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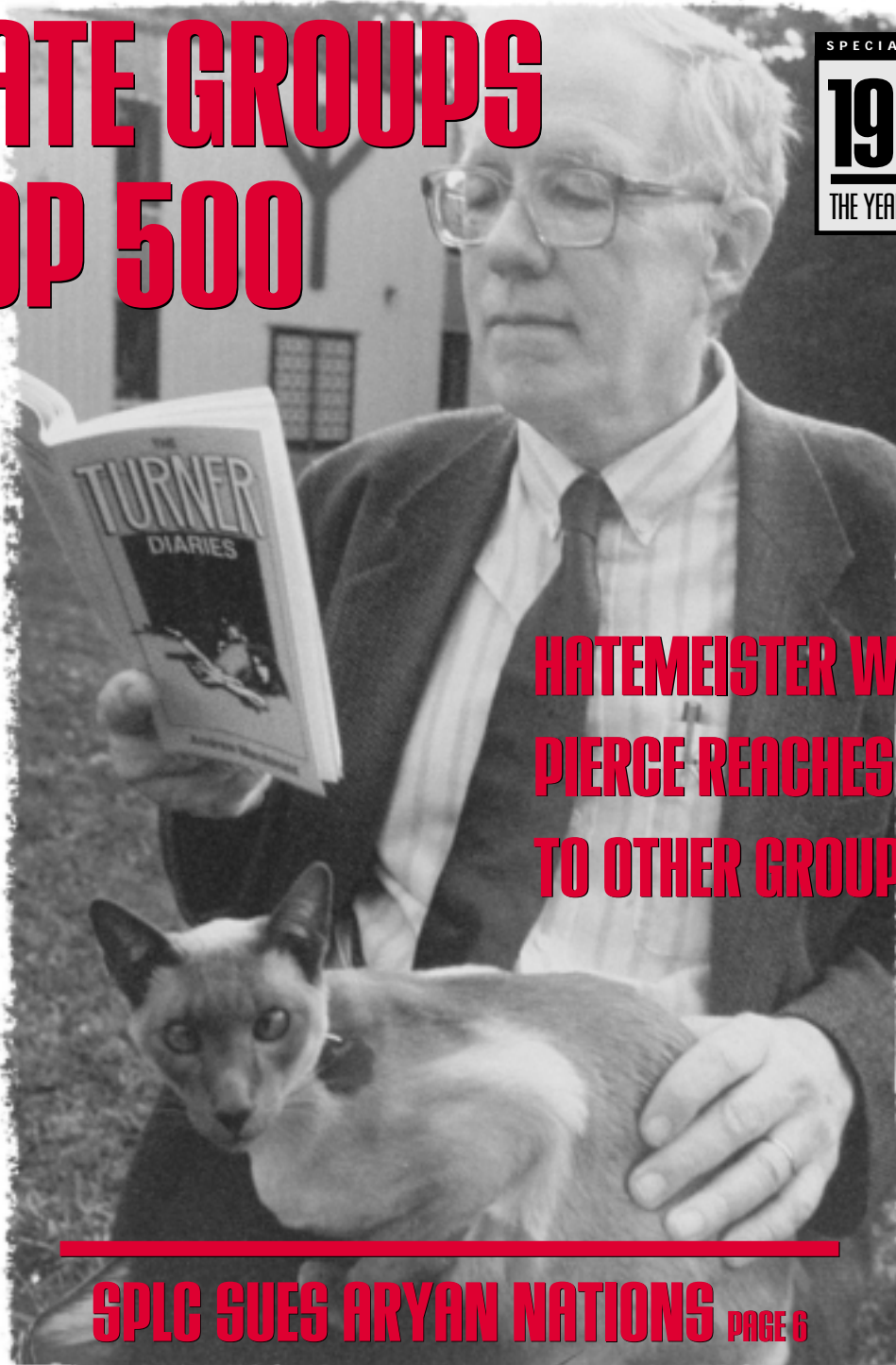
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HATE GROUPS TOP 500

SPECIAL ISSUE

1998

THE YEAR IN HATE



HATEMEISTER WILLIAM
PIERCE REACHES OUT
TO OTHER GROUPS PAGE 10

SPLC SUES ARYAN NATIONS PAGE 6

The leader of the modern-day version of the White Citizens Councils ropes Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott into speaking to his group's national convention, later meeting privately with Lott in the nation's capital.

Academic scientists gather to trade views with a man they regard as a courageous intellectual giant, a tenured professor who in his spare time writes a fawning introduction to the anti-Semitic tome of former Klansman David Duke.

Ethnic societies in Cleveland and elsewhere come together to dance in lederhosen and cozy up to leaders of the neo-Nazi National Alliance.

The bully-boy imperial wizard of the American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan unblushingly describes himself as a white man's Martin Luther King Jr., a civil rights crusader ready to stand up for the rights of his oppressed people.

These are the legitimizers of hate.

In a year that saw hate groups soar past the 500 mark, the most dangerous sign was not the rising number of jackbooted Sieg-Heilers or hooded cross-burners. It was not even the highly publicized slayings of James Byrd Jr. in Jasper, Texas, and Matthew Shepard in Laramie, Wyo. Instead, it was the increasing number of reminders that hate-based ideology is being repackaged as an intellectualized version of white self-affirmation that seeks mainstream respectability.

A 'MAINSTREAM' GROUP SPEWS HATE

The most important example may have been that of the Council of Conservative Citizens (CCC). Formed in 1985, the CCC counts some 15,000 members in at least 22 states — including 34 state legislators in Mississippi, its most developed power base. While claiming not to be racist, the CCC — the reincarnation of the segregationist White Citizens Councils of the 1950s and 1960s — spews white supremacist propaganda in its publications and Web site. One writer bemoans “the slimy brown mass of glop” the United States population is becoming; another celebrates a book that describes whites as the “creators” of civilization and blacks as its “destroyers.”

The remarkable thing about the CCC is not that it parrots the racist positions of its forebear, which was known as “the white-collar Klan.” It is that in spite of those positions, it has enjoyed the flirtations of prominent politicians like Lott, U.S. Rep. Bob Barr (R-Ga.), Mississippi Gov. Kirk Fordice and a host of other leaders.

After revelations about the true nature of the CCC came out late last year — fueled by the release of an Intelligence Project special report that is republished in this issue — many of these politicians scampered for cover. Barr declared he held no truck with the “ridiculous views” of the CCC. Lott claimed he had “no firsthand knowledge” of the group, despite a long history of association with it. The Conservative Political Action Conference (CPAC), which once allowed the CCC to co-host a meeting, said it had barred the CCC because its leaders “are racists.” The heads of both the Democratic and Republican parties denounced the group, and one Congressman sponsored a resolution condemning it.

THE 'STEALTH' CAMPAIGN OF THE RACISTS

But the criticism was far from unanimous.

Fordice, for one, stood staunchly by his friends in CCC, which has helped elect people to many posts in Mississippi. In Birmingham, Ala., City Councilman and CCC member Don MacDermott said the group was not racist, but “a conservative organization that tries to defend the Constitution.” Around the country, dozens of politicians with links to the group have kept their silence, waiting for the media storm to pass.

The CCC initially reveled in the attention it received, boasting of the press interviews that its chief executive officer, Gordon Baum, was giving. But as the attention continued, Baum seemed to grow angrier, portraying himself as a victim of the left.

It now seems likely that most politicians will steer clear of the CCC in the future, whether or not they privately agree with its message. But the threat that the CCC's thinly veiled racism represents remains a very real one.

As we approach the next century, many racist individuals and groups no longer wear their attitudes on their sleeves. But that does not make them any less noxious. In fact, the “stealth” campaign being carried out by today's organized white supremacists poses new dangers and new challenges. That is why, with race relations at one of its lowest ebbs since the 1970s, Americans must pay closer attention than ever to the racist undertones of haters who seek the cover of mainstream legitimacy. ▲

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Tim Pollard

William Pierce, who wrote the race war novel *The Turner Diaries*, may be this country's most effective neo-Nazi.

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Spurred by the sniper slaying of a Buffalo, N.Y., physician, U.S. Attorney General Janet Reno in November created a federal task force to investigate a possible conspiracy in a series of attacks on abortion providers. The announcement came a month after the Oct. 23 slaying of Dr. Barnett Slepian, who was shot in front of his family through his kitchen window, and marked the second such probe. A federal grand jury disbanded in 1996 after finding no evidence of a national conspiracy during a two-year investigation. Authorities also issued a material witness warrant for James Kopp, a hard-line anti-abortion protester nicknamed “Atomic Dog” whose car was seen near Slepian's residence. The underground “Army of God” manual, detailing how to make bombs, is dedicated to Atomic Dog and others. Now, authorities believe Kopp may be hiding in Mexico. There have been four other sniper attacks on Canadian and American abortion doctors since 1994, and officials have said Kopp apparently crossed the Canadian border at times that would fit with the crimes. Witnesses in Hamilton, Ontario, also have told the FBI that Kopp was the man they saw dropping off anti-abortion threats at a local newspaper office.

The county grand jury orchestrated by a conspiracy-minded former state legislator and the grandfather of two bombing victims has concluded that there was no evidence of a larger conspiracy in the Oklahoma City bombing. Even before the report was made public in December, former state Rep. Charles Key was attacking the body he helped to create by leading a petition drive, claiming jurors had ignored evidence of a government coverup. The grand jury found no evidence that federal agents had prior knowledge of the plot; that the government engaged in a coverup; that members of a white supremacist compound in eastern Oklahoma were involved; or that two bombs, rather than one, were used — all key conspiracy theories. The state attorney general and the local district attorney, who both had opposed formation of the grand jury, welcomed the results, as did the grand jury's presiding judge, William Burkett. Grand jurors did indict a writer named David Hoffman on two misdemeanor counts of jury tampering after he allegedly sent jurors a copy of his conspiracist book on the bombing (see related story, p. 5), telling them in a note, “do not let them tell you what to do.” Hoffman, who was convicted last fall of stalking a woman, surrendered to authorities in late January and could face up to two years in prison.



AP Wide World Photos

Former Oklahoma State Rep. Charles Key awaits the grand jury report.

Perennial campaigner David Duke (see related stories, pp. 10, 21 and 27) has jumped into the race for the seat being vacated by Rep. Bob Livingston (R-La.), who announced plans to resign shortly after he was selected to replace Newt Gingrich as House Speaker. In January, Duke told a crowd of some 100 people in Arlington, Va., that he would be the only candidate “to stand up openly and proudly” to defend white Christians against federal policies that he said favor blacks, Jews and other minorities. The event, at which long-time white supremacist Edward Fields also spoke, was organized by Mark Cotterill, who recently resigned as leader of the capital region chapter of the racist Council of Conservative Citizens (see p. 21). Duke, 48, has made a series of similar political runs since leaving the Klan in the late 1970s to found the National Association for the Advancement of White People, another white supremacist organization. After a 1988 campaign for the presidency on the ticket of the far-right Populist Party, Duke won a seat in the Louisiana House of Representatives. In 1990, he lost a U.S. Senate race, followed by a second loss in a run for state governor. In 1996, he lost a second bid for a U.S. Senate seat.

Three members of the neo-Nazi World Church of the Creator (WCOTC) have pleaded guilty to federal conspiracy charges in the pistol-whipping and robbery of a Broward County, Fla., video store owner. One of the three, who face up to 40 years in prison when they are sentenced, told prosecutors that the group had justified the attack on the Jewish businessman with *The Turner Diaries*, a white supremacist novel by neo-Nazi leader William Pierce (see p. 10). Investigators say the group planned to use part of their loot to finance WCOTC's activities. A fourth defendant, Raymond Leone, 18, still faces trial in the case. Leone and WCOTC Florida state director Jules Fettu, 25, also are awaiting trial on state hate crime charges in the brutal beating of a black man and his son outside a concert in Sunrise, Fla. Former WCOTC southeast regional director Guy Lombardi, 35, has pleaded guilty to trying to intimidate a witness in connection with the Sunrise case. ▲

UNDERWRITING THE RADICAL RIGHT

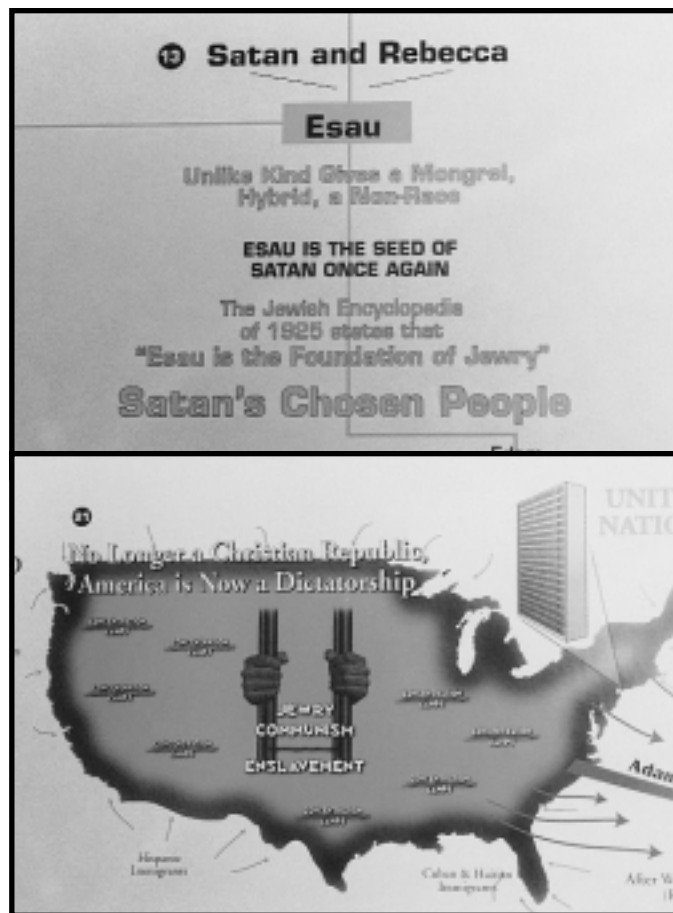
For decades, the radical right in the United States has struggled with the problem of financing its plans and propaganda. Now, in the form of three wealthy financiers, it has found cash backing that likely amounts to close to \$2 million.

In Idaho, two men who made millions in the Silicon Valley computer industry recently paid to produce and mail out thousands of copies of a videotape of neo-Nazi Aryan Nations leader Richard Butler and a poster explaining the white supremacist Christian Identity religion. And a Chicago-area real estate mogul has helped fund at least three conspiracy-oriented investigations of the Oklahoma City bombing and other causes that have been adopted by the so-called "Patriot" movement.

The money could be instrumental in changing the extremist landscape. Although few expect the propaganda sent out in Idaho to win many converts, human rights leaders fear the presence of large amounts of cash could help the movement grow.

"Money has the ability to draw people together that otherwise might be at odds," says Bill Wassmuth, director of the Northwest Coalition Against Malicious Harassment. "I am concerned that it may act as a unifying force on the far right."

In December, *The (Spokane, Wash.) Spokesman-Review* reported that ex-Californians Carl E. Story and Vincent Bertollini had used their min-



Details of poster explaining Christian Identity theology

istry, the 11th Hour Remnant Messenger, to send out 9,000 high-quality Identity posters to area residents. They also paid to make and send out videotapes of an interview with Butler, who is based in Hayden Lake, Idaho. And they financed other far right causes, including speeches in Idaho by antigovernment lecturer Joyce Riley — who was sponsored by a local Identity church — on alleged government lies about Gulf War syndrome.

Bertollini, in a brief interview with the newspaper, said the 11th Hour Remnant had spent \$1.5 million over the past eight years to send out 10 major mailings "all over the world" and intended to lay out more.

One Remnant publication bitterly complains that the government has "provided technology to the Soviets." It doesn't mention that Story and a partner were convicted in 1979 of illegally shipping \$299,970 worth of computer equipment to

the Soviet Union that authorities believe was used to develop Soviet missile-guidance systems.

Both Story and Bertollini, who recently served 10 days in jail for drunken driving, have made a name for themselves in Sandpoint, Idaho, by driving expensive cars and leaving \$100 tips at local restaurants. But a former longtime friend says that Story, for whom he once worked, is the money man.

Milton Meyer, a retired, 65-year-old computer industry manager whose sons knew Bertollini as "Uncle Vince," says that Bertollini at one point was Story's chauffeur, a gofer who cleaned Story's pool and fetched him cases of beer.

The 11th Hour Remnant mailings are virulently anti-Semitic, describing Jews as the biological children of Satan and Eve. But that didn't stop Bertollini from accepting the largesse of Meyer, whose father is Jewish. Meyer says he lent Bertollini more than \$20,000 at "ridiculously" low interest rates; let Bertollini's stepdaughter live in his house for five years, once buying her a new car; and surfed, fished and skied with Bertollini for years.

"He didn't mind all that with a Jew," Meyer says.

Meyer says that in company staff meetings Story "would start speaking in tongues and pointing at people and they would have to reply in tongues."

Another case has raised eyebrows as well.

From Arlington Heights, Ill.,

real estate tycoon Alexander B. Magnus has been funding conspiracy-minded "investigations" of the Oklahoma City bombing, including one spearheaded by a former state representative (see p.3). The *Oklahoma Gazette* quoted sources saying that Magnus paid more than \$100,000 to Charles Key's Oklahoma Bombing Investigation Committee. Conspiracy-monger David Hoffman told the newspaper he, too, had received about \$100,000 to write his book on the bombing.

Magnus heads a right-wing media watchdog group whose Michigan leader is longtime militia official Tom Wayne. In 1997, Americans for Responsible Media helped pay for antigovernment leader Jack McLamb to intercede in an Illinois standoff, the newspaper reported. Magnus also has been involved in efforts to prove government involvement in the World Trade Center bombing and the crash of TWA Flight 800.



This 6-foot high "Adamic Scroll" was sent to 9,000 people.

KEHOE TRIAL POSTPONED

The federal racketeering trial of white supremacist Chevie Kehoe, accused of multiple murders and a Washington state bombing, has been postponed to March 1 as defense lawyers in the case raise a series of objections.

Prosecutors say Kehoe and accomplice Danny Lee conspired to carve out of the United States the whites-only "Aryan People's Republic" and were involved in a total of five murders, including the suffocation and torture killing of an 8-year-old girl.

If convicted in the case, which was originally set for a trial in a Little Rock, Ark., federal courtroom on Feb. 16, Kehoe and Lee face a possible death sentence. Kehoe's father, Kirby Keith Kehoe, is not accused of the murders but faces the same racketeering and conspiracy charges as his son and Lee.



Alleged mass murderer Chevie Kehoe

Kirby Kehoe's attorney asked that the case against his client be dismissed, or at least severed from that of his son and Lee, because one of Lee's attorneys had recently been hired by the U.S. attorney's office. The lawyer complained that Karen Coleman had been in on joint defense strategy meetings and that her new job with the office that is prosecuting the Kehoes and Lee presents a serious conflict of interest.

Chevie Kehoe's attorney, for his part, has complained that jurors are to be selected from a pool of registered voters. Because his client finds voting "politically and religiously repugnant," attorney Mark Hampton said the pool should include people who share that belief. Hampton also wants courtroom furniture rearranged so that he can see testifying witnesses at the same time that he watches jurors' demeanor.

MILITIA LEADER FACES DRUG CHARGES

A leader who once described his South Dakota organization as "the average Joe militia" faces federal charges of possessing and selling amphetamines — a business the man told authorities he was running in order to fund his Tri-States Militia.

Prosecutors say Michael D. Bridge Jr., 41, was arrested with \$2,100 in cash after delivering an ounce of the drug to a woman last December. Investigators found another ounce at his home in Rapid City, S.D. If convicted of the single count of possession of amphetamine with intent to distribute, Bridge faces up to 20 years in prison and a \$1 million fine.

In the months after the 1995 Oklahoma

City bombing, Bridge became well-known locally as the spokesman for the Tri-States Militia, an umbrella group for militiamen. He described the group as "pretty tame," saying it stood for "God, family and country."

Some officials say that despite Bridge's statement that he was funding the militia with drug profits, he actually may have kept the money for himself. In any case, there has been a rise in the number of far-right extremists implicated in drug-dealing to raise money for the movement. Cash has long been a limiting factor for right-wing revolutionaries (see related story, p. 4).

THE YEAR IN HATE

HATE GROUP COUNT TOPS 500, NET SITES SOAR

More than 500 hate groups and group chapters operated in the United States in 1998, a year that saw a number of particularly horrendous hate crimes. At the same time, white supremacist propaganda rose dramatically, with an almost 60% increase in Internet hate sites.

The Intelligence Project counted 537 hate groups and group chapters engaged in racist behavior in 1998 (see list and map, pp. 38-42), up from 474 in 1997. The increase was largely driven by the addition of 33 chapters of the Council of Conservative Citizens (CCC), a group that has portrayed itself as relatively mainstream but was revealed in 1998 to have starkly racist views.

The CCC (see p. 21) is a reminder that organized racists are not always identifiable by their Klan hoods or swastikas. In fact, they come from all walks of life and often wear business suits rather than brown shirts. The CCC, for example, has become so respectable that key politicians such as Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott have felt comfortable in addressing its national conference and holding private meetings with its leaders.

A similar effort was seen earlier this decade, when white supremacists moved into antigovernment "Patriot" organizations. Once in these groups, these racist activists downplayed their hatred of blacks and Jews and instead concentrated on relatively mainstream issues like opposition to gun control and federal regulation of the land and environment. The result was a movement that spread for a time like wildfire.

"In the early '90s, the radical right was immensely successful in recruiting by exploiting resentment of the federal government," says Joe Roy, director of the Intelligence Project. "Now, we're seeing many of the same activists using fears about non-white immigration and issues like opposition to abortion to build up an extremist movement that has racist underpinnings."

At the same time, academia has played an important part in giving hate groups the legitimacy they seek. Race scientists, contending that blacks

are inherently less intelligent than whites and more prone to crime, have fueled extremist groups that use the scientists' work to justify their hatred and demeaning of non-whites (see p. 27). Like the CCC, these scientists have created a "safe haven" for views that are repugnant to most.

More explicit forms of hate have thrived as well.

On the Internet, hate sites rose from 163 in 1997 to 254 last year (see story and list, pp. 43-46), reflecting an alarming increase in racist propaganda. Also using radio broadcasts, periodicals (see p. 48) and telephone hotlines (see p. 47), hate groups clearly enjoyed increasing success in getting their message out to a broad audience.

Both Klan and neo-Nazi groups saw a significant

resurgence in 1998, with some reaching out successfully to other kinds of organizations. The neo-Nazi National Alliance, for example, even managed

SPLC SUES ARYAN NATIONS

The Southern Poverty Law Center in January sued the Aryan Nations, its leader Richard Butler, and several followers who allegedly terrorized a woman and her son.

The Center's complaint states that members of the Aryan Nations security force shot at Victoria Keenan and her son Jason and chased them for over two miles as the Keenans drove down a public road that passes the Aryan Nations compound in Hayden Lake, Idaho. After the Keenans' car was forced into a ditch, the suit claims, the Aryan Nations security force members held the Keenans at gunpoint and battered and threatened to kill them. The complaint states that the Aryan Nations security force had been

authorized by Butler to use violence against outsiders seen as threats to the Aryan Nations.

The suit names nine defendants: the Aryan Nations; Butler, the Aryan Nations' founder and leader; Sapphire, Inc., a corporation controlled by Butler that owns the Aryan Nations compound; Jesse Edward

to attract members of ethnic societies (see p. 10).

Of the 537 groups active in 1998, 163 were Klan organizations and their chapters, up from 127 the year before; 151 were neo-Nazi, up from 100; 48 were racist Skinhead, six more than a year earlier; 29 were black separatist, compared to 12 in 1997; and 84 followed a hodge-podge of hate-based doctrines. The number of congregations of Christian Identity theology, a virulently racist and anti-Semitic doctrine, dropped from 81 to 62. But the Identity groups are difficult to detect and are almost certainly undercounted.

Several other key points emerged last year:

- The American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (see p. 33), the largest and most aggressive Klan group

in the country, added nine chapters for a total of 27. Notable for its crude racism and the criminal histories of its members, the American Knights have grown explosively since the group was founded by Jeff Berry in 1995. The group has used its rallies and attendant publicity to help recruit from coast to coast.

- The National Alliance gained 13 chapters, for a total of 35, and its leader, William Pierce, extended his contacts to many other organizations in the United States and Europe. The group also became more active at the local level, reflecting Pierce's cultivation of chapter leaders and their work with other, unaffiliated organizations in their states.

- The World Church of the Creator (WCOTC), another neo-Nazi group, added 13 chapters for a total of 46. Under the energetic leadership of recent law school graduate Matt Hale, WCOTC has enjoyed remarkable growth for several years now.

- A third neo-Nazi group, the National Socialist White People's Party, doubled in size, from 11 chapters in 1997 to 22 last year. Its leader, Harold Covington (aka Winston Smith), apparently moved from Chapel Hill, N.C., to San Antonio, Texas, last year.

- Another key neo-Nazi group, the Aryan Nations, lost four chapters as followers continued to drift away from leader Richard Butler, who is 81

The Aryan Nations has been one of the country's most notorious white supremacist groups for over two decades. In the 1980s, Aryan Nations followers helped form The Order, a terrorist group whose crimes ranged from armored car robberies to murder. In the 1990s, members of the Aryan Republican Army, a group with close ties to the Aryan Nations, carried out more than 20 bank robberies to fund a white supremacist revolution. Aryan Nations members adhere to the Christian Identity theology, a religion that teaches that Aryans are the true chosen people and must prepare for a coming race war.

In 1998, the Aryan Nations was active in at least seven states. But because of its long history and its hosting of a nationwide gathering of white supremacists each summer, its influence is far greater than the number of its members alone would imply.

The lawsuit against the Aryan Nations is one of a series that the Center has brought against hate groups for the violent actions of their members. In its most recent case, the Center won a multimillion-dollar judgment last year against the Christian Knights of the Ku Klux Klan for burning a black church in South Carolina. ▲

years old. Although this was the second consecutive annual drop in the Idaho-based group, Butler has managed to bring his organization back from the brink of collapse several times in the past.

- The National Association for the Advancement of White People, a group led by former Klansman David Duke in the 1980s, was decimated by a rancorous split. The split has its origins in a 1997 report by ABC's "Prime Time Live," showing Klan members consorting with NAAWP followers at the Florida ranch of NAAWP official Dan Daniels. It also featured an interview with Paul Allen — the Duke crony who headed the NAAWP through the mid-1990s — in which Allen appeared awkward and defensive.

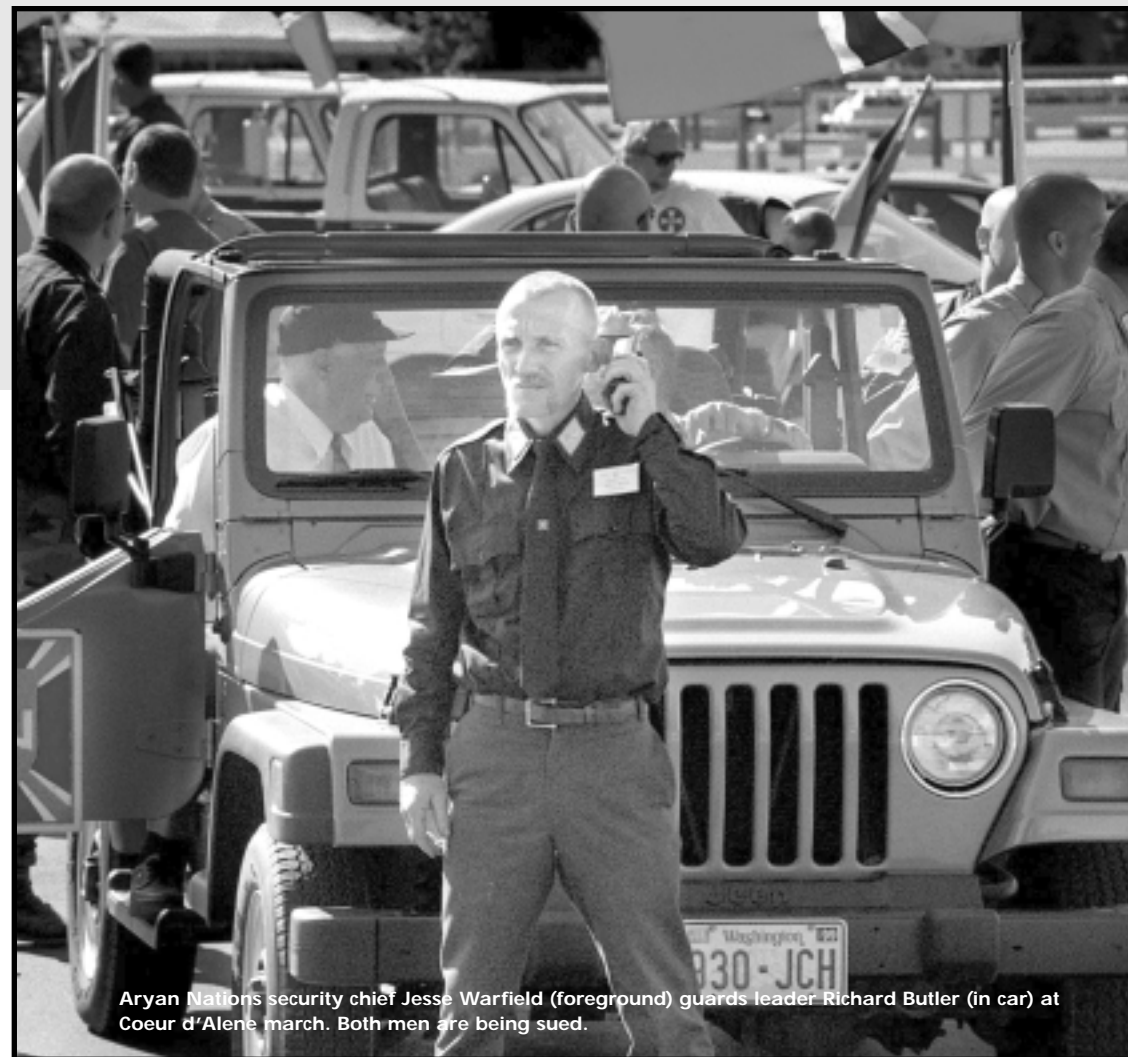
In the aftermath of the report, Daniels, the former sheriff of Polk County, Fla., resigned "to spend more time with his family." Allen then sent all NAAWP local leaders a contract in which they were to promise "to never publicly express themselves in an extremist, racist manner" or to be connected to anyone who did. Allen also complained that NAAWP members were "brainwashed" into leaving the group by the ABC report.

By early 1998, Allen was apparently ousted as national president. The group was renamed the National NAAWP and was now headed by Reno Wolfe. "Following last year's scandal and the resulting loss of members, the trend was halted," Wolfe wrote in the *National NAAWP News*. In late 1998, the tabloid said that NAAWP headquarters had moved from New Orleans to Callahan, Fla., where Wolfe lives.

The split cost the NAAWP. Where it had boasted 79 chapters in 1997, by the end of last year the National NAAWP was down to 13 — less than one-sixth of its former size. Many former members cited disgust with Allen's disavowal of open racism, seeing him as having buckled under to political pressure. Now that the tattooed former biker Wolfe is the group's leader, it remains to be seen whether or not the it can rebuild its strength.

Despite such troubles, the hate movement is growing.

Patriot organizations (to be covered in depth in the Spring 1999 issue of the *Intelligence Report*) are increasingly adopting racist views, although this trend is far from uniform. More and more, single-issue activists like extremist opponents of abortion and immigration have been adopting white supremacist ideology. "Scientific" organizations like the publisher of *American Renaissance* magazine, which focuses on racial differences, are thriving and making contact with more explicit racists. And, using various tactics including the Web sites, Klan and neo-Nazi groups have grown in the last year. ▲



Aryan Nations security chief Jesse Warfield (foreground) guards leader Richard Butler (in car) at Coeur d'Alene march. Both men are being sued.

THE TOLL OF HATE

RACIALLY MOTIVATED ATTACKS MAR 1998

Men and women of all races were attacked and sometimes murdered in a year that underscored the pervasive nature of hate crime in America. A few of these race-motivated crimes made national headlines, while others were largely ignored by the major media. Some of the bloodier 1998 attacks, like the particularly gruesome murders of James Byrd Jr. in Texas and Matthew Shepard in Wyoming, provoked new calls for state and national hate crime legislation, but no major new statutes were enacted during the year. While it is not possible to know if hate crime is on the rise based on available statistics, the crimes recorded last year make it clear that tolerance in this country faces a serious challenge. Here are some key hate crime incidents of 1998:

► **FEB. 15:** Dark-haired Amy Robinson, 19, is abducted in Fort Worth, Texas, and killed by assailants who use her for target practice. Police charge two white men, Robert J. Neville Jr., 24, and Michael W. Hall, 18, in the murder of Robinson, who is herself white. The two suspects shock even law enforcement authorities when interviewed by local television reporters. Hall declares that Robinson was selected “because she wasn’t white. She was in between” white and black. “It was supposed to be a racial thing,” Neville adds. “We picked up a couple of guns and were going to go out and shoot black folks.” Neville is found guilty of capital murder in December. Hall is to be tried this year.



AP Wide World Photos

APRIL 27: Two teenagers in West Palm Beach, Fla., beat a man they believe is gay into a coma outside a convenience store. After two days on life support, 29-year-old Steven Goedereis is pronounced brain-dead by medical officials. When Bryan C. Donahue, 16, and William R. Dodge, 17, are arrested, police say that the two confess to the killing, claiming Goedereis made a pass at them. Both youths are in-

dicted for second-degree murder.

MAY 15: Four men are involved in an attack on 35-year-old Mark Dale Butts, a white who is beaten to death with a shovel in a Victor, Colo., cemetery after a racially charged confrontation in a local bar. Butts is struck as many as 50 times, so hard the shovel handle eventually breaks off. Police say the inci-

dent began when Butts refused a last drink with a black acquaintance with the comment, “I ain’t drinking with no nigger.” Officials report that Andres Karpierz, the 22-year-old man to whom Butts was speaking, confesses that he decided at that moment that Butts was going to die. Jason Stapp, 20, and two teenagers, aged 16 and 17, are also charged in the murder.

◀ **MAY 30:** Whites armed with brass knuckles and chanting “white power” attack a black Marine leaving a San Diego, Calif., party with friends. Lance Cpl. Carlos Colbert, 21, is heading for his car when as many as 30 men, some clad in biker garb, stomp on his head and break his neck, paralyzing him from the neck down. Five men are arrested. Police find a Confederate flag stamped with “SWP,” for “Supreme White Power,” in the house of one of them, Tenton Joe Solis, 19. Along with four others — Steven Lawrence Newark III, 18, Jessie Brian Lawson, 20, Jed Allen Jones, 21, and Robert Alan Rio, 23 — Solis is charged with conspiracy, assault, hate crime, torture and aggravated mayhem. The men, who face possible life terms if convicted, are to be tried early this year.



John R. McCutchen/San Diego Union-Tribune

Lance Cpl. Carlos Colbert



James Byrd Jr.

AP Wide World Photos

▲ **JUNE 7:** A group of white men in Jasper, Texas, abduct black hitchhiker James Byrd Jr., 49, as he walks down Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard, chain him by the ankles to the rear of a pickup truck and drag him several miles down a country road. When his body is discovered the next morning, Byrd’s head, with his face spray-painted black, is found along with other body parts strewn along the pavement. Police arrest Lawrence Russell Brewer, 31, and two 21-year-olds, Shawn Berry and John William King, who reportedly told his companions that “we’re starting *The Turner Diaries* early.” The reference is to a neo-Nazi novel of race war. King and Brewer, both ex-convicts, had white supremacist tattoos on their bodies. All three are to be tried this year on capital murder charges.

JULY 4: Anti-racist Skinheads Daniel Shersty, a 21-year-old white, and Lin Newborn, a 25-year-old black, are shot execution-style in the desert outside Las Vegas, Nev., reportedly after being lured there by two white women affiliated with racist skins. Two months later, police arrest John Edward Butler, 26, who is linked in press reports to a neo-Nazi Skinhead group, and charge him with the murders. Authorities believe others also may have been involved in the killings, which highlight the increasingly violent split between racist and anti-racist skins. At a December hearing, authorities report that Butler has confessed his role in the murders to a fellow prisoner. A trial is expected this year.

AUG. 10: Set off by a racially charged dispute over a television set, a group of up to 25 blacks in St.

Louis, Mo., beat a 48-year-old white man to death in the street. Richard L. Skelton is left unconscious after the brawl and later dies. Police eventually arrest 11 suspects, including nine adults and two juveniles, and charge them with first-degree murder.

OCT. 2: A group of black teenagers in Buffalo, N.Y., stomp to death a 41-year-old gay white man. Witnesses tell police they saw three youths jumping high in the air in order to crush the head of Gary Trzaska with both feet. After police arrest Dennis Straughter, 19, and William Nance, 17, in the mur-

der, the FBI enters the case to try to determine if the attack constitutes a federal hate crime. A third attacker is believed to be still at large.

▼ **OCT. 6:** Two men lure 21-year-old University of Wyoming student Matthew Shepard from a Laramie tavern, crush his skull by beating him with a pistol, and leave him strung up on a rural fence outside town. Shepard, who is discovered a day later by a passing bicyclist, never regains consciousness and dies six days after the attack. Authorities believe Shepard was targeted at least partly because he was an openly gay man. Police arrest Russell Arthur Henderson, 21, and Aaron James McKinney, 22, and prosecutors indicate they intend to seek the death penalty. Early this year, 20-year-old Chastity Vera Pasley, Henderson’s girlfriend, pleads guilty to being an accessory after the fact after being accused of helping to hide the men’s bloody clothing. Kristen Leann Price also is accused of being an accessory. Trials are scheduled for Henderson on March 22 and for McKinney on Aug. 9.

DEC. 2: Two white men who police say were determined to kill an African-American shoot 38-year-old Sonya Thompson, a black woman standing outside a friend’s house in Albany, N.Y. Thompson is hit by a semi-automatic 9mm rifle slug that passes through her neck, but survives. Almost immediately after the attack, police arrest high school buddies Rudolph A. Berry and William R. Hines, both 20, and accuse them of cruising a black neighborhood intending to find and shoot a black person. After the attack, an anguished neighbor, Cheryl Martin, 51, asks a reporter, “Can’t we all just get along?” ▲



The fence where Matthew Shepard was strung up

AP Wide World Photos

THE ALLIANCE AND ITS ALLIES

WILLIAM PIERCE BUILDS BRIDGES AT HOME, ABROAD

From his headquarters office outside Hillsboro, W. Va., the leader of the neo-Nazi National Alliance has been reaching out to far-right groups around the Western Hemisphere.

For all the world, it looked like some kind of celebration of multiculturalism, a quintessentially American tribute to the notion of the United States as a melting pot. A Scottish bagpipe band played, an Irish group danced, and people dressed in the traditional costumes of their ancestors' native lands enjoyed the fellowship of friends.

But this Cleveland gathering was hosted by neo-Nazis.

Like other conclaves in Ohio and around the country, the "European-American Cultural Fest" held last summer was a paean to whiteness run by the National Alliance, the powerful white supremacist group led by William Pierce. Organized by area coordinator Eric Glibe, son of a German World War II army veteran, it featured "bright-faced, racially healthy" performers who to Pierce represent the future of fascism.

Across the United States and Europe, the National Alliance is reaching out. More and more, Pierce's acolytes are turning up inside other far right American groups — including some that are seen as relatively mainstream — and building bridges to white ethnic societies such as those the Alliance hosted in Cleveland. They are using the front of "culture" to help build a revolutionary coalition here and abroad. In Europe, Pierce has been pushing as never before to build a new solidarity in the service of international fascism.

"The great value of this type of activity," Pierce said in a recent Alliance publication, "is that it brings the Alliance into contact with ethnically conscious non-members in an atmosphere especially conducive to building understanding."

RAPID GROWTH AND LENINISM

In the United States, the count of National Alliance units has exploded since 1992, when just three were documented. In the last year alone, the number jumped by more than half, from 22 in 1997 to 35 at the end of 1998. Pierce's short-wave radio broadcasts, his publications and his Internet site — which now carries materials in five languages — appear to be reaching an ever-larger audience. But it is not the number of his members, which Pierce says has been flat in the last year, that counts. It is their quality, their work and their placement — often in groups far less radical than the Alliance — that is important to the organization.

William Pierce is, after all, a Leninist.

Like the Russian Bolsheviks, who infiltrated the far more moderate Menshevik party in an effort to seize power early this century, Pierce is seeking to place members and fellow travelers in other groups so as to swing them to his point of view. Like Vladimir Lenin, he is not interested in winning his battle through electoral successes. He is forming a vanguard, an elite cadre capable

of leading the "lemmings," or ignorant masses, and hijacking power.

The aim is a period of ethnic cleansing that Pierce has referred to as a "temporary unpleasantness," the seizure of state power and creation of all-white nations.

Pierce refers to his contacts with other groups as "beachheads," and in the December issue of the *National Alliance Bulletin*, he spells out their importance: "One of our principal tasks in the coming year will be to continue developing all of these beachheads, primarily through continuing to develop our means for reaching out to ... White elites."

CULTURE, COMPUTERS AND OTHER 'BEACHHEADS'

So far, Pierce has been doing rather well.

- In Cleveland, the Alliance's largest and best-organized unit has planned and hosted a series of "European-American Cultural Fests" boosting white ethnic pride. Glibe also has organized a number of forums for men like British Holocaust denier David Irving.

- Like its Cleveland counterpart, the Alliance's Tampa, Fla., unit is using "culture" to reach out to new recruits. Vince Breeding, the dynamic former lead guitarist for a "black metal" rock band who heads what is the Alliance's second most active chapter, has planned rallies featuring both David Duke and Irving. Recently, his unit sponsored a "Yule Fest" for members of the Aernfolk/Eagles Reaches, an arm of the so-called North American Folk Community. The Aernfolk are followers of Odinism, a neo-Pagan religion that influenced many Nazi leaders and today claims a large number of neo-Nazi adherents.

Breeding has also created a so-called "cybercell" which has specialized in getting into Internet news groups to promote the Alliance. And he has organized such events as a debate featuring Duke that drew 350 people to Southwest Texas State University.

- In Sacramento, Calif., where Pierce boasts of the most active Alliance unit for its size, coordinator Jim Ring has focused on proselytizing at gun shows, where many potential recruits gather. In 1998, the unit participated in 12 shows in California and Nevada.

- Duke, the former Klansman who has made runs for the presidency, Congress and several Louisiana political offices, has been increasingly courted by Pierce. He has spoken at several Alliance gatherings and represented the group in debates. When he appeared in the Washington, D.C., area in January to tout his run for a congressional seat now held by Bob Livingston (see p. 3), Duke was hosted by Mark

Cotterill, a British neofascist who has visited Pierce's West Virginia compound and written admiringly of the Alliance.

- Cotterill also seems to have helped extend Pierce's influence into the Council of Conservative Citizens (CCC), a racist group that has hosted such Republican luminaries as Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott of Mississippi and Rep. Bob Barr of Georgia (see p. 21). Until stepping down in December after a barrage of negative publicity, Cotterill was the leader of the CCC's capital region chapter. (He remains a CCC member.) Pierce's publications have been openly sold at Cotterill-organized events, including the January meeting at which Duke plugged his candidacy. In addition, Alliance members have been spotted at CCC events, although the group has never endorsed Alliance views.

- White Aryan Resistance leader Tom Metzger, an erstwhile Pierce competitor, spoke recently at one of Pierce's high-level "leadership conferences" after being flown in at Alliance expense. Metzger, who has built a following among youths and the working class, brings a new organizing dimension to the often elitist Alliance.

- Steven Barry, leader of a secret extremist group made up of elite members of the armed forces and known as the Special Forces Underground, has grown close to Pierce. In January, Pierce was a guest on Barry's radio show out of Fayetteville, N.C., near Ft. Bragg. Barry advertises Pierce's writings in his publication, *The Resister*.

- Richard Butler, the octagenarian head of the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations in Idaho, flew to one of Pierce's leadership conferences despite his frail health in April 1997, indicating that the two men have grown closer. For years, Pierce has mocked the Christian Identity religion, the racist and anti-Semitic theology at the heart

"Bright-faced, racially healthy" ethnic dancers performed last year at a Cleveland gathering hosted by National Alliance regional leader Eric Glibe.



“We have to act insanely to bring back sanity. I’m talking getting our guns and start pulling trigger on our enemies. Kill hundreds of thousands or more... .”

of Butler’s teachings. Now, despite their past antagonisms, the two racist leaders seem to be cooperating.

• Pierce appears to have friends within the Institute for Historical Review (IHR), a Washington, D.C.-based Holocaust denial outfit once controlled by Pierce nemesis Willis Carto. Mark Weber, the editor of IHR’s *Journal of Historical Review* who has for years been in a legal battle with Carto over a multimillion-dollar bequest, was once a key Pierce protégé and staff member and now seems to be again drawing close to his mentor.

“We’re more in contact with non-members of all sorts than we ever have been before,” Pierce wrote last November. “This increased recognition could be attributed to the almost total absence of other organizations with goals similar to ours.”

‘A MAN WHO GETS THINGS DONE’

Pierce’s influence in the United States has been driven not only by his organizing efforts, but by the stature of his race war novels, *The Turner Diaries* and *Hunter* (see related stories, below and p. 3). *The Turner Diaries*, in particular, functioned as the blueprint for the 1995 bombing of the Oklahoma City federal building, which killed 168 people. In 1983 and 1984, the book was the inspiration for The Order, a terrorist group that murdered a Jewish talk show host in Denver and robbed some \$4 million in a series of armored car heists.

As it has been in America, so it is now in Europe.

Pierce, who now has chapters in 11 countries in South America and Europe, boasts that every racial nationalist in Europe has heard about *The Turner Diaries*

BATTLE BY THE BOOK PIERCE’S NOVELS INSPIRE SLAUGHTER

BY JERRY MITCHELL

JACKSON, Miss. — A drifting loner, he served in the Army and later became so enraged by the government’s actions in the 1993 tragedy in Waco, Texas, that he built a shrine to the dead. He drew early inspiration from the work of National Alliance founder William Pierce, including Pierce’s ode to hate, *The Turner Diaries*, a novel depicting a race war which whites unleash by using a fertilizer bomb to blow up a federal building.

But this outcast’s name wasn’t Timothy McVeigh.

It was Larry Shoemake, who gunned down eight black Mississippians in 1996, almost a year after McVeigh’s ammonium nitrate bomb killed 168 people in Oklahoma City. Although McVeigh’s use of Pierce’s book as a map for murder is widely known, the case of Shoemake — along with those of several other less known people — shows yet again how Pierce’s scribbles have spawned not only hatred, but death.

An only son born while his father fought overseas in World War II, Larry Shoemake seemed bright and full of potential as a youth. But in 1961, he quit high school and left to fight in Vietnam. When he returned, violence from that conflict spilled over into his marriage, with Shoemake repeatedly beating his wife until she finally left him. His next two marriages dissolved almost as quickly.

Shoemake dumped bosses even more often than spouses and was often unemployed. But he did manage to snag a role in the 1988 movie “Mississippi Burning,” carrying the bodies of three slain civil rights workers. It was, as his third wife would say later, Shoemake’s way of trying to leave some kind of mark on history.

He later moved in with his mother, who’d been left alone since her husband’s 1986 suicide. At his mother’s 1994 funeral, Shoemake wept bitterly and later spoke of suicide. “Unless I get killed by an automobile,” he told relatives, “I’ll choose my way out.”

HIS WAY OUT: 20,000 ROUNDS

On the afternoon of April 12, 1996, one week shy of the first anniversary of the Oklahoma bombing, he pulled his pickup truck up behind an abandoned PoFolks Restaurant in Jackson. Larry Shoemake had chosen his way out.

No one knows the precise moment when Shoemake began to hate. But almost everyone who knew him agrees that he was never the same after he read a single book: *The Turner Diaries*. In that book and in the later novel *Hunter*, depicting the assassinations of interracial couples, Pierce gave Shoemake the scapegoat he’d been searching for — he had been the victim of a worldwide conspiracy by the government and the Jews.

“It was like an eye-opener for him,” his third wife recalled. “There was a distinct difference in him.”

Pierce’s depiction of a race war where white Americans annihilate all other races became real to Shoemake, who began subscribing to the author’s publications and stockpiling weapons. Convinced of Pierce’s prophecies, Shoemake began talking of moving to a white supremacist commune in the Ozarks of northwest Arkansas.

Instead, he stayed in Jackson, preparing for his own private war.

Larry Shoemake pried open the back door of the PoFolks Restaurant and stacked up a load of items from his pickup: two assault rifles, a pump shotgun, a pistol, a .357-caliber Ruger, more than 20,000 rounds of ammunition, a gas mask and a jug full of gasoline. After pouring a trail of gas around the restaurant’s perimeter, he secured a place from where he could fire his high-powered weapons. Then, clutching an AR-15 assault rifle, he began to fire relentlessly into a predominantly black neighborhood.

BIRTHDAYS AND BULLETS

D.Q. Holifield had come to town that day with his son to buy clothes for his birthday party. Hearing what sounded like a blowout, Holifield got out of his car to examine the damage. Shoemake ripped him apart with a hail of bullets.

Another storm of bullets was aimed at Holifield’s son, Johnny, who was hit in the arm and thigh. When paramedics tried to rescue his dying father, Shoemake sprayed the ambulance with bullets, forcing them to flee.

and he is probably not far off. For years, the book had been a major influence on the British neofascist scene. In 1998, electronic copies of the book became available on the Internet in French as *Les Carnets de Turner* and in German as *Die Turner-Tagebücher*. Then, in December, Pierce announced that a publisher had been found for a German-language printing of paper copies of the book, leaving only the “logistics problem” of smuggling them into Germany, where neo-Nazi propaganda is against the law.

“Because of his books, Pierce is undoubtedly the most well-known [American] right-wing figure” in Europe, says Nick Lowles of *Searchlight*, a British anti-fascist magazine. “Rightly or wrongly, people here see him as a man who get things done.”

Cheria McElroy saw Holifield go down at about the same time her car stalled. Hearing bullets zipping by, she frantically attempted to restart her car. Dead. She prayed and turned the key again. A bullet caught her in the shoulder. Her mother was hit in the hip. Once more, she tried the engine, and this time it caught. She sped to safety.

One of Shoemake’s shots hit Pam Berry, a reporter for *The (Jackson) Clarion-Ledger*, in the neck. Another shattered James Lawson’s left leg. His cousin, Darrien Jackson, was also injured, and so was Dorothy Grayson.

All but Holifield survived.

Shoemake continued his rampage for 40 minutes, shooting until the fire he set engulfed the restaurant. Flames shot higher than 100 feet. Before the conflagration could reach him, Shoemake placed his Ruger against his temple and squeezed the trigger.

Inside Larry Shoemake’s home, police found 15 different makes of rifles, two shotguns, military manuals and another 20,000 rounds of ammunition. Combined with the weapons found in the charred remains of the restaurant, the arsenal’s price tag was put at \$50,000 — hardly affordable for a man who was perpetually unemployed.

A small inheritance from his mother “was nowhere near that,” said Shoemake’s niece, Lisa Robertson. Where he got the money “remains a mystery.”

‘THE FINAL RAMBLINGS’

It was the first of several clues that Shoemake may not have plotted alone. One neighbor spoke of “funny looking fellows” coming and going from Shoemake’s house. And police found two walkie-talkies when



they searched the place.

Any questions about motive were answered when authorities entered Shoemake’s home. A Nazi flag had been carefully draped across his bed, along with his mother’s Bible and a copy of *Mein Kampf*, Adolf Hitler’s autobiography. There was also a Confederate flag and a “shrine” to the Branch Davidians who died in Waco.

Throughout the house, Shoemake had left a series of notes. One read, “I say: Annihilation or separation! Who is crazy, me or you? We will see.” Nearby lay a Pierce publication titled, “Separation or Annihilation.”

And police found something else. It was a letter Shoemake had written to a friend a month earlier, but never mailed.

“Hi, Kay. I’m baaacccck! Got my coffee and ready to ramble. We could call this, ‘The Final Ramblings of a Mad Man.’”

“... I’m sliding down and the farther I slide the faster I slide, and there’s no brush

That has put Pierce in a unique position.

Standing above the fray of internecine rivalries that have divided the European radical right for years, the former physics professor has come to be seen in Europe as a man whom all factions can look up to, the legendary author whose two novels helped spark the most violent U.S. domestic terrorist attacks of the last 15 years. The man who for years has sought “a long-term eugenics program involving at least the entire populations of Europe and America” is now intent on internationalizing the fascist struggle.

“Cooperation across national borders,” he wrote recently, “will become increasingly important for progress — and perhaps even for survival — in the future.”

In his own publication, Pierce also quotes approvingly

Inspired by the writings of National Alliance leader William Pierce, Larry Shoemake opened fire on blacks in April 1996. He sprayed bullets for 40 minutes, until the abandoned restaurant where he was holed up went up in flames.

from *AmeriKKKa: The Ku Klux Klan and the Ultraright in the U.S.A.*, a book by Roger Martin that just recently became available in German bookstores. “Pierce has decided to concentrate all his efforts on the development of competent cadres and on the expansion into Europe,” Pierce quotes Martin as writing. The Alliance “is indisputably the richest and most influential neo-Nazi organization in the United States and in Europe at this time.”

GOLDEN DAWN OF INTERNATIONALISM

Consider the curious scene outside the nightclub in Thessalonica, Greece’s second largest city, last October, where attack dogs strained at their leashes just a few feet away from signs marking the event inside: “Greek

Coordination of Touring Groups.”

If this was a gathering of tourist officials, it was a different kind of tourism indeed. As the Greek press realized only four days after it had ended, those inside weren’t figuring out how to market cheap package tours to the Aegean islands. Instead, the gathering of 150 people from 10 countries was busy planning for international fascist revolution. Amidst swastikas and siegheil salutes, these men and women — including a relative of Adolf Hitler — had gathered secretly to hear a keynote speech from Dr. William Pierce.

Pierce represented the only American group to be invited to the meeting, which was hosted by the ultranationalist Greek group Golden Dawn. But it drew fas-

cists from Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Germany, the Netherlands, Portugal, Romania and South Africa, some of whom have made their own efforts to infiltrate mainstream European parties.

After the Thessalonica meeting, Pierce traveled to Augsburg, Germany, to meet with French and German white nationalists — his second 1998 visit to that country, he says, despite the fact that he has been banned there because of his neo-Nazi publications. His most important political ally in Germany has been the extreme right-wing National Democratic Party (NDP), which claims to have 6,000 members.

Last April, the NDP sent Alexander von Webenau, who specializes in youth recruitment, to visit the Alliance

for a week. While there, Webenau spoke to some 60 members of the Alliance’s elite who had gathered for an invitation-only conference. Pierce returned the favor, publishing an interview with NDP official Udo Voigt.

Hungary, the country in which Pierce has found two brides, in part through local neo-Nazi contacts, is another important European connection for the Alliance. Pierce is very close to Istvan Csurka and Isabella Kiraly, two former members of the Hungarian Democratic Forum who were expelled because of their anti-Semitism. Kiraly, a former member of the Hungarian parliament and currently a patroness to the Hungarian Skinheads, dedicates herself to the political education of neo-Nazi Hungarian youth.



Early 1960s: Beginning a life of political extremism, Pierce briefly joins the John Birch Society while an assistant professor of physics at Oregon State University.

1966: Pierce leaves a job as senior research scientist at a Connecticut aerospace firm to join George Lincoln Rockwell’s American Nazi Party. After buying a printing press, Pierce starts up and edits the *National Socialist World* for the party.

1967: After Rockwell’s assassination by a follower, Pierce becomes a principal leader in the American Nazi Party.

1968: Pierce becomes an official of Youth for Wallace, an organization supporting George Wallace’s bid for the presidency. Also involved in the group is Willis Carto, who will become one of the nation’s leading anti-Semitic activists.

1970: Pierce and Carto reconfigure Youth for Wallace as the National Youth Alliance. But the two men split, with each claiming to be the new group’s leader. Eventually, Pierce wins control of the group, which is limited to people under 30 and focuses on activities on college and university campuses.

1971: The lingering dispute between Pierce and Carto heats up, with Carto accusing Pierce of stealing a mailing list belonging to Carto’s anti-Semitic Liberty Lobby organization. Pierce writes those on the mailing list, attacking the leaders of Liberty Lobby.

1974: Seeking to build a more militant group open to whites of all ages, Pierce reorganizes the National Youth Alliance as the National Alliance. The Alliance, which aims to be a vanguard party capable of leading the “lemmings” to revolutionary

victory, adopts the slogans “Free Men Are Not Equal” and “Equal Men Are Not Free.”

1978: Pierce’s novel of race war, *The Turner Diaries*, is published as a book after first being serialized in the Alliance publication *Attack!* It is, Pierce will boast, a “Blueprint,” a “Handbook for White Victory.” Pierce changes the name of *Attack!* to *National Vanguard*, replacing “red headlines and exhortations to action” with “sober analyses” of politics in a bid to present a more serious public image. The IRS denies the National Alliance’s request for tax-exempt status as an “educational” organization. Alliance membership begins a period of several years of significant growth.

1983: Pierce’s Pacific Northwest leader, Robert Mathews, joins with three other Alliance members and, later, some 20 other people, to create The Order. Based on a group

portrayed in *The Turner Diaries*, Mathews’ gang ultimately robs some \$4 million from armored cars. Officials have suggested, but never proved, that Pierce received some of that money. Alliance recruitment slows, then declines until the end of the 1980s.

1984: Declaring “War in ‘84,” members of The Order murder a well-known Jewish talk show host in Denver. Later in the year, Mathews is killed in a shootout with the FBI. Pierce hails his martyred acolyte, saying Mathews “took us from name-calling to bloodletting.” Pierce pays \$95,000 in cash for a 346-acre tract of land in West Virginia.

1985: The National Alliance headquarters moves from Arlington, Va., to Pierce’s land outside Hillsboro, W. Va.

1987: The Alliance purchases 100 shares of AT&T stocks, using them to make stockholder proposals calling for an end to business ties with Israel. The proposal is voted down repeatedly over the course of several years.

1989: Pierce’s publishing arm, National Vanguard Books, prints his second novel, *Hunter*, depicting the assassinations of interracial couples, Jews and politicians. The book is dedicated to Joseph Paul Franklin, convicted of the sniper murders of at least two black men. Pierce says a period of membership decline ends. On the 100th anniversary of Adolf Hitler’s birth, Pierce editorializes that the Nazi leader was “the greatest man of our era.”

1991: National Vanguard Books begins publishing audiocassettes. In December, the Al-

liance begins broadcasting a shortwave radio program, “American Dissident Voices,” worldwide. Within months, it is carried by several AM stations. Membership doubles between 1990 and 1991, according to Pierce.

1992: Pierce says membership again doubles this year. By the end of the year, he says, recruitment rates are 30 times what they had been in early 1989. Pierce buys a piece of land in North Carolina from Ben Klassen, founder of the neo-Nazi Church of the Creator (COTC), in a bid to help Klassen keep his headquarters from being seized in a civil case Klassen expects to be filed by the Southern Poverty Law Center over the murder of a black sailor by a COTC “reverend.”

1993: The Alliance targets youngsters for recruitment, beginning to publish its New World Order Comix. The first issue, drawn and written by Will Williams, is titled “*The Saga of ... WHITE WILL*,” and depicts a white youth who attacks a Jewish student.

1994: Around this time, Pierce begins making annual trips to Europe in a bid to widen his international neofascist contacts. He allegedly supplies a computer and some money to a British paramilitary fascist group, Combat 18.

1995: Timothy McVeigh, aided by Army pal Terry Nichols, blows up the Oklahoma City federal building, killing 168 people. When McVeigh is arrested, police find excerpts from *The Turner Diaries* in his car, and phone records reveal McVeigh had called the National Alliance several times prior to the bombing. Ten days after the attack,

which is patterned on a similar bombing depicted in *The Turner Diaries*, Pierce predicts that resentment of Jews, minorities and others will lead to terrorism “on a scale the world has never seen before.” Later in the year, the Alliance goes on-line with its own Web site.

1996: Officials arrest Alliance member Todd Vanbiber in Florida after a pipe bomb he is building explodes in his face. After Vanbiber is sentenced for federal firearms violations, confederates who are also Alliance members testify that the Vanbiber gang had robbed three banks and donated at least \$2,000 to Pierce. A week before the anniversary of the Oklahoma City bombing, Larry Shoemaker opens fire on a black neighborhood in Jackson, Miss., killing one person and wounding seven others. Relatives say he was inspired by Pierce’s writings. In May, Center attorneys win an \$85,000 judgment against Pierce for his role in a scheme to keep COTC assets away the family of a murdered sailor. In the fall, Pierce is keynote speaker at a convention of the neofascist British National Party.

1998: An appeals court upholds the \$85,000 judgment against Pierce. The Supreme Court later refuses to review the judgment. While Pierce says membership is flat, the number of his chapters jumps by more than half, from 22 in 1997 to 35 at the end of this year. Pierce says the Alliance Web site, together with an identical “mirror” site, is now being visited by 2,500 people a day. The site now offers *The Turner Diaries* in French and German. Pierce continues to cultivate ties to extreme right-wing groups in America and abroad. ▲

The Alliance “is indisputably the richest and most influential neo-Nazi organization in the United States and in Europe at this time.”



William Pierce, who has found two brides in Hungary, is increasingly heading down the road of international fascist revolution.

USING 'SUITS' TO HOOK RECRUITS

In Britain, Pierce already has had a real impact. Before Pierce's writings became popular, Lowles says, interracial marriages were not an issue to British radical rightists. But Pierce's attacks on "mongrelization" — spelled out in *Hunter*, which depicts the assassination of mixed-race couples — caught on quickly. In 1993, the deputy leader of the extreme right-wing British National Party and three other party members attacked an interracial couple with a bottle in a London pub. Alliance stickers attacking "mongrelization" also have appeared around the capital city.

In the 1980s, Pierce had a chapter in England run by Steven Brady, who is from Northern Ireland and had links there to Protestant paramilitary groups. But in the next decade, Brady moved into the Conservative Party. In 1993, he visited Pierce in the company of Mark Cotterill (see related story, p. 21). To Lowles, the influence of such men on mainstream parties is more of a concern than openly neo-Nazi groups.

PIERCE APPEAL DENIED

The U.S. Supreme Court announced in November that it would not hear an appeal of a judgment that the Southern Poverty Law Center won against National Alliance leader William Pierce. The court's ruling means that Center attorneys can now move to collect an \$85,000 judgment for the family of Harold Mansfield, a black sailor murdered by a white separatist.

Last July, a federal appeals court upheld the *Mansfield v.*

"In many ways, they are more dangerous now because they have gone into suits. People like Mark Cotterill, for example, are more sophisticated in how they do things and take advantage of opportunities without resorting to terrorism," Lowles said.

This is a point not lost on Pierce. Although he has sought to recruit in academia, the armed forces and among other "elites" for years, he is now stepping up his efforts.

The men and women he is seeking, Pierce explained in his membership manual years ago, are "those who recognize the social, political, and demographic changes which have taken place in America since the Second World War as degenerative.... If these people can be made to see beyond the symptoms of the decay they oppose and understand its fundamental causes — if they can be radicalized — they can be recruited." ▲



Pierce decision. Pierce now has no further avenue for appeal.

Mansfield was killed in 1991 by a "reverend" of the Church of the Creator (COTC), a hate group based in North Carolina. The Center sued the COTC in 1994 and won a \$1 million default judgment for the Mansfield family, but the COTC's leader had transferred ownership of its property to Pierce to prevent it from going to Mansfield's heirs.

In May 1996, a North Carolina jury found that Pierce had been involved in the scheme to hide the COTC assets and returned a verdict for the Mansfield estate.

INSIDE THE ALLIANCE

A FORMER NATIONAL ALLIANCE INSIDER SPEAKS

For four years, Kirsten Kaiser, 36, lived with her husband on or near the West Virginia compound of William Pierce, the leader of the neo-Nazi National Alliance and author of the racist fantasy novel The Turner Diaries. Kaiser was married to Kevin Alfred Strom, who co-hosts Pierce's racist and anti-Semitic radio show and is one of Pierce's closest associates. In that role, she got to know Pierce's inner circle and some of its members' thinking. Over the nine years of her marriage, Kaiser came to question the violently racist views of the Alliance — especially after the deaths of 19 children in the Oklahoma City bombing, which was patterned on an attack portrayed in The Turner Diaries. Today, she is living in Minnesota and going through a divorce from Strom. The Intelligence Report interviewed Kaiser about her life and acquaintances inside the Alliance, and how she came to leave.

INTELLIGENCE REPORT: How did you first hear of the National Alliance?

KAISER: I first heard about it in 1986 through reading magazines which my second husband, Joseph McLaughlin, had. I remember initially I was really shocked. I had noticed that Joseph didn't seem to like Democrats or Republicans, and I asked him, 'What are you anyway?' He said he was a [white] nationalist, that when he was 17 years old he had run away from home and gone to Iceland so he could be around other nationalists.

IR: What was your first contact with William Pierce?

KAISER: Joseph had me call Dr. Pierce one day in the sum-

mer of 1987. It was the day that [former Nazi leader] Rudolph Hess died. Joseph was all excited about this and they were all saying that it was a plot, a murder conspiracy.

IR: What did you say to Pierce?

KAISER: I said that I'd been reading his magazines. And he said, 'You know, I'm really going to have to have you meet Kevin Strom. I know you'll just love him.' I didn't meet Kevin until about four months later, on Nov. 7, 1987, when he came to our house in Arlington [Va.], but I really did like him a lot. I fell in love with him, but I didn't see him again until January 1988.

I was still married to Joseph at that time, but Kevin was starting to introduce me to people. I really wanted to meet people. I was very alone, very isolated.

They were all in this radical movement and they talked about radical things and it was very mysterious and fun and interesting. I had never met anybody like this. In the meantime, the situation with Joseph was getting worse. On March 15, 1988, I left. Kevin helped me move, and he moved into the apartment that I got.

IR: How had Kevin gotten into the movement?

KAISER: It turns out that Kevin's high school government teacher in Fairfax, Va., was a fascist who kind of recruited him into all this. He pointed him to the John Birch Society. Kevin was never involved in the Klan. He is the big intellectual — we continuously made fun of the Klan. But he did read literature like *Instauration* [a relatively highbrow racist publication] and corre-

After ending a marriage with National Alliance heavyweight Kevin Strom, Kirsten Kaiser decided to speak out about the country's leading neo-Nazi organization.

“[T]hey would take over the armories, take control of the government and bomb Israel. I mean, this is what [Pierce] plans to do. I guess he’s going to rule the world once this happens.”

sponded with people like Jared Taylor [who runs a magazine called *American Renaissance* and has argued that blacks are less intelligent than whites; see also related stories, pp. 21 and 27].

IR: When did you first meet Pierce in person?

KAISER: A little before that, at the very end of 1987. Joseph and Kevin and I all met Dr. Pierce at a restaurant in Arlington. I had just finished reading *The Turner Diaries*, which I thought was very poorly written, and I think I told him so, which may be part of the reason why he dislikes me so much. He said that he had written it very fast and that he was very surprised at how popular it had become. He said that he had always intended to rewrite it and make it better, but that he liked it real well.

IR: Do you think Pierce was serious about the message of the book [which depicts a race war set off by the protagonist’s bombing of the FBI headquarters building]?

KAISER: Yes. That first night we met, I remember that he said that if they didn’t blow up the FBI soon, it would become impossible because technology was getting better and better.

I used to drive past the Pentagon and other government buildings every day, and I never gave them a second thought until he started pointing out that there was this big sinister thing going on, that they were ultimately out to get me and Joseph personally, particularly because now we knew the truth that no one was supposed to know.

IR: How was Pierce treated that night?

KAISER: Everybody has always treated Dr. Pierce with tremendous reverence. Nobody calls Dr. Pierce “Bill.” Even his wife calls him Dr. Pierce.

IR: And how did Pierce act toward you?

KAISER: Dr. Pierce said, “You’re just a housewife,” and I was so shocked and hurt. I had just got done reading his whole magazine, the *National Vanguard* magazine, which had a picture of Venus de Milo on the cover and went on and on about how women should be at home having children. I thought, “If that’s what they think, why did he just say that to me?” It really hurt and confused me. It never made any sense.

Dr. Pierce doesn’t like women. He told me later that he likes them in a James Bond sense. Those were his favorite movies, James Bond movies. In those movies, women are just sort of fun toys, and that is really how he sees them.

Once, Dr. Pierce showed me some mail-order bride catalogs after his third wife, Olga, left him for three or four months. They were just unbelievable. You pick up a catalog that’s full of these women and almost every last one of them is named Eva. It was always eastern European women, from Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Russia.

IR: After this initial meeting, I understand you stayed in touch with Pierce while you lived in Virginia and, later, in Maryland. When did you and Kevin finally move to Pierce’s compound [on 346 acres outside Hillsboro,

W. Va.]?

KAISER: We moved on to his land on Oct. 1, 1991, and stayed there in a little trailer until Sept. 3 of 1992. After that, we moved to an apartment above a truck garage in Hillsboro, and Kevin continued working for Dr. Pierce until 1995.

IR: What was it like living on Pierce’s land?

KAISER: By the time we moved off the land, I had pretty much had it with the whole bunch of them. I listened to all these speeches about how this was a community and we were going to work together, and it wasn’t that way at all. These people never even bothered to say hello and good-bye. They didn’t have dinner together, hardly ever, and they didn’t have any celebrations together.

There was no discussion between people about what they were doing and how it connected to what other people were doing. The only one who really knew what was going on was Dr. Pierce, and he wasn’t telling anybody anything they didn’t need to know.

Nobody drinks there. Drinking is absolutely forbidden. And watching television was not allowed — even though Dr. Pierce watched the news every night, which I remember ended up getting some people angry.

It was a station you could hardly see. It was more like listening to the news. You know, Dr. Pierce has extremely poor eyesight because he once kept his contact lenses in for two solid weeks and that damaged his eyes. He is supposed to be such a smart man, but he doesn’t have any common sense at all.

They never did really like me there, and I think another one of the reasons was because I said, “If I’m going to work, you’re going to have to pay me something because my time is valuable.” They just thought that was unheard of. Everyone works for Dr. Pierce, if not for nothing, then virtually nothing. The people who were paid basically got about \$300 a month. Dr. Pierce is very, very stingy in many ways.

IR: How seriously do you think Pierce took his own propaganda?

KAISER: Well, he told me that he had done his dissertation on how to build a nuclear bomb. And he made it very clear that when the time came, he would know what to do. He was really very serious about his desire to destroy Israel. It’s not so much that they want to destroy the American government; Israel is what they really hated.

They are waiting for when the economic system collapses because this will help instigate a race war. During this time of unrest, they would take over the armories, take control of the government and bomb Israel. I mean, this is what he plans to do. I guess he’s going to rule the world once this happens.

I really do think it’s a version of *The Turner Diaries*

IR: What about *Hunter* [the novel that Pierce wrote in 1989, after *The Turner Diaries* that describes a campaign of assassinations of interracial couples]?

KAISER: Whatever book he was working would be his enthusiasm of the moment. When *Hunter* came out, that was the way it was going to happen. If enough mixed-race couples were assassinated in a big flurry, that would be enough to wake people up to action.

That book disturbed me. How can you judge somebody else in matters of the heart? If you really did fall in love with somebody of another race, I don’t know if I could judge you. This is something I had a real problem with.

IR: How did events in the outside world affect Pierce’s people?

KAISER: They were just delighted that Saddam Hussein was attacking Israel. Another thing that delighted them was when they had those riots in Los Angeles. They want the white man to hate the black. They hoped that when social unrest got so bad that a race war started, that would give us the chance to blow up all these buildings and to get hold of an armory.

You know, wherever you went, you always knew where the armories were. Whenever we were traveling, it was like, “Well, where is the armory?”

IR: What kind of work did you do while you lived on Pierce’s land?

KAISER: I did many mailings. I stuffed hundreds and hundreds of envelopes and inventoried books and did a number of other things. But I only did that for Kevin’s benefit — not Dr. Pierce’s. As I said, I’d told him that he had to pay me something.

Dr. Pierce also had us making burial tubes [to be used for caching weapons underground]. They were made out of big PVC [plastic] tubes and we would seal the ends with these caps and special tape so that they would be waterproof. As many as we’d make, they’d sell. We’d make 10 to 20 at a time, and they were already sold.

IR: So it was a moneymaking operation for the Alliance?

KAISER: Yes, it was almost pure profit.

IR: What was the reaction when the Southern Poverty Law Center sued Pierce? [Editor’s note: After a black sailor was murdered in 1991 by a member of the neo-Nazi Church of the Creator (COTC), Center attorneys sued on behalf of the victim’s family and won a \$1 million judgment against the COTC. In 1995, after the COTC fraudulently transferred ownership of its North Carolina headquarters to Pierce to keep it from the murdered man’s family, the Center sued Pierce personally and won an \$85,000 judgment. That judgment was upheld in July by a federal appeals court. The Supreme Court refused to reconsider it.]

KAISER: I remember very well Dr. Pierce making many trips to North Carolina and originally it was a very mysterious thing. After a while, he said that it was very hush-hush, but that it had to do with Ben Klassen [the long-time COTC leader who committed suicide on Aug. 6, 1993].

This all started when [former COTC activist] Will Williams started getting involved. He was like a lia-

son. After some time, Kevin came to me and said, “Oh no, it is finally happening. [Center co-founder] Morris Dees is suing us.” It was like the end of the world. He was terrified of Morris Dees. Kevin just hated him. He said, “Once Morris Dees has set his sights on you, that’s it, it’s over.” They were really upset.

IR: What was Williams’ role over the years he was in West Virginia?

KAISER: His title was recruiting coordinator. He came in late 1991 or early 1992, and I thought he was very friendly, really a nice guy, initially. He traveled a lot, and Dr. Pierce paid for his travel. He took over the farm house [on Pierce’s land], and put a new roof on it and built a fence around it. He started raising German shepherds there. He had an obsession with German shepherds. By the time he left, he had 17 of them.

Six or eight months after Will arrived, he went to Russia and married a woman he’d been corresponding with and brought her back. She lasted just a few weeks and then she disappeared. Will was very upset. He just changed completely. This was at the same time that Harold Covington [leader of the National Socialist White People’s Party] started attacking Will Williams, saying he was an FBI agent and a homosexual.

All these people are really, really paranoid. They all watch each other, and they’re all convinced that everybody else is an FBI agent. For a while, there was even talk that Dr. Pierce was an FBI agent. He just laughed about that.

Anyway, Will Williams left in 1993, or possibly 1994.

IR: How did the standoffs at Ruby Ridge and Waco [in 1992 and 1993] affect the National Alliance?

KAISER: We heard about Randy Weaver [the white supremacist whose wife and son were killed by federal agents at Ruby Ridge, Idaho] long before anybody else did. Kevin was telling me every day it is just a matter of time before they come to get us. We have to be ready. We’re stockpiling food and I’m keeping distilled water hidden around the house, and I’m getting more and more afraid.

After Waco, Kevin was always forcing me to watch this [antigovernment] video called *Waco: The Big Lie* [by Indianapolis attorney and militia advocate Linda Thompson, who once threatened an armed march on Washington, D.C.]. I am so full of fear that I don’t know what is going to happen, and I don’t trust Dr. Pierce. I am beginning to realize that there is something wrong with everybody I know in the movement. Nobody has a regular job, nobody has a regular [non-mail-order] wife. They don’t have girlfriends, they don’t have cars that work, they don’t have any health insurance. They don’t have a real life.

I am beginning to say to Kevin, “We have just got to leave, we have got to have a normal life.” And he says, “What’s a normal life?”

IR: What about the Oklahoma City bombing?

“By this time, I had realized that the idea of a revolution was ridiculous. If these people can’t hold down a regular job, what makes you think they can run a country?”

“The whole idea that they really think it’s okay for children to be killed was starting to bother me. ... I was thinking that this child being held by a fireman doesn’t look any different than my son, Oskar, and it’s covered with blood.”

KAISER: The day after the [April 19, 1995] bombing, Kevin got really nervous. He went through the house and found all his old Voice of Tomorrow stuff. [VOT was a mobile, far-right pirate radio station that Strom ran out of a specially equipped van before meeting Kaiser.] I had never seen him so scared. We put a box of the stuff in the back of the car and we drove to the back of a Wal-Mart in Virginia, I think, and dumped it.

Later, Kevin told me that Timothy McVeigh had called the Alliance five minutes before the bomb went off and that somehow the FBI knew. But he said McVeigh must have called a lot of other right-wing groups, too. He also said, “You know, the reason why they were all upset is because the bomb was just like the one talked about in the book.” Everyone knew what book he was talking about [*The Turner Diaries*].

I had befriended a lot of local people in West Virginia, and after Oklahoma, a good friend came to me and said, “You know, Kirsten, you better watch your kids. If they get a chance the local people are going to kill your kids, because a lot of kids were killed in Oklahoma.” I look outside my window and there are all these reporters. My heart is racing and I am just petrified. This is real. These are all real reporters, people dressed up in suits with cameras and microphones. I’m not making this up.

IR: How were you affected by all this personally?

KAISER: By this time, I had realized that the idea of a revolution was ridiculous. If these people can’t hold down a regular job, what makes you think they can run a country?

Kevin told me that the bombing was a good thing, because it was a government building and that government employees had been killed. It was a part of the revolution. I called my brother and my brother said, “Yeah, well what about all those kids that were killed?” Kevin said to me, “Well, if there were children killed, they must have been the children of government employees and it will teach them all a lesson.” This was retribution for what happened in Waco.

After I got through with this conversation with my brother, something began to grow in me. It was like this little seed. My brother works for the Coast Guard, which means the government, so Kevin was saying that he deserved to be killed. It took a little while for that to sink in on me.

I became so depressed after the bombing. The whole idea that they really think it’s okay for children to be killed was starting to bother me.

IR: So you began to think about leaving West Virginia?

KAISER: At about this time, Kevin and Dr. Pierce were having a disagreement. I was happy because I was thinking Kevin was finally going to say we could leave. I wanted to go to Minnesota. One day, he came home with a magazine saying Rochester [Minn.] was supposed to be the best place in America to live. It was either 96% or 97% white, so it was acceptable for that reason. We moved there in November of 1995.

I don’t know if anyone can relate to this except maybe a prisoner of war, but when we left I was able to listen to regular radio broadcasts. I hadn’t heard Paul Harvey in years. I didn’t know that O.J. Simpson had apparently killed his wife. Kevin hadn’t allowed us to watch television or read the newspapers because they promote multiculturalism. Driving across country, we were stopping at gas stations and I could see newspapers with today’s date on them. There were TVs in the hotel rooms. It was really weird.

IR: How was Rochester once you got there?

KAISER: I got a job as a real estate salesperson. I had a lot of fun, but I felt a sense of shame for the first time because when people asked, I couldn’t say what my husband did. At the same time, I couldn’t go to office parties, various social things, because Kevin didn’t like being around people. And I couldn’t go alone because that would mean getting a baby-sitter, and we couldn’t have a baby-sitter because they’d be in the house and then they would know who we were.

The fact that I had to name my baby daughter Klara — Klara was Hitler’s mother’s name — was also starting to bother me. This whole deal with Hitler was really starting to bother me.

IR: When did it all come to a head for you?

KAISER: On Nov. 13, 1996, we were listening to the radio to hear the weather report. They were talking about some young couple in New Jersey that had hidden the fact that the girl was pregnant. They killed their baby after she gave birth in a hotel room.

I just started crying, and Kevin got mad at me. He said, “Why are you crying?” And I said, “They killed a baby. They killed a baby.” I’m looking at my own baby, who is three or four weeks old, and I am just freaking out. And then Kevin said that it was a good thing that it happened, because the woman was a Jew and the man was a Gentile.

I was thinking several thoughts at the same time. How could he know the woman was a Jew? And it occurred to me, for the first time, that it actually didn’t matter what race the child was. It was a little baby. I just kept envisioning that happening to my baby, and I couldn’t stop crying. I curled up into a ball in the corner and held on to the baby. I wouldn’t let her go, and I couldn’t stop crying.

Eventually, I went to see a counselor. He told me that it was a good thing that I was upset, that everyone should be upset when they hear things like that. He said that all children were all part of our family. That is what he said.

In his office, I picked up an old magazine with pictures of the Oklahoma bombing. I screwed up my courage and I read the articles and I looked at the pictures. I was thinking that this child being held by a fireman doesn’t look any different than my son, Oskar, and it’s covered with blood. And that whole idea, that there really isn’t any difference, that children are children, all came to me. It all came together on that date. ▲

SHARKS IN THE MAINSTREAM

RACISM UNDERLIES INFLUENTIAL ‘CONSERVATIVE’ GROUP

Gordon Lee Baum was having a bad day. Standing in a Jackson, Miss., hotel meeting room in November, the 58-year-old lawyer and leader of the Council of Conservative Citizens (CCC) was doing his best to portray his organization as mainstream. Gov. Kirk Fordice was scheduled to speak the next day to more than 300 people attending the CCC’s national board meeting, lending the group the kind of political credibility that Baum has sought continually during his 14 years as chief executive officer.

But then David Duke, the former Klan leader and unrepentant racist, showed up and spoiled the party.

“Hi, Gordon,” Duke told Baum with a toothy smile.

“Damn you, Dave,” Baum said, later threatening a local newspaper with a lawsuit if it reported that Duke was part of the CCC conference.

“Don’t say you’re involved with us,” Baum said. “The politicians won’t show up. We use these politicians. The main reason people won’t become involved, they’re afraid. But if they see important people, they’ll become involved because they think the water’s safe and there’s no sharks out there.”

In the end, Baum allowed Duke to sell his literature, but only until the politicians were to show up the next day. Duke on his own was not the problem. It was the

bad press. And how had the reporters known to show up? Who tipped the local black newspaper and others off that Duke had appeared at this “mainstream” gathering?

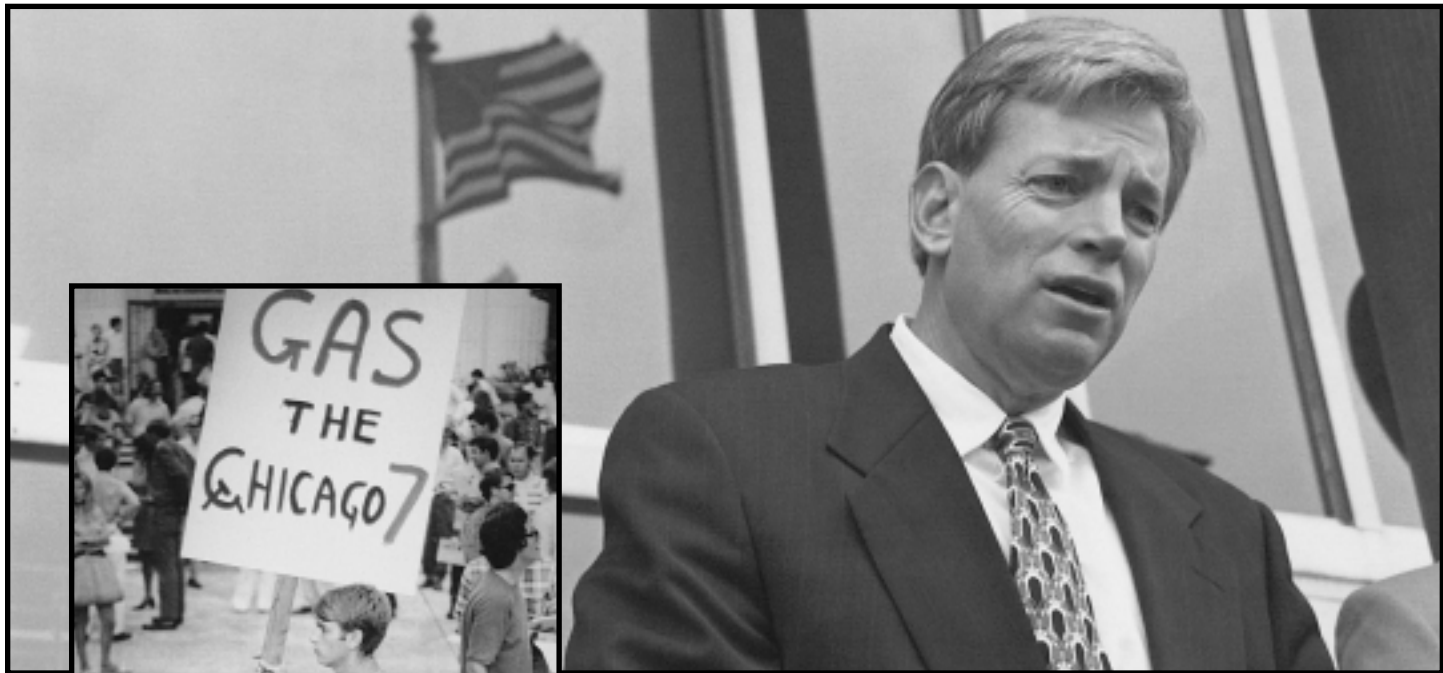
“One of the niggers at the front desk,” Baum fumed.

WHITE CITIZENS COUNCILS REBORN

Baum’s comment — which he denied in an interview with the *Intelligence Report* — was much more than the slip of an irate tongue. Despite the fact that his group has flirted with such politicians as Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott, Mississippi Gov. Fordice and Rep. Bob Barr (R-Ga.), the CCC has racism at its core. Indeed, the Council of Conservative Citizens is the reincarnation of the racist White Citizens Councils of the 1950s and 1960s.

Formed by Baum in 1985, the CCC claims 15,000 dues-paying members. Like its predecessor White Citizens Councils, the CCC’s greatest strength is in the South, primarily Alabama, Georgia and Mississippi, where it claims 34 state legislators and 5,000 other members. The CCC has members in 22 states and its influence now reaches California and the East Coast from Florida to New York. Its main publication, *Citizens Informer*, circulates to 20,000 subscribers. While its

Gordon Baum (left), leader of the racist Council of Conservative Citizens, attended a 1995 memorial service for a man allegedly killed because he was flying a Confederate battle flag.



Jeannene Mathis/Farima (OH) Sun Post

Michael P. Smith

David Duke, the former neo-Nazi and Klansman who once demanded the death penalty for leftist leaders, has had links to the Council of Conservative Citizens for years.

local chapters have taken up a variety of issues, the CCC in general has focused on national issues like support for the Confederate battle flag and opposition to affirmative action, school busing and non-white immigration.

But its chief interest remains race.

“Western civilization with all its might and glory

would never have achieved its greatness without the directing hand of God and the creative genius of the white race,” influential CCC columnist Robert “Tut” Patterson wrote in the *Informer* last fall. “Any effort to destroy the race by a mixture of black blood is an effort to destroy Western civilization itself... .” “Let us pray that our citizens will awaken and vote themselves out of this dilemma,” Patterson wrote last spring. “There is still time. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 should be repealed!”

THE COUNCIL'S PREDECESSOR

Robert Patterson is no stranger to the world of organized racism. He founded the original Citizens Councils of America (CCA) — commonly known as the White Citizens Councils — in the wake of the Supreme Court's May 17, 1954, *Brown v. Board of Education* ruling, outlawing “separate but equal” black and white school systems. “Integration represents darkness, regimentation, totalitarianism, communism and destruction,” Patterson, the great-grandson of a Confederate general, said at the time. “Segregation represents the freedom to choose one's associates ... the survival of the white race. These

two ideologies are now engaged in mortal conflict and only one can survive. They cannot be fused any more than day can exist without night. The twilight of this great white nation would certainly follow.”

Patterson's CCA organized private, whites-only schools, boycotted black merchants who supported school desegregation and black voting rights, flooded the South with segregationist literature and supported segregationist politicians. But the group also came to be known widely as the “white-collar Klan.” While it sought a veneer of social respectability, the CCA membership had significant overlap with that of the Klan, and was tied in some instances to violence. In 1960, a segregationist riot followed a New Orleans CCA meeting where members were told, “These Congolese rape your daughters.” Byron de la Beckwith, murderer of civil rights leader Medgar Evers, was a key member of the Greenwood, Miss., CCA chapter, which raised money for his defense.

As a group, today's CCC has no similar record of violence.

But an alleged member, Marshall Catterton, flew into a rage last year when a black youth, 15-year-old Jason Riley, tried to tear down a CCC sign promoting the Confederate flag that Catterton had erected earlier. Catterton shot and wounded Riley in the chest with a .38-caliber handgun. In an interview with *The Press & Standard* of Colleton County, S.C., Baum said he might react “just as Catterton did” in the same situation.

The links between the CCA and the CCC are not tenuous. In addition to Patterson, Baum was for years during the 1960s the White Citizens Councils' midwest field organizer. Bill Lord, the CCC's current Mississippi leader, was a regional CCA organizer. Baum and other CCC leaders have acknowledged that they built their group on the basis of the mailing lists of the old White Citizens Councils. Four years ago, one leader boasted that

the principles of the CCA had been successfully integrated into the CCC. Both groups have employed a strategy of surface respectability backed by open racism.

By the 1970s, the CCA had lost its battle against desegregation. But the 1980s brought new struggles for its former members, with increased immigration from Central America and Asia rekindling racist fears of white extinction. In 1985, a group of 30 white men met in Atlanta to decide what to do about it. Many of them were old CCA members like Baum, former Georgia Gov. Lester Maddox and John Rarick, who later became a Louisiana congressman. The group hoped to build unity on the far right.

On March 7, 1985, the Council of Conservative Citizens was born. The CCC was set up on that day as a 501(c)4, meaning that it does not pay taxes but that donations are not tax-deductible. The same day, Baum organized the Conservative Citizens' Foundation as a 501(c)3. Donations to the foundation, unlike the CCC, are tax deductible.

‘A SLIMY BROWN MASS’

Over the last nine years, the *Informer* has featured a steady stream of anti-black and anti-homosexual columns, including attacks on the Martin Luther King Jr. holiday; Black History Month; statues honoring blacks; African-American scholarship programs; non-white immigration; affirmative action; and AIDS research. It has also published many articles supporting the former apartheid regime in South Africa.

The *Informer's* subscribers are continually encouraged to study biological determinism, eugenics and other racist views packaged as “scientific” (see p. 27). Last fall, for instance, the magazine carried a glowing review of Gerald M. Spring's *The Philosophy of Count de Gobineau*, a book about a French 19th-century writer on race and biology.

“Despite its age, its theme is truly timeless because Gobineau was the first thinker to approach the race problem from a scientific viewpoint,” the reviewer enthused. “His *Essay on the Inequality of Human Races* ... advanced the thesis that each of the three major races plays a distinct role in history. ... The whites were the creators of civilization, the yellows its sustainers and copyists, the blacks its destroyers. We need to know more about this great thinker. ... The enlightenment truly began in France.”

The CCC's Web site also regularly publishes racist material. One of the group's featured columnists, who identifies himself as H. Millard, recently wrote there on his view on the likely effects of immigration and intermarriage. Millard, who refused to be interviewed, is a Costa Mesa, Calif., real estate agent whose full name is Martin H. Millard.

“What will emerge will be just be a slimy brown mass of glop,” Millard wrote. “The genocide being carried out against white people hasn't come with marching armies; instead, it has come with propaganda that is calculated



In the 1950s, the White Citizens Councils published brochures like this one urging resettlement of blacks from the South to northern states.

to brainwash whites into happily and willingly jumping into the Neo-Melting Pot, and to their destruction. ... Genocide via the bedroom chamber is just as long-lasting as genocide via the gas chamber.”

RACE, BIOLOGY AND ‘FETAL SOUP’

Other recent Web site articles have included a racially tinged piece on Chinese “fetal soup” and an attack on Abraham Lincoln. Lincoln was actually homosexual, the CCC article said, and ugly and psychotic to boot. In fact, it said, Lincoln's only good idea may have been to deport blacks to Africa.

The CCC's tax-free think tank, the Conservative Citizens' Foundation (CCF), publishes sets of “Occasional Papers” for distribution to the CCC's members. Recently, these papers have been authored by such men as Samuel Francis, a syndicated columnist fired from the conservative *Washington Times* for racially inflammatory writings. Other writers of these papers have advanced schemes to partition the United States into racial mini-states. Two recent articles were by Jared Taylor, the author of *Paved With Good Intentions: The Failure of Race Relations in America* and a man who has argued that blacks are less intelligent than whites.

“Does America need Haitians, Mexicans, Cambodians and Guatemalans by the millions?” Taylor asked in a 1997 paper published by the foundation. “Where these people settle — be it in Miami, south central Los Angeles or Brownsville, Texas — these places cease to be parts of the United States and become parts of the Third World. ...

“We face ... a far greater threat ... than did our ancestors.”

LINKS TO NAZIS, THE KLAN

The political histories of the CCC's members are another useful barometer of the group's views. At the top of the list are Patterson and Baum. These men have per-

COUNSEL OF CITIZENS

COFFEE, BEER AND WHITE SUPREMACY

ARLINGTON, Va. — The meetings of the right-wing Council of Conservative Citizens’ “National Capital Region” chapter are held in the upstairs room of a cozy little cafe on Wilson Boulevard. Here, over coffee and beer, the defenders of white supremacy conspire, grumbling about Third World immigration and the Jews ruling Hollywood. Below, a waitress from Latin America serves hot chocolate and espresso, chatting with patrons in Spanish about the many varieties of Peruvian potato.

Arriving at a meeting in December, the first thing the visitor notices while signing in on the CCC roster is David Duke’s brand-new autobiography on the table for sale. On another table, copies of Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott’s column, “Protecting our Borders,” lie alongside a handout entitled “AIDS: The Fruits of Interracial Mating.” There is extremist literature from Resistance Records, the National Alliance, the America First Party and even a far-right paramilitary group in Northern Ireland.

Directing the proceedings is a dynamic man who gives his name as Mark Cerr — but who is actually a Briton with a neofascist background named Mark Cotterill. Cotterill gives a brief CCC history, followed by a political description of its members as “Buchananites,” sympathetic to the ultraconservative message of Pat Buchanan.

sonally helped to bring the ideology of the White Citizens Councils directly into the CCC. But there are many others.

The names of CCC members are not public. But the *Intelligence Report*, after collecting the names of 175 members mentioned in council publications and elsewhere, was able to document ties to racist groups of 17 of those members — almost 10% of the total.

While the presence and degree of racism in the CCC varies from chapter to chapter, the *Report* found a significant number of members have been linked to unabashedly racist groups including the Invisible Empire Knights of the Ku Klux Klan; the Carolina Knights of the Ku Klux Klan; the National Association for the Advancement of White People; the America First Party; and the neo-Nazi National Alliance. Others have ties to militant “Patriot” organizations such as the extreme-right-wing Populist Party.

What’s more, such people have been actively recruited.

From there, the meeting gets rolling.

DID THE MOSSAD KILL JFK?

Next up is Michael Collins Piper, a correspondent for the anti-Semitic *Spotlight* tabloid who explains that Israel was actually behind the Kennedy assassination. Piper gets progressively angrier as he talks about the Jews he says control Hollywood.

It is a strange crowd and a strange meeting. Piper is accompanied by a black bodyguard, who sits quietly by a table stacked with literature from white supremacist groups, his eyes shielded by dark sunglasses. He is the only person of color present. An elderly woman wearing a bright red muffin hat sports a button protesting the “death tax.” At one point, a young blonde woman in a sheer blouse makes the rounds of the room with a hat collecting donations.

With the exception of the second woman and a handful of shaven-headed youths sitting in the back, it is an older crowd, reflecting the age of the much of the CCC’s membership. Out of the crowd of 63, only five are women.

Piper ends with a comment on how sick he is of hearing about the Holocaust, and how he just doesn’t care how many Jews died.

Now Cotterill opens the floor to comments, inviting one very tall, imposing man to the podium.

In early 1995, Baum invited Vince Reed, who Baum knew as the head of security for the openly neo-Nazi Aryan Nations organization, into his St. Louis home. Taking Reed into a basement office and locking the door, Baum tried to recruit him to join the CCC’s national board. Unbeknownst to Baum, Reed was a law enforcement informant who has testified in state and federal courts, most recently against a group of Illinois terrorists.

“He wanted to talk about me coming over to his side,” recalls Reed. “He says, ‘I know you’re an ambassador for [Aryan Nations leader] Richard Butler, but I can really use a person like you.’ He told me his organization was really going forward.

“He was very serious, saying, ‘Vince, the Jews are going to fall from the inside, not from the outside, and the niggers will be a puppet on a string for us.’ And I said, ‘Well, I see you’re on the same side we’re on.’ And he said, ‘Oh, yeah.’ He said, ‘The power is not out

JESUS AS ‘SISSY’

“Don’t be yellier!” this speaker shouts suddenly, raising both fists in the air and jolting his sleepy afternoon audience in their seats. “Only the Nazis can compete with the Jews! Until we form a group like that, we ain’t gonna get anywhere. We need a young movement of guys ready to do things. That ‘s the only way to save this country.”

The audience is wide awake now.

“We’ve got to stick together to be white, but collaborate with the other races against that one man-made race — the Jews,” the man exhorts. “Jesus has been written up in history as a sissy with all that turn-the-other-cheek stuff.

“We gotta get tough, folks.”

With this recommendation, 80-year-old DeWest Hooker — who later says coyly that he “may be” a member of the CCC — steps down. Another person takes the podium and begins to disagree with Hooker. He starts by explaining that he is half-Jewish.

He doesn’t get much farther.

“How much did they pay you to come here?” Hooker yells angrily. There is a rumbling among the youths. “Maybe you’re at the wrong meeting!” one of them yells.

And maybe this man is. No CCC leader stands up to defend him. No CCC leader explains that this organization does not support national socialism.

The next CCC speaker drones on and on about impeachment. Finally, the meeting ends with an invitation from Cotterill to all present to join CCC members at a restaurant just two doors down. On the menu? “European food.” ▲

there in the gun, it is inside Congress. You can battle for the rest of your life with guns and explosives, and you aren’t going anywhere. We’ve got to do it from the inside.”

Baum, while conceding he knew Reed, described his story as a “total lie.”

BRITISH NEOFASCISTS AND YOUTH

Wider-ranging recruitment efforts are currently under way. While the council has been largely made up of aging southern proponents of “the lost cause,” last year it began an effort to recruit a younger generation of followers, setting up an education committee and a youth chapter.

The youth chapter was developed by Mark Cotterill, using the false last name Cerr, around Washington, D.C. Cotterill, a Briton, is said to have brought 100 young people into the CCC. What Cotterill doesn’t boast openly about are his connections to the National Alliance — his friendships with Alliance founder William Pierce, and Pierce’s chief deputy, Kevin Alfred Strom (see related interview, pp. 17). Pierce’s novel of a future race war, *The Turner Diaries*, served as the blueprint for the deadly 1995 bombing of the Oklahoma City federal building (see related stories, pp. 3 and 10).

Cotterill is well known in Britain, which he left three years ago. There, he was associated with the neofascist National Front and its successor, the British National Party, as well as American distributor of a far-right periodical, *Right Now*. He also has been linked to the Ulster Defense Association, a paramilitary Protestant group in Northern Ireland.

Shortly after the Southern Poverty Law Center exposed Cotterill’s true identity in December, he resigned as the capital area CCC leader, although he remains a member of the chapter. Baum told the *Intelligence Report* that members of Cotterill’s chapter were angered by his public association with David Duke and his hosting of a December CCC meeting at which neo-Nazi DeWest Hooker spoke (see p. 24).

That is not the only connection of the CCC to international racists. In September, a delegation of Baum and other key council leaders — including Atlanta businessman Tom Dover, who is the president of the CCC — attended a Paris gathering sponsored by the National Front, led by anti-Semitic extremist Jean-Marie Le Pen. And then there is David Duke.

THE DUKE CONNECTION

Despite Baum’s protestations, the CCC’s ties to Duke are longstanding. During Duke’s run for Louisiana governor in the early 1990s, Baum and two other leaders wrote to council members to urge them to vote for Duke, according to *The Riverfront Times*, a St. Louis newspaper. In 1995, Duke spoke to the CCC’s South Carolina chapter to urge a fight for “our very genes” and support for the Council. And, even as Baum tried to fight off public affiliation with the former Klansman, Duke

was invited to speak Jan. 2 to the CCC’s “National Capital Region” chapter — at least according to Cotterill, who spoke before his resignation as chapter leader. But Baum heatedly denied that such an invitation had been made in the name of the CCC. In the end, Cotterill hosted Duke at his own meeting, telling a reporter that it was not a council event because Duke was “too controversial.”

One key CCC member, Florida State University psychology professor Glayde Whitney, contributed an introduction to Duke’s new autobiography, *My Awakening*, which Whitney terms “a painstakingly documented, academically excellent work.” Speaking at a gathering hosted by Jared Taylor, who is the editor of the right-wing *American Renaissance* magazine, Whitney warned last fall that blacks are “bigger in bone, smaller in brain,” biologically specialized “primitives” who are wont to mating with white schoolgirls as they mature faster and are more sexually aggressive than their white male schoolmates.

And in Mississippi, one politician identified as a CCC member — ultraconservative state Sen. Mike Gunn — earned \$9,500 with his wife for helping prepare a fundraising brochure for David Duke’s failed gubernatorial bid, according to the *The* (Jackson, Miss.) *Clarion-Ledger*. The paper said Gunn’s direct-mail operation was paid through a fake company. Gunn was also criticized editorially for alleged race-baiting.

POLITICIANS AND THE CCC

Today, the council boasts of endorsements by past and present political leaders including Lott, Fordice and Barr, who was the keynote speaker at the semiannual council board meeting held last June; Sen. Jesse Helms (R.-N.C.); former Georgia Gov. Maddox, a staunch segregationist whom the CCC has honored with a “patriot of the century” award; former Rep. Rarick (R-La.); former Rep. Webb Franklin (R-Miss.); and more than 50 local politicians in eight states, including the 34 in the Mississippi state legislature.

Republican National Committeeman Buddy Witherspoon of South Carolina is a CCC member, according to *The Washington Post*, and GOP National Committeewoman Bettye Fine Collins of Alabama has spoken to the group and received a special award. So has former Alabama Gov. Guy Hunt. Alabama Judge Roy Moore, who stirred national debate by refusing to take down a display of the Ten Commandments in his courtroom, addressed the Council. Claire Bawcom, a vice president of the Tennessee Federation of Republican Women, writes a column for the *Informer* and regularly speaks at CCC meetings.

Many politicians, like Arkansas’ then-Lt. Gov. Mike Huckabee, have walked away from the CCC after learning something of its ideology. Huckabee, today the governor of Arkansas, backed out of a 1994 speech to the CCC after learning that he would have shared the podium with white supremacist lawyer Kirk Lyons. Last



White supremacist lawyer Kirk Lyons has spoken at a number of CCC events, including this one in 1997. In 1994, Mike Huckabee, then lieutenant governor of Arkansas, backed out of a speech to the organization when he learned that Lyons also would be speaking.

year, Winston-Salem, N.C., Mayor Jack Cavanagh publicly apologized after speaking to the CCC, saying he was not a racist and had not known of the group's views. In Washington, the influential Conservative Political Action Conference (CPAC), which once allowed the CCC to co-host an annual meeting, has barred the CCC because, CPAC's director said, "they are racists."

For his part, Barr, after being criticized in December for speaking to the CCC, told reporters that he disagreed with many of the group's "ridiculous views."

Lott, similarly criticized in December, initially told *The Washington Post* that he had "no firsthand knowledge" of the CCC and was not a member. Informed that Cotterill and other CCC leaders had told the *Intelligence Report* that Lott was in fact a paid-up CCC member, Lott spokesman John Czwartacki said Lott "doesn't consider himself" a member and "has no recollection" of ever paying dues. Czwartacki declined to say if Lott had been a member in the past, but he did insist that Lott "firmly rejects" many CCC views. Later, after a month of criticism, Lott issued a statement decrying "the racist view of this group." Publicly, Baum said, in effect, that if Lott didn't consider himself a member then he wasn't one. "He's gotta do what he's gotta do," Baum said of Lott's denials.

In any event, Lott certainly had heard of the group. In 1992, Lott gave a speech to 400 CCC supporters in Greenwood, Miss., at the group's national board meeting. In 1994, when Lott's hometown newspaper reported he was a CCC member, no one objected. In 1997, Lott hosted a private meeting in his Senate office with Baum, Lord and Dover, who together are the chief leaders of the CCC. Baum keeps a photo of that meeting in his office that is signed, "Best Wishes, Trent Lott." Lott's uncle, former state senator and current

Carroll County, Miss., CCC officer Arnie Watson, told *The New York Times* that Lott was, in fact, a CCC "honorary member."

"We're a rather large organization in Mississippi," Lott's home state, Baum said. "I would assume someone as astute as Mr. Lott would have a pretty good grasp of us."

According to the *Informer*, Lott concluded his 1992 Mississippi speech to the CCC with this: "The people in this room stand for the right principles and the right philosophy. Let's take it in the right direction and our children will be the beneficiaries!"

'DON'T USE THE WORD'

Baum has claimed great influence with many of these politicians. In 1994, the same year that Lott was honored at a Vaiden, Miss., banquet attended by CCC leaders, the *Informer* took credit for Lott's one-vote election as Republican majority whip, the No. 2 leadership post in the Senate. Council leaders have also claimed responsibility for orchestrating the electoral demise last fall of former South Carolina Gov. David Beasley, a Republican who angered the group by opposing continuing to fly the Confederate battle flag over his state's capitol building because it was offensive to blacks.

Around the country, the CCC claims to have had members or supporters elected to courts, school boards, city councils, state legislatures and other government bodies. The council boasts of its power, circulating a flier with alleged endorsements from a dozen politicians, including Lott, whose writings have appeared for years in the *Informer*.

The structures of the CCC's chapters, and their political interests, vary from state to state — a function of the CCC's decentralized structure, which harkens back to the strong states' rights stand of the CCA. The best-organized state is Mississippi, with eight county chapters. Alabama and Tennessee have regional chapters, while most others have only general state chapters. In total, the Council has 33 chapters.

Now, the CCC may well be marginalized as more mainstream politicians draw away. Explaining a new CCC rule that leaders keep their own political views to themselves, Baum told *The Washington Post* in January that "we were just too dang candid" when being asked about their views of race and other matters. "That's what got us into trouble."

What is clear is that the Council is more and more openly courting the radical right. At a meeting of its Washington chapter earlier this month, attended by a representative of the anti-Semitic tabloid *The Spotlight*, hard-line white supremacists were plentiful. One of them, describing himself as the best friend of George Lincoln Rockwell, founder of the American Nazi Party, summed up his views for the audience from the CCC podium.

"Be a Nazi," DeWest Hooker enjoined them. "But don't use the word." ▲



Displays like this one were used by the American Eugenics Society in the 1920s and '30s at county fairs around the nation. Lights blinked every 7 1/2 minutes to signal the birth of a "high-grade" person, while another flashed every 48 seconds to signify the birth of "another defective."

RACE AND 'REASON'

ACADEMIC IDEAS A PILLAR OF RACIST THOUGHT

What is called for here is not genocide, the killing off of the populations of incompetent cultures. But we do need to think realistically in terms of "phasing out" of such peoples. If the world is to evolve more better humans, then obviously someone has to make way for them. ... To think otherwise is mere sentimentality.

— Richard Lynn, professor of psychology, University of Ulster-Coleraine, Northern Ireland

BY BARRY MEHLER

Not since the days of Jim Crow has academia been so much at the forefront of the white supremacist movement in the United States. Positions once thought to be the kiss of death for an academic reputation are today vigorously defended in the name of intellectual honesty. In the first 60 years of this century, such thinking led to the sterilization of more than 100,000 Americans, and in Germany it resulted in death camps for the "genetically inferior." Today, it is legitimizing the white supremacist movement.

The nature vs. nurture debate has raged throughout the 20th century — and indeed, it remains a contentious issue that will likely never be resolved. What is clear is that the academics who see inherent IQ differences between racial groups have lent support — unwittingly or not — to overt white supremacists. In some cases, this support has gone so far as to become an unapologetic academic embrace of professional racists.

Consider the case of professor Glayde Whitney. A psychology professor at Florida State University and the past president of the Behavior Genetics Association, Whitney boldly goes where few academics have gone before. As the author of an introduction to David Duke's new autobiography, Whitney describes the former Klansman's 717-page tome as "a painstakingly documented, academically excellent work of socio-biological-political history that has the potential to ... change the very course of history."

In much of academia, a pillar of the racist argument

has become the accepted view. Polling a large sample of mainly academic experts anonymously for a 1988 book, Mark Snyderman and Stanley Rothman found that 53% believed IQ differences between blacks and whites have a genetic component. Only 17% thought the differences between the racial groups' scores on intelligence tests were strictly environmental in origin. Another 28% thought that there was insufficient data available to make a judgment.

In 1994, *Science* magazine, the world's most prestigious journal of science, devoted an entire issue to the nature vs. nurture debate. "How much of our fate is in fact written in the DNA inside our cells?" the magazine asked. "And how much freedom do we have to reach our full potential as human beings through our education and experience?"

BRAIN SURGEONS AND JANITORS

Increasingly, the answer given to the latter question is not much. Genes, the argument goes, code for intelligence, character, personality, even political orientation. Furthermore — and this is the critical point for overt racists — races differ significantly in all these characteristics.

For many, the "hereditarian" position boils down to this:

There are racial differences, the argument goes, and they are not just skin deep. Americans of African descent score, on average, one standard deviation below whites



The lofty-sounding arguments of race scientists have been picked up and repeated in the crude language of white supremacist publications like this one, which describes blacks as “reverting to a primitive type.”

on tests of “intelligence” — meaning they have an average IQ of 85. Only 16% of African-Americans, the new generation of race scientists argue, have IQs over 100, and less than 3% score above 115. Certainly, a few blacks are brilliant — but science “proves” that most of them are not. Everyone should be judged on their own merits, of course, but affirmative action flies in the face of inalterable reality. Blacks, on average, just don’t have what it takes, the hereditarians maintain.

Most of the academics whose work has supported such a view either deny that they are racists or remain blind to their work’s implications. But not all. British psychologist Christopher Brand candidly agreed with the idea that he was a “scientific racist.” The day after Brand accepted that label while promoting a new book carrying the imprint of a major academic publisher, the publisher abruptly canceled a planned American edition.

Other cases have been somewhat murkier.

‘BREEDING FOR BRAIN SIZE’

In 1997, the American Psychological Association (APA) chose Raymond B. Cattell, for its “Gold Medal Award for Lifetime Achievement in the Science of Psychology.” Cattell, who worked for decades on intelligence testing, once wrote that “much of mankind is obsolete” and that to continue “the past course of evolution from Australopithecus to Cro-Magnon we need to go beyond ourselves.” Cattell maintained that the “only real advance [in humankind] is going to occur through breeding for brain size.”

Before the award ceremony, critics accused Cattell of

being aligned with fascist ideas, and in early 1998 the APA decided to appoint a five-person, blue-ribbon committee to investigate the entire affair. Before the committee completed its work, Cattell died. No final report was ever issued. Shortly before his death at the age of 92, Cattell issued a letter withdrawing his name from consideration for the award, saying he “abhor[red]” racism and only supported “voluntary eugenics.” Cattell’s daughter, Heather, a California psychologist, told a reporter later that her father “did write some pretty terrible stuff” before World War II, but that he had modified his views later in life.

Like Richard Lynn, Cattell hoped for the “phasing out” of lesser cultures. He spoke of “voluntary self-genocide” and recommended, in a 1972 book, that developed countries allow underdeveloped countries to “go to the wall,” rather than helping these nations when they face famine, genocide or other natural and manmade disasters.

RACE, IQ AND THE DEATH CAMPS

Many of today’s race scientists have reduced exceedingly complex questions about the nature of IQ and moral character to genetic coding — while downplaying experience, education and other environmental factors. “Even a trait that is 100% heritable,” Harvard genetics authority Richard Lewontin has written, “can easily be changed by environmental manipulation.” Jerry Hirsch, one of the world’s leading experts on behavior genetics, says that any set of genes can express a wide range of developmental outcomes.

In contrast to most of those who are pushing the idea of important racial IQ differences, critics of this view are generally far more steeped in laboratory work involving genetics. According to Jonathan Beckwith, a professor of molecular genetics at Harvard University School of Medicine, “If you ask people in the mainstream genetics community, you are not going to find much support for this work.”

“The myth of the all-powerful gene,” adds Harvard biologist and ethicist Ruth Hubbard, “is based on flawed science that discounts the environmental context in which we and our genes exist.”

Ultimately, the arguments of race scientists lead to the edge of a slippery slope toward eugenics — the “improvement” of a race by controlled breeding. In the 1930s and 1940s, Hitler’s scientists fully realized this concept, establishing human breeding farms for “Aryans,” sterilization and euthanasia for the mentally and physically disabled, and death camps for those deemed genetically inferior. In the United States, officials often acting with court sanction sterilized the “retarded.” While most Americans now see such actions as atrocities, the ideas that underlay them have a long history here.

SLAVERY, SEGREGATION AND SCIENCE

Revolutionary thinkers like Thomas Jefferson, seeking to justify their exploitation of other human beings, tried to explain their role as slavemasters in scientific terms. While “all men are created equal,” later 19th-century academics argued, black Africans were not really men at all. They were smaller-brained — an assertion that Glayde Whitney repeats today — and endowed with larger genitals. By the 1830s, American race scientists had developed a full-blown defense of slavery based on this kind of alleged African inferiority.

Even the abolitionist movement was not free from racism. Often, Republicans of the period opposed the extension of slavery simply because they did not want blacks in the new territories. Emancipation, in fact, did not become a war aim until the end of 1862. Thus, it is little wonder that after the Civil War a second system of white supremacy — codified in Jim Crow laws — would emerge. White supremacy was the consensus nationwide.

After World War II and the experience of Nazi eugenics, ideological ascendancy passed to egalitarian thinkers. With the coming of the civil rights movement, from 1954 to 1968, America’s second system of white supremacy collapsed — and with it, widespread support for the race scientists and eugenicists who had provided its ideological underpinning. But even during the height of the egalitarian period, a core group of academic racists continued to argue for the importance of race-based IQ differences and even eugenic solutions — and to train a new generation of race scientists to carry on the torch of scientific racialism.

In 1954, for instance, a key witness defending segregation in court was Henry E. Garrett, who was probably the most influential psychologist of his time, chairman of Columbia University’s psychology department and a one-time president of the American Psychological Association. Had his view prevailed in the *Brown v. Board of Education* ruling, black Americans might still be attending “separate but equal” schools.

BLACK HISTORY AS A ‘BLANK’

In the 1950s and ‘60s, the so-called White Citizens Councils — which today have been reincarnated as the Council of Conservative Citizens (see p. 21) — used the work of Garrett and other race scientists to legitimize their views. Garrett, for one, was happy to lend his prestige to the white supremacist cause.

In a 1968 article in the White Citizens Council’s official publication, Garrett put it plainly enough: “Despite glamorized accounts to the contrary, the history of Black Africa over the past 5,000 years is largely a blank.” He added, “The crime

record of the Negro in the United States is little short of scandalous.” Of the Supreme Court’s *Brown* decision, Garrett said, “Should school desegregation become complete either North or South, we can expect total demoralization and then disorganization in that order.”

By the 1980s, a full-blown culture war was under way. Liberals were accused of controlling the mind and media of the nation, with any dissent from the egalitarian position bringing immediate retribution. Liberals were inquisitors happy to suppress the truth, the scheming architects of “the closing of the American mind.” The conservatives saw themselves as battling the “political correctness” of truth-denying liberals.

Today, as underlined by the Snyderman/Rothman study, the views of those who look to race as a key component of intelligence are dominant within the IQ testing community — even though the same study found that a 47% plurality of magazine and newspaper editors believe that any racial IQ differences are caused entirely by environmental factors. And this ascendancy of race science in academia seems to be leaking increasingly into relatively mainstream forums, with more overt racists using it to legitimize their ideology.

American Renaissance magazine is an example of an organization that presents itself as scientific but actually promotes some of the more virulent racial views. It is led by Jared Taylor, author of a controversial book on race, who last fall argued that for whites, multiculturalism is “nothing more than unilateral disarmament in a dangerous world.” Speakers at the *American Renaissance*

Longtime white supremacist J.B. Stoner, convicted of the 1958 bombing of an Alabama church pastored by a civil rights leader, quotes “scientists” to compare blacks and apes in his publications.



gathering last fall where Taylor spoke included Glayde Whitney, who described blacks as “bigger in bone, smaller in brain,” biologically specialized “primitives” wont to mating with whites.

CASH AND THE COLONIES

Behind the ideas of race scientists for the past half-century, there has been money — and lots of it.

If you scratch the surface of almost any of the prominent race scientists of recent decades, you will find the same well-endowed institution: the Pioneer Fund. Established in 1937 to “improve the character of the American people” by promoting the study of eugenics and the procreation of descendants of the original white colonial stock, Pioneer has funded many of the leading Anglo-American race scientists of the last several decades. These grant recipients have included William Shockley, Hans J. Eysenck, Arthur Jensen, Roger Pearson, Richard Lynn, J. Philippe Rushton, R. Travis Osborne, Linda Gottfredson, Robert A. Gordon, Daniel R. Vining Jr., Michael Levin and Seymour Itzkoff.

The Pioneer Fund’s original endowment came from Wickliffe Draper, scion of old-stock Protestant gentry. Living in what one historian described as a “quasi-feudal manor house,” Draper grew up in Hopedale, Mass., a company town built by his family. After losing a four-month union battle with the left-wing International Workers of the World, Draper became a man obsessively seeking a way to restore the old order.

Abandoned by the political mainstream after World War II, Draper turned more and more to those academics who were still dedicated to race science and eugenics — most prominently, in the early years, Henry Garrett. During the 1950s and ’60s, Garrett helped distribute Pioneer grants and was one of the founders of the International Association for the Advancement of Eugenics and Ethnology (IAAEE) in 1959. The IAAEE brought together academic defenders of segregation in the United States and apartheid in South Africa. The Pioneer Fund also supported a variety of institutions working to legitimize race science, including the IAAEE and the journal, *Mankind Quarterly*.

IN THEIR OWN WORDS

“The mention of eugenics frequently evokes in uneducated people the response, ‘Oh, that’s what Hitler did.’ This accident is the major obstacle to the proper understanding of the goals and methods of eugenics. ... [Eugenics] favors preventing births of those who would inevitably be miserable and incapable of living a normal happy life. It encourages the birth of those able to look after themselves and others, who invent and enrich the culture, who create jobs and who remain independent and self supporting.”

— Raymond B. Cattell
University of Illinois at Champaign-Urbana
The Beyondist (1994)

“[I]n the long run society is faced with a choice between having the population restrained by misery, and having it restrained by conscious restrictions of births. Once the idea of preventing some births is accepted, it will then be natural to discuss the question of which births. It is then very likely that decisions will be based at least partially on preventing the births that are most likely to result in what that society regards as low quality citizens.”

— Edward M. Miller
University of New Orleans
Recent Explorations in Biology and Politics
JAI Press (1997)

“If a nation with a more advanced, more spe-

cialised, or in any way superior set of genes mingles with, instead of exterminating, an inferior tribe, then it commits racial suicide, and destroys the work of thousands of years of biological isolation and natural selection.”

— Roger Pearson
Institute for the Study of Man
Eugenics and Race
Noontide Press (1967)

“If the evolutionary process is to bring its benefits, it has to be allowed to operate effectively. This means that incompetent societies have to be allowed to go to the wall. This is something we in advanced societies do not at present face up to... For instance, the foreign aid which we give to the underdeveloped world is a mistake, akin to keeping going incompetent species like the dinosaurs...”

— Richard Lynn
University of Ulster-Coleraine
Irish Journal of Psychology (1974)

Nationally one-third of [blacks] are involved with the criminal justice system... . An estimate for Washington DC (with black control of politics and police) is that 85% will be arrested at some time; at present rates one in 21 of the bros will be murdered... . I am not making this up! The bros know this. It is they ... who are both the perpetrators and the victims. ... I fear that the same ideological system [egalitarianism] that first ruined soviet agriculture, then ruined soviet society, then ruined the soviet economy (and the soviet union), is now well

along toward ruining American society.”

— Glayde Whitney
Florida State University
Internet posting (1995)

“[W]hy are descendants of European populations throughout the world currently experiencing negative growth while allowing extensive immigration... ? Why also have ideologies been adopted which discourage nationalist and religious sentiments proportional to the degree to which they express concern about such issues? Clearly ideologies can arise which have the paradoxical effect of dramatically decreasing fitness.”

— J. Philippe Rushton
University of Western Ontario
Mankind Quarterly (1987)

“The intellectually well-endowed races, classes and societies have a responsibility for the problems of race mixture, of immigration and exploitation, that have arisen from their exercise of economic and political power. They may hope to escape from these responsibilities by claiming an intellectual and, therefore, moral equality between all races, classes, and societies. But ... this book, step by step, deprive[s] them of the scientific and historical evidence that might support such a comfortable illusion.”

— C.D. Darlington
Human Variations:
The Biopsychology of Age, Race, and Sex
Academic Press (1978)

THE SCIENTISTS

A look at Pioneer grantees is instructive.

Nobel Laureate William Shockley (1910-89), a physicist at Stanford best known for his “voluntary sterilization plan,” received \$188,710 between 1971 and 1978. Arthur Jensen, an educational psychologist focusing on race since 1966, got more than \$1 million in Pioneer grants over three decades. In his famous 1969 attack on Head Start — the early education program that aims to help poor children — Jensen wrote in the prestigious *Harvard Education Review* that the problem with black children was that they had an average IQ of only 85. No amount of social engineering could improve that performance, he claimed, adding that “eugenic foresight” was the only solution.

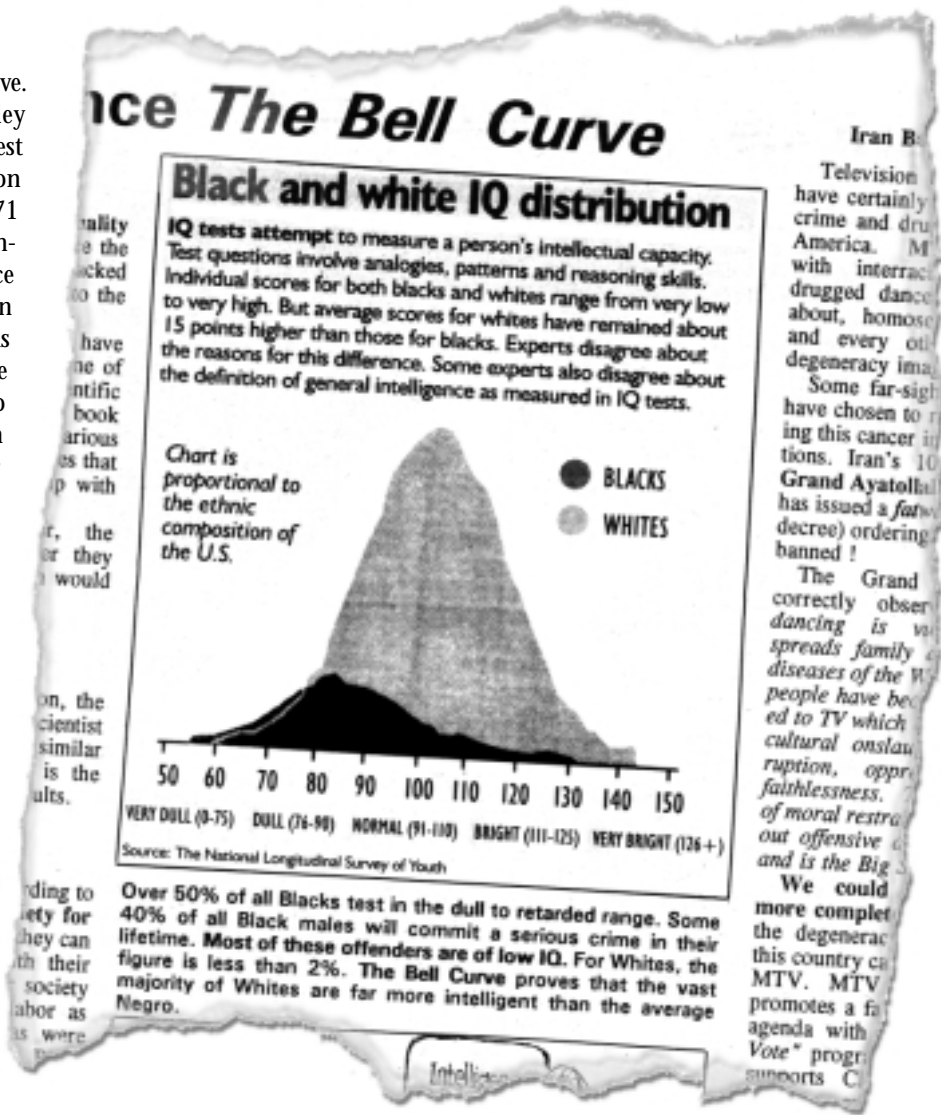
Roger Pearson, whose Institute for the Study of Man has been one of the top Pioneer Fund beneficiaries over the past 20 years (\$870,000 from 1981 to 1996), provides the clearest indication of the extremists supported by the Fund.

Pearson came to the United States in the mid-’60s to join Willis Carto, founder of the anti-Semitic Liberty Lobby. In 1965, he became editor of *Western Destiny*, a magazine established by Carto and dedicated to spreading far-right ideology. Using the pseudonym Stephan Langton, he then became editor of *The New Patriot*, a short-lived magazine published in 1966 and 1967 to conduct “a responsible but penetrating inquiry into every aspect of the Jewish Question.” Its articles carried such titles as “Zionists and the Plot Against South Africa,” “Early Jews and the Rise of Jewish Money Power” and “Swindlers of the Crematoria.”

Pioneer support for all the groups linked to Pearson between 1975 and 1996 amounted to more than \$1 million — nearly 10% of total Pioneer grants in that period.

In more recent decades, University of Western Ontario psychology professor J. Philippe Rushton has replaced Jensen as the top individual beneficiary of Pioneer largesse, receiving more than \$1 million since 1981. Rushton argues that behavioral differences among blacks, whites and Asians are the result of evolutionary variations in their reproductive strategies. Blacks are at one extreme, he claims, because they produce large numbers of offspring but offer them little care; at the other extreme are Asians, who have fewer children but indulge them. Whites lie somewhere in between.

Despite Rushton’s controversial theories — including positing an inverse relationship between brain and



penis size — he has been embraced by the scientific mainstream. He has been made a fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science and is a member of the American, British and Canadian psychological associations.

IDEAS HAVE CONSEQUENCES

The world of the Pioneer Fund goes beyond pure science. For example, Pioneer leaders Harry Weyher and Thomas F. Ellis have been part of an interlocking set of directorates and associations linking the Fund to groups connected to Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.), according to *The Washington Post*. While a Pioneer director, Ellis served as chairman of both the National Congressional Club and the Coalition for Freedom, and co-founder of Fairness in Media — all organizations linked to Helms. In the 1980s, Weyher, the longtime president of the Fund, was simultaneously lead counsel for Fairness in Media.

In recent years, Weyher has said that the Fund is spending down its capital and “once it’s gone, we’ll just quit.” As a result of this policy, by the end of 1996 the Fund’s assets had declined in real terms to less than 40% of their 1986 level.

This extremist publication uses arguments from *The Bell Curve*, a controversial book on race and IQ, to declare that most blacks are in “the dull to retarded range.”

With or without the Pioneer Fund, the debate over genetic racial differences is sure to occupy scholars and others for a long time to come. And this is not a mere ivory tower squabble of little concern to Americans outside academia. Race science has potentially frightening consequences, as is evident not only from the horrors of Nazi Germany, but also from the troubled racial history of the United States.

If white supremacist groups had their way, the United States would return to its dark days. In publication after publication, hate groups are using this “science” to legitimize racial hatred.

In *Calling Our Nation*, the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations publishes a piece by a New York psychologist surveying the work of Jensen, Garrett and numerous others. *National Vanguard*, the publication of former physics professor William Pierce (see p. 10) and his neo-Nazi National Alliance, runs a similar piece that concludes that “it is the Negro’s deficiency ... which kept him in a state

of savagery in his African environment and is now undermining the civilization of a racially mixed America.” Ed Fields, a longtime, virulent racist, uses a review of Charles Murray’s highly controversial book on IQ, *The Bell Curve*, to conclude that “over 50% of all Blacks test in the dull to retarded range.”

But it may be David Duke who sums it up best. “No subject is more controversial than the nature versus nurture debate, and no subject has more direct consequences on society,” he writes. “If heredity is shown to [be] the primary influence on intelligence rather than environment, then racial equality will crumble as a viable concept... .” ▲

Barry Mehler, associate professor of history at Ferris State University in Big Rapids, Mich., is a leading authority on the modern eugenics movement and executive director of the Institute for the Study of Academic Racism (www.ferris.edu/isar).

IQ AND RACE: THE WEB SITES

Under the aegis of “scientific” studies of intelligence, a number of scholars and commentators have argued that there are significant IQ differences between blacks, whites and other races. Here is a list of key Web sites that carry some of these arguments. Although not all of these sites are explicitly racist, many are, and the arguments they promote are used widely by white supremacist groups to legitimize racial hatred.

American Renaissance

www.amren.com

This is the home site of *American Renaissance* magazine, which was founded by Jared Taylor, author of the controversial book, *Paved With Good Intentions: The Failure of Race Relations in Contemporary America*. The site carries articles that include “Is There a Superior Race?” and “The Myth of Diversity.”

Council for Social and Economic Studies Inc.

www.mankind.org

Described as an academic organization, this group offers for sale books and journals including *The Mankind Quarterly*. The council’s Web site carries titles such as “The Evolutionary Function of Prejudice,” “The Problem of Equality” and “Will America Drown? Immigration and the Third World Population Explosion.”

David Duke’s Race Information Library

www.duke.org/library/default.htm

This section of former Klansman David Duke’s huge site includes a multitude of writings covering topics such as “Racial Differences,” “Innate Intellectual and Psychological Differences,” “Racial Differences in Intelligence” and “Race as a Biological Concept.”

Euro-American Students Union

esu.simplenet.com

The Euro-American Students Union promotes student writings and activism on issues related to race and science. Articles and postings on its Web site cover topics ranging from “Jewish Influences” to one woman’s “Call to White Americans.”

Future Generations

www.eugenics.net

A collection of writings from Charles Murray, co-author of *The Bell Curve*, and other academics who focus on supposed race-based IQ differences and eugenics, the science of improving a race stock through selective breeding. Among the site’s assertions is that “the majority of scientists who do research on IQ believe part of the black-white difference is genetic.”

PINC: Politically Incorrect

www.cycad.com/cgi-bin/pinc/index.html

A bimonthly Internet magazine, *PINC* claims to deal honestly with taboo subjects. Recent articles have included “The Old Eugenics vs. The New Eugenics,” “PC and the Crisis of Liberalism” and “The Race Card: White Guilt, Black Resentment.”

Pioneer Fund

www.pioneerfund.org

This is the official Web site of the Pioneer Fund, a nonprofit foundation whose stated purpose is to study “the problems of heredity and eugenics in the human race.” Pioneer has funded the studies of race scientists since its establishment in 1937, and its Web site offers details about past grant recipients and related matters.

Samuel Francis On-line

www.samfrancis.net

Fired from his job as a *Washington Times* columnist for racially inflammatory work, Samuel Francis is a leading right-wing commentator with a heavy interest in race science. His Web site carries Francis columns with titles such as “Racial Reconciliation Threatens National Heritage.”

Stalking the Wild Taboo

www.lrainc.com/swtaboo

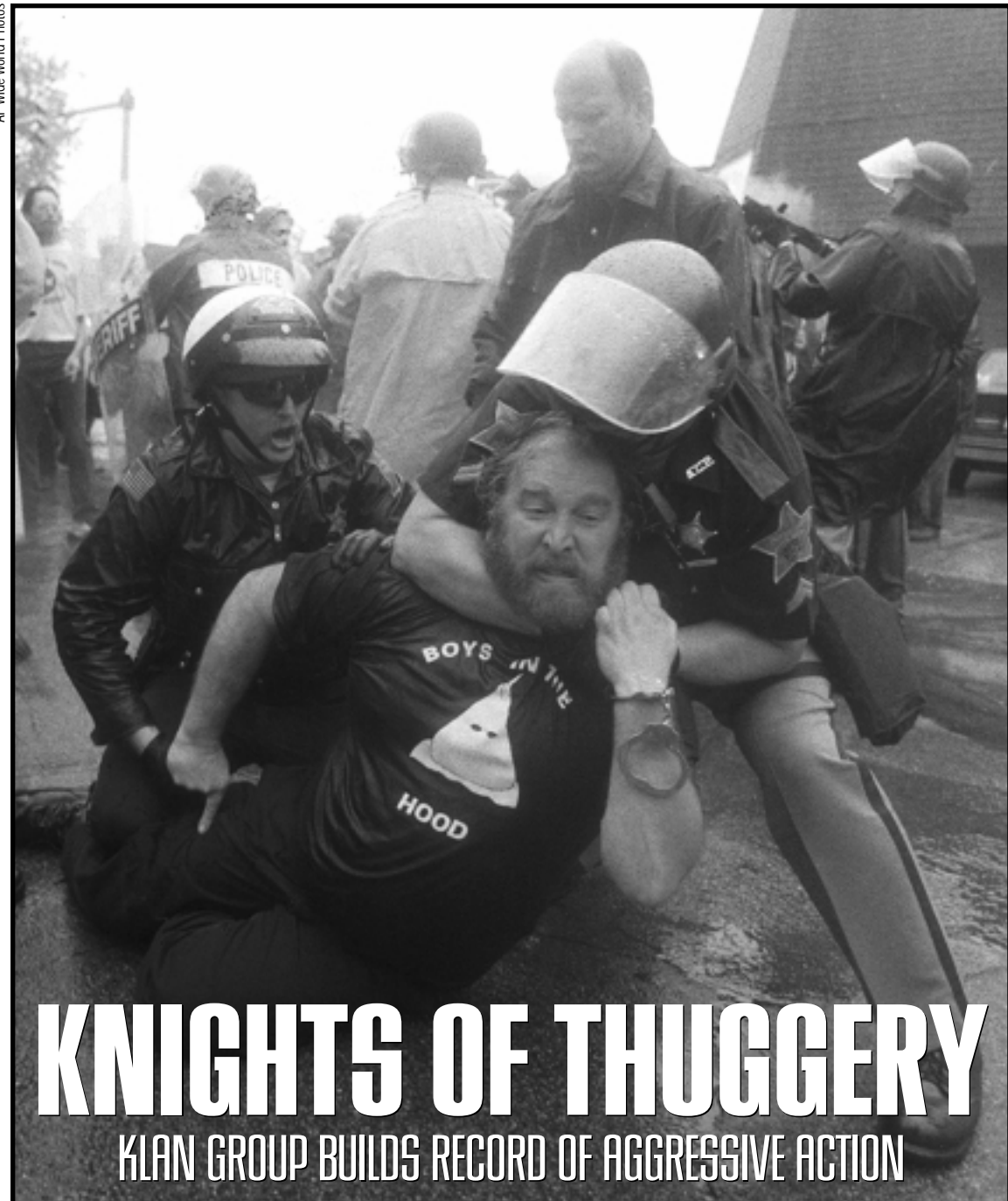
This site offers an immense collection of materials focused on issues of race and science. Its commentaries cover topics ranging from eugenics to multiculturalism, described as “a deliberate device by which the power-hungry can subvert a culture.”

William McDougall NewsLetter

www.crispian.demon.co.uk/McDNLmain.htm

This British-based site offers a weekly newsletter focusing on current events seen through the lens of race. Recent articles have carried such headlines as “European Integrationism: Another Mistake” and “50th Anniversary of Last Big IQ Research in Britain.” ▲

AP Wide World Photos



Jeff Berry, leader of the American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, is wrestled to the ground during an arrest at a 1996 rally in New Castle, Ind. He pleaded guilty to disorderly conduct after prosecutors agreed to drop charges of rioting and resisting police.

They are, to all appearances, an organization of thugs. Bad neighbors. Street fighters. They include rip-off artists and would-be wife-killers. Alleged abusers of infants. Drug informants. One former state leader served two years for the gang rape of a college student. Another leader publicly threatened a massacre if the group were attacked. One alleged member was charged last year with shooting up a black man’s occupied home.

They are the American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

At a time when some Klan organizations are making great efforts to portray themselves as mere white pride civic groups, the American Knights don’t bother. They stand on courthouse steps bellowing racial epithets and attacking everything from Jews to homosexuals to for-

eigners to abortion providers. In their literature, they have described blacks as “primitive, ugly, foul-smelling, jungle savages [who] have polluted America with their ape-like odor and disgusting habits.” Prone to carrying guns, these are Klansmen who speak in obscenity-laced tirades that leave nothing to the imagination.

“We use the hate language,” Jeff Berry, imperial wizard of the American Knights, told the *Intelligence Report*. “Sometimes you have to, to get a point across.”

The American Knights also are the fastest-growing, most aggressive Klan group in America today. From a single unit formed in Butler, Ind., in 1995, they have exploded into at least 27 state chapters today. And their recruiting efforts are continuing apace.

Tear gas filled downtown Memphis after anti-Klan demonstrators clashed with police over the weekend of Martin Luther King Jr.'s birthday in 1998.

The American Knights' growth is remarkable, given that the Klan has been declining in numbers over the last 20 years and is currently split into more than 50 named Klan organizations. Although Berry and other Klan leaders claim tens of thousands of followers, there are probably fewer than 6,000 active Klansmen nationwide. But there are likely many times that number of passive Klan supporters.

JERRY SPRINGER, HALLOWEEN AND THE KLAN

How has Berry — a vulgar man who's racked up a remarkable array of arrests for theft, assaults and a variety of petty crimes — been so successful?

Largely, it seems, by being himself.

While Berry's foul-mouthed speeches and trademark tough-boy style certainly turn off most who hear him, they also earn him in some constituencies an image as a fighting Klansman unafraid to tell it like it is. Even as newspaper editorialists decry the violence his insulting rally speeches provoke in counterdemonstrators, that same violence guarantees publicity that continues to draw in those susceptible to Berry's message.

This is a man who understands the media.

Before agreeing to appear in 1996 on television's trash-talking "Jerry Springer Show," he demanded that the American Knights' telephone number appear on the screen — and Springer agreed. The result, claims Berry's former deputy, was some 6,200 calls seeking membership applications. And while Springer's producers insisted that Berry's number be displayed alongside that of the anti-racist Southern Poverty Law Center, many of those calling the Center seemed confused. They, too, were looking to join up.

There has been other cleverness as well. A favorite tactic in states from Pennsylvania to California has been to grab stacks of free newspapers, repackage them with Klan literature inserted, and toss them onto unsuspecting people's lawns and stoops. Members have concentrated recruiting efforts around high schools with racial divisions. Last fall, leaders in Georgia tried to get around anti-masking laws used to prevent hooded Klansmen in public by planning a rally for Halloween — a day when masks are ubiquitous.

Local officials have repeatedly tried to keep the American Knights from appearing in their towns — usually fruitlessly, as the First Amendment unequivocally protects their rights to engage in hateful speech. Sometimes, these efforts have backfired dramatically.

AN ILLINOIS TOWN CAVES IN

Last March, Berry's group filed a lawsuit against the Chicago suburb of Cicero, Ill., after officials moved to deny a parade permit. Led by Cicero Town President Betty Loren-Maltese, the officials got the suit dismissed — and the rally canceled — after coming up with a \$10,000 anonymous donation to be used to mail out Klan literature to all town residents. What the town sought to avoid was a hefty bill for security at the rally. What it got was a national reputation for having caved



Alan Spearman/The (Memphis) Commercial Appeal

in shamelessly to Klan extortion.

The American Knights did get the \$10,000, according to Worth H. Weller, who co-authored a new anti-Klan book, *Under the Hood*, with Berry's former Indiana leader, Brad Thompson (DeWitt Books). But Berry never bothered to send the literature out, according to Thompson. Berry apparently got the money, he says, and national publicity to boot.

No potential tactic is ignored by these Klansmen.

Even as Berry and other leaders attack blacks and others in language most newspapers refuse to print, they will occasionally portray themselves as a high-minded civil rights group for whites. In Yukon, Penn., then-state leader and convicted gang rapist Ed Foster made headlines by promising to fight a planned "toxic waste dump" — a campaign decry by other dump opponents whose own efforts were being hijacked.

Kay Ryan, who took over as Pennsylvania grand dragon after Foster quit in a fit of pique to form his own Klan group, boasted last fall of helping a 76-year-old white woman clean up her house in response to a citation. "We feel that the elderly is the most precious natural resource that we have," a sanctimonious Ryan said last year. "We're asking our people to take one hour a week and spend it with an elderly person."

Berry can sound that note, too. "We're a civil rights group for white people," he told the *Report*. "I admire Martin Luther King. He fought and died for his people's rights, and that's probably what I'm going to do — die for my people's rights."

'WIPING OUT' THE CHILDREN

But above all, there have been the rallies.

Tirelessly, Berry's followers have trooped from state

to state and city to city, holding forth in town squares and on courthouse steps. While most Klan groups might demonstrate once every few months at most, the American Knights are somewhere on virtually every weekend. Almost everywhere, they've been met with angry counterdemonstrators. And almost everywhere, they've managed to reap a rich crop of publicity as a result.

Two summers ago in Ann Arbor, Mich., Klan protesters hurled rocks at Berry and his followers, opening the scalp of Berry's wife, Edna. Berry sued the city for \$8 million and won headlines around the Midwest. In October 1997, the Knights marched in Asheville, N.C., and again were pelted with rocks. Delighted with publicity depicting a downtown war, local leader Robert Moore scheduled another Asheville rally. But he had a warning: His Klansmen would be coming armed next time, and if a single rock were thrown "it won't take us but 88 seconds to wipe out what's standing across the street, and God forbid if there's any children there." Officials used that threat to deny a parade permit.

In January 1998, epithet-spewing American Knights demonstrated again, this time on the weekend of the birthday of Martin Luther King Jr. — in Memphis, where King was shot in 1968. After anti-Klan demonstrators attacked police and broke shop windows, more than 25 were arrested as tear gas filled downtown. Now, the publicity was national.

The list goes on, but the tactic has remained the same. Bring a few Klansmen to town. From behind secure police lines, insult whoever is within shouting distance and then stand back as the crowd erupts. Give interviews freely. And head for the hills.

These members of the American Knights are men with a message. And in many cases, they are men with

a history — a history inscribed on criminal rap sheets. Consider the case of the imperial wizard.

RIP-OFFS, BEATINGS AND GUNS

In 1994, Berry was charged with ripping off an elderly Indiana neighbor. Prosecutors said he took \$1,050 from Virginia Cook to replace her roof, but never did the work. Berry also allegedly was paid \$467 for plumbing work — far in excess of its value — and \$400 for a used water heater she had already paid him for. And Cook supposedly paid him \$1,600 to fix her car. But relatives soon put Cook in a nursing home and that work was never done. Berry was facing three counts of theft and one of home improvement fraud.

By the time the case came to trial, Cook had died. And, as it turned out, Berry had become a drug informant for local authorities. Prosecutor Monte Brown dropped three of the charges after telling the court Berry's work led to 160 drug buys and the arrest of 70 people. Convicted of the remaining felony theft charge, Berry was given a three-year suspended sentence and ordered to serve three years' probation.

Two years later, on Feb. 20, 1996, Berry was charged with two counts of battery after a man who had rented a house from him told police Berry had beaten him twice after he tried to recoup money Berry owed him. Berry's son, Anthony, also allegedly threatened the man with a rifle. Immediately after the charges were filed, authorities raided the Berrys' home and seized marijuana, drug paraphernalia and six guns, including a MAC-90 semi-automatic rifle. Convicted felons such as Jeff Berry are not allowed to own weapons.

The next month, Jeff Berry was arrested again on a felony warrant for receiving stolen property — also in connection with allegations made by Berry's former tenant, Frank Larry Head. Officials moved to revoke his felony after each of these arrests and a third, when he was charged, along with six other Klansmen, with obstruction of traffic, rioting, disorderly conduct and resisting police at a June Klan rally in New Castle, Ind.

Berry pleaded guilty in the New Castle case to obstruction of traffic and disorderly conduct in October 1996, after prosecutors agreed to drop the two other charges.

But Berry's former tenant later withdrew his allegations in the battery and stolen property cases, and prosecutors were forced to drop those charges. In the end, after a series of court delays, officials abandoned all efforts to revoke Berry's probation.

KLANSMEN MAKE POOR NEIGHBORS

Arrest records are not public documents, and it's unclear if Berry may have had other arrests — but he implied as much in his interview with the *Report*. "Most of my criminal history was, like, getting in fights," he said. "Any time you're in [a Klan] organization ... they're going to drum up charges against you. And if you don't have the money, then you'll plea bargain. ... I'm not going



North Carolina leader Robert Moore (with megaphone) threatened a massacre if anti-Klan demonstrators threw rocks at his followers. Officials denied a parade permit to his group in 1998 based on his threat of armed violence.

to sit here and tell you all of them were false charges. I regret what I've done, and I apologize. But none of them was [sic] hate crimes."

Berry's family has had its legal troubles, as well.

A long-running dispute with a neighboring family heated up on Aug. 1, 1995, when Edna Berry, despite a protective order forbidding such conduct, allegedly yelled at Barbara Scott that she would "shove them [expletive] binoculars up your [expletive]." Nine days later, Anthony Berry violated the same protective order by yelling at Scott. While Edna was acquitted, her son avoided trial by promising no further crimes for six months.

In November 1995, Anthony Berry, then 20, punched a 17-year-old boy in the face during a Klan rally in Auburn, Ind. After pleading guilty, he was given a one-year suspended sentence and six months' probation and ordered to have no guns outside his home.

The following spring, Anthony, an official in his father's Klan group, was in trouble again. After moving in with a woman he met at a Klan rally, he was accused of felony battery of the woman's 10-month-old infant. Doctors found bite marks on the child that matched Anthony's teeth after its grandparents took the infant to

a hospital. Jeff Berry said recently that the charge, punishable by three years in prison, was still pending.

And then there are Berry's deputies.

THE RAP SHEETS

- Ed Foster, Berry's Pennsylvania leader until October 1997, led a gang rape of a 19-year-old college student in 1969. After the attack, Foster ran a pool cue through the woman's dog and torched her car. He served two years for the assault.

A former motorcycle gang member with "Born to Lose" tattooed on a forearm, Foster reacted with typical fury when a slaughterhouse he planned to convert into a Klan church was burned in 1997. "Whoever burned this down, I'm gonna kill," he said. "They're dead. They're murdered. Their families are dead. We are going to burn their houses down."

A short time later, he nearly ran down a television crew with his car.

- Michael McQueeney, until recently Berry's Wisconsin state leader, was sentenced in 1988 to six years in prison for conspiring to murder his ex-wife Audra Moe. McQueeney first paid his co-conspirators in Illinois to break Moe's legs with a baseball bat and then, when

that failed, to shoot her on two different occasions. On the last attempt, Moe was shot in the face but lived. In 1997, McQueeney, who split with Berry in 1998, was charged with intentionally receiving stolen property in connection with the theft of a snow plow. Last year, a judge granted a restraining order prohibiting him from harassing a family.

- Thomas Robert Moore, leader of a North Carolina chapter, has been charged with assault to inflict serious injury; simple assault; injury to personal property; impeding traffic; resisting arrest and violating a noise ordinance after allegedly firing a gun at a rally. For reasons ranging from insufficient evidence to failure of a witness to appear, most of these charges were eventually dismissed. In 1997, Moore threatened "another Greensboro" if stones were thrown at his group at a return engagement rally planned for Asheville, N.C. Five anti-Klan protesters were killed by Klansmen in Greensboro, N.C., in 1979.

- Ricky Linville, another North Carolina chapter leader, was found guilty in late 1997 with his wife, Linda, of communicating threats in an incident involving an interracial couple living next door. Both Linvilles were given 45-day suspended sentences and a year of probation. In 1992, Ricky Linville also drew a six-month suspended sentence and three years' probation for shoplifting. He also has been found innocent or had charges dismissed after being arrested for assault with a deadly weapon; simple assault; possession of marijuana; and shoplifting in an incident unrelated to his earlier conviction.

- Jimmy Ray Shelton, Berry's national security chief, was given a 45-day suspended sentence and five years' probation after a Klan rally in North Carolina last August. Police found a concealed 9mm handgun and a shotgun in his car. Earlier in 1998, Shelton was charged with assaulting a woman. That case was outstanding at press time.

- J.J. Jones, North Carolina state leader, was arrested at a 1997 rally in North Carolina for being a fugitive on an outstanding check fraud warrant from Virginia.

'THE GARBAGE MAN'

More serious cases have come up as well.

Last spring, Jacob Wayne Stull, a 20-year-old supposed American Knights member and Shelton associate, was arrested for allegedly firing an AK-47 into the home of a black family living in a white North Carolina neighborhood. Isaiah Edgerton, his wife, a friend and a 2-year-old girl were present when at least 10 shots hit their mobile home, but no one was hit. Another man riding in Stull's vehicle at the time was also arrested.

Stull has been charged with conspiracy to commit murder; discharging a firearm into an occupied dwelling; possession of weapons of mass destruction; and a variety of other crimes including drug possession and dealing. Police found an arsenal of weapons, along with Klan and Nazi propaganda, when they raided Stull's home after the attack.

To Brad Thompson, who renounced the Klan and racism before going on to co-author his book about the American Knights, Jeff Berry is a simple opportunist. Berry, he says, runs his group as a moneymaking operation, raking in \$20 application fees, "lease" fees for Klan robes and other organizational money for his own personal use.

Thompson alleges that Berry has used some of this money to buy a new pickup truck, a trailer and a dragster decorated with a long-standing Klan symbol; thousands of dollars in stereo and sound studio equipment; a hot tub; and various home improvements.

Hogwash, retorts Berry. "I just have good credit, that's all."

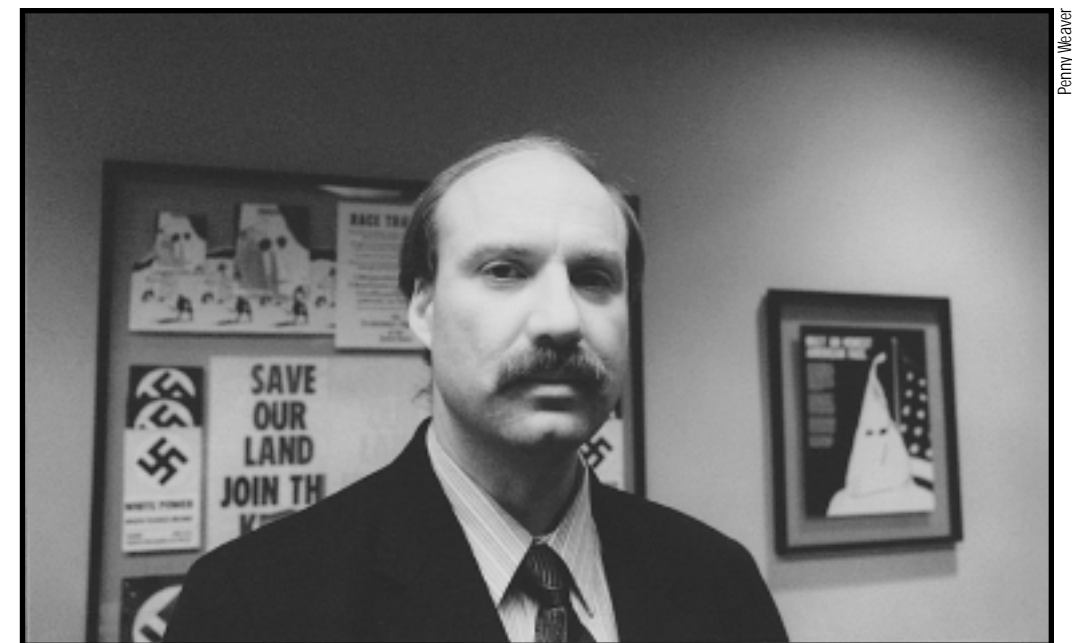
Thompson also alleges that the American Knights had an inner circle of Klansmen deeply involved in drugs — the "420 Club," which he says refers to a "four-finger" bag of marijuana that sells for \$20. He says that this group of ranking members — which he adds does not include Berry — also used methamphetamines, LSD and other drugs.

But Berry says these people all have long since left his group.

In fact, he insists, so have all those with whom he's had disagreements. Thompson was a drunk who had to be gotten rid of. Foster was a Nazi (although Berry knew this full well when Foster was in the group) and, after all, "Hitler was a scumbag," Berry has done so many housecleanings, he says, that his confederates have given him a nickname.

"They call me," he says without irony, "the garbage man." ▲

Brad Thompson, the former Indiana state leader for the American Knights who recently renounced racism, says Jeff Berry is an opportunist who runs his Klan organization as a moneymaking operation.



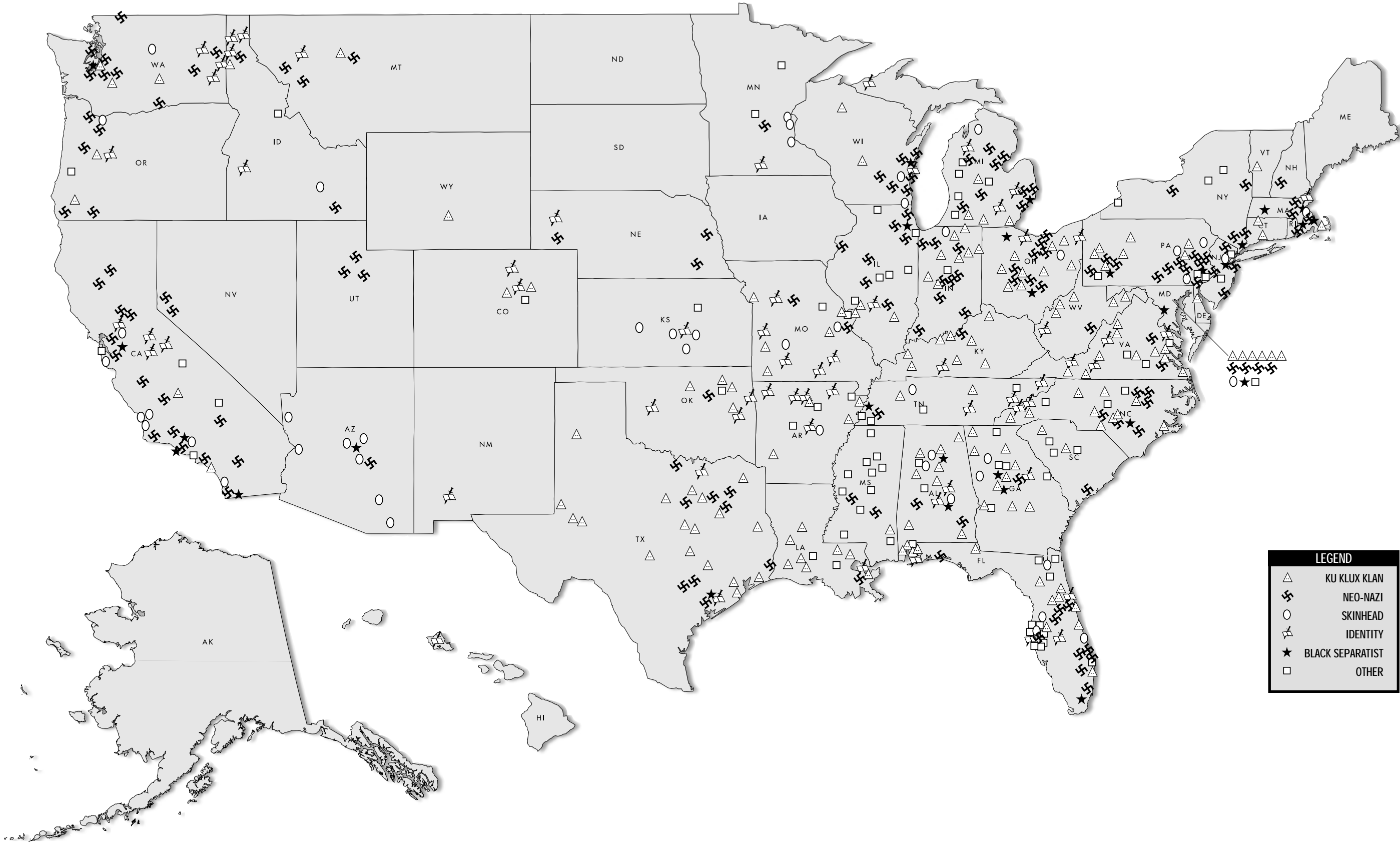
Penny Weaver

ACTIVE HATE GROUPS IN THE UNITED STATES IN 1998

BY STATE	
ALABAMA	25
ARIZONA	9
ARKANSAS	13
CALIFORNIA	36
COLORADO	5
CONNECTICUT	2
DELAWARE	1
DC	1
FLORIDA	38
GEORGIA	20
HAWAII	1
IDAHO	9
ILLINOIS	17
INDIANA	19
KANSAS	6
KENTUCKY	10
LOUISIANA	12
MARYLAND	13
MASSACHUSETTS	10
MICHIGAN	24
MINNESOTA	7
MISSISSIPPI	14
MISSOURI	17
MONTANA	5
NEBRASKA	4
NEVADA	2
NEW HAMPSHIRE	1
NEW JERSEY	7
NEW MEXICO	1
NEW YORK	8
NORTH CAROLINA	22
OHIO	22
OKLAHOMA	9
OREGON	10
PENNSYLVANIA	27
RHODE ISLAND	1
SOUTH CAROLINA	6
TENNESSEE	12
TEXAS	31
UTAH	3
VERMONT	1
VIRGINIA	19
WASHINGTON	17
WEST VIRGINIA	7
WISCONSIN	12
WYOMING	1

KLAN	163
NEO-NAZI	151
RACIST SKINHEADS	48
IDENTITY	62
BLACK SEPARATIST	29
OTHER	84

TOTAL 537



ACTIVE HATE GROUPS IN THE U.S. IN 1998

This list of active hate groups is based on information gathered by the Intelligence Project from hate groups' publications, citizens' reports, law enforcement agencies, field sources and news reports. Only organizations known to be active in 1998, whether that activity included marches, rallies, speeches, meetings, leafleting, publishing literature or criminal acts, were counted in the listing. Entities that appear to exist only in cyberspace are not included because they are likely to be individual Web publishers who like to portray themselves as powerful, organized groups. This listing contains all known chapters of hate organizations. If the group has a known headquarters, it appears first in the listing of the group's chapters.

Groups are categorized as Klan, Neo-Nazi, Skinhead, Christian Identity, Black Separatist and Other. Only racist Skinheads are included in the Skinhead tally. Because Skinheads are migratory and often not affiliated with groups, this listing understates their numbers. Christian Identity describes a religion that is fundamentally racist and anti-Semitic. Black Separatist groups describes organizations whose ideologies include tenets of racially based hatred. The Other category includes groups and publishing houses endorsing a hodgepodge of hate doctrines.

A map on pages 38-39 indicates the location of groups and chapters. For further information, please contact the Intelligence Project.

KU KLUX KLAN

Alabama White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Semmes, AL
Clanton, AL
Jasper, AL
Little River, AL
Satsuma, AL
Shelby, AL
Summerdale, AL

America's Invisible Empire Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Hartselle, AL
Cottonwood, AL
Cullman County, AL
Rome, GA
Kentucky
Alexandria, LA
Tulsa, OK

American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Butler, IN
Emmet, AR
Victor, CA
Bear, DE
Gainesville, GA
Warner Robins, GA
Auburn, IN
Goshen, IN
Baltimore, MD
Clinton, MD
Rising Sun, MD
Timonium, MD
Nixa, MO
Lucedale, MS
Denton, NC
Elkin, NC
Pilot Mountain, NC
Stella, NC
East Liverpool, OH
Old Washington, OH
Wooster, OH
Pittsburgh, PA

Rural Ridge, PA

Arlington, TX

Atlanta, TX

Odessa, TX

Mercer, WI

Aryan Christian Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Brown Summitt, NC

Bayou Patriots Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Walker, LA

Bedford Forrest Brigade

Gainesville, FL

Bell Kounty Koon Klub

Bell County, KY

Christian Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Mt. Holly, NC

Charlotte, NC

West Columbia, SC

Confederate Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Henderson, NC

Lexington, KY

Craig Springs, VA

Sandstone, VA

Dixieland White Knights

Burleson, TX

Fiery Cross Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Richmond, VA

Green Mountain Knights

Poultney, VT

Imperial Klans of America, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Powderly, KY

Adams, WI

International Keystone Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Johnstown, PA

Parkin, AR

Davie, FL

Indiana

Bechtelsville, PA

Enoree, SC

Tennessee

Washington

Invincible Empire Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Hancock, MD

Rocky Ridge, MD

Berkeley Springs, WV

Falling Waters, WV

Invisible Empire Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Forestville, CT

Louisville, KY

Invisible Empire, Indiana Ku Klux Klan

Knox, IN

Invisible Empire, Pennsylvania Ku Klux Klan

Punxsutawney, PA

JWS Militant Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Georgia

Klinton Kounty Knights

Centralia, IL

Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (Thom Robb's group)

Harrison, AR

St. Louis, MO

Hilliard, OH

Waco, TX

Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (offshoot group)

Duson, LA

Newport Beach, CA

Redan, GA

Wood River, IL

North Salem, IN

Louisville, KY

Iota, LA

Hyannis, MA

Hudson, MI

Waters, MI

Humansville, MO

Rosman, NC

Columbus, OH

Niles, OH

Porter, OK

Tulsa, OK

Grants Pass, OR

Falmouth, VA

Sealston, VA

Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (undetermined factions)

Luxora, AR

Kathleen, FL

Pisgah Forrest, NC

Reading, PA

Stephens City, VA

Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Southern Brotherhood

Atlanta, GA

Knights of the White Kamellia

Vidor, TX

Point Clear, AL

Alamonte Springs, FL

Casselberry, FL

Atlanta, GA

Meraux, LA

Pine Prairie, LA

St. Amant, LA

Scott, LA

Caledonia, MI

Lambertville, MI

Leslie, MO

Bellbrook, OH

Bellfontaine, OH

Stillwater, OK

Austin, TX

Canyon Lake, TX

Mauriceville, TX

Newton, TX

Splendora, TX

Waco, TX

Chesterfield, VA

Grafton, WV

Missouri Federation of Klans, Inc.

St. Louis, MO

National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

South Bend, IN

Littleton, CO

New Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Sanford, FL

New Order Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Overland, MO

Ohio

Texas

Virginia Beach, VA

North Georgia Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Rossville, GA

Hogansville, GA

Northwest Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Coeur d'Alene, ID

Great Falls, MT

Oregon

Seattle, WA

Tacoma, WA

Wyoming

Nutmeg Knights

Meriden, CT

Order of the Ku Klux Klan

Rockville, IN

Rangers of the Cross, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Watkins, CO

Rebel Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Woolwine, VA

Martinsville, VA

Southern Cross Militant Knights

Valley Head, AL

Southern Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Monticello, FL

Templar Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Port St. Lucie, FL

Owensboro, KY

Third State Empire

Deland, FL

Tri-State Knights Riders of the Ku Klux Klan

Florence, KY

U S Klans Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Camden, TN

Union Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Butler, PA

United Confederate Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Dallas, TX

Odessa, TX

United Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Fort Worth, TX

White Camelia Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Cleveland, TX

Midland, TX

White Shield Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Parkersburg, WV

Vienna, WV

NEO-NAZI

American National Socialist Party

Cowarts, AL

Yukon, PA

Aryan Mothers Inspiring Something Hopeful

New Holland, PA

Aryan Nations/Church of Jesus Christ Christian

Hayden Lake, ID

Mesa, AZ

Rock Island, IL

Warren, MI

New Vienna, OH

Medford, OR

Merlin, OR

Birdsboro, PA

Dallastown, PA

Aryan Racial Loyalist Party

Lakewood, OH

Central New York White Pride

Syracuse, NY

Christian Defense League

Arabi, LA

Euro-American Alliance

Milwaukee, WI

European American Educational Association

Eastpoint, MI

Fascist Action Group

Boca Raton, FL

German American Nationalist PAC

Pensacola, FL

Knights of Freedom

Walpole, MA

Alabama

Bakersfield, CA

Crown Point, IN

Huntington, IN

Portage, MI

Sedalia, MO

Great Falls, MT

Washington, NH

Eatontown, NJ

Ocean City, NJ

McKinney, TX

Salt Lake City, UT

Sullivan, WI

National Alliance

Hillsboro, WV

Alleghany, CA

Sacramento, CA

Apopka, FL

Boca Raton, FL

Orlando, FL

Tampa, FL

Chicago, IL

Crown Point, IN

Indianapolis, IN

Boston, MA

Baltimore, MD

Cumberland, MD

Hagerstown, MD

Midland, MI

St. Louis, MO

Charlotte, NC

Elon College, NC

Raleigh, NC

Siler City, NC

Kimball, NE

Hewitt, NJ

Reno, NV

Peekskill, NY

Cleveland, OH

Hilliard, OH

North Royalton, OH

Parma, OH

Fairless Hills, PA

Philadelphia, PA

Pittsburgh, PA

Austin, TX

Fort Worth, TX

Houston, TX

Newport News, VA

National Socialist German Workers Party

Lincoln, NE

National Socialist Irish Workers Party

Bethlehem, PA

National Socialist Movement

Minneapolis, MN

Cowarts, AL

Westminster, CA

Columbus, OH

National Socialist Vanguard

Goldendale, WA

National Socialist White People's Party

San Antonio, TX

Malad, ID

Cicero, IL

Clarksville, IN

Caledonia, MI

Pinconning, MI

Warren, MI

Collinsville, MS

Omaha, NE

Raleigh, NC

Portland, OR

King of Prussia, PA

Kirkwood, PA

Bristol, RI

Charleston, SC

Arlington, TX

Azle, TX

Tyler, TX

Salt Lake City, UT

Sandy, UT

Arlington, VA

Spokane, WA

Nazi Party USA

Memphis, TN

New Order

Milwaukee, WI

Reichsfolk

Auburn, IN

Volksfront

Salem, OR

Portland, OR

White Aryan Legion

Louisville, KY

White Aryan Resistance

Fallbrook, CA

Catoosa, OK

World Church of the Creator

Murphysboro, IL

Auburn, CA

Carmichael, CA

Citrus Heights, CA

Sandpoint, ID
Artisan Publishers
 Muskogee, OK
Bible Restoration Ministries Inc.
 Royal Oak, MI
Christ United Covenant Church
 Point Clear, AL
Christ's Gospel Fellowship
 Spokane, WA
Christian Bible Ministries
 Christiansburg, VA
Christian Crusade for Truth
 Deming, NM
Christian Guard
 East Ridge, TN
Christian House Ministries
 Largo, FL
Christian Israel Church
 Wayne, WV
Christian Israelite Covenant Church
 Colville, WA
Christian Research
 Eureka Springs, AR
Christian Separatist Church Society
 Kodak, TN
Church of Christ in Israel
 Munising, MI
Church of God
 Anadarko, OK
Church of Israel
 Schell City, MO
Church of Jesus Christ
 Harrison, AR
Church of True Israel
 Polson, MT
Crusade for Christ
 Little Rock, AR
Cyrus Ministries
 Garland, TX
Destiny Publishers
 Merrimac, MA
Destiny Research Foundation
 Salem, OR
Elohim City
 Muldrow, OK
Faith Baptist Church and Ministry
 Houston, MO
Fellowship of God's Covenant People
 Terrace Park, OH
Gabriel's Enterprises
 Albert Lea, MN
God's Remnant Church
 Boring, OR

Gospel Broadcasting Association
Houston, TX

Gospel Foundation
Coarsegold, CA

Gospel Ministries
Boise, ID

Gospel of Christ Kingdom Church
Hayden Lake, ID

Identity Christian Fellowship
Collinsville, IL

JHM Baptist/Identity Church
Apple Valley, CA

Jubilee
Midpines, CA

Keys to the Kingdom Church
St. Augustine, FL

Kingdom Identity Ministries
Harrison, AR

Kingdom Ministry
Lawrenceville, GA

Land of Peace
Prattville, AL

Lord's Work
Austin, KY

Melchizedek Vigilance
Denver, CO

Ministry of Christ Church
Mariposa, CA

Mission to Israel
Scottsbluff, NE

New Beginnings
Waynesville, NC

New Christian Crusade Church
Metairie, LA

New Covenant Christian Fellowship
Wichita, KS

Noah's Books
Lakeview, MO

Old Order Israelite Brethren
Mountain View, AR

Our Savior's Church
Gainesville, MO

Proclaim Liberty Ministry
Adrian, MI

Remnant of Israel
Opportunity, WA

Restoration Bible Church
Berkeley, MI

Revelation Books
Staunton, VA

Sacred Truth Ministries
Mountain City, TN

Scriptures for America Ministries
LaPorte, CO

Shepherd's Chapel
Sebring, FL

Son Light
Kearney, MO

Spiral Path Learning Center/Vision 20/20
Eclectic, AL

Stone Kingdom Ministries
Asheville, NC

Virginia Christian Israelites
Round Hill, VA

Virginia Publishing Company
Lynchburg, VA

Wisconsin Church of Israel
Appleton, WI

BLACK SEPARATIST

House of David
New York, NY
Inglewood, CA
Atlanta, GA
Brockton, MA
New Bedford, MA

Nation of Islam
Chicago, IL
Birmingham, AL
Montgomery, AL
Phoenix, AZ
Los Angeles, CA
Richmond, CA
San Diego, CA
Washington, DC
Miami, FL
Atlanta, GA
Boston, MA
Springfield, MA
Baltimore, MD
Detroit, MI
Durham, NC
Plainfield, NJ
Columbus, OH
Toledo, OH
Philadelphia, PA
Pittsburgh, PA
Memphis, TN
Houston, TX
Seattle, WA
Milwaukee, WI

OTHER

14 Word Press
St. Maries, ID

88 Enterprises
Canton, OH

Aernfolk/Eagles Reaches
Dunedin, FL

All-American Boys
Anoka, MN

ALPHA
Philadelphia, PA

America First Party
Palm Beach, FL

American Front
Harrison, AR

Anglo-European American Society
Largo, FL
Michigan
New York

Aryan Book Center
Decatur, IL

Aryan Brotherhood Supreme White Power
Woodstock, IL

Aryan Graphics
Decatur, IL

Aryan International Movement
Los Angeles, CA

Aryan Pride
Eugene, OR

Avengical Press
Bloomington, MI

Blood Bond
Waters, MI

Celtic Cross Press
Fair Lawn, NJ

Council of Conservative Citizens
St. Louis, MO
Alabama (central)
Tanner, AL
Little Rock, AR
California
Tampa Bay, FL
Georgia (north)
Augusta, GA
Chicago, IL
Indiana
Louisiana
Baton Rouge, LA
Calhoun, MS
Chickasaw County, MS
Grenada County, MS
Holly Springs, MS
Jackson, MS
Leflore County, MS
Vaiden, MS
Webster, MS
Clemmons, NC
Morganton, NC
New York
Tulsa, OK
Philadelphia, PA
Aiken County, SC
Saluda, SC
West Columbia, SC
Knoxville, TN
Memphis, TN
Nashville, TN

Falls Church, VA
Richmond, VA
Crusade Against Corruption
Marietta, GA
Day of the Rope Productions
Berlin, NJ
Founders Club
Bradenton, FL
MSR Productions
Wheat Ridge, CO
NAAWP Florida Chapter Inc.
Eagle Lake, FL
National Association for the
Advancement of White People
Callahan, FL
Blytheville, AR
San Francisco, CA
Atlantic Beach, FL
Jacksonville, FL
Tampa, FL
Hogansville, GA
Honolulu, HI
Dearborn Heights, MI
Garden City, MI
Hazelhurst, MS
McComb, MS
Thorndale, PA
Nationalist Movement
Learned, MS
New Order
Wood River, IL
Occidental Pan-Aryan Crusader
Richmond, VA
Odin Saves Ministry
Champaign, IL
Panzerfaust Records
Newport, MN
Racial Nationalist Party of
America
Lockport, NY
Resistance Records
Etiwanda, CA
Southern National Party
Memphis, TN
SS Regalia
Edgewater, MD
Tampa Freedom Center
Tampa, FL
Truth At Last
Marietta, GA
United Strike
St. Peters, MO
Westboro Baptist Church
Topeka, KS
White Liberation Message
Line
Mobile, AL
WhiteSounds
Greensboro, NC

Hate Groups on the Internet

Back

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Search

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Images

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Security

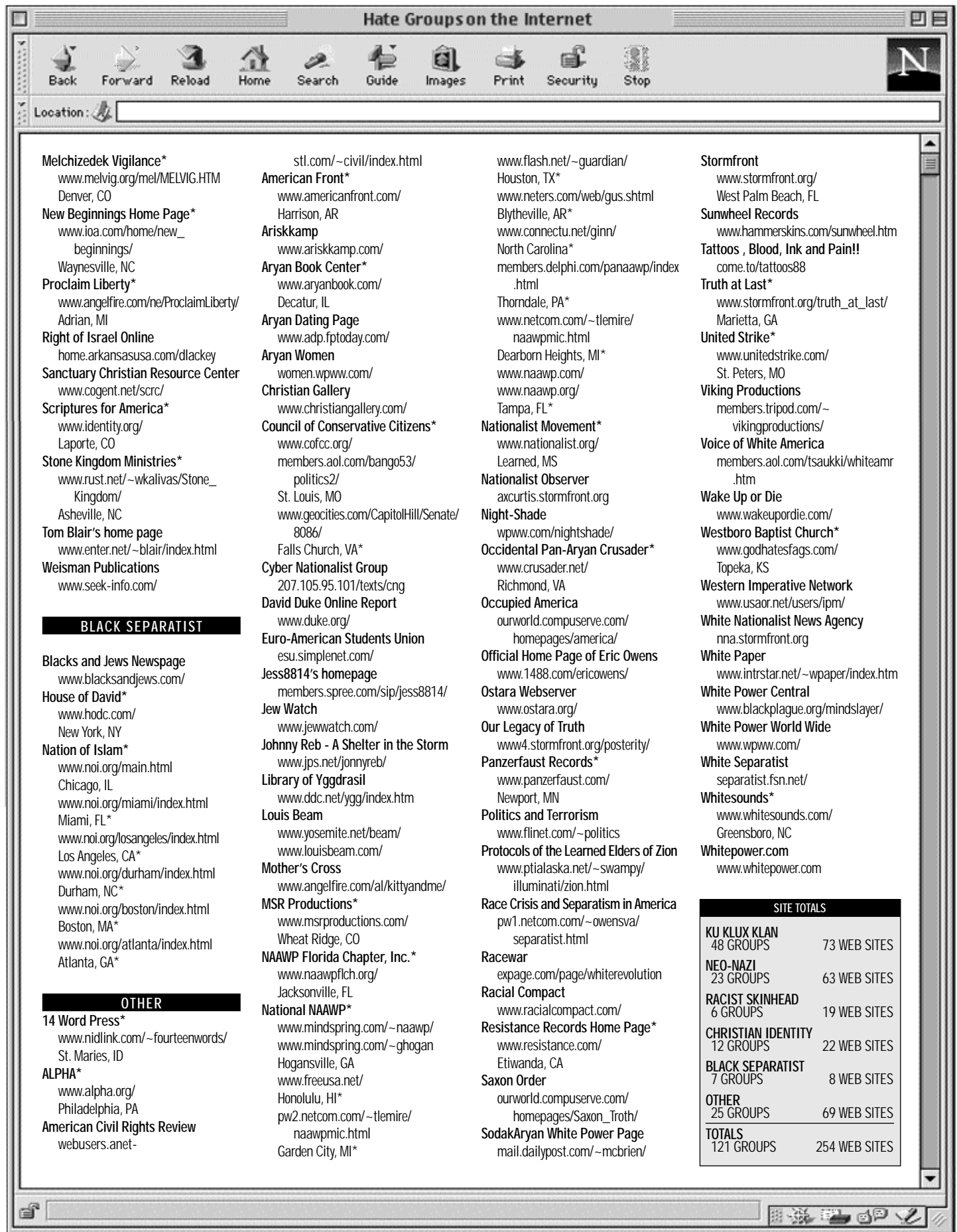
Stop

Location:

HATE GROUPS ON THE INTERNET

This list of hate sites on the World Wide Web includes pages linked to Klan, neo-Nazi, racist Skinhead, Christian Identity, black separatist and other hate groups. Pages were current in early 1999, but sites tend to move from server to server or shut down without notice so they may be hard to locate. Sites that are indicated with an asterisk represent those linked to groups that actively promote hate beyond the mere publishing of Internet material (see also hate group listing, p. 40). Almost half of the sites listed this year are linked to groups.

<p>KU KLUX KLAN</p> <p>Alabama White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*</p> <p>members.aol.com/alabamakkk/politics/ www.gulfnet.com/~kimheads/Semmes, AL members.delphi.com/awk1/index.html Clanton, AL*</p> <p>America's Invisible Empire Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*</p> <p>www.aimnet.net/niterider/ www.aimnet.net/dixierose/ Hartselle, AL www.bardstown.com/~equalzr/Kentucky*</p> <p>American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*</p> <p>www.imperium.net/~eastmje/ www.americanknights.com/ www.voicenet.com/~cej2/index.htm Butler, IN www.angelfire.com/oh/ revhoggakkkk/index.html Old Washington, OH*</p> <p>BamaBoy's Volksmund</p> <p>members.delphi.com/bamaboy14w/index.html</p> <p>Beaumont Alliance of the Ku Klux Klan</p> <p>www.angelfire.com/tv/BAKKK/</p> <p>Imperial Klans of America, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*</p> <p>www.kkkk.net/ Powderly, KY</p> <p>International Keystone Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*</p> <p>www.delphi.com/keystones/ www.angelfire.com/pa/keystones/ Johnstown, PA www.angelfire.com/ar/arkeystone/ Parkin, AR* members.delphi.com/ayak/index.html Auburn, IN* members.delphi.com/beavis311/ind</p>	<p>ex.html Tennessee* www.angelfire.com/wa/krealm1/Washington*</p> <p>Invisible Empire Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*</p> <p>www.mindspring.com/~kec74/KKK.html Louisville, KY</p> <p>#KKK - Via DALnet Chat Network</p> <p>wpwww.com/irc/dalnet/KKK/</p> <p>JWS Militant Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*</p> <p>www.mindspring.com/~awol/jwsknights.html Georgia</p> <p>Klan and Country</p> <p>expage.com/page/skinn</p> <p>Knights of Cyberspace</p> <p>knightsocyberspace.fsn.net/</p> <p>Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (Thom Robb)*</p> <p>www.kukluxklan.org/ www.angelfire.com/ar/akia/ www.cswnet.com/~trobb/index.htm Harrison, AR kkk.stormfront.org/ Hilliard, OH*</p> <p>Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (off-shoot)*</p> <p>www.k-k-k.com home.cdsnet.net/~wotan/hcmain.htm www.angelfire.com/in/kukluxklan/ Duson, LA wpwww.com/knights/ Humansville, MO* home.cdsnet.net/~wotan/ Grants Pass, OR* members.delphi.com/bkkkb/index.html Merritt Island, FL* members.delphi.com/kleagle/ Sealston, VA*</p> <p>Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (other faction)</p> <p>www.angelfire.com/il/CyberCrud/</p>	<p>Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Southern Brotherhood*</p> <p>members.aol.com/RealmofGa1/Atlanta, GA</p> <p>Knights of the White Kamellia*</p> <p>www.kamellia.com Vidor, TX www.kamellia.com/michigan.htm Caledonia, MI* www.eden.com/~titan/la.htm Louisiana* bigsun.wbs.net/homepages/r/e/a/realmofoa/fla.html Alamonte Springs, FL* members.theglobe.com/realmofoa/Atlanta, GA* www.glasscity.net/users/viper911/main.htm Lambertville, MI* www.kamellia.com/missouri.htm Leslie, MO* members.theglobe.com/klanman1/default.html Bellbrook, OH* www.eden.com/~titan/ Austin, TX* www.1-2-free.com/mypage/news/realmofoa/ Chesterfield, VA* www.kamellia.com/wacoclavern.htm Waco, TX*</p> <p>Mississippi Shotgun Club</p> <p>www.angelfire.com/ms/missden/</p> <p>Missouri Federation of Klans Inc.</p> <p>www.angelfire.com/mo/MissouriFOK/ St. Louis, MO*</p> <p>New Order Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*</p> <p>www.neworderknights.com/ www.neworderknights.com/ mainNewOrderMoSite2.htm www.angelfire.com/mo/ nokshocktroopers/ Overland, MO www.neworderknights.com/</p>	<p>nokkkmain.htm Ohio*</p> <p>www.neworderknights.com/ mainTxKlanSite.htm www.angelfire.com/tv/klansite/Texas* www.angelfire.com/ca/kkcalifornia/ Garden Grove, CA* www.neworderknights.com/kkk2010main.htm www.neworderknights.com/ mainNOKVA.htm Virginia Beach, VA*</p> <p>North Georgia White Knights*</p> <p>www.theklan.com/ Rossville, GA members.surfsouth.com/~ngwk/index.html Hogansville, GA*</p> <p>Northwest Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*</p> <p>www.kkk.com/ www.cris.com/~nwk/ www.concentric.net/~Nwk/ Tacoma, WA www.nidlink.com/~idream/ realm.html www.concentric.net/~nwk/intro.htm Coeur d'Alene, ID*</p> <p>Order of the Ku Klux Klan*</p> <p>Indiana Historical Research Foundation www.kkkklan.com/ Rockville, IN</p> <p>Southern Cross Militant Knights*</p> <p>members.delphi.com/kkkfortpayne/ index.html personal.atl.bellsouth.net/atl/a/ k/akia/index.html Valley Head, AL</p> <p>US Klans Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*</p> <p>expage.com/page/whitepride Camden, TN</p> <p>White Camelia Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*</p> <p>www.wckkkk.com/</p>
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HATE ON THE NET AS NEW SITES ARISE, SO DO LEGAL ISSUES

In a year when the number of hate sites on the Internet jumped by almost 60%, white supremacists and other cyberspace extremists tested the legal limits of the new medium. By early 1999, a number of hate site cases that could shape the future of racist propaganda on the Net were in court.

The legal battles shaping up — including a \$107 million February judgment against several anti-abortion hardliners — are important ones. They involve the often fine line between espousing upopular political doctrines and actually inciting criminal attacks on those seen as enemies. For white supremacist and other race-based groups, the cases could prove to be pivotal to the future of a medium that has exploded in just four years.

And this medium has exploded. Since the first site was put up by former Klansman Don Black in March 1995, Web hate sites have been added almost weekly. In just the last year, the Intelligence Project found that the number of sites went from 163 at the end of 1997 to 254 by the end of 1998. Included in that total are a more than doubling of Klan and neo-Nazi sites: the Klan went from 29 to 73 sites in 1998, while neo-Nazi sites climbed from 27 to 63.

This count is conservative. It does not include Holocaust denial sites, pages that are implicitly anti-Semitic but not explicitly so. It doesn't cover race scientists who claim to be able to prove that blacks are less intelligent than whites (see p. 27). Pages put up by so-called "Patriot" groups, even though some may contain racist propaganda, are not included (they will be published in the forthcoming Spring 1999 *Intelligence Report*). And it is limited to sites based in America, although many others worldwide are available here.

TARGETING MIDDLE-CLASS YOUTH

Aside from legal developments, several related trends were seen in 1998.

Increasingly, commercial service providers went after the proprietors of hate sites, kicking them off their computer servers. But the hate site proprietors had little trouble finding other electronic homes, simply moving to other servers with less restrictive policies or actually run by white supremacist co-religionists.

At the same time, there has been a marked upswing in the use of "chat rooms" for communications among extremists, with at least 20 now devoted to racist talk. These forums allow large numbers of people to "meet" or "converse" in real time. One popular Klan chat room is organized so that smaller groups can meet privately in separate forums. This chat room's operators have the ability to lock out any participant's messages.

Many of those who run hate sites specifically target youngsters, reasoning that they need to reach the kind of bright, college-bound students who are most likely to have a computer in their bedroom. White supremacist groups today are far less interested in picking up thuggish followers to physically assault their enemies than in developing future movement strategists, and for this the Net is an ideal recruiting tool.

There have been some efforts to combat this recruiting. The Anti-Defamation League last fall released new software designed to serve as a "hate filter," allowing parents to restrict their children's access to sites the ADL deems hateful. But as hate sites change servers and names, users will likely be able to regain access to them.

Legal limitations may prove to be different.

Just as a Klansman has an absolute right under the First Amendment to rally and express views judged hateful by most people, Net propagandists are pro-

tested in pushing their extremist views. Generally speaking, such rhetoric has been protected unless it calls for "imminent lawless action." But there is a large gray area, yet to be litigated, over what constitutes an incitement on the Net.

'TERRORISTIC THREATS' AND 'CYBER-SQUATTING'

An important case was heard in early 1998, when the nation's first E-mail threat case resulted in the conviction of Richard Machado. Machado, a former student at the University of California-Irvine, had sent out an E-mail in 1996 to 59 mostly Asian students from a computer in the school's library. It said, in part: "I personally will make it my life's work to find and kill every one of you personally. OK? That's how determined I am."

Machado's first case ended in a mistrial, but he was convicted of committing a federal hate crime over the Internet in a second hearing. Prosecutors said his conviction was a key precedent, adding that many similar cases are arising. In particular, E-mail hate cases began to crop up last year on college campuses around the country.

Two other important cases were also being litigated.

In Pennsylvania, state officials filed suit last October against the Alpha HQ site (www.alpha.org), charging that it published "terroristic threats" against two women who worked at the state's fair housing and human relations office. The site labeled the women "race traitors" and said that such traitors "will be hung from the neck from the nearest lamp post or tree." It carried a doctored photo showing their workplace blowing up.

Pennsylvania authorities quickly won a civil injunction banning publication of the doctored photo and prohibiting the group's Internet service provider from giving computer support to the site. Alpha subsequently shut down its site, at least temporarily.

Alpha is a huge site run by Ryan Wilson, but technical support has been provided by Don Black, who runs his own "Stormfront" site and has come to be seen as the godfather of Net hate. Black calls the Pennsylvania suit an attack on the First Amendment.

A civil trial in the lawsuit is expected this year.

In a related development, newspapers in Chicago and St. Louis obtained temporary restraining orders last fall after Web addresses that sounded like they belonged to the newspapers were put up by Stormfront administrator Ed Marlow. Using addresses such as www.philadelphiainquirer.com, Marlow's new pages sent visitors directly to the Stormfront page — a shock to most users, who expected to get the official page of the Philadelphia Inquirer newspaper.

Similar tactics were used on at least 13 newspapers, provoking the federal suit for alleged copyright infringement. Almost immediately after Marlow's "cyber-squatting" was noticed, he gave up the Web addresses. The case has not yet been set for trial.

'THE NUREMBURG FILES'

In the most important case yet, Planned Parenthood and several doctors who provide abortions won a \$107 million judgment in February in a federal civil suit filed against 14 of the nation's most hard-line anti-abortion activists and groups. A key allegation of the suit, brought under the federal racketeering statute and the 1994 Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances (FACE) Act, was that a Web site listing personal information about 225 doctors and others constitutes a direct threat.

After the verdict, several legal experts predicted that the judgment would not survive appeal.

"It's tempting but very dangerous to permit longstanding First Amendment standards to be compromised in order to deal with this outrageous

form of expression," Robert O'Neil of the Thomas Jefferson Center for the Protection of Free Expression told *USA Today* after the verdict. "But if we do, it will come back to haunt us."

A visitor logging on to the Christian Gallery site (www.christiangallery.com) is quickly met with a vision of mangled pieces of fetus dripping blood. On one page, the site's creator, Neal Horsley writes that his home state of Georgia should secede from the United States, using nuclear weapons if need be. With a few clicks of the mouse, the visitor will find "The Nuremburg Files" — a list of "baby butchers" and their "accomplices" who Horsley says should one day stand trial for the murder of children.

The names of doctors wounded by

anti-abortion extremists are grayed out. Those who have been killed have lines drawn through their names. The others have information such as their workplaces and their children's names and schools detailed on the site.

The site does not specifically advocate killing doctors, although it is linked to others that do argue for so-called "justifiable homicide." In one of them, convicted murderer Paul Hill speaks of "the joy I felt after shooting the abortionist, and still feel today."

Therein lies the crux of the matter. Is the site merely providing publicly available information while espousing a particular political viewpoint? Or is it, as the plaintiffs in the FACE suit successfully contended, a bonafide threat?

'THESE PEOPLE PLANNED TO KILL ME'

Early on in the case, U.S. District Judge Robert E. Jones turned down the defendants' motion to dismiss the case on grounds of First Amendment protection. He quoted an appeals court ruling that "alleged threats should be considered in light of their entire factual context, including the surrounding events and the reaction of the listeners."

In opening statements, defense attorneys denied any incitement. "This is a case about the threat to kill or injure, which is simply not there," Chris Ferrara told jurors in mid-January. "Opinions? Yes, sometimes harsh. But no violence."

Rodney Smolla, a First Amendment law expert at the University of Richmond, told *The Atlanta Constitution*, "You have to ask what is the ide-

ological purpose [for the list and accompanying data]. It seems that the information adds little ... to the political debate but does provide very practical advice for someone who wants to commit murder."

The results of all these cases, and particularly appeals of the Planned Parenthood suit, may clarify when and whether actionable "threats" are being made — at a time when violent talk is proliferating on Web sites, in Web chat rooms and on Web E-mails. But whether they are illegal or not, there is no question how they make many of their targets feel.

"I felt like a hunted animal, that I would be shot at any time," Dr. Warren Hern of Colorado told the jury. "I felt that these people planned to kill me." ▲

DIAL 'H' FOR HATE EVEN WITH NET, HATE HOTLINES STILL RINGING

Despite the advent of sophisticated propaganda channels like the Net, at least 34 telephone hotlines carrying the recorded messages of hate groups are still thriving. Recent examples of these messages range from the claim of the neo-Nazi National Alliance to embody "competence, professionalism, determination [and] realism" to this chilling admonition from the white supremacist White Aryan Resistance: "[I]f it comes to it, you might as well go for the largest possible body count... ." Many of the hotlines listed here belong to different chapters of the same groups and carry the same material.

KU KLUX KLAN	
Alabama White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan	
Saraland, AL	
334-675-1261	
American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan	
Butler, IN	
219-337-5555	
Confederate Knights of the Ku Klux Klan	
Henderson, NC	
919-492-7000	
Sandston, VA	
804-328-4379	
Fiery Cross Knights of the Ku Klux Klan	
Richmond, VA	
804-778-0959	
Invisible Empire, Pennsylvania Ku Klux Klan	
Punxsutawney, PA	
814-938-0409	
International Keystone Knights of the Ku Klux Klan	
Johnstown, PA	
814-539-6403	
Knights of the Ku Klux Klan	
Kathleen, FL	
941-858-0186	
Reading, PA	
610-478-8018	
Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Realm of Washington	
Seattle, WA	
206-781-7713	
Northwest Knights of the Ku Klux Klan	

Tacoma, WA	512-916-3150
253-537-2278	New Jersey
White Shield Knights of the Ku Klux Klan	973-697-1011
Parkersburg, WV	Missouri
304-485-1541	517-689-6160
	National Socialist Movement
	Minneapolis, MN
	612-659-6307
	White Aryan Resistance
	Fallbrook, CA
	760-723-8996
	Catoosa, OK
	918-834-4272
	World Church of the Creator
	Peoria, IL
	309-699-0135
	Auburn, CA
	916-491-5377

OTHER	
Nationalist Movement	
Learned, MS	
601-373-3847	
Nationalist Observer	
San Diego, CA	
619-286-6709	
White Liberation Message Line	
Mobile, AL	
334-602-1410	
White United Hotline	
Detroit, MI	
313-729-1702	

THE ANNALS OF HATE

AN INTRODUCTION TO LEADING RACIST PERIODICALS

The expression of hate comes in all shapes, sizes and colors. It is blasted out over the air waves, barging into people's homes via their televisions and radio sets. It appears more quietly, materializing along with colorful graphics on any computer screen connected to the Internet. And it is espoused in that oldest format of all — the printed word.

The American hate movement has long relied on the power of the printed word to proclaim the superiority of one race or group of people over another. From glossy, full-color magazines to crude, homemade tabloids, hate literature has played an important role in recruitment, movement-building and the wide dissemination of conspiracy theories. Beginning in this issue, the *Intelligence Report* will take a look at some of the most widely read, influential or just plain bizarre publications within the movement.

Here's a brief introduction to some of the periodicals of leading hate groups. Although these organizations don't necessarily have the largest number of members or the most chapters, they wield an extraordinary amount of influence within the racist world.

- Billing itself as "the most racist newspaper on earth," *WAR* is the official organ of White Aryan Resistance (WAR), based in Fallbrook, Calif. WAR was founded in the early 1980s by former television repairman Tom Metzger, who was once the California state leader of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. Metzger has concentrated on blue-collar and youthful audiences, recruiting heavily among Skinheads and in prisons.

Illustrated with vulgar cartoons, *WAR* typically carries articles from imprisoned white supremacists Metzger calls "POWs" of "ZOG," the Zionist Occupation Government; lists of books, tapes and videos for sale; and an array of anti-Semitic and starkly racist articles. A sampling of last year's headlines: "The Niggerization of America," "Sage Quotes for White Survival," and "More on Polygamy for Aryans."

- *Calling Our Nation* is the mainstay in the trio of publications from the Aryan Nations/Church of Jesus Christ Christian, one of America's oldest neo-Nazi groups and a leading proponent of the racist and anti-Semitic Christian Identity theology. Based in Hayden Lake, Idaho, the group is led by octogenarian Richard Butler.

The glossy magazine from a group that once drew hundreds of white supremacists for annual congresses remains important. Amid bits of poetry, tracts on

Identity and articles from other leading white supremacists, *Calling Our Nation* carries headlines such as "The Aryan Warrior," "Caucasian Genocide," "The Race War of Black Against White," and "Let's Talk About Immigration." The magazine also reflects strongly pro-Nazi sentiments, carrying articles like "I Cried Tears for Dresden" and "Nine Million Germans."

- *The Struggle*, a monthly offering from the World Church of the Creator, is a relative newcomer to the world

of hate literature and is markedly different from many other such publications. While many white supremacist groups claim to base their views on the Bible, this group's magazine is patently anti-Christian, as evidenced in titles like "Switzerland: Christianity — A Disaster for Whites" and "Holy Deception."

The World Church of the Creator is the offspring of the now defunct Church of the Creator, which was founded by Ukrainian immigrant Ben Klassen in Florida in the early 1970s. Saying that race was his religion, Klassen formed a theology he called "Creativity," reflecting his view that that was the great attribute of the white race.

The newer group is headed by Illinois law school graduate Matt Hale, who, although only in his 20s, has a long history in the white supremacist movement. It is heavily populated with racist Skinheads and other youths fond of Nazi-like uniforms.

"Dedicated to the survival, expansion and advance-

ment of the white race," *The Struggle* typically carries an editorial from Hale, who carries the grand title of "Pontifex Maximus," news about the movement, lists of upcoming events and coverage of legal developments. There also is a listing of Klassen's books and literature — publications that members who seek to become "reverends" of the faith must study faithfully.

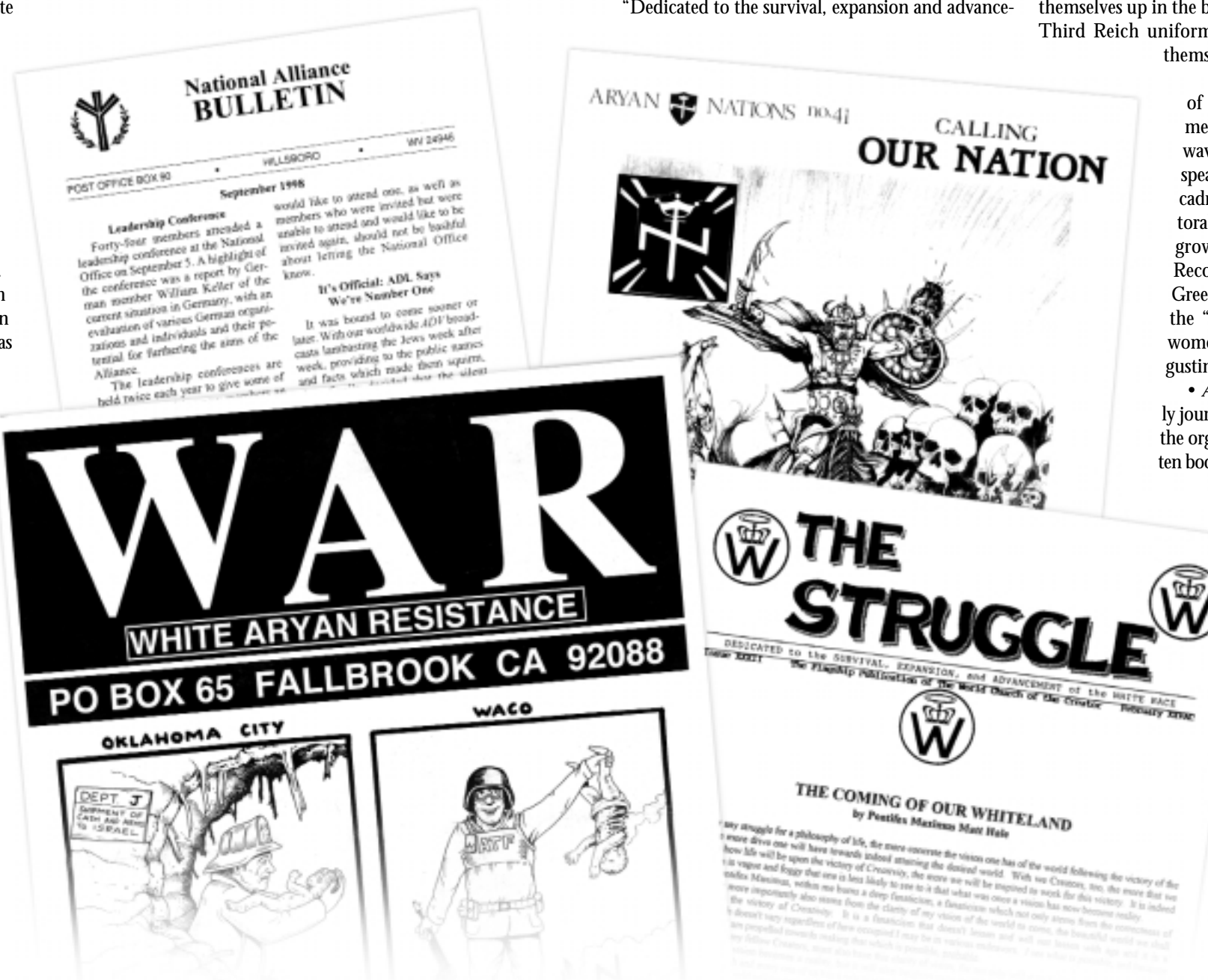
- William Pierce, the former physics professor who heads the prominent neo-Nazi National Alliance, strives to appeal to a higher class of racists — articulate, educated and polished — and his publications reflect that. His monthly *National Alliance Bulletin* mixes appeals for office equipment and "help wanted" ads with highfalutin commentary.

Written personally by Pierce, the *Bulletin* regularly attacks less astute adherents of the white supremacist movement. In December, for instance, he mocked "the nutcase Bible-thumpers" and those who "lock themselves up in the bedroom, dress up in homemade Third Reich uniforms, click their heels and salute themselves in the mirror."

Pierce offers careful assessments of the state of his group, recruitment, use of the Internet and short-wave radio as propaganda tools. He speaks of the need to develop an elite cadre, rather than trying to win electoral victories. And he writes of his growing European contacts. Recounting a neofascist meeting in Greece last fall, he rhapsodized about the "slender, shapely legs" of Greek women, whom he compared to "disgusting" Americans.

- *American Renaissance* is a monthly journal with an academic tone that is the organ of Jared Taylor, who has written books and articles arguing that blacks are genetically inferior to whites. In erudite, sober language, the magazine focuses on non-white immigration and the shrinking of the white majority in America while promoting the thesis of genetic differences between the races.

Backed by footnotes, graphs and statistics, the articles range from relatively arcane scientific discussions of the dentition of extinct hominids like the australopithecines of sub-Saharan Africa to statements such as "blacks have a sheep-like mentality." ▲



ACTS, NOT WORDS, ARE THE KEY

When the Christian Knights of the Ku Klux Klan and its South Carolina leader, Horace King, were found liable last year for a church arson committed by Klan foot soldiers, many interpreted the verdict as a comment on the First Amendment. *The Washington Post*, for example, reported on its front page that the Klan defendants were found liable because their words had created “an atmosphere of hate that led to the torching” of the Macedonia Baptist Church.

Yet the Klan and King were not found liable on the basis of incendiary speeches. Instead, they were held responsible because they actively participated in a conspiracy to burn black churches. Klan speeches were used merely to corroborate other evidence of the conspiracy.

PROOF OF CONSPIRACY

To establish a civil conspiracy, Macedonia proved that the individual Klan defendants came to an agreement to burn black churches. *See Halberstam v. Welch*, 705 F.2d 472, 477 (D.C. Cir. 1983); *Ryan v. Eli Lilly Co.*, 514 F. Supp. 1004, 1012 (D.S.C. 1981); *Island Car Wash, Inc. v. Norris*, 292 S.C. 595, 358 S.E.2d 150, 153 (Ct.App. 1987); *Todd v. South Carolina Farm Bureau Mut. Ins. Co.*, 276 S.C. 284, 278 S.E.2d 607, 611 (1981). Once Macedonia established that the arson occurred as a result of a conspiracy, it was not required to establish that each defendant personally participated in setting the blaze or even knew about the fire before it was set. *Halberstam v. Welch*, 705 F.2d at 481; *Hambright v. Walker*, 211 S.C. 201, 44 S.E.2d 310, 313 (1947);



Klan leader Horace King (center) was found personally liable for \$15 million in the burning of a predominantly black South Carolina church.

State v. Woods, 189 S.C. 281, 1 S.E. 2d 190, 201-02 (1939). All Macedonia was required to prove was that the arson was a natural and probable consequence of the conspiracy and was committed to advance the conspiracy's goal. *State v. Woods*, 1 S.E. 2d at 201-02; *Halberstam v. Welch*, 705 F.2d at 481. To establish that the Klan organization itself was liable for the conspiracy, Macedonia proved that authorized Klan leaders participated in the conspiracy to further the Klan's goals. *See Hall v. Walters*, 226 S.C. 430, 85 S.E.2d 729, 732 (unincorporated association liable for conspiracy involving officers and members), *cert. denied*, 349 U.S. 953 (1955).

The fact that a Klan official may have couched his authorization or agreement in a clever or

subtle way provided no safe harbor. “One cannot shield himself by a form of words.” Restatement (Second) of Agency §212 comment e (1958); *see, e.g., Smith v. Thompson*, 655 P.2d 116, 117-18 (Idaho Ct. App. 1982).

NO FIRST AMENDMENT DEFENSE

The jury held King and the Klan liable, not because of their racist beliefs, but because they acted on those beliefs by conspiring to burn black churches. Such conduct has never enjoyed First Amendment protection, even when carried out by words alone. *See, e.g., NAACP v. Claiborne Hardware Co.*, 458 U.S. 886, 927 (1982) (“a finding that [a defendant] authorized, directed, or ratified specific tortious activity would justify holding [him]

responsible for the consequences of that activity”).

As the Supreme Court has emphasized, “it has never been deemed an abridgment of freedom of speech . . . to make a course of conduct illegal merely because the conduct was in part initiated, evidenced, or carried out by means of language, either spoken, written, or printed.” *California Motor Transport Co. v. Trucking Unlimited*, 404 U.S. 508, 514 (1972) (citation omitted). “Speech thought to promote a criminal scheme,” for example, “is hardly within the ambit of the First Amendment.” *United States v. Choate*, 576 F.2d 165, 181 (9th Cir.), *cert. denied*, 439 U.S. 953 (1978).

In addition to presenting evi-

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FOR THE RECORD

Incidents of hate crimes and hate group activities listed in the 1998 year-end For The Record are drawn primarily from media sources and initial police reports, not all of which have been verified by the Intelligence Project. This listing carries incidents from the last quarter of 1998. A full year's listing is available on the Center's Web site (www.splcenter.org). Because hate crimes often are not reported, this listing understates the true level of bias incidents.

ALABAMA

Center Point • Sept. 27, 1998
A cross was burned at a white woman's mobile home.

Clanton • Sept. 5, 1998
Klansmen distributed literature at an intersection.

ARIZONA

Phoenix • Nov. 7, 1998
A group of white men allegedly attacked a black man at a bar shortly after a white man allegedly used a racial epithet toward the black man.

ARKANSAS

Little Rock • Aug. 22, 1998
About 50 members of the American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan held a rally.

Little Rock • October 1998
Michelle L. Dunn, 22, and Robert M. Treece, 25, pleaded guilty to conspiracy for setting fire to a school operated by an interracial church in May 1995.

CALIFORNIA

Alpine • Oct. 2, 1998
Two white males allegedly attacked two Hispanic students and used racist language.

Aptos • Nov. 17, 1998
A man allegedly used anti-gay epithets and assaulted a woman at Cabrillo College.

Canyon Country • Sept. 5, 1998
Three white men, Jason Williamson, 23, Scott Britschgi, 21, and Jason Georgelos, 18, were charged with suspicion of hate crimes, assault with a deadly weapon and throwing objects at vehicles with intent to cause injury

after they allegedly threw chunks of asphalt at passing cars and yelled racial epithets at a Latino couple.

Citrus Heights • Oct. 23, 1998
Literature from the neo-Nazi World Church of the Creator and European American Educational Association literature was distributed.

Cloverdale • Sept. 23, 1998
A group of white youths allegedly assaulted a Mexican man. One of them, Robert A. Gren, 22, was charged with committing a hate crime.

Cypress • Nov. 9, 1998
A racist message was placed on a Hispanic student group's fliers at Cypress College.

Cypress • Dec. 9, 1998
John Cromley, 19, and Trevor Carlson, 18, were each charged with a hate crime and assault with a deadly weapon for allegedly attacking a Latino youth and a white friend while yelling racial slurs.

Davis • Sept. 15, 1998
Michael A. Tolliver, a 25-year-old white male, was charged with brandishing a weapon, making terrorist threats and committing a hate crime for allegedly threatening the life of a black man and shouting racial slurs in a grocery store parking lot.

El Monte • Aug. 16, 1998
A 16-year-old Latino youth was arrested on suspicion of assault and accused of committing a hate crime for allegedly attacking a black man and stabbing a white man while yelling racial slurs.

Glendale • Oct. 2, 1998
A swastika was etched into a dentist's office door.

Granada Hills • Sept. 25, 1998
Racist and anti-Semitic literature was mailed to the student council president of a local high school.

Hayward • Sept. 14, 1998
Donald R. Santos, 40, and Lance E. Alves, 45, allegedly threatened a woman and yelled derogatory comments at her in a gay and lesbian bar. They were charged with making terrorist threats and interference of civil rights because of sexual orientation.

Hesperia • Oct. 2, 1998
Two teenagers and an 11-year-old were charged with committing a hate crime and assault with a deadly weapon for allegedly beating a man unconscious while yelling racial slurs in August.

Huntington Beach • Dec. 18, 1998
Daniel Carr, 18, was convicted of desecration of a religious object for burning a cross at a Jewish family's residence in May.

Irvine • Oct. 22, 1998
Anti-Semitic E-mails were sent to 400 employees at Irvine Valley College.

Joshua Tree • Oct. 26, 1998
A swastika was burned in the front of a residence of a Samoan man and his Hispanic wife.

Joshua Tree • Nov. 17, 1998
Danny Holland, 24, Jason Wheeler, 20, and Robert Thomas, 19, pleaded guilty to racial terrorism for burning a swastika outside a Latino couple's residence in October. Holland was sentenced in December to three years in prison.

Lancaster • Nov. 10, 1998
A cross was burned at a black woman's residence.

Loomis • Oct. 2, 1998
Swastikas were spray-painted on property owned by a Jewish man.

Los Angeles • Aug. 27, 1998
Michael Thornton, 18, was charged with a hate crime and assault with intent to inflict great bodily harm for allegedly participating in the racially motivated murder of a black transient in 1995.

Los Angeles • Nov. 4, 1998
A Latino high school student, Peter Carlos Cobian, 18, was charged with committing a hate crime and assault with a deadly weapon for allegedly waging a racially motivated terror campaign in August against a black student and slashing him with a knife.

Novato • Sept. 15, 1998
Three youths allegedly pummeled a gay high school student in a supermarket parking lot.

Novato • Oct. 14, 1998
A gay teen activist's car was vandalized with anti-gay epithets.

Palm Springs • Nov. 8, 1998
Raymond Quevedo, 18, and three youths, ages 16 and 17, were charged with assault with a deadly weapon for an alleged gay bashing during Gay Pride weekend.

Palmdale • Sept. 13, 1998
Maceo Houge, a 21-year-old black man, was charged with assault with a deadly weapon and committing a hate crime for allegedly attempting to run over four white men while making racial comments.

Porterville • Aug. 18, 1998
A white family's residence was burglarized and racial slurs were spray-painted throughout the house.

Reseda • Sept. 24, 1998
Joseph Keating, a 22-year-old white man, was charged with making terrorist threats and allegedly shouting racial epithets at two black women at a gas station.

Sacramento • Oct. 12, 1998
Several pro-gay sketches were defaced with anti-gay vulgarities and hate words at California State University during Gay Pride Week.

San Bernardino • Oct. 26, 1998
A swastika was burned in front of an interracial couple's home.

San Diego • Sept. 28, 1998
Four white men, Jed Allen Jones, 21, Jessie Brian Lawson, 20, Trenton Joe Solis, 19, and Steven Lawrence Newark III, 18, pleaded not guilty to conspiracy to commit assault with a deadly weapon causing great bodily injury, and assault inflicting great bodily injury done for a racially motivated purpose after allegedly beating a black Marine in May.

San Diego • Dec. 10, 1998
Duane Tebbe, 19, pleaded guilty to the August stabbing of an American Indian-Hispanic man whom Tebbe believed was black.

San Fernando • Oct. 14, 1998
Christopher Dehuff, 20, a member of the white supremacist gang The Peckerwoods, was sentenced to 21 years and six months to life in prison for second-degree murder, evading police, auto theft, receiving stolen property and driving without a license in October 1997.

San Francisco • Oct. 25, 1998
Flanklin Chavez, 19, Mariano Viramontes, 21, David Zuniga, 22, Juan Rodriguez, 24, and Genaro Rodriguez, 20, were charged with aggravated assault for allegedly shouting homophobic epithets and attacking four men.

San Francisco • Nov. 2, 1998
Larry L. McDougal, a 44-year-old black man, was charged with suspicion of murder, attempted murder and making terroristic threats for allegedly killing a security guard and stabbing a tourist while shouting anti-white epithets in October.

Santa Rosa • November 1998
Swastikas were painted in two sections of a Jewish neighborhood.

Torrance • Oct. 24, 1998
The car of a black family living in a predominantly Latino neighborhood was set afire two weeks after a Molotov cocktail was thrown through their window.

Venice • Sept. 22, 1998
Suspected Aryan Brotherhood member Thomas A. Preston Jr., 40, was sentenced to three years in jail and placed on three years of probation for attacking several people on the beach and shouting racial slurs in June and July.

Ventura • Nov. 14, 1998
A 17-year-old and two 16-year-olds pleaded not guilty to hate crime charges for allegedly attacking two minority couples and yelling racial slurs.

Victorville • Oct. 13, 1998
Alleged Nazi Low Rider member Alvie Utah Williams, 26, pleaded not guilty to murder for allegedly shooting into a car and killing a 2-year-old in August 1997.

Walnut Creek • Sept. 23, 1998
Racial epithets were scrawled on a black woman's front door.

Woodland Hills • Sept. 15, 1998
Two white men allegedly assaulted a black man while using racial slurs.

COLORADO
Denver • Oct. 10, 1998
A homecoming parade float sponsored by a white fraternity and sorority at Colorado State

University featured a scarecrow with anti-gay graffiti spray-painted on its face.

CONNECTICUT
Brookfield • Aug. 22, 1998
A swastika and an anti-Semitic slogan were spray-painted in front of a man's residence.

New Britain • Aug. 17, 1998
The office of a Jewish professor at Central Connecticut State University was burglarized and a Star of David was left on a rug.

West Hartford • Sept. 22, 1998
A house was ransacked and painted with swastikas and anti-Hispanic racial slurs.

DELAWARE
Newark • Nov. 12, 1998
A 12-year-old was charged with a racially motivated hate crime, attempted first-degree arson, attempted burglary, theft and criminal trespassing after he allegedly tried to set fire to two Mexicans' trailers.

Smyrna • Oct. 17, 1998
A swastika and the letters "KKK" were spray-painted on the shed of an Asian-American family.

Talleyville • Aug. 28, 1998
Daniel McNulty, 18, and a 16-year-old girl were charged with committing a hate crime, criminal mischief, trespassing and conspiracy for allegedly spray-painting swastikas on a Jewish community center.

Wilmington • Oct. 22, 1998
A 14-year-old was charged with committing a hate crime and harassment for allegedly scrawling the letters "KKK" and a swastika on a woman's car.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
Washington • Oct. 8, 1998
Racist literature was mailed to the

U.S. Secretary of Agriculture.

FLORIDA
Fort Lauderdale • Dec. 3, 1998
Reported World Church of the Creator members Angela King and Donald Hansard, both 23, and Dawn Witherspoon, 21, pleaded guilty to conspiracy and robbery charges in connection with a March 1997 robbery and pistol whipping at a video store. The trio allegedly committed the robbery because of their belief that all media outlets are controlled by Jews.

Mt. Dora • Nov. 16, 1998
Gary James Codette, an 18-year-old white man, was charged with aggravated assault as a hate crime and the unlawful use of a suspended driver's license when he allegedly threatened to hit a black woman with a hammer.

Orlando • Oct. 4, 1998
Three different homes on the same street occupied by interracial families were firebombed. John D. McFarland, a 25-year-old white man with white supremacist tattoos, and John M. Pinkham, 19, were arrested in connection with the incident.

Orlando • Oct. 30, 1998
Reported white supremacist Brian D. Pickett, 38, pleaded guilty to charges that he and several friends conspired to rob banks and use pipe bombs to divert police.

Orlando • Nov. 20, 1998
Reported white supremacist Christopher Norris, 26, was convicted of manufacturing pipe bombs and conspiring to commit bank robberies with the use of explosives.

Orlando • Oct. 14, 1998
Five men allegedly assaulted a gay man and shouted obscenities.

Port Richey • Nov. 10, 1998
A racist threatening letter was sent to a Jewish community center.

Stuart • Sept. 16, 1998
Michael Tucker, 18, was convicted of aggravated battery as a hate crime for beating two Guatemalan immigrants in March 1997. Tucker was sentenced in December to three years in juvenile prison.

GEORGIA
Atlanta • Oct. 14, 1998
Racist E-mails from the JWS Militant Knights of the Ku Klux Klan were sent to several Jewish organizations.

Gainesville • Oct. 3, 1998
Gary Mallicoat, 18, Imperial Knighthawk of the American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, was charged with pouring sugar in the gas tank of a woman, slashing her tires, and scratching paint off her home. Mallicoat is also accused of threatening to kill Frank Ball Sr., former Grand Dragon of the Southern Brotherhood Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

Gainesville • Oct. 31, 1998
About 14 members of the American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, led by Georgia Grand Dragon Gordon Parks, held a rally.

Rome • Oct. 3, 1998
Members of America's Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, led by Imperial Klokard John T. Pendergrass Sr., held a rally.

IDAHO
Boise • Oct. 22, 1998
Six men were sentenced to prison for a series of racially motivated attacks against Hispanics in the summer of 1997. Chris Maurer was sentenced to 71 months; Jack D. Carter, 57 months; Scott Brooke, 52 months; David Grice, 32 months; Gerald Grice, 28 months; and Roy Graham, 27 months.

Bonnars Ferry • Aug. 31, 1998
Clint Dodge, a 30-year-old white man, was charged with malicious

harassment for allegedly harassing a Mexican man and his child in a grocery store with racial threats in July.

Coeur d'Alene • Oct. 6, 1998
A cross was burned outside the residence of three white college students. A doll with the letters "KKK" written on it was also left on the front porch.

Coeur d'Alene • Oct. 28, 1998
A racist threatening letter was mailed to a North Idaho College employee.

Coeur d'Alene • Nov. 24, 1998
Former Aryan Nations security chief Edward Jesse Warfield, 43, was charged with aggravated assault and using a weapon to commit a crime for allegedly driving a pickup used by Aryan Nations members to chase and shoot at a woman's car in July, forcing the car to crash into a ditch.

Hayden • Sept. 10, 1998
Christian Identity literature from the 11th Hour Remnant Messenger was distributed to about 400 residences.

Moscow • December 1998
The residence of an anti-Nazi protester was firebombed and a cross was burned on her lawn.

Post Falls • Nov. 2, 1998
A 17-year-old and a 16-year-old were charged with malicious harassment for allegedly making racist and threatening phone calls to a Jewish woman.

Sandpoint • Nov. 10, 1998
Aryan Nations literature was distributed at a high school.

ILLINOIS
Alton • Nov. 5, 1998
Donnie Nesbitt, a 15-year-old black youth, pleaded guilty to first-degree murder for the racially motivated beating death of a white man in August.

Belleville • Sept. 19, 1998
The letters "KKK" were scrawled on the side of a black minister's car.

Belleville • Sept. 25, 1998
Glenn Lowtharp, 50, was sentenced to 20 months in prison for converting a rifle into a fully automatic weapon for a white supremacist group that allegedly planned to rob banks, bomb buildings, poison water supplies and assassinate civil rights figures.

Belleville • Nov. 23, 1998
Reported white supremacist Ralph Bock, 28, was sentenced to four years in prison for conspiracy to possess and make automatic weapons and destructive devices. The devices were allegedly going to be used to bomb several human rights organizations and public buildings, assassinate a civil rights lawyer, kill a federal judge, rob banks and poison water supplies.

Bloomington • Aug. 21, 1998
Three white men allegedly tried to run a black bicyclist off the road and attacked him with a baseball bat while yelling racial slurs.

Bloomington • Sept. 11, 1998
Shannon Pankey, 25, was sentenced to 45 days in jail, ordered to perform 50 hours of community service, and placed on two years of probation and two years of court supervision for using racial slurs against a black man during a traffic confrontation in March 1997.

Bloomington • Oct. 16, 1998
Armando Cornejo, 26, Manuel Cornejo, 28, and Evelio Alvarez and Hector Alvarez, both 21, were charged with committing a hate crime, aggravated battery and mob action for allegedly beating a black Illinois State University student outside a tavern.

Chicago • Aug. 15, 1998
Robert Franco, 33, was charged with disorderly conduct, criminal

damage to property and resisting a peace officer after he allegedly yelled racial epithets at black patrons in a restaurant and threatened to assault them.

Chicago • Sept. 19, 1998
Three men were allegedly attacked by two men who made anti-gay remarks.

Chicago • Oct. 15, 1998
Frank Caruso Jr., 19, was sentenced to eight years in prison after being convicted in September of aggravated battery and hate crimes for the racially motivated beating of a black youth in March 1997. Michael Kwidzinski, 21, was sentenced to two years of probation and Victor Jasas, 18, was sentenced to 30 months of probation in connection with the assault. Both were ordered to perform 300 hours of community service.

Chicago • Nov. 16, 1998
Aaron J. Winn, 18, pleaded guilty to criminal damage to state property after he participated in vandalizing an overpass with anti-Semitic graffiti.

Chicago • Nov. 20, 1998
Angela Jackson, a 28-year-old black woman, was convicted of trying to defraud the United Parcel Service by scrawling racial epithets on packages and sending them to herself and nationally known black leaders.

Chicago • Nov. 28, 1998
The letters "KKK" and swastikas were spray-painted on a man's garage.

East St. Louis • Aug. 31, 1998
White supremacist Wallace Weicherding, 65, was convicted of conspiracy for conspiring to bomb several human rights organizations and public buildings, assassinate a civil rights lawyer, kill a federal judge, rob banks, poison water supplies and possess unregistered weapons.

East St. Louis • Oct. 2, 1998
Daniel Rick, 20, was sentenced to 30 months in prison for providing a machine gun to a white supremacist group accused of planning racial assassinations and bombings.

Granite City • Oct. 14, 1998
A suspicious package covered with anti-Semitic statements was found outside a women's clinic.

Huntley • Nov. 23, 1998
Christopher S. Martin, 22, was sentenced to life in prison for the 1996 hate motivated murder of a gay man.

Ottawa • Dec. 11, 1998
Gerald Decker, 26, pleaded guilty to committing a hate crime and criminal damage to property for spray-painting racist graffiti on a garage in September. Decker was sentenced to 30 months of probation, and ordered to pay \$250 in fines and \$25 in restitution and to perform 200 hours of community service.

Peoria • Oct. 14, 1998
David D. Hilman Jr., 23, was charged with simple battery and Robert A. Keller Jr. was charged with disorderly conduct for allegedly using anti-homosexual slurs to provoke a fight at a tavern.

Peoria • Oct. 30, 1998
Following a two-hour standoff with police, Michael L. Curtis, 51, was charged with unlawful use of weapons and reckless discharge of firearms after he allegedly threatened to kill blacks.

Steger • Nov. 1, 1998
Three white men allegedly threatened a black man with a knife and called him a racial epithet.

Wood Dale • September 1998
Racist literature was mailed to four city council members and the mayor.

Wood Dale • Sept. 16, 1998
Donna Marie Testa, 39, was

charged with a hate crime for allegedly shouting racial epithets at a Hispanic man, threatening him and throwing peaches at him in August.

Anderson • Sept. 10, 1998
A cross was burned in a black woman's yard.

Boonville • Oct. 17, 1998
Members of the American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan rallied.

Hammond • Sept. 2, 1998
Randolph Benwell II, 21, was sentenced to one year in prison and Darrell R. Blanchard, 21, was sentenced to four months in prison for dressing up in Klan garb and vandalizing the residence of a Hispanic woman and her white boyfriend in July 1997.

Lafayette • Dec. 3, 1998
Jeffrey G. Robinson, a 31-year-old black trucker, was charged with intimidation and criminal recklessness with a vehicle after he allegedly became enraged when he saw a Confederate flag on another truck and tried to force the driver off the road.

Mill Creek • Sept. 3, 1998
A cross was burned on a black couple's car.

Rensselaer • Aug. 29, 1998
About 37 Klan members rallied.

Syracuse • Sept. 2, 1998
Approximately 15 members of the American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan distributed literature on several street corners.

Valparaiso • Oct. 14, 1998
Anti-gay graffiti was scrawled throughout the Valparaiso University campus.

Fairfield • Sept. 25, 1998
Three reported white suprema-

cists, Jason A. Cooper, 20, Scott W. Pederson, 26, and James A. Dillavou, 28, were charged with third-degree burglary for allegedly burglarizing a home in Illinois. Dillavou, an Aryan Nations member, pleaded guilty in November to possession of a firearm as a felon.

Waverly • Sept. 18, 1998
Racial epithets were written on the dorm room doors of black women at Wartburg College one week prior to a civil rights leader speaking at the college's convocation.

West Lafayette • Nov. 9, 1998
An American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan business card was left in a man's mailbox.

Lawrence • Sept. 20, 1998
A gay pride flag was burned outside the residence of a gay Kansas University student.

Wichita • Oct. 6, 1998
Jake Fiel, 23, Jesse J. Maley and Troy Philbrick, both 21, and Kevin Barnes, 19, were charged with conspiring to vandalize a messianic synagogue in June.

Lexington • Oct. 9, 1998
Charles E. Hall, 29, was sentenced to a year and a day in prison followed by three years of supervised release for leading a neo-Nazi groups that harassed mixed-race couples and black families in May.

Louisville • Oct. 2, 1998
Randall Pike, 38, and his cousin Raphael S. Pike, 45, were acquitted of civil rights charges that they built a cross in a trailer park to scare away prospective black neighbors in June 1997.

Goldonna • Sept. 26, 1998
Two crosses were burned outside a black woman's residence.

Gretna • Sept. 10, 1998
Frank Palermo, 32, and his brother Anthony Palermo, 29, were charged with battery and hate crimes for allegedly yelling racial epithets at a group of black men stranded with their disabled car and pouring gasoline on the car that was occupied by a toddler. Frank Palermo was convicted of the charges in December.

Auburn • Nov. 8, 1998
A synagogue was vandalized.

Tremont • Aug. 25, 1998
Robert E. Powers Jr. was arrested for allegedly taunting a man with anti-gay slurs and throwing rocks at him.

Wells • Aug. 30, 1998
Bryan E. Worthley Jr. and Nicholas A. Frank were arrested for allegedly assaulting a Chinese couple and yelling racial slurs.

Columbia • Oct. 4, 1998
Alleged Aryan Nation member Roger T. Nichols, 53, was charged with destruction of property, a hate crime, and possession of a concealed deadly weapon for allegedly slashing tires and scratching racist epithets into cars parked outside a movie theater.

Taneytown • Nov. 11, 1998
An 18-year-old and a 16-year-old were charged with burglary and malicious destruction of property for allegedly breaking into a black woman's home and spray-painting racist graffiti.

Towson • Oct. 2, 1998
Roger Stump, a 33-year-old white man, was convicted of second-degree murder for the racially motivated strangling and drowning of a biracial youth in 1982. He was sentenced in December to 30 years in prison.

Boston • Oct. 3, 1998
Thomas Austin, 17, was charged with assault and battery with a dangerous weapon and breaking and entering for allegedly participating in a street brawl between white and Asian youths.

Haverhill • Sept. 9, 1998
Michael Parolisi, Jarod Cikacz, and Charles Moschetto Jr., all 17, were charged with civil rights violations, assault and battery with a dangerous weapon and motor vehicle charges for allegedly assaulting a black man and yelling racial insults.

Newton • Oct. 1, 1998
Racist e-mails were sent to 13 minority students at Boston College.

Northampton • Sept. 9, 1998
Anti-gay graffiti was spray-painted on a store, a gazebo and a church statue. Douglas P. Budreau, 19, and Derek Watters, and Donald R. Wright, both 17, pleaded innocent to civil rights violations and malicious destruction of property.

Northampton • Nov. 23, 1998
Three men allegedly assaulted a woman while yelling anti-gay slurs.

Peabody • Sept. 17, 1998
Swastikas and other anti-Semitic phrases were written on gravestones in a Jewish cemetery.

Somerville • Dec. 8, 1998
National Alliance and White Aryan Resistance literature was plastered on utility poles and left on car windshields.

Waltham • Oct. 20, 1998
Anti-gay epithets were scrawled on the door of a gay, lesbian and bisexual coalition at Brandeis University.

Wellesley • November 1998
Anti-gay slurs were written on a

sign supporting hate crime legislation at Wellesley College.

Carleton • Aug. 31, 1998
A cross was burned at the residence of a woman who has two biracial children. Jeremiah A. Jones, 18, pleaded guilty in November to malicious destruction of property.

Ferndale • Oct. 22, 1998
Aryan Nations literature was left at numerous businesses and residents.

Flint • Nov. 11, 1998
A hangman's noose was left on the jeep of an openly gay student at the University of Michigan.

Gibraltar • Sept. 23, 1998
The letters "KKK" were spray-painted on a Catholic church.

Kalamazoo • Sept. 27, 1998
A racist note was left on the dorm room door of a black Kalamazoo College student whose bed was also set afire following the incident.

Marshall • Oct. 15, 1998
A cross was burned at an interracial couple's residence.

Mt. Pleasant • Oct. 20, 1998
The letters "KKK" were bleached into the carpet of a classroom at Mid-Michigan Community College.

Royal Oak • Aug. 28, 1998
Racist literature was left at the residence of a white couple who recently adopted a black child.

St. Clair Shores • Sept. 21, 1998
European American Educational Association literature was distributed.

St. Joseph • Oct. 24, 1998
Several members of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan held a rally.

Sterling Heights • Oct. 11, 1998
The letters "KKK" and racist graf-

fiti were written on a black woman's residence.

Traverse City • Oct. 7, 1998
Jeremy Jamrog, 21, and James Johnson, 24, were charged with aggravated assault for allegedly attacking a gay man and yelling expletives.

Warren • Sept. 29, 1998
A cross was burned at an interracial couple's residence for the second time in two months.

Anoka • Oct. 26, 1998
Two dozen high school students allegedly shouted racial slurs outside the home of a white student who is dating a black student. Eight students were suspended following the incident.

Austin • Sept. 17, 1998
A cross was burned at the residence of a white woman who is dating a black man.

Duluth • Dec. 4, 1998
White Aryan Resistance leaflets were scattered throughout the student center at the University of Minnesota.

Mazeppa • Sept. 5, 1998
A cross was burned outside a black couple's mobile home.

St. Cloud • Sept. 27, 1998
National Socialist Movement literature was distributed on cars at a university.

St. Cloud • Oct. 11, 1998
A swastika and other racist graffiti were scrawled on the door of a black student's dorm room at St. Cloud State University.

St. Cloud • Oct. 21, 1998
Two men allegedly beat a lesbian student at St. Cloud University after an anti-hate crime vigil.

St. Paul • Oct. 10, 1998
Swastikas and anti-Semitic mes-

sages were scrawled on a restroom in a residential hall at the University of St. Thomas. One student was suspended following the incident.

Gautier • Nov. 19, 1998
A 12-year-old was charged with burglary, arson and petty larceny after he allegedly burglarized a home, vandalized it with racist graffiti and set it on fire.

Bourbon • Nov. 23, 1998
John Phillip Bewig, 50, was charged with racially motivated assault for allegedly threatening and assaulting a black woman in May 1996.

Kansas City • Sept. 9, 1998
Ellen Leger, 38, was sentenced to two years and nine months in federal prison and placed on three years of supervised probation for threatening a witness in a cross burning case.

Springfield • Dec. 8, 1998
Self-proclaimed Skinhead Kenneth R. Booth Jr., 21, was charged with ethnic intimidation and second-degree assault in connection with an alleged assault of a black man in an alley in 1997. Booth allegedly used a racial slur during the attack.

St. Louis • Sept. 11, 1998
White supremacist Dennis McGiffen, 36, was sentenced to seven years in federal prison for conspiring in February to bomb several human rights organizations and public buildings, assassinate a civil rights lawyer, kill a federal judge, rob banks, possess unregistered weapons and poison water supplies.

St. Louis • Dec. 4, 1998
Wallace S. Weicherding, 65, was sentenced to six years and ten months in prison for conspiring to

bomb several human rights organizations and public buildings, assassinate a civil rights lawyer, kill a federal judge, rob banks, poison water supplies and possess unregistered weapons.

NEBRASKA

Omaha • Sept. 19, 1998
The letters “KKK” and swastikas were spray-painted on a Jewish woman’s residence.

York • September 1998
About 30 white men armed with baseball bats and carrying a Confederate flag allegedly broke car windows, smashed a mailbox and damaged a storm door and light at the residence of a white woman dating a black man. Two men were arrested on suspicion of disorderly conduct and resisting arrest.

NEVADA

Sparks • Dec. 4, 1998
Jason Kamerer, 21, was sentenced to four days in jail, ordered to perform 96 hours of community service and placed on 30 days’ house arrest for painting swastikas at a black woman’s residence.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Dover • Nov. 5, 1998
Anthony J. Paratore, 33, was sentenced to eight to 30 years in prison for beating a homosexual man with a hammer in August 1997.

NEW JERSEY

Bridgeton • Aug. 31, 1998
Ronald Bixler, 23, pleaded guilty to burning a cross on an interracial couple’s lawn in April. He was sentenced in October to nine months in the county jail.

Bridgeton • Sept. 14, 1998
Kevin Olson, 26, pleaded guilty to bias-related harassment for burning a cross outside an interracial

couple’s home in April. He was sentenced in December to nine months in jail.

Bridgeton • Oct. 26, 1998
Steven Heiselman, 20, pleaded guilty to bias harassment for participating in a cross burning at an interracial couple’s home in April.

Bridgewater • Oct. 31, 1998
Anti-Semitic and racial slurs were scrawled throughout the city.

Dayton • Oct. 27, 1998
A swastika was drawn on the chalk board of a black teacher at an elementary school.

Elizabeth • Nov. 30, 1998
Racial epithets were scrawled on an apartment complex.

Lawrence • Oct. 25, 1998
A swastika and other racist graffiti were spray-painted at a high school.

Mount Holly • Oct. 1, 1998
Hilary Gierman, 22, pleaded guilty to conspiracy to commit bias harassment for carving a swastika in a cornfield, painting the letters “KKK” outside a black family’s residence and pelting two Asian Indian gas station attendants with eggs. Gierman was sentenced in December to one to two years of probation, ordered to perform 100 hours of community service, and fined \$125.

Mount Olive • Dec. 8, 1998
Plastic replicas of baby Jesus were left on a Jewish family’s porch.

New Brunswick • Nov. 24, 1998
Eleven teenagers and three adults were charged with vandalism for allegedly vandalizing tombstones with anti-Semitic graffiti.

Union • Sept. 19, 1998
Racist fliers were distributed days before an Italian-American feast.

Upper Saddle River • Sept. 4, 1998
James Hutchinson, 32, was

charged with bias harassment after allegedly sending three anti-Semitic E-mail messages to a landscaping company in August.

Woodbridge • Sept. 23, 1998
Swastikas and racial epithets were scrawled on 40 tombstones in a Jewish cemetery.

NEW MEXICO

Santa Fe • Nov. 11, 1998
Obscenities were spray-painted on the truck of an openly gay man.

NEW YORK

Albany • Dec. 4, 1998
Two white males, William R. Hines, and Rudolph A. Berry, both 20, were charged with second-degree attempted murder, first-degree criminal use of a firearm, second-degree assault and criminal possession of a weapon for allegedly shooting a black woman because of her race.

Bronx • Dec. 10, 1998
Anthony Lopina, 19, was charged with second-degree assault, criminal possession of a weapon and aggravated harassment for allegedly assaulting a black youth, smashing a man’s car window and yelling racial slurs.

Brooklyn • Sept. 7, 1998
Christopher Maldonado, a 31-year-old Puerto Rican man, was charged with aggravated harassment for allegedly scrawling swastikas in a subway station.

Brooklyn • Nov. 2, 1998
Anti-Semitic slurs were spray-painted on a Jewish center.

Carthage • Nov. 20, 1998
A racist poster was given to a biracial high school student.

Centereach • Sept. 5, 1998
John Savage, a 22-year-old white man, was charged with second-degree harassment and third-

degree assault for allegedly hitting a white woman who is married to a black man and making racist comments.

Clifton Park • Nov. 25, 1998
Satanic symbols were spray-painted on a Catholic church.

Cortland • Oct. 24, 1998
A rock was thrown through the window of a professor who co-chairs a bisexual alliance at State University of New York.

Hicksville • Sept. 23, 1998
Adam Brodsky, a 32-year-old white man, was charged with reckless endangerment, criminal possession of a weapon, aggravated harassment and unlawful possession of marijuana after he allegedly yelled racial epithets at a black woman and tossed pennies at her from his vehicle.

Long Beach • Nov. 25, 1998
Robert McGuinness, 29, was charged with second-degree aggravated harassment for allegedly using a racial slur to harass someone.

Long Island • Sept. 26, 1998
William Zvanovec Jr., 25, was charged with falsely reporting a bias incident and setting a cross on fire after he allegedly burned a cross in front of his parents’ home.

Manhattan • Oct. 28, 1998
Kenneth Rembert, 18, was charged with aggravated harassment and criminal mischief for allegedly spray-painting swastikas on the door of the city hall.

Nassau • Sept. 30, 1998
Jason Porter, 19, Michael Modifica and Kenneth Willett, both 18, Roland Tambe and George Jenkins, both 17, and Samory Wilson, 16, were charged with second-degree robbery for allegedly burglarizing a home and spray-painting swastikas and anti-Semitic graffiti on the walls and a car.

New City • Oct. 31, 1998
Swastikas and anti-Semitic graffiti were scrawled on a temple.

Queens • Sept. 20, 1998
Luis Amorim, 22, and Peter DiMarco and Nuno Martins, both 19, were charged with first-degree assault, third-degree assault and harassment for allegedly beating two Asian-Indian men and a teenage girl with a baseball bat while shouting racial slurs.

Windsor • Sept. 25, 1998
A swastika was left at a German man’s residence.

Yonkers • Sept. 30, 1998
Sean Kelly, a 24-year-old white man, allegedly shouted racial slurs and threatened to shoot a black police officer.

NORTH CAROLINA

Asheville • Oct. 30, 1998
Two white men, Carl Vincent Choppy, 22, and Dwain Paul Surmaick, 24, pleaded guilty to first-degree murder, felony assault, conspiracy to commit murder, shooting into an occupied vehicle and possession of a firearm by a felon for an August 1997 shooting spree that included four attempted murders, one of which was racially motivated. Choppy was sentenced to a total of 117 years in prison for the shooting spree and 19 and a half years for the racially motivated shooting.

Charlotte • Sept. 5, 1998
A cross was burned at an interracial couple’s residence.

Dobson • Sept. 27, 1998
A cross was burned at the residence of a woman who was dating a Hispanic man.

Greenville • Oct. 5, 1998
A group of hooded men allegedly beat a black bishop with metal sticks, carved a Nazi symbol into his chest and urinated on him.

High Point • Nov. 11, 1998
A white man, Robert Chas Drake, was charged with allegedly burning a cross in front of a black woman’s residence earlier in the month.

Long View • Sept. 5, 1998
A cross was burned at a white couple’s residence.

Roxboro • Sept. 8, 1998
Three white men, Rodney K. Wesley, 28, Mark A. Coates, 27, and Roger A. Wilborn, 26, were arrested on ethnic intimidation and other charges for allegedly attacking two black men with rocks, bottles and a baseball bat while using racial slurs.

Sparta • Oct. 19, 1998
John Thomas Young, 19, was charged with arson for allegedly burning a cross at a predominantly white church in August 1996.

Statesville • Oct. 15, 1998
The letters “KKK” and racial epithets were spray-painted on a black woman’s car and residence.

Wilmington • Oct. 19, 1998
A man allegedly assaulted a gay man outside a convenience store.

OHIO

Anderson • Nov. 15, 1998
Swastikas and anti-Semitic slogans were spray-painted on several homes and cars.

Anderson • Nov. 25, 1998
Michael Patterson and Emily McCarthy, both 20, and Dennis Ray Bell and Aaron Plybon, both 19, were charged with ethnic intimidation and criminal damaging for allegedly spray-painting swastikas on a home.

Cincinnati • Oct. 21, 1998
Self-described white supremacist Joseph Paul Franklin, 48, was convicted of the 1980 murders of two black teenagers. He was later given to life sentences.

Cincinnati • Oct. 22, 1998
Steven Bonham Jr., 27, was sentenced to two years in prison and fined \$5,000 for burning a cross outside the apartment of a white woman who was dating a black man in February.

Cincinnati • Dec. 1, 1998
The American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan erected a cross.

Columbus • Aug. 29, 1998
Estaban Arreola, a 23-year-old Hispanic man, was gunned down in an alley allegedly by three or more white assailants. Police reported it as a racially motivated incident.

Columbus • Dec. 18, 1998
Peter Langan, 40, leader of the Aryan Republican Army, was sentenced to life in prison without parole for placing a pipe bomb inside a bank in 1994. He was also sentenced to another 35 years for convictions on robbery and assault.

Degraff • Sept. 10, 1998
Two 18-year-olds were charged with ethnic intimidation for allegedly harassing Amish families.

Elyria • Oct. 19, 1998
Paul Spurlock, 37, pleaded guilty to ethnic intimidation, aggravated menacing and aggravated assault for his participation in the November 1997 racially motivated beating of a black man. Spurlock received three years of probation.

Mantua • Nov. 4, 1998
Kathleen Kalcic, 36, was charged with ethnic intimidation for allegedly threatening three black youths with racial epithets and accusing them of breaking into her home.

Painesville • Sept. 14, 1998
Michael A. Moore and Matthew Hughell Jr., both 19, were charged with ethnic intimidation, vandalism and criminal damaging for allegedly spray-painting racial epithets and the letters “KKK” on a black woman’s car.

Painesville • Nov. 3, 1998
Shaun Brock, 19, was convicted of ethnic intimidation and criminal damaging for scrawling the letters “KKK” and “White Power” on and around a black woman’s property in September. He was sentenced in December to 90 days in jail, ordered to perform 500 hours of community service and placed on three years’ probation.

Painesville • Dec. 8, 1998
Michael Whitehair, 19, pleaded guilty to ethnic intimidation for scrawling the letters “KKK” on his black neighbor’s car in September.

Parma • Dec. 5, 1998
A swastika was burned at a residence.

Pleasant Ridge • Oct. 21, 1998
Mionnia Pies, 62, was charged with ethnic intimidation for allegedly spitting in her Vietnamese neighbor’s face, uttering racial slurs and threatening to kill her with a knife.

Shelby • May 8, 1998
Gregory Morgan, 19, and his brother, Christopher Morgan, 23, were charged with ethnic intimidation for allegedly burning a cross in January in the yard of a white woman whose daughter has a child with a black man. Gregory Morgan was sentenced in May to seven months in prison.

OKLAHOMA

Tulsa • Sept. 22, 1998
A black man’s home was ransacked, his puppy bludgeoned to death and a racial epithet spray-painted on his wall.

OREGON

Albany • Nov. 10, 1998
Corey A. Waterman, 18, and Tyrell G. Atteberry, 17, were charged with attempted first-degree assault, third-degree assault, fourth-degree assault and first-

degree racial intimidation for allegedly trying to drown a Hispanic man.

Coos Bay • Oct. 14, 1998

A cross was burned at a white woman's residence.

PENNSYLVANIA

Allentown • Oct. 28, 1998

A white man, Eddie Knight, was sentenced to two to four years in prison for the racially motivated beating of a black flagman in September 1997.

Bridgeport • Sept. 23, 1998

Greg Thorpe, 30, was charged with aggravated and simple assault, recklessly endangering another person, terroristic threats, harassment, stalking, disorderly conduct, conspiracy and ethnic intimidation for allegedly assaulting a woman and making anti-gay threats in August.

Bridgeport • Oct. 5, 1998

John Williams Adams, 33, was charged with aggravated and simple assault, reckless endangerment, terroristic threats, harassment, indecent assault, disorderly conduct and conspiracy for allegedly assaulting a gay woman outside a bar.

Carlisle • Oct. 10, 1998

Anti-gay fliers were distributed at Dickinson College.

Dover • Oct. 2, 1998

Donald L. Smith, 19, was charged with criminal conspiracy and criminal solicitation to commit murder, aggravated assault and ethnic intimidation for allegedly conspiring to shoot blacks and Jews at a high school. William Altland, 17, and Neil Storm and Timothy Musser, both 16, were charged in the incident.

Doylestown • Oct. 26, 1998

Shawn Lichtfuss, 26, was sentenced to one year in prison for vandalizing three synagogues in June.

Easton • Nov. 7, 1998

A crowd of party-goers allegedly assaulted a black man and a white man while using racial slurs.

Erie • Nov. 28, 1998

About 25 members of the American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, led by Imperial Wizard Jeffrey L. Berry, rallied.

Levittown Bristol • Oct. 20, 1998

Swastikas and anti-Semitic graffiti were scrawled on two synagogues.

Lewiston • Oct. 24, 1998

A Klan flier was left at a biracial woman's residence.

Media • Oct. 2, 1998

Three white males allegedly yelled racial slurs and threats at a black woman as they followed her home from work.

Norristown • Nov. 5, 1998

Steven Daly, 39, was sentenced to two years' probation for assaulting two black teenagers and yelling racial slurs in May.

Philadelphia • Nov. 13, 1998

Sean McNamee, 27, was sentenced to four to eight years in prison on charges of aggravated assault, ethnic intimidation and witness intimidation. Robert Smalley, 27, was sentenced to one and a half to five years for aggravated assault and ethnic intimidation. The two men participated in a mob attack on a black man in December 1997.

Pottsville • Sept. 26, 1998

About 26 American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan held a rally.

Sharon • Dec. 19, 1998

Two synagogues were vandalized.

Swarthmore • Nov. 7, 1998

An intercultural center at Swarthmore College was vandalized with cake batter and rainbow-colored prophylactics.

Valley Forge • Nov. 8, 1998

A swastika was spray-painted on

a monument honoring black soldiers.

Wilkes Barre • Oct. 16, 1998

Jaime Krochta, 19, pleaded guilty to ethnic intimidation for burning a cross at a black family's residence in October 1997. Krochta was placed on one year of probation.

York • Aug. 31, 1998

A racist threatening letter and Aryan Nations literature was mailed to a human relations organization.

York • Nov. 14, 1998

Two swastikas were spray-painted on a synagogue.

RHODE ISLAND

Charlestown • Aug. 31, 1998

A pornographic photograph was attached to a gay man's door. Police labeled the incident a hate crime.

Providence • Nov. 6, 1998

A hate message was left on the voice mail of the affirmative action office at the University of Rhode Island.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Ladson • Sept. 25, 1998

Robert Wayne Crawford, 19, was charged with second-degree burglary and malicious damage to personal property for allegedly ransacking a home and scrawling racial epithets and derogatory remarks throughout the house.

York • Nov. 13, 1998

Jackie Thompson, 33, and Zach Morrison, 17, were charged with arson, armed robbery, burglary and kidnapping for allegedly breaking into four homes occupied by Hispanics and burning one residence.

TENNESSEE

Germantown • Oct. 8, 1998

Clayton Fisher and Michael Caldwell, both 16, and Shawn Siegfried, 15, were charged with civil rights intimidation and van-

dalism for allegedly vandalizing several homes with racist graffiti in September.

Johnson City • Nov. 3, 1998

National Alliance literature was mailed to the Student Government Association at East Tennessee State University.

McLemoresville • Sept. 12, 1998

A 15-year-old and a 17-year-old each pleaded guilty to etching the letters "KKK" into a bench and vandalizing a predominantly black church. The 15-year-old was placed on house arrest, given suspended commitment and probation, and ordered to attend a juvenile-day facility and to perform 300 hours of community service for the church. The 17-year-old was sent to juvenile detention for an unspecified amount of time and ordered to pay restitution.

Murfreesboro • Oct. 17, 1998

A predominantly white church was vandalized and a note signed "KKK" was left at the scene.

TEXAS

Ft. Worth • Dec. 4, 1998

Robert Neville Jr., 24, was convicted of capital murder for the abduction and racially motivated murder of a developmentally disabled woman in February.

Jasper • Oct. 10, 1998

About 42 Klan members, led by Imperial Wizard of the Knights of the White Kamellia, Darrell Flinn, held a rally.

Lufkin • Sept. 16, 1998

Two white men allegedly made racist comments and assaulted a black man at a gas station.

UTAH

Salt Lake City • Nov. 18, 1998

Michael Brad Magleby, 25, pleaded not guilty to cross burning charges for allegedly burning a

cross at a black couple's residence in September.

Tooele • Sept. 2, 1998

Knights of the Ku Klux Klan literature was distributed.

VERMONT

Montpelier • Oct. 12, 1998

Anti-gay threats were allegedly made against a town clerk.

VIRGINIA

Independence • Nov. 5, 1998

A white man, Emmett Cressell, 38, was convicted of first-degree murder and sentenced to life in prison for the July 1997 burning and beheading death of a black man.

WASHINGTON

Everett • Sept. 24, 1998

Donald Richards, a 44-year-old white man, was charged with malicious harassment for allegedly scrawling the letters "KKK" on the

car of a white woman who was dating a black man. He was convicted in December of malicious harassment and ordered to perform 120 hours of community service.

Langley • Dec. 5, 1998

Two swastikas were burned outside a residence.

Seattle • Sept. 28, 1998

National Socialist Movement and European American Educational Association literature was mailed to a man's residence.

Spokane • Oct. 24, 1998

A Gonzaga University gay activist allegedly received a threatening letter.

Spokane • Dec. 5, 1998

A "lynched" doll was left at a black family's residence.

Yelm • Nov. 7, 1998

A 21-year-old white man was charged with malicious harassment for allegedly placing a cross in an interracial couple's yard.

WEST VIRGINIA

Athens • Sept. 28, 1998

Timothy Crook, 27, pleaded guilty to a hate crime for sending a racist letter to black students at Concord College.

WISCONSIN

Green Bay • Sept. 3, 1998

Three white men, were arrested after allegedly assaulting a black man in a racially motivated fight in July. Darrell Hylok, 39, and Troy Best, 21, were charged with resisting arrest and disorderly conduct and Bruce Hylok, 28, was charged with disorderly conduct.

Green Bay • Sept. 17, 1998

A white 17-year-old with a Nazi armband and swastikas shaved into his hair allegedly beat and robbed a 10-year-old black child.

Juneau • Oct. 29, 1998

Efrain Morales, 19, was charged

with a hate crime for allegedly harassing a woman he believed to be gay.

Montello • Dec. 7, 1998

Daniel Krueger, 23, pleaded no contest to theft and was sentenced to 100 days in jail for stealing and burning an Amish family's horse-drawn buggy.

WYOMING

Laramie • Oct. 12, 1998

Matthew Shepard, 21, an openly gay student at the University of Wyoming, was beaten to death, burned and tied to a wooden fence. Russell A. Henderson, 21, and Aaron McKinney were charged with attempted murder, kidnapping and aggravated battery. The pair's girlfriends, Chasity V. Pasley, 20, and Kristen L. Price, 18, were charged with being accessories after the fact. Pasley pleaded guilty in December to being an accessory after the fact to first-degree murder. ▲

ACTS, NOT WORDS, ARE THE KEY

continued from page 50

dence that King conspired with other Klansmen to burn black churches, Macedonia presented certain statements King made at public Klan rallies for the jury's consideration. Although these statements may have been entitled to First Amendment protection, they were properly considered as evidence of what King may have done or what his motives may have been. *See NAACP v. Claiborne*, 458 U.S. at 927 ("speeches might be taken as evidence" of what was done); *Island Car Wash, Inc. v. Norris*, 358 S.E.2d at 153 ("The law permits great latitude in the admission of circumstantial evidence tending to establish a conspiracy..."). The statements corroborated other evidence that King conspired to burn black churches.



See NAACP v. Claiborne, 458 U.S. at 929 (speeches may be used to corroborate other evidence that defendant authorized wrongful conduct).

In one of the trial's more dramatic moments, Macedonia presented evidence that King stated

at a rally in Washington, D.C., that if the Klan had a problem with blacks in South Carolina, they would "burn the bastards out." Although King could not have been arrested or sued merely for making this statement, his remark was relevant to corroborate

other evidence that he authorized Klansmen to burn a black church like Macedonia that had complained about Klan rallies. The First Amendment, in short, does not prevent the courts from using the words of Klansmen against them. ▲

THE TRIALS OF JASPER

EVIDENCE OF PLANNING IN TEXAS DRAGGING CASE

A man accused in the dragging murder of a black man in Jasper, Texas, may have been planning the gruesome crime for months. C. Haden “Sonny” Cribbs, the attorney for John William King, told *The Dallas Morning News* that he expected prosecutors to produce members of two white supremacist prison gangs to testify that King and others “talked about getting out [of prison] and dragging somebody.” Two alleged accomplices, Lawrence Russell Brewer and Shawn Allen Berry, are expected to also face capital murder trials later this year.

After accepting a ride while walking home late on the night of June 7, James Byrd Jr. was chained to the back of a pickup truck near the east Texas town of Jasper and dragged by his ankles until his body literally came apart. Prosecutors told potential jurors in King’s trial that Byrd tried desperately to protect himself, using his elbows to try to keep his head from hitting the pavement. But as he was dragged down two miles of rural road, Byrd swung

into a culvert and his head was torn from his torso. Before Byrd’s murder, King and Brewer had been cellmates serving time on unrelated charges, and are said to have belonged to a racist prison gang. King was tattooed with images including a Klan-robed woodpecker and a black man hanging from a tree. The *News* also reported that while imprisoned for burglary, King converted to Odinism, a neo-Pagan religion popular in white supremacist circles.

Prosecutors allege that King was the ring-leader in the racially motivated attack. King has denied involvement, blaming Berry instead. Meanwhile, the town of Jasper, which received worldwide attention in the wake of the murder, worked to repair race relations. Community leaders reported widespread individual efforts to breach longstanding racial divisions, with many whites approaching blacks to apologize for past wrongs. Shortly before King’s trial began, an iron fence separating blacks and whites in the city cemetery was



Racist tattoos cover the body of accused murderer John William King.

taken down. “The community has asked itself a lot of questions,” Jasper County Sheriff Billy Rowles said. “We’re a lot better community than we were.” ▲



SOUTHERN POVERTY LAW CENTER
400 WASHINGTON AVENUE
MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA 36104



A MESSAGE TO CENTER SUPPORTERS

Dear Center Supporter,

While I urge you to read this year-end issue of the *Intelligence Report* in its entirety, I would like to emphasize three key points.

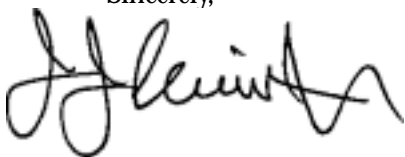
First, the number of active hate groups in this country jumped from 474 in 1997 to 537 in 1998. Neo-Nazi and Klan groups, in particular, enjoyed remarkable growth.

Second, and this may be the more important point, there are groups in our midst that garner the support of mainstream politicians even though they advocate clearly racist positions. The Council of Conservative Citizens (CCC) is the leading example of this type of organization, and the Intelligence Project has played a key role in exposing the connections that prominent politicians have to the group. This issue includes a lengthy report detailing the CCC’s racist nature and history.

Third, the Center has sued the Aryan Nations, a group with a long history of racism and violence.

Your contributions to the Southern Poverty Law Center and its Intelligence Project help make the *Intelligence Report* possible. With your support, we are now distributing it free to over 30,000 law enforcement officers and agencies across the country.

After you have had the opportunity to read this issue, I urge you to pass it along to a community organization or law enforcement group where you live.

Sincerely,

Joseph J. Levin, Jr.
President



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