, shootings and other attacks against blacks occurred between 1978 and 1980, and in only a few cases were there arrests and prosecutions. The attitude of many in positions of authority seemed to be that if the problem were ignored, maybe it would go away.

But because of evidence collected during the Robinson case, this view was rejected by the SPLC staff, who felt that action must be taken immediately against the Klan before the situation got even more out of control. This decision led to the creation of Klanwatch in 1981.

As a result of Klanwatch investigations, the Center began to bring civil suits against white supremacist groups for their roles in hate crimes. These resulted in judgments against 37 individuals and seven major white supremacist organizations over the next 12 years. In several cases, criminal convictions were also won as a result of Klanwatch investigations. (See *Legal*, pp. 6-7)

At the same time that the Center's legal team was fighting the Klan in court, Klanwatch was gaining a reputation for accuracy, credibility and comprehensiveness in monitoring hate crimes and hate groups. In 1992,



A Klan attack on peaceful civil rights marchers in Decatur, Ala., in 1979 prompted the Center investigation that led to the establishment of Klanwatch.

committee of the U.S. House Judiciary Committee's hearing on antigovernment terrorism in America. Levin described the increase in violent antigovernment activity by white supremacists and militia followers and outlined the Center's efforts to monitor these extremists.

### EDUCATING LAW ENFORCEMENT

While the main focus of Klanwatch is to track hate crime and white supremacist activity, the project also offers education and training programs to help police and human rights groups combat organized racism.

The *Klanwatch Intelligence Report*, begun in 1981, provides over 6,000 law enforcement agencies across America with crucial updates on illegal white supremacist activities and hate crimes nationwide. Dick Bogle, commissioner of the Oregon Department of Public Safety, wrote that the bimonthly *Intelligence Report* "fills a genuine need. Information sharing is vital in our efforts to stem the rising tide of racist violence throughout the United States."

As part of an ongoing educational process, Klanwatch personnel frequently conduct training sessions for police and human relations groups.

In 1992, the Birmingham (Ala.) Police Department investigated a rash of Skinhead activity, which culminated in the arrests of three Skinheads in connection with the murder of a homeless

black man. Shortly before a scheduled Skinhead rally, Klanwatch staffers conducted an eight-hour seminar for Birmingham police agencies. The efforts paid off: There were no injuries to marchers or protesters, and the officers' handling of the rally emerged as a model for police agencies facing the same situation.

The same year, the Federal Law Enforcement Training Center (FLETC), the largest law enforcement training facility in the U.S., invited then-Klanwatch Director Danny Welch to help develop a training program to improve reporting, investigating and preparation for the prosecution of hate crimes. In 1993, other Klanwatch staffers wrote and taught courses that were incorporated into the FLETC's newly implemented Hate/Bias Crime Training workshop.

In 1994, Welch was recruited by a project funded by the U.S. Department of Justice to offer input and advice for a national bias crimes training curriculum. The *Bias Crimes: A Guide for Training Instructors* manual provides law enforcement officials with the latest information and methods to aid in identifying, investigating and deterring bias crimes.

### INFORMING THE PUBLIC

Another weapon used by Klanwatch to inform the public about the seriousness of white supremacist activity and hate crimes is its educational materials. A newsletter, film and special reports are distributed nationwide to law enforcement agencies, schools, and community and human rights groups.

In 1983, Klanwatch commissioned the Center's first educational film, *The Klan: A Legacy of Hate in America*. Produced by Charles Guggenheim and nominated for an Academy Award, the documentary has been broadcast nationwide and widely used by schools, churches and community organizations.

Through special publications, Klanwatch helps to put the activities of hate groups into a historical perspective. *The Ku Klux*



The late '80s saw a decline in Klan activity and the rise of Skinhead, neo-Nazi and other violent hate groups.

Continued at top of next page

*Klan: A History of Racism and Violence*, first published in 1982, is now in its fourth edition. *Hate Violence and White Supremacy: A Decade Review 1980-1990* traces the major events, leaders and developments in the white supremacist movement in the U.S. during the 1980s. Both publications are widely used by schools and community groups across the country.

In order to inform law enforcement of the increasing danger from extremist militias, Klanwatch published in early 1996 a special report on antigovernment extremism. *False Patriots: The Threat of Antigovernment Extremists*, was distributed free to law enforcement agencies, policy makers and concerned citizens nationwide.

Citizens and law enforcement alike benefit from two handbooks released by Klanwatch in 1994. *Ten Ways to Fight Hate: A Community Response Guide* explains ways citizens can effectively counter situations in which white supremacists target communities for recruiting, marches and rallies. A second version of the handbook, *Law Enforcement Response Guide*, was designed especially for law enforcement agencies.

"Public education has become increasingly important as agencies around the country attempt to cope with the rise in hate crime and intolerance," Klanwatch Director Joe Roy said. "As the Klanwatch monitoring process becomes more sophisticated, we are better able to inform police and the public about the potential danger of racial and cultural discord." ☺

## Militia Task Force Established in 1994

Well before the April 1995 bombing in Oklahoma City, Klanwatch picked up warning signs that violence directed at the federal government by persons associated with the militia movement might occur. After months of monitoring, Klanwatch detected strategic links between various militia groups and white supremacist organizations and leaders.

This investigation and analysis prompted the Center to establish the Militia Task Force in October 1994 to track the militia movement and its white supremacist elements. At that time, Center Co-founder and Chief Trial Counsel Morris Dees wrote a letter to Attorney General Janet Reno and the attorneys general of six states describing the "mixture of armed groups and those who hate" as a "recipe for disaster."

At a Klanwatch-sponsored conference on militias in March 1995, a group of law enforcement domestic terrorism experts from around the country met to assess the threat posed by the growing militia movement and formulate strategies to address this threat. All conference participants agreed that the potential for violence within the militia movement was increasing.

As of February 1996, Klanwatch's Militia Task Force had identified 447 Patriot groups active in 50 states and found that 42 of these groups had racist ties. Another 158 militia support groups (which generate and distribute militia propaganda, but do not conduct paramilitary



Klanwatch uncovered ties between white supremacist groups and the growing antigovernment militia movement. Above, a secret militia cell trains in Idaho in 1995.

training) were documented, 29 of them with racist ties.

Brian Levin, Associate Director of Klanwatch, points out, "Although most militias do not have racist agendas, many are ripe for takeover by militant white supremacists. The danger these groups represent should be taken seriously. It is our belief that the Oklahoma City bombing was an act of domestic terrorism connected to the more extreme antigovernment militias."

### THE MILITIA MOVEMENT

Two events mark the beginning of today's militia movement. The first was a 1992 raid by federal agents at white separatist Randy Weaver's Ruby Ridge, Idaho, cabin. Weaver's

wife and son, along with a U.S. marshal, were killed in the confrontation. Then, in 1993, a government siege at the Branch Davidian compound near Waco, Texas, began with the deaths of four federal agents and ended with an inferno that killed more than 78 Davidians.

The Ruby Ridge and Waco incidents, combined with growing antigovernment sentiments triggered by gun control legislation, gave rise to the heavily armed militia movement that operates across the U.S. today.

### MILITIA THREAT CONTINUES

In November 1995, four Oklahomans were indicted for plotting to bomb the offices of the SPLC and the Anti-Defamation League.

Willie Ray Lampley — who allegedly spearheaded the plan to attack the Center — is said to have announced at a meeting of the Tri-State Militia in August 1995 that the Center and other civil rights sites across the nation should be destroyed.

Morris Dees, upon being informed of the indictments, stated, "This is not the first time the Center has been targeted by extremists. In 1983, the Klan burned our building, and in 1986, a neo-Nazi

group in North Carolina plotted to blow us up. Luckily no one has gotten hurt so far."

As the danger of extremist militia activities increases, the Militia Task Force is more committed than ever to protecting the public from this threat. Klanwatch Director Joe Roy explained, "The challenge that we [Klanwatch and law enforcement officials] all face today is no different than it's always been — we have a responsibility to protect these militia groups' constitutional rights, their right to express views and beliefs, the right to assemble — rights that affect all of us. But we also have the responsibility to make sure these groups do not infringe on the freedom and safety of other people." ☺

### COMMENTARY



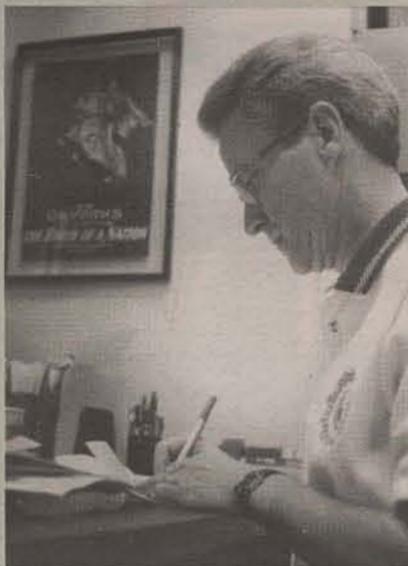
# Tracking the Threat of Hate

BY JOE ROY

Director, Klanwatch

Among some of my family's rural acquaintances, the question occasionally surfaces: "What happened to that boy, anyway?" It may be surprising to some folks around here that a former police officer, born and raised in the deep South, would find his niche at the Southern Poverty Law Center. But it's no surprise to me.

I first began working for the Law Center on a contract basis, serving subpoenas, doing background investigations and helping to track down witnesses. When I came on board as a full-time employee in 1986, a lawsuit was underway against the United



Klans of America (UKA), the Klan group whose members lynched Michael Donald.

As we researched the history of the UKA, we uncovered

numerous incidents of harassment, bombings and murder of black citizens. It was my job to find witnesses who would confirm the Klan's involvement in these racist attacks. I became completely absorbed in documenting the UKA's track record of violence in the South.

At one point, the investigation brought me full circle to my years as a teenager in Montgomery. I was in high school in the spring of 1965 when thousands of civil rights marchers prepared to walk from Selma to Montgomery to protest the denial of voting rights for blacks.

I remember talking to Mr. Brown, a black man who was our school custodian, about his plans to march to the Capitol

and hear Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. speak.

"Aren't you afraid to go down there?" I asked him.

"Sure, I'm afraid," he answered. "But I'm going anyway. I have to." That day, Viola Liuzzo, a white woman helping the marchers, was murdered by Klansmen. Her killers turned out to be connected with the UKA — the same organization that I was now investigating for the Donald lawsuit. As I worked long hours looking for witnesses who could testify about Klan activities, I thought about the bravery of Viola Liuzzo and Mr. Brown.

The lessons I learned as a police detective paid off in the Donald case. We tracked down a witness who tied the UKA to violent acts in the 1960s and

1970s. As the Donald trial came to a close, as I listened to Michael Donald's elderly mother publicly forgive her son's killers, I realized that my new job had become a personal commitment. I decided I would stay with the Southern Poverty Law Center for as long as they'd have me.

There have been other court victories since the Donald case, but none has meant more to me. And while the white supremacist movement has become more elusive and more volatile since those days, I have never tired of tracking the threat of hate groups. People like Mr. Brown, who was afraid to march but marched anyway, and Mrs. Donald, who believed in mercy but fought for justice, are my heroes. ☺

# Combating the Causes of Hate

Teaching Tolerance, the Center's national education project, emerged in 1991 as an aggressive response to increased hate crime among youth. Although the Center's landmark cases had sent powerful messages to organized white supremacists, Law Center officials recognized that court victories alone would do little to change the underlying attitudes at the root of hate in America.

Two of the Center's precedent-setting trials had involved brutal murders committed by young people with long histories of hatred.

Tiger Knowles, a social misfit, felt secure in the ranks of the southern Alabama Klan. Caught in the grip of his own anger, and under the influence of longtime Klan members, he participated willingly in the lynching of Michael Donald. He wept as he recounted his involvement in the murder during the Center's civil suit (see *Legal*, p. 7).

Like Knowles, Ken Mieske was an angry and lonely youth. Homeless since his teens, Mieske found a "family" among a group of racist Skinheads. During a confrontation with an Ethiopian man, Mieske had no compunction about beating the man to death. When police asked Mieske why he did it, Mieske answered, "I was mad."

By the fall of 1990, even as a Portland jury was returning its historic verdict against Ken Mieske and the other Skinhead

killers of Mulugeta Seraw (see *Legal*, p. 7), the nation was witnessing an increase in racial and ethnic strife in communities from New York to California. And the problem was especially acute among the young:

- Nearly half of all hate crimes were committed by individuals under age 21.

- Nearly four out of ten young people polled admitted they would participate in or silently support racial incidents.

- Every fifth high school student carried a weapon.

More had to be done to help young people overcome the influences of violence and intolerance, and the classroom seemed the obvious place to begin.

After researching existing educational needs and strategies, Center officials recognized that there was an alarming deficiency of classroom resources to promote intergroup harmony. Many good programs were not being packaged, publicized or distributed in ways that made them accessible to the average classroom teacher.

Most disturbingly, there was no single resource to help teachers learn about materials and techniques designed to promote understanding.

## FILLING THE GAP

Determined to fill that void, the Law Center founded Teaching Tolerance in 1991 to develop and distribute top-quality, free



Teaching Tolerance materials are used in classrooms nationwide.

educational materials to hundreds of thousands of teachers.

Teaching Tolerance materials are based on lessons learned from many years of research in the area of human relations education. That research shows that a wide variety of strategies can be successful in teaching tolerance. The best techniques do not attempt to indoctrinate but are rooted in shared values of democracy, fairness and respect for individual worth.

In January 1992, the free semiannual magazine *Teaching*

*Tolerance* began to fill the resource gap for individual teachers — showing them the variety of approaches that are working in American classrooms and providing them with a forum for exchanging ideas.

"Teaching tolerance is not a new endeavor," wrote editor Sara Bullard in the first issue of the magazine. "Every teacher with more than one student has striven for harmony in the classroom. Certainly this task becomes more complicated as the nation and the classroom grow more diverse.

But the basic goal remains the same: to care about all of our children, and to help them care about each other."

The magazine now goes out to more than 150,000 educators twice a year. The first two Teaching Tolerance video-and-text packages, *America's Civil Rights Movement* and *The Shadow of Hate*, are used in more than 50,000 schools. The magazine and curriculum kits, which have won numerous awards, are used in all 50 states and many foreign countries.

In 1995, the video portion of *America's Civil Rights Movement* won an Academy Award for Best Short Documentary. And the Teaching Tolerance project was honored with the first annual Family Life Award from *Family Life* magazine for its contributions to the lives of children and families in the United States. (See adjacent articles for more information about the magazine and teaching kits.)

## FUTURE PROJECTS

Teaching Tolerance plans to develop and distribute four more video-and-text kits for the nation's classrooms over the next few years. In the fall of 1996, teachers will be able to order a free poster set and teacher's guide developed from the artwork and writings published regularly on the "One World" pages of *Teaching Tolerance* magazine. (See "Poster Set," next page.)

Teaching Tolerance will also sponsor a three-week Teachers Institute in the summer of 1997. Educators from across the country will have the opportunity to study the history and nature of intolerance; to share resources, insights and strategies for implementing tolerance education; and to engage in open dialogue about racism and discrimination.

## TEACHERS EXPRESS THANKS

The success of the Teaching Tolerance project has been due to the dedication of the teachers who use the materials and to the generosity of Center supporters. Many of the letters of praise received from educators express their deep appreciation to the sponsors of the program for making the materials available free of charge.

As a teacher in Rhinebeck, N.Y., stated, "In a time when budgetary restraints can prevent the purchasing of innovative learning programs, it is extremely commendable that programs like Teaching Tolerance respond to this crisis. Such educational resources can help educators and students arrive at a better understanding and appreciation of all people." ☺

## A Magazine for Teachers

*Teaching Tolerance* magazine is the first national forum where teachers can share their experiences and learn about new strategies for promoting tolerance and diversity. The magazine is sent free to over 150,000 educators at all levels nationwide and in 70 foreign countries. In addition to teachers, the magazine's subscribers include youth and community organizations, and religious and correctional institutions.

*Teaching Tolerance* has been recognized in the press and among educators as a leader in the movement to teach fairness, justice and equality to students of all ages. In 1994, *Newsweek* magazine called *Teaching Tolerance* "a winner [among] programs providing moral education, 1990s style."

Thomas Lickona, author of *Educating for Character*, stated, "I think your magazine is terrific. It's great to have such a rich, practical resource on such a cru-

cial aspect of moral education."

In each issue of the magazine, feature articles highlight schools and teachers doing exemplary work in tolerance education. The "Idea Exchange" department allows teachers to share successful strategies for promoting acceptance of diversity. "Teaching Tools" reviews the best multicultural resources available. The final page of each magazine, "One World," focuses on themes of peace and unity through the pairing of artwork and text.

The Center has received thousands of positive responses from teachers who receive the magazine. "I love your *Teaching Tolerance* magazine! It's incredible that we get such fine quality for free. I applaud your sponsors," wrote a teacher in Colorado Springs, Colo.

"*Teaching Tolerance* is beautifully done and deserves to be widely and sympathetically received," wrote a university

professor in Massachusetts. "It's an astonishingly ambitious project and desperately needed."

An informal survey conducted by Teaching Tolerance in 1993 indicated the magazine was not only being read by teachers but was inspiring them to action. Eighty percent indicated they had shared the magazine with colleagues; 58 percent ordered a resource mentioned in the journal; 49 percent spent class time talking about cultural and racial diversity; and 45 percent re-evaluated their own biases.

In addition to garnering praise for its editorial content, *Teaching Tolerance* has also received acclaim for its outstanding design. Former Teaching Tolerance graphic designer Susan Hulme Wright and current Design Director Paul F. Newman have won national

## TEACHING TOLERANCE



Spring '96

awards for outstanding design treatment. Artists and teachers alike applaud the magazine's balance of photographs, illustrations and children's artwork.

*Teaching Tolerance* has won more than a dozen editorial and design awards, including the 1995 Golden Lamp Award, the highest honor bestowed by EdPress, the Educational Press Association of America. ☺

# Video-and-Text Kits Sent Free to Schools

Between 1992 and 1995, Teaching Tolerance released two video-and-text kits and prepared a third for distribution in 1997. The first two kits focused on the consequences of hatred and intolerance in our society. The third provides early childhood teachers with strategies for implementing tolerance education in their classrooms.

The project's first teaching kit, *America's Civil Rights Movement*, was created to help teachers convey the ideals of democracy through the story of the civil rights struggle. The package includes a 38-minute video produced by Charles Guggenheim, a student text and a teacher's guide. The video, *A Time for Justice*, has won numerous awards, including the Academy Award for Best Short Documentary in 1995.

The text in the kit, *Free At Last: A History of the Civil Rights Movement and Those Who Died in the Struggle*, profiles 40 people who died in the movement. The



teacher's guide contains detailed lesson plans.

*America's Civil Rights Movement* is being used by more than 50,000 schools across the country, and comments from educators have been overwhelmingly positive.

A teacher at Mattoon (Ill.) Jr. High School said, "The response of the students was a rewarding interest, empathy and understanding of our civil rights movement. ... At the culmination of this unit we felt our students had gained a wealth of insight they had not been exposed to before."

The project's second teaching kit, *The Shadow of Hate*, was requested by almost 50,000 schools within six months of its release in late March 1995. The video and text in this kit chronicle the history of hatred and intolerance in America from religious intolerance during Colonial times to the vigilantism of the

early Ku Klux Klan to the internment of Japanese Americans to the persecution of Mormons, Irish Americans, gays, Jews and others.

*The Shadow of Hate* kit includes a 40-minute documentary video produced by Charles Guggenheim, the 108-page text *Us and Them*, and a detailed teacher's guide.

Teachers gave high marks to *The Shadow of Hate*. The majority of teachers who responded to an evaluation form included in the kit indicated they found the material very effective and that it stimulated significant discussion, research and writing in their classrooms. A teacher in Branford, Conn., wrote, "The text is one of the absolutely finest pieces I have ever found for generating interest, empathy and understanding in high school students."

Teaching Tolerance's third video-and-text package, tentatively titled *Starting Small*, will be released in 1997. Unlike the first two kits, which were aimed at students, *Starting Small* will target teachers. It will profile several pre-K through 3rd grade classrooms where successful tolerance education programs are being conducted. The text will provide teachers with comprehensive resources and guidelines for teaching tolerance to young children.

Teaching Tolerance plans to develop three more video-and-text kits, which will address themes of conflict resolution, cooperative learning and community building. ☺



# Poster Set Illustrates Diversity

In the fall of 1996, Teaching Tolerance will offer a set of eight posters compiled from the pages of *Teaching Tolerance* magazine. The full-color posters, accompanied by a teacher's guide, will be sent free to schools nationwide.

On the last page of each issue of *Teaching Tolerance* appears one of the most popular departments of the magazine: "One World," a single page of text and art that together portray the themes of world unity and peace. Illustrations by both children and renowned artists are paired with words from people of all cultures and ages. Quotes from American poet Maya Angelou, United Nations diplomat Eleanor

Roosevelt and Chinese philosopher Lao-Tzu have appeared, as have the words of Sadako Sasaki, an 11-year-old Japanese girl who

died as a result of the bombing of Hiroshima, and Amy Maddox, a 16-year-old Indiana student.

A study guide included in the package will suggest activities that allow students at all levels to explore the themes of peace, justice, tolerance and unity. Class discussions, writing and research exercises, as well as music and art activities, will center around the eight posters.

"Since the first issue of *Teaching Tolerance* was sent out in 1992, teachers have requested that the 'One World' pages be made into posters for classroom use," stated Teaching Tolerance Director Sara Bullard. "We are hopeful that these posters will be both inspiring and thought-provoking for students of all ages." ☺



# Social Change Begins with Individual Commitment

BY SARA BULLARD

Director, Teaching Tolerance

It is the faith that change is possible against great odds that propels much of the work of the Southern Poverty Law Center.

In 1989, after I had spent two years writing about white supremacists for the *Klanwatch Intelligence Report*, Morris Dees presented me with the opportunity of a lifetime: researching the names that would appear on the new Civil Rights Memorial and writing a book (*Free at Last*) for young adults that would profile these movement heroes. As Maya Lin was searching worldwide for the granite that would form the memorial wall and table, I was searching for the names that would be engraved in that granite.

The lesson I learned from those people who lost their lives during the Civil Rights Movement is that social change begins with individual commitment. I drew inspiration from people like George Lee and Medgar Evers, who, having been raised in an era when African Americans were given no hope of equality, nevertheless had hope.

To respond to hate with hope takes a special kind of energy. Morris Dees helped generate that energy during the case against Tom Metzger and Portland Skinheads for the murder of Ethiopian student Mulugeta Seraw. It was during the Metzger trial that the consequences of hate rhetoric became especially clear to me.

In one of the Skinhead's homes, police found a poem written by the defendant, Ken Mieske: "Senseless violence is the only thing I know / Piles of corpses never-ending watch them grow / Kill my victims for pleasure and for fun / Beat them over the head, shoot them with my gun." Mieske practiced what he preached. He was convicted of beating Seraw to death with a baseball bat.

Morris Dees, Legal Director Richard Cohen, then-Klanwatch Director Pat Clark and I began talking about ways to reach young people with a



message of tolerance and peace. Few resources were available in schools to help combat a growing trend toward youth violence and intolerance.

What teachers needed most were practical resources and a forum for sharing ideas that worked. And they needed them at no cost. We conceived of a magazine that would spark the creativity and hope of teachers nationwide and a curriculum kit that could be used to give students a concise, dramatic portrait of the ordinary heroes behind the Civil Rights Movement. In January 1992, both *Teaching Tolerance* magazine and the first video-and-text teaching kit, *America's Civil Rights Movement*, were released.

In four years, the Teaching Tolerance staff has grown from two to 10, and our work has grown along with it. Currently, we are producing a third curriculum kit and planning an in-depth institute for teachers.

While the international recognition for our work has been gratifying, the real rewards have come from the students and teachers who let us know that Teaching Tolerance is making a difference.

Daily, we receive letters from teachers thanking us for the gifts of Teaching Tolerance resources. Students also write to thank us for opening their eyes to the problems our society faces and for inspiring them to do their part to keep the cycle of intolerance from repeating itself.

We pass their thanks along to the Law Center supporters who, because of their own individual commitments to justice, have made the dream of Teaching Tolerance a reality. ☺

# Supporting the Dream

## Private Donors Ensure Longterm Success of Center

Law Center founders Morris Dees and Joe Levin knew that, in order to make a lasting impact in the field of civil rights, the Center would need a stable financial base. Many of its major cases took years to litigate and cost millions of dollars, and Center clients were never charged legal fees. Without a steady funding source and sound fiscal man-

agement, the Law Center could not pursue such complex cases. Dees and Levin had seen other nonprofits forced to cut back their programs because of unpredictable funding, and they did not want the Center to face the same problems.

They considered several funding sources, including government agencies and private foun-

dations, but concluded that none would provide stable annual income over the long term. They felt certain, on the other hand, that there were enough private citizens in the country who felt strongly enough about civil rights to support the Center's long-term work.

When the Southern Poverty Law Center was incorporated in 1971, Dees asked Julian Bond to sign its first appeal for private donations. By the end of 1973 the Center had enlisted 3,000 active members; by the end of 1995, that number had reached almost 300,000.

The Center has used its mail operation not only to raise funds for its cases, but to educate the general public about current issues in civil rights, the white supremacy and Patriot movements, and tolerance education. Many people who were not aware of the injustices faced by minorities on death row, for instance, or the abuses of organized racists, became committed civil rights



Executive Director Edward Ashworth (l) and Fundraising Director Dave Watson plan fundraising strategies that educate the public about the white supremacy movement and the need for tolerance education.

activists through their involvement with the Center.

Dave Watson, who became Director of Fundraising in 1981, says he finds great challenges and rewards in his work. "I will always be proud that the first fundraising appeals I wrote were to help innocent people charged with capital crimes," Watson said. "Thanks to the generosity of the Center's supporters, and the skill of Center

attorneys, both suits resulted in 'not guilty' verdicts. And today, being able to play a role in teaching our country's young people to respect and appreciate diversity is very satisfying."

Only 19 percent of the Center's total revenue is spent on administering the fundraising program. This includes all mailings and the salaries for the seven people employed by the department. ☺

### COMMENTARY

## Into the 21st Century

BY JOSEPH J. LEVIN JR.  
Co-Founder and  
Chairman of the Board



Justice takes time. Some of the Law Center's most important courtroom victories have required many years of meticulous work by our legal staff. (One, a class action suit forcing the Alabama State Troopers to integrate their ranks, took 25 years to resolve.) Other Center projects, Klanwatch and Teaching Tolerance, are addressing problems that will not be solved in our lifetimes.

To persist in such efforts requires enormous commitment. We keep in mind the words of abolitionist Theodore Parker, often quoted by Martin Luther King Jr. during the most difficult periods of the Civil Rights Movement: "The arc of the moral universe is long, but it bends toward justice." We know that victory will be ours, but it will be a long time coming.

So that we could pursue the long struggle toward equal rights, Morris Dees and I, along

with the Center's Board of Directors, decided in 1974 to begin building an endowment. We foresaw a day when the high cost of direct mail fundraising and the difficulty of raising money for civil rights work would deplete our resources. We felt that the best way to secure the future of the Center was to create an endowment fund that could not be spent for any purpose without the approval of the board.

Through the years, some organizations without endowments, including the NAACP,

the Cousteau Society, and the Southern Coalition of Jails and Prisons, have found themselves in financial trouble. For example, in the mid-1990s, the NAACP amassed a deficit of over \$3 million and was forced to reduce its operations severely. Its great work suffered as a result. We never want the Center to be in that position.

We look to churches, universities and hospitals as models of long-term fundraising. Their endowments, some running into the billions of dollars, guarantee their permanence. Recognizing the need to provide financial security for their programs, other public interest organizations like the Sierra Club and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith are building endowments similar to the Center's.

In its first year, 1974, the Center's endowment

had \$72,775. By 1996, our endowment stood at \$65 million. If we reach our endowment goal of \$100 million, we will have sufficient funds to sustain indefinitely all of our existing programs while also protecting the Center from inflation. We are almost two-

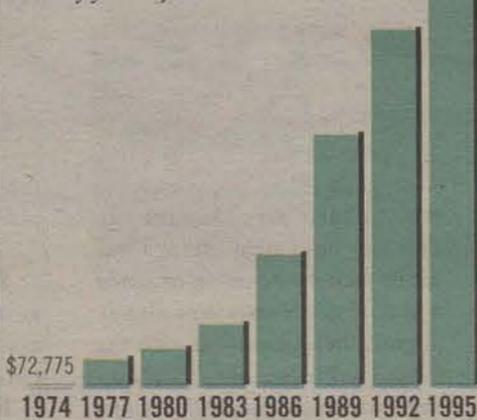
thirds of the way there. With the continuing support of our donors, we'll reach our goal around the turn of the century.

When I look back on the SPLC's humble beginnings, I can only be grateful that when we brought the Center into being we were as realistic as we were idealistic — and that so many of the individuals who have supported the Center's work over the last 25 years are helping us prepare for the next quarter century.

I think by now our supporters understand that the issues the Center tackles will be around for a long time. Intolerance and hate crimes are problems this country is a long way from solving. The Center's Endowment is our guarantee to future generations that for as long as the Southern Poverty Law Center is needed, it will be there. ☺

### Center Endowment Grows

Amounts represent market value at end of fiscal years.



# Board of Directors Sets the Course for Center Projects

Center executives and department heads report regularly to the SPLC Board of Directors, reviewing current projects, discussing new proposals and receiving guidance for their work. The six members of the board, including specialists in the fields of civil rights, criminal justice and litigation, help set policies and establish directions and priorities for the Center.

The first SPLC board members included well known civil rights activists Fanny Lou Hamer, whose 1964 speech electrified the Democratic National Convention; Charles Evers, brother of slain civil rights leader Medgar Evers; Georgia congressman John Lewis; and former Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee activist Julian Bond (See Bond, p. 3). The Center's Board of Directors in 1996 includes a diverse group of activists:

**PATRICIA CLARK**

A criminal justice specialist with the American Friends Service Committee in Philadelphia, Patricia Clark began her association with the SPLC when she came to work at Klanwatch in 1985. She became director of the project in 1987, replacing Bill Stanton. While working at the Center, Clark maintained a strong affiliation with other civil rights projects, serving on the international board of Habitat for Humanity and helping to direct the Alabama Prison Project. When Clark left Klanwatch in



(clockwise from top left) Rufus J. Huffman, Howard Mandell, Frances Green, Patricia Clark, Jack Watson, SPLC Co-founders Morris Dees and Joe Levin.

1991 to devote her full time to criminal justice issues, she agreed to serve on the SPLC Board of Directors. "I feel very strongly about the Center and the kind of work it does," Clark said. "It was a privilege to be elected to the Board — and very satisfying because it meant I could still contribute to the Center's work even if I was no longer at Klanwatch."

**FRANCES GREEN**

An SPLC board member since 1988, Frances Green became familiar with the Center's work during 1973 when she spent a year in Montgomery clerking for Judge Frank Johnson. She was later hired by Joe Levin to work on the Carter Administration Department of Justice transition team, and then served as Associate U.S. Attorney General in 1977. She became Deputy Gen-

eral Counsel at the Department of Commerce shortly thereafter.

Green left Washington in 1980 to teach environmental law at the University of Colorado at Boulder. In 1989 she founded the Land and Water Fund of the Rockies, a nonprofit organization dedicated to providing legal services to grassroots and community groups throughout the Rocky Mountain states.

"Environmental issues and social issues are not that far apart — both ultimately affect all people," Green said. "Serving on the Center's Board of Directors has given me the opportunity to affect the quality of people's lives at different levels."

**HON. RUFUS J. HUFFMAN**

Rufus Huffman was coordinating NAACP policies on education throughout the South

from his office in Union Springs, Ala., when he was elected to the SPLC Board in 1974. "I had heard about and been impressed with Morris and Joe's legal work even before I was asked to be a director — when I was asked I was thrilled," Huffman said. "My enthusiasm has only increased through the years as I have seen the cases and projects the Center has undertaken. I have gained emotional strength and hope in the possibility that the prejudice which exists in this country can begin to be eradicated."

**HOWARD MANDELL**

A Montgomery, Ala., lawyer specializing in medical malpractice and personal injury litigation, Howard Mandell became interested in civil rights at an early age. "My mother was raised in the South and had grown up being very protective of people's rights. I was brought up with that same ideal and was taught to treat everyone with dignity," Mandell said. Since he joined the Center's Board of Directors in 1985, Mandell has been amazed at the Center's growth and impact. "Every time I leave a board meeting I'm always inspired — both by the work which is done, and by the people who bring it about, employees and donors alike."

**JOSEPH LEVIN**

Joseph Levin, Center co-founder, chairs the Center's

Board of Directors. Levin was involved in over 50 civil rights cases as the Center's legal director before he took a leave of absence in 1976 to supervise President Jimmy Carter's Justice Department transition team. Levin remained in Washington to serve as Special Assistant to the Attorney General and Chief Counsel to the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration.

In 1994, Levin rejoined the SPLC on a full-time basis, developing funding sources for its endowment and long-range strategies for its legal department. Levin said, "Through the years the Center has undergone an amazing number of twists and turns but has always maintained a pretty good idea of the kind of things it should be doing. I never expected the Center to grow in the ways it has — and I wouldn't take anything for the satisfaction I've gotten from working here."

**JACK WATSON**

Jack Watson was elected to the SPLC Board in 1992. Watson, a Washington, D.C., attorney who specializes in commercial litigation, has supported the Center's work since its inception. "One of the reasons I became a lawyer was because I was very interested in the idea that law could be used to protect people," Watson said. "Being an SPLC director allows me, in a small way, to address such issues." ☺

## Planned Giving and Special Gifts — the Lifeline to the Future

In 1993, the Center established a Planned Giving and Special Gifts Department to assist Center supporters who wanted to make special contributions. The Planned Giving staff handles bequests, donations of life income gifts, stock or non-cash properties, gifts from family trust funds, and contributions in memory of and in honor of individuals.

The most common planned gifts are from donors who include the Center in their wills. Over 750 Center donors have become Partners for the Future. By including the Center in their estate plans, this committed group of supporters helps ensure the Center will be able to contin-

ue the fight for justice and tolerance well into the 21st Century.

Alison Collman, Director of Planned Giving, and her staff evaluate new types of special gifts, process numerous requests for Planned Giving information, welcome new Partners, and produce *Partners for the Future*, a newsletter published three times a year.

"The contact I have with donors is the best part of the job," Collman says. "Just the fact that they have included the Center in their estate plans, or made a special gift, shows how closely aligned their beliefs are with the Center's. I especially enjoy asking Partners, 'Why did you make this gift?' Their answers make all our efforts worthwhile." ☺

## How to Support the Center

For 25 years, the Center has depended on the support of thousands of caring individuals to make its work possible. It receives no government grants or funds.

If you share the Center's concern for justice, fairness and tolerance and want to help support its work, just fill out the form below and return it to the Center with your tax-deductible contribution.

Contributors of \$15 or more will receive the following publications:

**SPLC Report** — a quarterly newspaper that gives supporters an overview of current Center projects;

**Intelligence Report** — a periodical published by the Center's

Klanwatch Project that gives up-to-date information about white supremacists, anti-government Patriots, armed militias and hate violence;

**Teaching Tolerance** — the award-winning educational magazine, which you are encouraged to share with a school or civic group in your area.

**The Southern Poverty Law Center**  
Teaching Tolerance • Klanwatch • Militia Task Force  
400 Washington Avenue, Montgomery, AL 36104

Yes, I want to help the Center continue its legal and educational work for justice and tolerance. Enclosed is my tax-deductible contribution of:

\$ \_\_\_\_\_

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

CITY \_\_\_\_\_ STATE \_\_\_\_\_ ZIP \_\_\_\_\_

# Mail Operations

## The Core of the Law Center

Mamie Jackson was on the tiny clerical staff of the Southern Poverty Law Center in the early 1970s when the Center's mail operations division was begun. "I guess the department officially started when Morris sent me out to buy a letter opener so we could open our mail," recalls Jackson, who became Director of Mail Operations in 1985.

Today, Jackson supervises nine full-time employees who use state-of-the-art computer equipment to process the huge volume of mail that is delivered to the SPLC daily. On an average day, the Mail Operations staff processes over 1,500 incoming letters, cards and packages. Several



Kay Brasher sorts incoming mail, which averages 1,500 pieces daily.

times during the year, they will have 10 times that amount to process. On Mondays it typically takes several hours to sort and distribute mail to the Administrative, Legal, Fundraising, Teaching Tolerance and Klanwatch departments. During peak periods of the year, temporary employees are hired to help process the increased amount of mail. The winter holiday season is one of the busiest for Mail Operations, as this is when many Center supporters make special year-end gifts.

In addition to receiving, sorting and distributing incoming mail, staffers record donations from supporters and process outgoing mail. They also respond to requests for Teaching Tolerance materials and maintain an inventory of educational supplies.

Jackson, who has worked at the Center for over 20 years, has watched the Center — and her department — grow by leaps and bounds. "Incoming mail would always get heavy when we were involved in important legal battles, like the Joan Little and Michael Donald cases. But when we started Teaching Tolerance — oh, boy!"

Enthusiastic response from educators to the Teaching Tolerance project required new procedures and additional employees in the department. Jackson explained, "Orders began to come in for the materials. Teachers phoned in requests for the magazine and curriculum kits. We had to expand our workspace and hire extra people just to process the orders."

Since 1992, the Mail Operations staff has processed more than 100,000 requests for the two Teaching Tolerance kits and more than 200,000 requests for the *Teaching Tolerance* magazine.

"Mail Operations is at the core of every department of the Law Center," Morris Dees said.

"Its staff responds exceptionally well to the new responsibilities that arise as our educational efforts continue to expand. Without the dedicated work of these employees, the other departments at the Center simply would not be able to operate. They do a great job." ☺



Center bookkeeper Jo Brazell works on a budget proposal.

## Center Administration Responsible for Efficiency, Savings

Controlling costs and making the most of donors' contributions are the responsibilities of the Center's administrative team, headed by JoAnn Chancellor. "It's up to us to hold costs down and constantly review contracts to make sure we're getting the best job at the best price for the Center," Chancellor said. "We also provide support services to other departments, helping them carry out the Center's work."

The Center's administrative staff consists of seven employees. Remarkably, that number has not changed since 1986, although the total Center staff has nearly doubled in that time. "In the last 10 years, our work has basically tripled. We've had to compensate by working smarter — and by finding ways to do what we do more efficiently," Chancellor said.

Three of the administration staff — Chancellor, Betty Powell and Jo Brazell — have worked at the Center for over 10 years.

Chancellor oversees bookkeeping, accounting, payroll, employee benefits and all departmental budgeting. She also evaluates cost-saving procedures for the Center. The hardest part

of her job is "the balancing act between equipping people with the tools they need to get their jobs done and staying within budget and on deadline," Chancellor said.

Betty Powell, Assistant Administrator, is in charge of purchasing equipment, supplies and services for all Center departments. She also supervises building maintenance and oversees the printing and mailing of all Center publications. "Working on Center projects and helping the Center fulfill its mission brings meaning to my life," said Powell. "Because the work of the Center is so important, it makes me to want to do the best job I possibly can."

Jo Brazell handles the majority of the Center's bookkeeping and furnishes financial reports to all department heads. Brazell's favorite job is helping donors who visit the Center. She briefs guests on Center history, introduces them to key Center staff and answers their questions about Center activities. "I've always been involved with public relations, but getting to meet and talk with donors is very fulfilling. It's a real thrill to be able to thank someone personally for their support." ☺



Thelma Owens handles correspondence from donors.

### LONGTIME EMPLOYEES



Almost a third of Center employees have served for 10 years or longer. Three — Legal Secretary Lillie Tucker, Administration Director JoAnn Chancellor and Mail Operations Director Mamie Jackson — have given more than 20 years of their lives to the Center.

# Hazardous Work

## Threats Are Common; Center Operates Under Strict Security



In 1991, Klansmen led a march of 200 white supremacists against the Center and Co-founder Morris Dees.

Over the years, the Center's aggressive and highly visible response to hate crime has earned it the top spot on the enemy lists of the militant right. Morris Dees, as the Center's Chief Trial Counsel, has received countless threats against his life; the first Center offices were

destroyed by arsonists; and other attempts to bomb the Center have been narrowly averted.

In addition to the 1983 arson, other major threats against the Center include:

**1984** Morris Dees' name was at the top of a hit list compiled

by The Order, a terrorist group whose members were convicted of racketeering and of murdering Alan Berg, a Jewish radio personality, in Denver.

**1985** An armed intruder was observed conducting surveillance on Dees' home.

**1985** White Patriot Party members were arrested in the process of robbing a restaurant with the intention to purchase stolen military missiles to bomb the Center.

**1993** Former Klansman Gregory Boyd was convicted of mailing a death threat to Dees.

**1995** An Oklahoma militia member and three others were charged with producing explosives with an intent to bomb the Center.

Security at the Center was dramatically heightened following the April 1995 bombing of a federal building in Oklahoma City, and some of the nation's leading security consultants have been involved in plans to protect the Center and its staff.



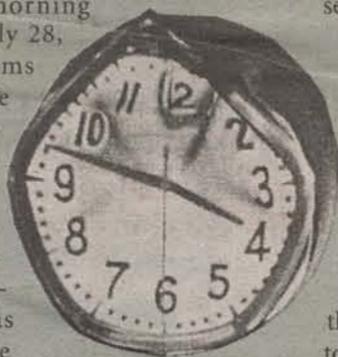
In 1995, four extremists were indicted in Oklahoma for plotting to bomb the Center.



Security at the Center was heightened following the Oklahoma City bombing.

## 1983 Arson Destroys Law Center Offices

In the early morning hours of July 28, 1983, the alarms sounded. Mamie Jackson got the call just before 4 a.m. "The Law Center is on fire!" she was told by her sister-in-law, who was working at the Montgomery police station. Jackson, then manager of the fundraising department, reached the Center just minutes later; SPLC Administrator JoAnn Chancellor was already there.



A burned clock pinpoints the time when the fire was set.

The two stood outside the roped-off area, stunned, and Jackson remembered her concerns two years earlier when the Klanwatch program began. "I just knew something would happen. I had been active in the Movement, had marched, and I knew what to expect. But that still didn't prepare me for the fire."

Firefighters brought the flames under control as other Center workers arrived. They were shocked and worried: How extensive was the damage? Jackson recalls, "Finally the fire marshal escorted us, one by one, into the building so we could see what had been destroyed. I went in with a

sense of panic. The office was full of smoke; everything was just in ashes."

As employees began to pick their way through the smoking rubble, they were relieved to see that the fire-proof files had worked — crucial Klanwatch information had been preserved. There was extensive damage to the legal and Klanwatch offices, however. The arsonists had pulled out legal files, doused them with gasoline and set them on fire. The office of Klanwatch Director Randall Williams was a total loss; many of his personal files, books and papers were completely destroyed.

### NEW HEADQUARTERS

Though the fire was a serious setback, legal and investigative work was not disrupted. Crucial court documents were prepared at attorneys' homes within two days after the fire. From makeshift offices, SPLC staffers continued working on lawsuits, monitoring the Klan and publishing the *Poverty Law Report*, the predecessor of the *SPLC Report*.

A building fund was established, and a new, more secure headquarters was designed. Thousands of SPLC supporters responded with financial support and encouragement.

In the spring of 1984, ground was broken for the new building. The SPLC moved to its new headquarters on May 24, 1985. Located in the heart of Montgomery, the facility was just one block from the Dexter Avenue King Memorial Baptist Church and two blocks from the State Capitol. A sophisticated alarm system and other security measures assured SPLC staffers that they could work in safety.

### KLAN ARSONISTS CONVICTED

An intensive investigation was undertaken to find the arsonists. SPLC investigators were joined by agents of the U.S. Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms; the Alabama Bureau of Investigation; the Montgomery County District Attorney's Office; and the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Investigators uncovered a shocking scenario. The arsonists had crawled through the sewers and emerged through a manhole near the Center. They had broken a window, entered the building, and sprayed gasoline on files, furniture, carpets and walls. They ignited the gasoline and fled.

Two factors had kept the building from being completely destroyed: Faulty ventilation had hampered the flow of oxygen in the building, slowing the blaze; and a recently installed alarm system had alerted the Montgomery Fire Department quickly.

More than a year after the Center fire, three men were arrested: Tommy Downs and Charles Bailey, members of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, and Joe Garner, a national officer of that group. The Klansmen were charged with arson and with possession of explosives. All three pleaded guilty.

Garner, who had hired Downs and Bailey to torch the SPLC offices, received 15 years in federal prison; both Downs and Bailey received three years in the Alabama state penitentiary.

### NEW HOME, RENEWED COMMITMENT

Instead of destroying the SPLC, the arson became an impetus for its growth. Over the next decade, the Center's work expanded into new areas and its staff doubled. The attack had served to strengthen the commitment of the Center's staff and its donors.

As Administrator JoAnn Chancellor expressed it, "The fire hurt us all emotionally, but it also made us more determined than ever to get the job done."



SPLC offices were extensively damaged by the Klan arson.

# SPLC REPORT

25TH ANNIVERSARY ISSUE

PUBLISHED BY THE  
SOUTHERN POVERTY LAW CENTER  
MARCH 1996

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The Southern Poverty Law Center is a non-profit organization that combats hate, intolerance, and discrimination through education and litigation. Its programs include Teaching Tolerance and the Intelligence Project, which incorporates Klanwatch and the Militia Task Force. The Center also sponsors the Civil Rights Memorial which celebrates the memory of 40 individuals who died during the Civil Rights Movement.

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Southern Poverty Law Center  
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CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD  
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JoAnn Chancellor

We welcome letters from all Southern Poverty Law Center supporters. Send your comments and suggestions to: Editor, *SPLC Report*, 400 Washington Avenue, Montgomery AL 36104 or fax to (334) 264-8891. All letters are assumed to be intended for publication unless otherwise noted.

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# Center Activities Inspire Books

THE CENTER'S EFFORTS TO FIGHT HATE AND TEACH TOLERANCE HAVE inspired seven books by Center employees. Morris Dees has published three books covering his 25 years at the Law Center; former Klanwatch Director Bill Stanton wrote a book about his work monitoring hate groups; and Sara Bullard is the author of an upcoming book for parents on teaching tolerance. In addition, two books produced by Teaching Tolerance for its video-and-text curriculum kits have been published in hardcover library editions by commercial publishers.

*A Season for Justice* (Charles Scribner's Sons, 1991), by Morris Dees with Steve Fiffer, chronicles Dees' early career in law and business and his co-founding of the Southern Poverty Law Center. It also recounts some of Dees' courtroom victories and the personal dangers he risked by taking cases against the country's most violent racists. *A Season for Justice* was named an Outstanding Book by the Gustavus Myers Center for the Study of Human Rights, an annual award honoring the best scholarship on the subject of intolerance in the U.S.

*Hate on Trial* (Villard Books, 1993) is a gripping account of the courtroom drama that resulted in a \$12.5 million judgment against Tom Metzger and the White Aryan Resistance for the murder of an

Ethiopian student in Portland, Ore. Written by Morris Dees and Steve Fiffer, the book traces the painstaking process of case investigation and courtroom litigation that uncovered the links between Metzger and the Skinhead murderers.

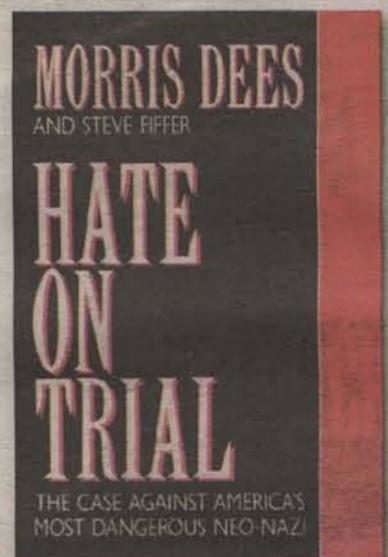
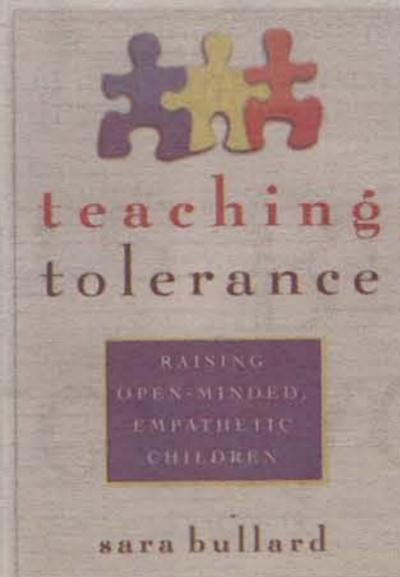
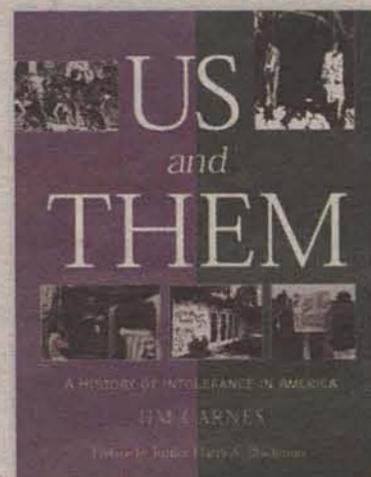
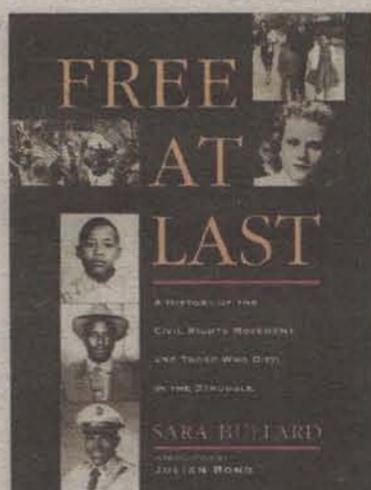
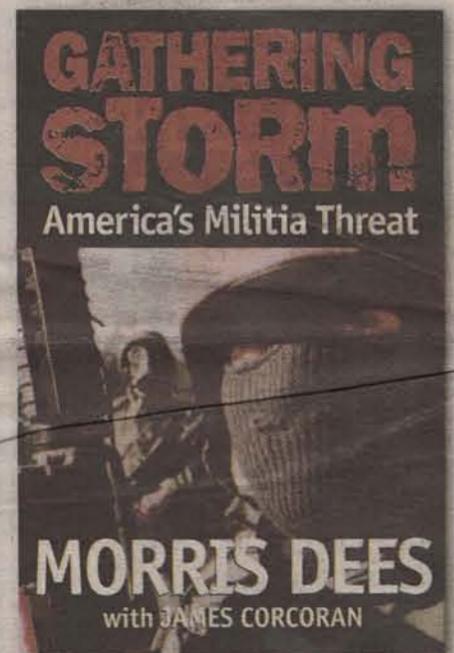
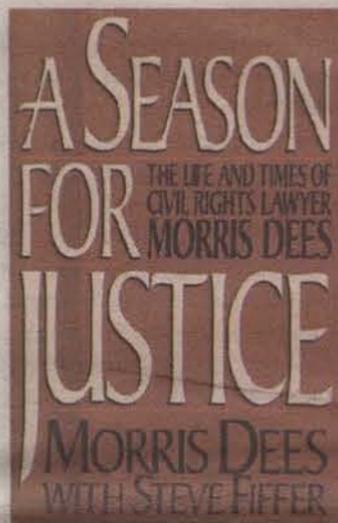
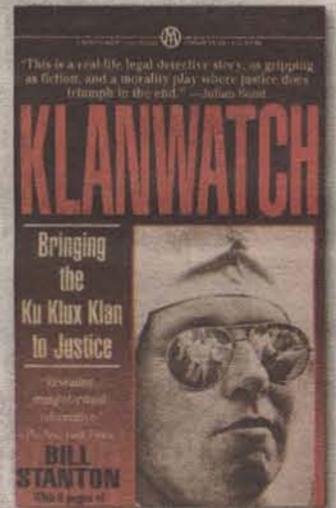
*Gathering Storm: America's Militia Network* (Harper-Collins, 1996), by Morris Dees and Jim Corcoran, tells the chilling story of racist and neo-Nazi involvement in today's antigovernment militia movement. Dees describes the Center's growing concern over militia terrorism just prior to the Oklahoma City bombing and recounts his warning to U.S. Attorney General Janet Reno that militia violence was threatening to erupt.

*Klanwatch: Bringing the Ku Klux Klan to Justice* (Grove Weidenfeld, 1991) is Bill Stanton's behind-the-scenes look at how Klanwatch attorneys and investigators used civil lawsuits to thwart Klan activity across the South in the 1980s and how, in more than one instance, the evi-

dence they uncovered led to criminal convictions of Klan members.

To be released by Doubleday in the fall of 1996, *Teaching Tolerance: Raising Open-Minded, Empathetic Children* was written by Teaching Tolerance Director Sara Bullard and is prefaced with commentaries by Alvin Poussaint and Morris Dees. The book explores the roots of intolerance in human nature and helps readers recognize the traits of intolerance in themselves. It also provides practical guidelines for parents and caregivers who want to help children overcome prejudice and learn to practice respect for all people. Extensive lists of suggested activities and resources are included.

*Free at Last: A History of the Civil Rights Movement and Those Who Died in the Struggle*, by Sara Bullard, was published in hardcover by Oxford University Press in 1993 and served as the text component of the first



Teaching Tolerance curriculum kit, *America's Civil Rights Movement*. *Free at Last* was awarded the American Bar Association's Silver Gavel Award in 1989.

*Us and Them: A History of Intolerance in America*, by Jim Carnes, was published in hardcover by Oxford University Press in 1996. *Us and Them* was the text component of the second Teaching Tolerance curriculum kit, *The Shadow of Hate*. ☺

# Memorial and Honorary Gifts

## Received by the Law Center since November 1995

### In Memory Of

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# Medicaid Clients Get Transportation

Medicaid patients in Alabama can now call a new transportation assistance service to help them locate and pay for transportation to their health care providers.

The transportation program, which began in January 1996, was developed as a result of a suit brought against the state Medicaid agency in November 1994 by the Law Center and Alabama Legal Services Corporation. In the past, many Medicaid recipients, including several needing life-saving dialysis treatments, regularly missed treatments because they could not locate or pay for transportation to treatment facilities.

"This will be a blessing," said Linda Patton, one of the Center's Medicaid clients, when she heard about the new transportation plan.

"It will really help a lot of people, especially disabled and handicapped people who need to go to the doctor a lot." Ms. Patton, who is blind and suffers from a variety of health problems, said she often missed medical appointments due to lack of transportation.

## GOVERNOR ORDERS COOPERATION

Alabama Gov. Fob James ordered all state departments, agencies and other organizations receiving state funding to cooperate with Medicaid to provide transportation to eligible Alabamians. The state has more than 600,000 Medicaid recipients and estimates the transportation assistance plan will cost about \$8 million the first year.

Medicaid was ordered to develop a transportation pro-

gram after U.S. District Judge Harold Albritton ruled that federal law requires states accepting Medicaid funds to ensure that eligible Medicaid recipients are provided necessary transportation to their health care providers.

Judge Albritton wrote, "[A] promise of medical care would be hollow indeed if the person who qualifies for the care because of poverty found it impossible, for the same reason, to get to and from the place where the care was to be given."

Center Legal Director Richard Cohen said, "Winning this lawsuit will mean the difference between health and sickness for many and the difference, literally, between life and death for some. Our big challenge now is making sure that the state's new plan is implemented properly."

# An Invitation To Center Supporters

You are invited to help us celebrate the 25th anniversary of the Southern Poverty Law Center.

The Center will host an Open House during the month of June and the first week of July 1996. Each department will have special exhibits set up to highlight events and projects from the Center's first quarter-century.

We invite you to visit us, see the Civil Rights Memorial and tour other historic sites within walking distance of the Center. For security reasons, we ask that you write or call ahead to let us know when to expect you.

We look forward to seeing you this summer.



**Southern Poverty Law Center**  
400 Washington Avenue  
Montgomery, AL 36104  
(334) 264-0286

# Donors Visit SPLC



On January 26, 1996, the Center honored Mrs. Johnnie Carr (pictured with SPLC co-founder Morris Dees) on her 85th birthday. Mrs. Carr, a longtime Center supporter, worked tirelessly during the Civil Rights Movement in Montgomery and has won many awards for her civil rights activism.

# Partners for the Future

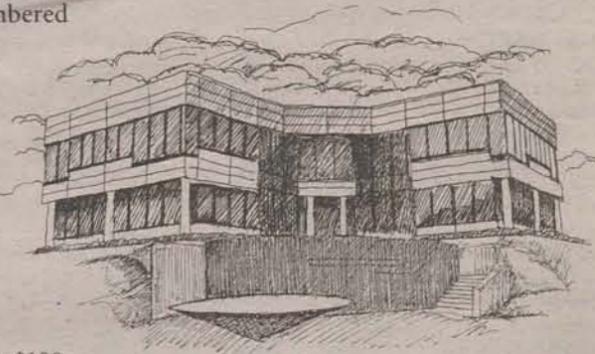
## A Way to Help More Than You Thought You Could

The Southern Poverty Law Center has established a planned giving program called Partners for the Future. By participating in Partners for the Future through wills and other means of planned giving, Center donors can extend their support for equality and justice beyond their own lifetimes.

If you plan to or have already remembered the Center in your will or estate plans, please help the Center update its records by sending a letter to the address below.

With the goal of eventually freeing itself from the uncertainties of fundraising, the Center decided to establish a permanent endowment large enough to sustain the Center's operations for many years to come.

The Center's goal for the Endowment is \$100 million, two-thirds of which has been attained. With your help through Partners for the Future, we hope to reach our goal in the next decade. Approximately 10 percent of Center support is applied annually to the endowment. The Endowment Fund is a "pact with future generations" that will help ensure resources for the Center's work well into the 21st century.



- The Center is already included in my will or estate plans. Please enroll me as a Partner for the Future.
- I'm interested in becoming a Partner for the Future.

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Mail to: Partners for the Future - The Southern Poverty Law Center - P.O. Box 548 - Montgomery AL 36101-0548



Loyal supporters Mr. and Mrs. Herbert Lass (l) of Massachusetts visited with Mrs. Lass' brother, David Scott (r) of London, England, who also generously supports the Center's work. Mr. Scott's friend Maureen Sullivan accompanied the group.