

LOUIS BEAM: HATEMEISTER AT THE CROSSROADS

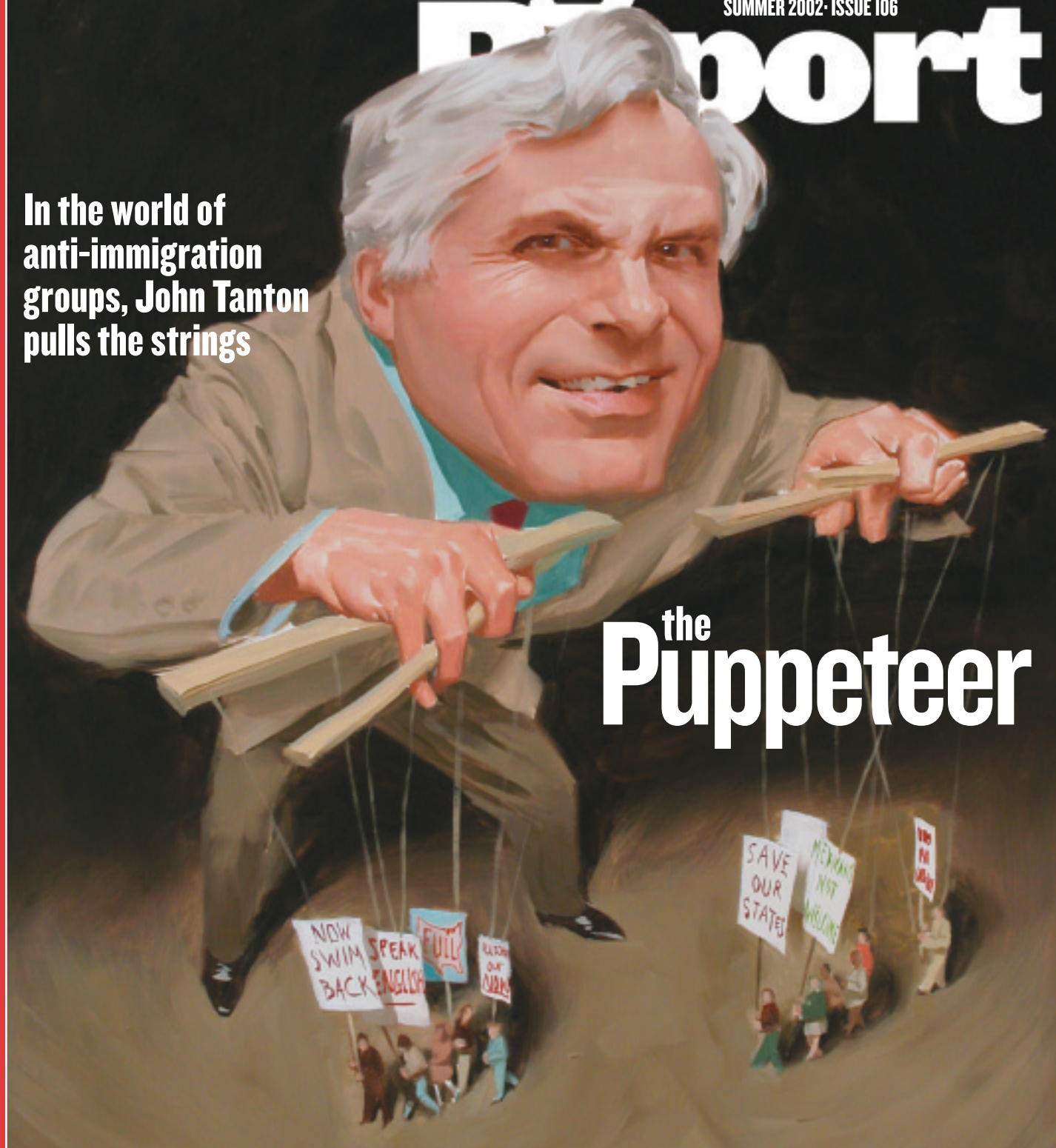
THE SOUTHERN POVERTY LAW CENTER'S

Intelligence Report

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**In the world of
anti-immigration
groups, John Tanton
pulls the strings**

the
Puppeteer





EDITORIAL

From Berlin to Washington

BY MARK POTOK, EDITOR

BERLIN — Everyone, it seemed, was talking about it. The week before, France's immigrant-hating populist, Jean-Marie Le Pen, had shocked the world by winning one in five votes to take second place in the initial round of presidential elections. Now, a million people were in the streets of France, and tens of thousands of others rallied in cities around Europe, to decry the racist xenophobia and violence that were infecting country after European country.

Seen from Berlin, where officials from the Southern Poverty Law Center and other U.S.-based organizations were meeting to discuss tactics with their counterparts in German anti-racist organizations, the tableau was ominous. The anti-foreigner Danish People's Party won 12% of the national vote last November. In recent national elections in Austria and Switzerland, far-right anti-immigrant parties won 27% and 23% of the vote, respectively. Similar parties have done remarkably well recently in Italy, Norway, Romania, the Netherlands and even Britain, where a tiny neofascist party won three local seats in April.

"The ultranationalist, xenophobic right is manifestly on the rise, and not just in France," Tony Judt, director of New York University's Remarque Institute, wrote recently. But, correctly predicting Le Pen's rout in a second round of voting, Judt noted that the extreme right still does not dominate any European government.

The same is certainly true in the United States, where Patrick Buchanan, running on a similarly nativist plank, garnered a tiny fraction of the national vote in the 2000 presidential elections. But just as in Europe, where mainstream parties have clearly been pushed to the right on immigration issues by their extremist rivals, there are strong signs in Washington, D.C., that extremists are gaining influence.

Immigration and the Far Right

In this issue, the *Intelligence Report* details the anti-immigration network largely created and led by one man, a Michigan ophthalmologist named John H. Tanton. More importantly, the magazine's probe shows that many of the groups in this network are increasingly tied to openly white supremacist organizations, like the Council of Conservative Citizens, and that simultaneously, they are gaining power in Washington, especially in the Congressional Immigration Reform Caucus.

In February, the caucus' leader, U.S. Rep. Tom Tancredo (R-Colo.), welcomed a group of anti-immigration activists

from the Tanton network, warning them of a global plot to erode American sovereignty. Re-energized by Tancredo's words and the Sept. 11 attacks that boosted xenophobic fears among Americans, the activists went on to lobby a large number of both congressmen and senators.

Was their influence important? On March 12, a month after the lobbying trip that began with the gathering in Tancredo's offices, Tancredo led a push that fell just one vote short of defeating President Bush's plan to allow some illegal immigrants to remain in the United States while they apply for visas. Opponents of Bush's plan credited the efforts of the anti-immigration groups for the near-defeat. (The bill remained in limbo at press time.) A month later, Tancredo defied his party by harshly and publicly criticizing Bush for his immigration stance, suggesting that his alleged "open borders" policy was an invitation to new terrorist attacks.

The Democratic Debate

The issue of immigration restriction is attractive to many politicians in the wake of Sept. 11 — so attractive that Tancredo's caucus, with just 10 members prior to the terrorist strikes, had reached a total of 59 by May. At the same time, opinion polls consistently show that most Americans support some kind of restriction.

Tancredo's caucus does not inspire confidence. Its Web page now carries links to the leading groups in the Tanton network, including some whose officials have recently joined the Council of Conservative Citizens — a group whose Web page recently described blacks as "a retrograde species of humanity."

The danger is not that immigration will be debated, or possibly even restricted — despite the strong support for immigration of Bush and leading business groups like the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. Clearly, these are matters for debate by the citizens of a democratic society. Rather, from Berlin to Paris to the halls of power in Washington, D.C., the important question is whether the debate will be animated by democratic values or colored by racism and intolerance. ▲

CORRECTION In the Spring 2002 issue of the *Intelligence Report*, we published a list of individuals who hold leadership positions in the Sons of Confederate Veterans and who are also members of hate groups, such as the Council of Conservative Citizens. We included in that list Phillip White, who serves as a national and Florida state leader in the Sons of Confederate Veterans. Mr. White is not a member of the Council of Conservative Citizens. Rather, another Floridian with the same name from the same area is active in the Council. Accordingly, we withdraw our publication of Phillip White's name. We regret the error.

Intelligence Report

COVER ILLUSTRATION BY DANIEL ADEL



44 On the Cover Re-energized by the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks, organized anti-immigration groups have gained new influence in Washington. But a four-month investigation by the *Intelligence Report* finds that this “movement” is dominated by one man and increasingly in bed with racist hate groups. In a related interview, “Defending Immigrants” (p. 39), long-time activist Rick Swartz discusses the recent history of anti-immigration groups.

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Six years after it spawned the Oklahoma City bombings, the antigovernment ‘Patriot’ movement that birthed the militias shrank by almost 20% in 2001.

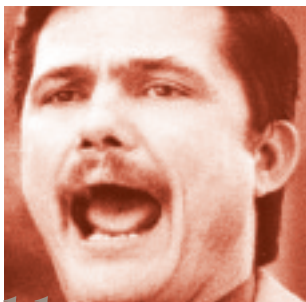
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How did racist organizer David Duke and NAACP leader Kweisi Mfume end up on the same side of a South Carolina lawsuit?

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In Flathead County, Mont., a tiny but well-armed ‘Patriot’ militia allegedly hatched a farfetched plan to spark an armed uprising across the country.

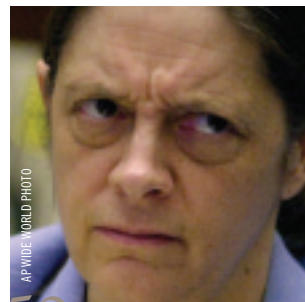
GARRY NUNESTER



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For three decades, white supremacist Louis Beam has helped ignite some of the most frightening activity in the United States. Now, a contentious Idaho custody battle puts this long-time revolutionary back in the news.



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Thanks to shortwave radio station owners who say they love free speech — but may love paying customers even more — some of America’s most rabid voices of hate go out to millions of listeners worldwide.



52 Descent into Darkness
What could possibly lure two socially aware attorneys into the dangerously violent world of an Aryan prison gang? For San Franciscans Marjorie Knoller and Robert Noel, it was power, violence and forbidden sex.

INTELLIGENCE
PROJECT

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WHITE POWER MUSIC

Music Manufacturer Boots Resistance Records

A major entertainment company responsible for manufacturing thousands of racist products sold by Resistance Records — the white power label owned by the neo-Nazi National Alliance — has dropped the client after being questioned by the *Intelligence Report*.

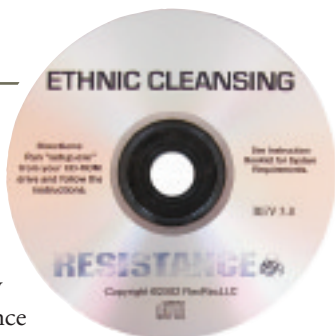
Santa Monica, Calif.-based Rainbo Records, which bills itself as “the oldest and largest in-house manufacturer of vinyl, cassettes, and CDs,” presses compact discs for artists ranging from Lawrence Welk to Elvis Presley to Madonna. Its past clients have included corporate giants like Disney, for whom Rainbo produced the first Disneyland Talking Map (a kind of audiotape tour) in 1956.

Since at least 1999, Rainbo also has replicated CDs filled with white power music — apparently including large numbers of Resistance soundtracks featuring incredibly violent, racist and anti-Semitic lyrics. Most recently, according to a National Alliance E-mail, Rainbo shipped thousands of copies of Resistance’s grotesque “Ethnic Cleansing” video game, which allows players to “run through the ghetto blasting away various blacks and spics to gain entrance to the subway system, where the Jews have hidden to avoid the carnage.”

Rainbo will press 1,000 CDs for \$1,099, a price that includes a “4-page Booklet with 4-color Cover, 1-color Back and 4-color Tray Card ... 2 color CD Label Imprinting, Jewel Box and Shrink-wrap, and quick turnaround.” So for about a dollar a CD, Resistance was able to replicate items like “Declaration of War,” the 1993 tour de force by RAHOWA (a seminal white power band whose name is short for “racial holy war”). “So listen, slimy Jew,” one song goes, “You’re gonna wish you were never born when I get my hands on you.”

Steve Sheldon, Rainbo’s general manager, told the *Intelligence Report* that he had not known the nature of Resistance Records. “They are no longer a client,” he said after being told that America’s premier neo-Nazi group runs and is largely funded by Resistance’s CD sales. “We are gathering all of their components and are going to return them.”

Sheldon, who is Jewish, said he is sensitive to free-speech considerations. But, he said, one has to “draw the line” somewhere.



AP/WIDEWORLD PHOTO

TERRORISM

Latest Anthrax Hoax Targets Latinos

Six months removed from Sept. 11, the wave of anti-immigrant hate crimes and anthrax threats seemed to be over. Robert Salinas certainly thought so. But then, on March 10, the Oakland, Calif., attorney opened an envelope with no return address.

The envelope produced a fine white cloud and included a vitriolic form letter, addressed to “You stupid, fucking, spic turds,” denouncing Latinos as drug users and prostitutes who can’t learn English. The letter also attacked lawyers like Salinas and said that everything Latinos have achieved has resulted from white people’s leadership and generosity. It ended with a warning: “And by the way, watch out for the white powdery stuff in this envelope.”

“I was scared,” said Salinas, who immediately called 911. But he wasn’t alone: More than 40 Latino advocacy groups, attorneys, community activists and students received the same letter in March. None of the envelopes tested positive for anthrax. But the FBI said it was taking the threats “very seriously,” treating the mailings as a violation of the federal hate crime statute. Last year, in the wake of the Sept. 11 attacks, more than 300 fake anthrax letters were sent to abortion clinics and related facilities. A fugitive anti-abortion zealot, Clayton Waagner, was suspected.

The anti-Latino letters were signed by a self-described legal Indian immigrant. A woman with the same name who lives in San Ramon, Calif., tearfully denied that she had written the letter, and FBI officials agreed.

Christopher Arriola, president of the La Raza Lawyers Association in San Jose, Calif., which also received one of the letters, told the *Intelligence Report* that the intent was clear: “to degrade and dehumanize.” Meanwhile, Latino leaders were left wondering who might have been behind the threats — and what they might try next.

“What concerns me,” Salinas told the *San Jose Mercury News*, “is that there’s this group out there that’s very angry. They used every negative stereotype. What else are they willing to do?”

MAINSTREAMING EXTREMISM

Citing neo-Nazi and Racist Sources, Buchanan Sounds the Alarm

The man is to the point. "This new book deals with the vanishing white race and the vanishing European race and the death of our culture and civilization," he says, "and these are very sensitive subjects."

Could that be the voice of William Pierce, America's foremost neo-Nazi, flogging his latest tome? No, actually, it's erstwhile presidential candidate Pat Buchanan, whipping up interest in his own new book, *The Death of the West*, in an interview this spring with *Southern Partisan* magazine.

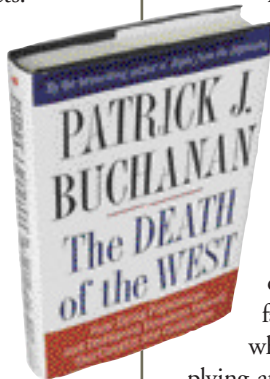
But there is a connection.

In the book and subsequent interviews, the recent Reform Party presidential candidate blows the lid off his extremist

sympathies, relying on a whole array of extreme-right sources for "facts" that seem to support his ideas — among them, a 1993 broadcast of Pierce's National Alliance

radio show "American Dissident Voices." The broadcast is cited as part of an attack on 1930s intellectuals for fomenting "social revolution."

The thesis of *The Death of the West* is fundamentally alarmist: White people (that is, Europeans and their U.S. descendants) are not reproducing fast enough to replace themselves, while non-Westerners are multiplying at a terrifying pace. As a result, Buchanan says, the "greatest civilization in history" is headed for an early grave. America will be a Third World nation by 2050, the three-time presidential candidate predicts.



Along the way, Buchanan relies on the discredited work of the hate group New Century Foundation (which publishes *American Renaissance*, a magazine devoted to "scientific" racism) to suggest that blacks are inherently more criminal than whites. In arguing that America is "beyond refutation" a Christian nation, he regurgitates the views of Christian Reconstructionists — people who want to replace democratic rule with Old Testament law — like Gary DeMar, Otto Scott and George Grant.

And Buchanan buys into the wildly conspiracist claim of the anti-immigrant hate group American Patrol/Voice of Citizens Together that Mexican forces are about to retake the American Southwest and create a new nation called Aztlán. For good measure, he quotes from an infamous American Patrol videotape.

It could have been worse. Buchanan's fast friend and editor, Sam Francis, told a February *American Renaissance* conference that Buchanan's publisher, St. Martin's Press, had "removed many explicitly racial passages" from the book. According to Francis, St. Martin's also insisted Buchanan change his working title: *The Death of Whitey*.

HOLOCAUST 'REVISIONISM'

Difficult Days for Deniers

When Holocaust "revisionists" gathered in Moscow for a major conference in January, they got a dose of the usual — anti-Semitic diatribes, speeches blaming the "international Jewish conspiracy" for globalization — and also a dollop of the bizarre.

The "Conference on Global Problems in World History" was bankrolled by American anti-Semite Willis Carto and co-sponsored by Oleg Platonov, a well-known Russian Holocaust denier and editor of *The Encyclopedia of Russian Civilization*. A few elements went off as planned, including a speech on the "Zionist Factor in the USA" by David Duke, the American neo-Nazi and former

Klan leader who now calls Moscow home. But other things started to unravel two days before the conference, when Platonov broke his leg and ended up in the hospital. Then three speakers begged off with illness or visa problems.

For pure drama, however, nothing could top the presentation of Russell Granta, a retired schoolteacher from California. After Granta proclaimed that his historical digging had clearly proven that "none of the concentration camps was a death camp," he suddenly put a hand to his heart and tumbled headfirst off the podium, reportedly suffering a heart attack. According to *Searchlight*, a British anti-fascist

magazine, Granta's audience "took this as mystical proof of the courageous and exhausting day-to-day struggle of the revisionists."

Meanwhile, the day-to-day struggle of Holocaust writer David Irving continued. Following a disastrously unsuccessful libel action against Deborah Lipstadt, an American college professor who called him a "Hitler partisan," Irving was ordered to pay Lipstadt and her publisher legal costs of 2 million pounds. After failing to make a required interim payment in February, Irving was

declared bankrupt by London's High Court.

Irving, who recently announced a move to Edinburgh, Scotland, has not let his financial woes slow him down. In April he began a speaking tour of the United States, with publicity provided by the neo-Nazi National Alliance. Irving's scheduled stops included Atlanta, Boston, San Francisco and Las Vegas, where, perhaps, he hoped to hit a jackpot.



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTO

RUNNING ON RACE

Racially Charged Political Campaigns in Four States

While the U.S. radical right doesn't yet have its own Jean-Marie Le Pen, extremist politicians have been making waves — and winning a surprising amount of support — in local and statewide elections across the country. In a related case, an Alabama congressman's supporters are accused of being behind an anti-Semitic attack pamphlet.

In 1992, Scott Sutterlin was featured on a "Geraldo" show taped at a Klan rally, proclaiming that black people should have been sent "back to Africa a long time ago." A decade later, he entered a state Senate race in southern Illinois — and garnered a healthy 10% of the Republican primary vote.

Sutterlin didn't win votes by running away from his past; in fact, he added a new twist, advocating that U.S. forces be withdrawn from Afghanistan and re-deployed along the Mexican border to put a stop to immigration. Denying

that he is a racist, Sutterlin slightly softened his earlier view of African Americans to suggest that their return to Africa should be optional, and that "we should pay their way if that's what they want."

Resegregation was also a campaign platform for Joseph C. Keller, who earlier this year won 7% of the votes in a run for mayor of Ballwin, Mo. Keller, who hosts a cable-access television show called *White Power!*, vowed to make Ballwin an "Aryan freedom zone with segregated schools."

In Mobile, Ala., a leader of the white supremacist Council for Conservative Citizens (ccc) spent the spring trying to convert his own small measure of local fame into votes for the state House of Representatives. Twenty-nine-year-old Tim Meadows, a painting contractor who claims to be descended from two Confederate generals, was arrested last November after crossing a police line with a Confederate battle flag and joining a Veterans Day march uninvited. Meadows, who faces a 24-year incumbent in the June Republican primary, calls himself "an average everyday workingman that's just fed up."

In another Alabama case, Harvard-educated attorney Artur Davis accused supporters of five-term Congressman Earl Hilliard of circulating an anti-Semitic flier attacking Davis. The men, both black, were in a three-way battle to win a June Democratic primary race. The one-page flier, entitled "Davis and the Jews, No Good for the Black Belt [an area of Alabama]," was being distributed by a Hilliard aide and may have been written by Hilliard consultants, a Davis spokesman said. The flier attacked Davis for supporting Israel's "policy of complete domination" and for sending blacks to prison as a federal prosecutor. Hilliard denied having anything to do with the "deplorable" flier and accused Davis of being behind it.

In South Carolina, a leader of the racist Council of Conservative Citizens is running for governor. Rebekah "Reb" Sutherland, who writes an inflammatory column about educational issues, joined a crowded field for the Republican gubernatorial primary in June. Sutherland, who is on the ccc's ruling council, raised a few eyebrows when she called leaders of the NAACP "domestic terrorists" for their campaign to remove the Confederate battle flag from Statehouse grounds.

Then, after the Charleston *Post and Courier* criticized Sutherland's remarks, she

wrote a letter announcing that she had been "called into this race" by higher powers. "When you attack me, if God chooses to come to my defense, then I am not responsible for what happens to you, your family, or your newspaper," Sutherland fumed darkly. "God is moving to set His children free. It is my duty to warn you."

RADICAL LAWYERS

Lyons Gets a Licking

As "chief trial counsel" for the Southern Legal Resource Center, flamboyant Kirk Lyons has made a name for himself as the legal champion of the neo-Confederate movement, a man dedicated to prosecuting so-called "heritage violations" against his beloved South.

There's only one hitch: Lyons has a habit of losing.

Last November, the long-time white supremacist attorney filed suit in Austin, Texas, on behalf of five people who said their civil rights were violated when they were told they couldn't carry their Confederate flags into a high-school football game. Employees of Hays High School and the Hays County School District were named as defendants.

In February, U.S. District Court Judge Sam Sparks harshly criticized the lawsuit, ordering the plaintiffs to either drop their claims within 21 days or face sanctions from the court. "It would appear," the judge said in his order, "the plaintiffs have filed a complaint requesting a temporary injunction when they did not want one, obtained publicity because of the allegations, sued the wrong parties and in all probability have no constitutional cause of action against any party."

Undeterred by the embarrassing ruling, Lyons decided on March 1 not to drop the suit. The SLRC said recently that the fines imposed to that point had amounted to \$9,173.

In April, Lyons lost another "heritage" case, this one on behalf of a Mobile, Ala., man arrested after he strode through a police line in order to carry a Confederate battle flag in that city's annual Veterans Day Parade. Lyons vowed to appeal Tim Meadows' \$500 fine.

Lyons' misadventures appear to be taking a toll on the SLRC's finances. The groups' recent E-mail update ends with a desperate-sounding appeal: "SIMPLY PUT — WE ARE AT OUR FINANCIAL LIMIT." In addition to the fines imposed in Texas, it reports, "We are \$10,000 in the hole in our bank account and we have back income tax we owe the IRS!" And then, for the third time, readers are reminded: "ALL DONATIONS ARE TAX DEDUCTIBLE!!!"



Rebekah "Reb" Sutherland

WHITE NATIONALISM

'Goodbye, League of the South'



The leading light of the neo-Confederate movement continues to lose prominent members — and to be racked with internal dissension.

Lake High, the former South Carolina chairman of the white supremacist League of the South, bade farewell to the group he helped found in the pages of *The Edgefield Journal*, the “Officially Declared Conservative Voice of the South.” In a recent article titled “Goodbye, League of the South,” High said he was forced to leave because the new South Carolina head, Jay Mowery, had kidnapped his Web site, www.palmetto.org, and whisked it away to a “Christian” server. High claims that he lost material that he owned as a result.

When League President Michael Hill reportedly refused to restore High’s access to the site, High went public with a passel of League criticisms. So did his former partner at www.palmetto.org, Virgil Huston, who also quit the League and attacked Hill for “supporting a state-based religion.”

In a related matter, recent League letterhead reflected the notable absence of two highly regarded members of its board of directors, Grady McWhiney and Thomas Fleming. The apparent departures of Fleming, head of the arch-conservative Rockford Institute, and McWhiney — whose book, *Cracker Culture*, has become a neo-Confederate bible

— showed the exodus of key League members is not slowing.

Overall, the League appears to be suffering from a stifling religiosity — many key leaders are Christian Reconstructionists who seek to impose Old Testament law upon civil society — and from the intemperate remarks of its leader, Hill, who characterized the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks as a “natural fruit” of multiculturalism and racial diversity. Now, the remaining members of the once-9,000-strong group sound increasingly isolated and angry.

Nearly two years after the League was exposed as a hate group by the Southern Poverty Law Center, its depleted leadership attacked the Center for using “the well-known Soviet tactics of spreading disinformation.” Its press release “demanded” that the media stop using Center information. Four years ago — before the Center noted a hardening of the League’s politics — the League Web page carried a prominent notice boasting that the Center had *not* listed it as a hate group.

ACADEMIC RACISM

Death of a ‘Truth-Telling Gentleman’



Glayde Whitney

The radical right lost one of its favorite race scientists when 62-year-old Glayde Whitney died in Florida on Jan. 9.

Whitney was a regular contributor to *American Renaissance*, a racist magazine emphasizing IQ studies and eugenics, and an active member the Council of Conservative Citizens, the reincarnation of the White Citizens Councils formed in the 1950s to resist desegregation of Southern schools. He also taught psychology at Florida State University for more than 31 years, researching the genetic mechanisms underlying behavior. His main finding was that science supposedly “proves” that blacks are generally less intelligent than whites.

Whitney gained national notoriety when he wrote a fawning introduction to former Ku Klux Klan leader David Duke’s 1999 book, *My Awakening*. Whitney concluded that Duke had relied on “good science” in contending that blacks should be separated from whites. He called Duke a “seeker of truth” not unlike some of history’s greatest thinkers, including “Socrates and Isaac Newton.”

“One of his honest truths,” Whitney wrote of Duke, is that “racial egalitarianism is the scientific equivalent of the flat-Earth theory.”

In lieu of flowers, Whitney’s family asked that donations be sent to the Charles Martel Society, the self-described “intellectual home of Western nationalism.” The recently created society puts out a slick, academic-looking journal called *The Occidental Quarterly*, edited by a Who’s Who of the radical right and bankrolled by William H. Regnery II, the reclusive Chicago millionaire who is heir to the Regnery publishing fortune. The second issue, published soon after Whitney’s death, ends with a lengthy book review by Whitney in which he — no irony intended — picks apart a thesis that “smacks of ideology more than science.”

Whitney’s children, Timothy and Scott, asked that “ole Doc” be remembered as “the double-gun toting, intellectual, un-conforming, truth-telling gentleman that he is, was, and always will be.”

ARYANS INTERRUPTED

The Aryan Nations, long a top neo-Nazi group, is homeless, split, accused of blackmail, and in jeopardy of irrelevance

Last October, leaders of the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations, the famous Idaho hate group whose founder was forced to sell its headquarters compound after being ordered to pay millions of dollars in damages, announced that they were about to release a brand new videotape.

The title of their new film? “Out of the Ashes.”

It was an upbeat name, to be sure. But six months after the announcement by Harold Ray Redfeairn and August Kreis, there is no videotape. The audiotape that was supposed to accompany it hasn’t been produced, either. In fact, the hoped-for renaissance of the group whose members rained death and destruction on northern Idaho for more than a quarter of a century seems more dubious than ever.

The compound that long served as the group’s home is gone, sold off to satisfy creditors in a lawsuit. The founder of the group is in a war of words with Redfeairn and Kreis, the men he named to succeed him, that seems to have grown out of a dispute over a follower’s girlfriend. In March, Redfeairn and Kreis’ security chief announced that he was an informer and had evidence of an Aryan plot to blackmail a cable television company. A few days later, someone shot a leg off Kreis’ dog, prompting a series of furious threats.

The caper may have come April 20, a high holy day on the Aryan calendar because it is Adolf Hitler’s birthday. Aryan Nations founder Richard Butler held a Pennsylvania rally attended by about a dozen followers, while his erstwhile deputies, Redfeairn and Kreis, attended their own tiny celebration in Narvon, Pa., just an hour’s drive away.

Aryan Nations has come back from the near-dead before. There *is* a real threat that it may be reconstituted in diluted form on Kreis’ land near Ulysses, Pa. But it seems quite clear that this group will never again be what it once was.

The Troubles Begin

For Aryan Nations, it has been a rocky few years.

In September 2000, an Idaho jury rendered a \$6.3 million verdict against the group, its leader Butler and several security guards. The civil suit, brought by the Southern Poverty Law Center on behalf of a woman and her son who were attacked and terrorized by Aryan Nations security guards, ultimately

resulted in the 2001 sale of the 20-acre compound that had been the group’s headquarters.

Butler left the Hayden Lake, Idaho, compound he’d built in the early 1970s, moving into a nearby home donated by a millionaire supporter. He gave Sunday sermons to a tiny group in his new living room, even as the compound was sold off to a California entrepreneur who would soon donate it for use as a peace park.





In 1997, when the Aryan Nations was going strong, leader Ray Redfeairn addressed a crowd of 500 opponents and 175 supporters in Hamilton, Ohio (left).

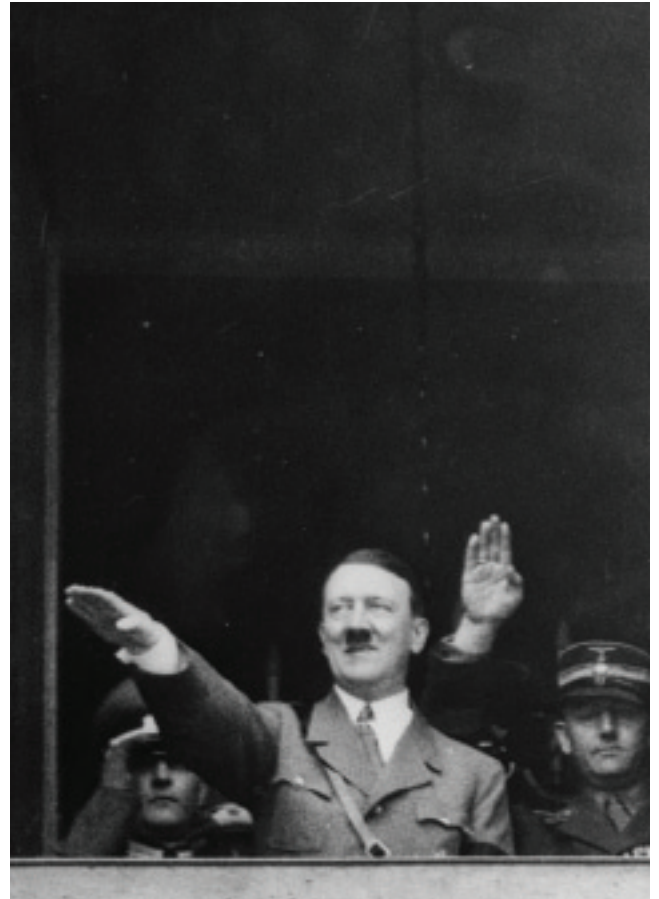
Redfeairn and August Kreis (below left), minister of propaganda, have tried to resurrect the Aryan Nations on Kreis' land near Ulysses, Pa.

In front of the Potter County Courthouse (below right), Kreis explains the group's move to Pennsylvania, accompanied by the Aryan Nations' minister of security, who goes by the pseudonym Mike Spence.

AP WIDE WORLD PHOTO



AP WIDE WORLD PHOTO



AP WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

Richard Butler (top left), the 84-year-old Aryan Nations founder, gives the Nazi salute during a tiny rally at the York County Courthouse marking the April 20 birthday of Adolf Hitler, shown celebrating in his own fashion in 1935 (top right).

Kathy Hannon (bottom left) and Ginger Garber of Harrisburg hold signs protesting the April 20 gathering. Last fall, 650 local residents signed a newspaper ad supporting tolerance.

Michael L. Reed (bottom right), who infiltrated the Pennsylvania headquarters, reveals the group's alleged plans to extort money from a local cable-television company.

At the time, Butler, who is now 84, had a designated heir. But last August, California racist Neumann Britton died, and Butler traveled to Pennsylvania to preside over a memorial service attended by 50 people. At the gathering, Butler cut off Kreis' ponytail — something that Kreis said signified going into battle.

In late September, Butler announced that Redfeairn, of Dayton, Ohio, would be his heir, with the title of national director, while Kreis would become minister of propaganda. Butler said that a young follower in Idaho, Shaun Winkler, would be youth corps director, while Butler himself would remain as "spiritual leader."

Despite the group's new center of gravity to the east — where Redfeairn and Kreis both live, and where Kreis offered his Pennsylvania land as a new gathering place — Butler emphasized that headquarters would remain in Idaho.

Aryan vs. Aryan

But it was not to be that simple. Last November, Redfeairn announced that Winkler had been discharged from Aryan Nations. Winkler apparently had sent an insulting E-mail to Kreis that complained about Kreis and Redfeairn's treatment of Winkler's girlfriend, Candice "Nikki" Hansen. Butler would later tell a reporter that the dispute was over who could be Aryan Nations members. Still another source, an insider, said the real dispute was over Hansen's alleged Native American blood. In any event, Butler shot a message back, saying Winkler would stay.

On Jan. 28, Redfeairn and Kreis announced that both Butler and Winkler had been kicked out — Butler had "surrounded himself by idiots," they fumed — and that they intended to purge Aryan Nations of "weirdos, winos and clowns." Butler fired back, saying the pair had "weaseled their way in" to take over the group.

Anyway, Butler added, he'd already fired them — a week before.

A day later, apparently seeking to defuse Butler's criticism, Redfeairn said he would resign in March, handing power to

a triumvirate of Kreis, friend Charles Juba (at whose Narvon, Pa., home Redfeairn and Kreis celebrated Hitler's birthday) and a third officer to be named later. But March came and went without Redfeairn's resignation or any other apparent change in his faction's leadership.

At the same time, Redfeairn welcomed a new member — James Wickstrom, a white supremacist now living in Michigan. Wickstrom is a veteran activist who, expert observers agree, could inject new life into Aryan Nations. But it remains unclear what Wickstrom's role will really be.

'That's Crazyiness'

As the leadership dispute continued — with competing Web sites and white supremacist groups lining up on one or the other side — a newspaper article appeared in the *Buffalo News* that seemed to spell trouble for Redfeairn's faction. Michael L. Reid, who said he was a Christian fundamentalist opposed to Aryan Nations, said he had been named security chief and had been privy to a Kreis plot to extort money from Adelphia Communications, a cable TV firm near his home. Kreis' plan, Reid told the paper, was to ask \$250,000-\$500,000 from Adelphia in return for a promise to move Aryan Nations elsewhere.

The intended target of the plot, Adelphia's founder, said he never was approached. But Kreis did acknowledge that he had brought in Reid, undoubtedly hurting his credibility among fellow white supremacists. "The biggest hurt for me is he infiltrated my family," Kreis complained. "My children loved him.

"How do I explain this to my five children?"

Kreis and Redfeairn, who served five years in prison for shooting and critically wounding a police officer, have said they intend to turn Kreis' land into the new Aryan Nations compound. Redfeairn says he intends to move there this spring, while Kreis claims "three or four" others are also planning to move in.

Locals are deeply worried about that possibility. But at press time, there were no signs of white supremacists moving to



Richard Butler's designated heir, Neumann Britton, foiled the plan by dying last August.



Shaun Winkler, the youth corps director whose girlfriend reportedly caused a rift in the Aryan Nations' embattled leadership.



James Wickstrom, a veteran activist for the white supremacist cause, is one of the Aryan Nations' newest — and potentially most effective — members.



the area, a rough and isolated part of the country that is 98% white. What's more, there were many signs that locals would not welcome the neo-Nazis. Last fall, for instance, 650 residents signed a full-page ad in the local newspaper supporting tolerance after Butler's visit.

For his part, Butler didn't seem to be doing well, either.

On Hitler's birthday, despite being hospitalized for chest pains a week earlier, Butler held a rally in York, Pa., presumably to show he was still top dog and could still draw a big crowd — even in the state that seemed to have been captured by rivals Redfeairn and Kreis. (Aryan Nations state chapters, to the extent that they are still active, are split between the rival factions. But these chapters overall are weakening as members drift off.) Winkler predicted 350 racists would attend. In the event, there were perhaps a dozen, facing some 40 anti-racists and about 200 police.

What's more, according to *The York Dispatch*, the airline lost Butler's luggage on his trip in. The rental car company at the airport denied that it had any reservation for him. Winkler was stuck in Minnesota with a broken-down car, unable to make it. Even Butler's brief speech, when he finally made it, was drowned out by the shouts of a street preacher and the roar of police helicopters overhead.

A black cab driver at the airport who refused to carry the old hatemeister may have summed it up best. "That's craziness," said driver Johnny Lovejoy. ▲

Richard Butler arrived in Pennsylvania for an April 20 rally, only to find that his baggage and his rental-car reservations had been lost. To complicate matters further, taxi driver Johnny Lovejoy declined to give the old hatemeister a lift.

LOUIS BEAM, REVOLUTIONARY LEADER, FIRE-BREATHING ORATOR AND RACIST STRATEGIST *PAR EXCELLENCE*, COULD BE FACING HIS WATERLOO

THE FIREBRAND



BECKY BREMER

When he was in Texas leading Klan protests against Vietnamese shrimpers, he offered an “in-service” on “the right way to burn a shrimp boat.” In the days that fol-

lowed, unknown arsonists torched at least two Vietnamese-owned boats. ¶ Hours after he taught a guerrilla warfare class at an Idaho neo-Nazi compound, a series of seven arson fires burned much of a nearby downtown. Police said the arsonist likely attended the class, but no one was ever arrested. ¶ After allegedly plotting to overthrow the government, he was charged with

sedition in a major federal trial — and acquitted on all counts. ¶ But now, Louis Ray Beam Jr., the fiery orator and racist organizer who has done as much as any other to

animate the radical right, is facing another kind of battle. After taking on his fourth ex-wife in an Idaho custody dispute, Beam found himself accused in court of sexual molestation regarding the very girls whom he had sought to see more of. If a Texas criminal investigation finds the charges have merit, Beam may find himself facing a trial that could put an end to his career.



Beam's stint as a machine gunner in Vietnam left him filled with rage — not only at “communists,” but also at the U.S. government.

For three decades now, Louis Beam has been a leader and principal theorist to some of the most frightening people in America. He has been a top official of the Ku Klux Klan and the Aryan Nations, a mentor to terrorists who went on to murder, rob and counterfeit, and at the top of the FBI's Ten Most Wanted List. He popularized the concept of “leaderless resistance” used by a series of extremist criminals who arguably included Timothy McVeigh. He was one of the very first to try to bring extremists into the computer age, and even used his computer skills to popularize an “Aryan” point system for assassination. Recently, he has spent large amounts of time in Costa Rica with a close friend, a major marijuana-smuggling fugitive.

“He's one of a half dozen people who have shaped the white supremacy movement since the Vietnam War,” said Leonard Zeskind, a long-time expert on the radical right. “He has been accorded the venerated status of a movement elder.”

Louis Beam won't talk to “prostitute” reporters. But he denies through his attorney the allegations of “sexual abuse or misconduct” in the trial record of the custody dispute he initiated last year. Still, if the charges stick, Beam may be fatally discredited in the movement he did so much to build.

Beam, 55, has always been something of a mystery figure, dropping out of sight for months or even years at a time, only to resurface at some key event or venue. He shuns public attention, operating instead in a shadowy world where racist ideologues rub shoulders with men who kill, terrorize and steal. Nevertheless, largely because his essays are so widely circulated and he is such a hero to

so many, it is possible to glean a sense of Louis Beam, one of the very angriest of angry white men.

A Life of Violence Begins

Louis Ray Beam was born Aug. 20, 1946, in the hard-scrabble East Texas city of Lufkin. He was the oldest of four children born to Lewis and Madeline Beam before the couple divorced. Although race relations in East Texas historically have been poor, family members say Beam's siblings did not follow his racist path.

Little is known about Beam's early life. But by the time he was 20, Beam had joined the Army at a time when the Vietnam War was white hot. After serving 18 months, much of it as a door machine gunner in helicopter gunships, Beam returned home full of rage — at “communists,” but even more so at the U.S. government. He brought with him several medals including the Distinguished Flying Cross.

When he and other GIs returned, anti-war protesters “threw blood in our faces and feces on our caskets,” Beam wrote in one essay. “No excuses will change that,” he said. He blamed anti-war dissent on “the very people who sent us over there.”

For decades after, Beam would blame the government for his alleged exposure to the chemical defoliant Agent Orange, continuing war flashbacks, and a case of post-traumatic stress syndrome that he says has caused a sleep disorder. Officials judged him totally disabled and now, according to records in the custody case, he lives on \$1,603 a month in benefits from the government he despises.

Like thousands of others, Beam came home with a burning anger that would not go away. Unlike most of them, his rage was aimed at a whole array of enemies. “There seems to be no end to it all,” he said of the lingering effects of

Vietnam. “I wonder if stress can be defined as wanting to machine-gun all the people who sent us over there, along with the ones who spit on us when we returned?” He also spoke of the joys of killing your enemy, writing in an essay titled “Body Count” that he had worried about leaving Vietnam “without wracking up 50 kills.”

“It looked to me like he relished the idea of killing,” recalled Randall Williams, an anti-racist investigator who came to know Beam later. “A 50-caliber machine-gun does pretty horrible things to people, and I don’t see how a normal person could enjoy that in the way that Beam professed to.”

In 1968, the same year he returned, Beam joined up with the Texas chapter of the United Klans of America, the Alabama-based group headed by Robert Shelton that was behind much of the violence directed at the civil rights movement.

Sometime in the early 1970s, grand juries in Houston indicted Beam in the bombing of the left-wing Pacifica radio station and a machine-gun attack on local Communist Party headquarters. The charges were eventually dropped.

Beam went to the University of Houston from 1974 to 1976, majoring in history, although he did not graduate as he sometimes has claimed. In 1976, he left Shelton’s group to join the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, then led by rising Klan star David Duke. Duke quickly promoted him to a Texas district leader.

How to Burn a Shrimp Boat

Soon, Beam’s activities seemed to accelerate. He worked to recruit Klan members at Fort Hood, a sprawling Army base in central Texas. (In early 1979, Beam and Duke were

escorted at a Klan rally in Euless, Texas, by several soldiers wearing fatigues and armed with rifles.) During the same period, he was arrested for lunging at Deng Xiaoping in a ritzy hotel when the Chinese leader visited the state — and he was also elevated by Duke to grand dragon, or state leader, of Texas.

When the Pentagon moved to hinder the Klan’s recruiting of soldiers, Beam turned to the Texas Emergency Reserve — the paramilitary unit of the Texas Klan. As he had earlier with other Klansmen, he taught guerrilla war techniques to reserve members at a secret Klan paramilitary camp near Anahuac. Later, while training his men on land near Fort Worth, Beam was arrested for trespassing and ultimately sentenced to six months probation. At the same time, Beam operated his Public Information Bookstore in the gritty, working-class Houston suburb of Pasadena.

“I remember seeing videotapes of him instructing his recruits,” said Williams, who was the founding director of the Southern Poverty Law Center’s Klanwatch project. “The lectures were about how you get

people into the ‘kill zone,’ and then it’s maximum firepower, just, ‘Kill, kill, kill!’ He’s the kind of guy who, if he were in the military saying that, you’d be concerned about his mental health.”

In early 1981, a group of white shrimp fishermen in Galveston Bay, Texas, asked Beam and his Klan to support them in their struggle against Vietnamese refugees who had begun to fish the same Gulf of Mexico waters. Beam responded enthusiastically, telling a large crowd that they were going to have to get back the country “the way our founding fathers got it — with blood, blood, blood.”



MARK PETERSEN/SABA

IN HIS OWN WORDS *For 30 years, Louis Ray Beam has been a leading firebrand of the American revolutionary right. An angry man, full of rage since his years as a helicopter machine gunner in Vietnam, Beam has gained a reputation as a white-hot movement speaker with a flair for the dramatic and a fondness for vivid phraseology. He also is famous for his essays on such topics as “leaderless resistance” and what he sees as the disappearing divide between the traditional right and left. Here, gathered from essays and speeches from the 1980s to the present, are some of his words:*

“In the United States today a great war is raging, a war that, despite its supreme importance to mankind, is unknown to all but its participants. The conflict is between forces of good and evil, life and death. It is a struggle that, by its outcome, will decide the future of the world. . . . The totality of white existence is on the line — hedging, hanging, pendulously swinging in the balance — as our actions and deeds weigh the difference on the scale of fate.”

“UNDERSTANDING THE STRUGGLE,” *ESSAYS OF A KLANSMAN*, 1983

“Our goal — a Racial Nation of and by ourselves — nothing less. No compromise, no concessions, no quid pro quo, no rest or cessation of effort and will until we have our National State. Those who work for our Nation are our allies; those who oppose it are adversaries.”

“FOREWORD,” *ESSAYS OF A KLANSMAN*, 1983 ➤

"The time is past for talk. ... We must begin the preparations necessary to retrieve our country from the hands of the enemy which now controls it. It should be plain to everyone what is needed: knives, guns and courage. Our Forefathers ... knew what to do. No trembling in boots, no debate about the legalities of shooting British agents, no talk of loss of job or bills to be paid. They killed their oppressors, shot them in the stomach or in the face, slit their throats, and relished the warmth of the tyrants' blood between their fingers. Where are such men today?"

"IT IS TIME," *ESSAYS OF A KLANSMAN*, 1983

"When we came home [from Vietnam] they threw blood in our faces, and feces on our caskets. No excuses now will change that. It could have been prevented. But there was no desire to prevent it. It was allowed, encouraged, and even promoted by the very people who sent us over there. Now they think they can bury some poor soul in Arlington National Cemetery, and at the same time bury the guilt along with their conscience. Never! They can erect all the black marble slabs they want, have all of the 15-year-late parades they care to, but it will change nothing."

"FORGET! HELL NO," *ESSAYS OF A KLANSMAN*, 1983 ➤

Someone had brought an old skiff to the rally with the words *USS Vietcong* painted on its hull. "This is the right way to burn a shrimp boat," Beam shouted as he torched the boat to the roar of the crowd. "This is in-service training."

In the next weeks, crosses were burned in the yards of the Vietnamese and their supporters. The owner of a marina where some Vietnamese boats had docked was threatened and received Klan cards in his mailbox. At least two Vietnamese-owned boats were destroyed by arsonists. And on March 15, the conflict became national news when well-armed Klansmen and others rode a shrimp boat around the bay, displaying a hanging human effigy and firing a blank from a cannon.

Beam Finds a Nemesis

As the situation heated up, lawyers from the Southern Poverty Law Center stepped in to seek injunctions ordering the Klan to cease its intimidation and shut down a total

of five paramilitary camps. (At one point, Gene Fisher, the fishermen's leader, told reporters that 50 to 60 of his followers had trained in Beam's camps.) It was the beginning of a personal hatred that Beam would harbor for decades against Morris Dees, co-founder of the Center and the lead lawyer in the case.

In one deposition, Beam sat across from Dees, holding a book titled *Exorcism* and mouthing, "You die, you die, you die." At another, Dees suspected Beam was carrying a pistol. On the street one day, Beam pantomimed firing a gun — a paper bag covered his firing hand — at Dees and other Center staffers.

In the end, a judge entered an injunction barring the defendants from intimidating the Vietnamese. Not long after, another injunction was entered that barred the Klan from operating paramilitary camps.

Beam made some key contacts in this period. He traveled in 1981 to the Idaho compound of the neo-Nazi Aryan



JOHN VAN BEEKUM



JOHN VAN BEEK/UM

Nations, led by Richard Butler, then a rising star on the white supremacist scene (see related story p. 6). Butler would soon return the favor by attending a rally in Galveston Bay — and by giving Beam the title of Aryan Nations “ambassador at large.” Beam also got help from Neill Payne, who conducted training sessions at Beam’s paramilitary Klan camps. Today, Payne is a principal of the Southern Legal Resource Center, led by white supremacist lawyer and Beam pal Kirk Lyons. Both men, despite their associations with extremist groups, deny they are racists.

In March 1982, Beam moved to Butler’s 20-acre compound, beginning in earnest a relationship that would last for many years. At that July’s Aryan World Congress, Beam was awarded the “Aryans of Outstanding Valor” medal.

That same year, Beam was arrested on a Texas warrant accusing him of kidnapping his daughter, Sarah, who was then a little over 2 years old, from the Dallas apartment of his third ex-wife, Kara Mikels. (Sheila Toohey, Beam’s fourth ex-wife and the person battling him in the ongoing

custody dispute, says in court papers that Beam took the toddler to Mexico, Costa Rica and Canada, staying abroad for two years.) But the charges were dropped. Officials said that Mikels may have been feeling pressure from Beam’s Klan associates. In her filing, Toohey alleges that Beam had a third party contact Mikels “and threaten her that if she ever wanted to see her daughter again she had better drop all charges.” Beam denies that.

In January 1983, Morris Dees received a letter from Beam on Aryan Nations stationery. “I challenge you to a dual [sic] to the death,” it read in part. “You against me. No federal judges, no federal marshals, no FBI agents, not anyone except yourself and I. We go to the woods (your state or mine) and settle once and for all the enmity that exists between us. Two go in — one comes out.”

Enter The Order

Later in 1983, the militant mood of the Aryan World Congress was captured in a Beam speech. “We are at war!” Beam told attendees. “There’s nothing we won’t do to bring about the new kingdom.” Several listeners would take him at his word.

Two months later, in September, a number of Beam’s friends at Aryan Nations secretly formed a group known as The Order, or the Silent Brotherhood. Led by Robert J. Mathews, the group would print counterfeit money on the Aryan Nations’ presses before going on to rob armored cars and murder enemies.

The Order would become one of the most famous domestic terrorist groups of modern American history. Beam’s ties to the group — many of whose members were his close friends — have never been clear. But it is known that Mathews handed out copies of Beam’s *Essays of a Klansman*, published at Aryan Nations in 1983. The book was dedicated to 10 racist leaders and “those yet unknown patriots, who are even now preparing to strike at the enemies of God, our race and our nation.”

The FBI later concluded this was a reference to The Order.

At one point in The Order’s two-year criminal rampage — before Mathews was killed in a shootout with the FBI and some 24 others were imprisoned — Mathews distributed a document to his followers entitled “Bruders Schweigen [German for Silent Brotherhood] Staff.” Louis Beam, under the code name “Lone Star,” was listed as the future civilian leader of the “Western district” of America.

‘American Know-How’ and the Revolution

In one of the Beam essays that Order members read, he laid out a detailed “point system” to become an “Aryan warrior,” and offered a list of proposed targets that included members of the media. (He would later popularize this point system over his computer network.) Later, The Order drew up its own assassination list. At the top was Dees, according to

In 1981, Beam encouraged white fishermen in Galveston Bay, Texas, to burn boats owned by Vietnamese fishermen (left). Beam’s Klan compatriots made national news riding a shrimp boat around the bay, firing a blank from a cannon and displaying a hanging human effigy (above).



a book by journalists Kevin Flynn and Gary Gerhardt, *The Silent Brotherhood: Inside America's Racist Underground*. But Order members skipped down to an easier target, Denver radio talk show host Alan Berg, who had angered rightists earlier. The Order murdered Berg on June 18, 1984.

At around the same time, Beam showed up unexpectedly one day at the refurbished offices of the Southern Poverty Law Center — they had been torched the year before by three Klansmen who literally came up out of the sewers. Wearing a suit and tie, Beam was posing as a documentary maker, trying to get into Center offices. Accompanying him was Thom Robb, a principal of Beam's old group, the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. The men were recognized and turned away.

At the 1984 Aryan World Congress, held at the Aryan Nations compound in Hayden Lake, Idaho, Beam and Col. Jack Mohr, another white supremacist activist, taught an urban guerrilla warfare class to those in attendance, including some Order members. They used an extremist training manual, *The Road Back*, that among other things detailed how to start fires with time-delayed incendiary devices. That night, a still unexplained series of seven arson fires

In 1984, Beam (right) and David Duke (left) were in Birmingham, Ala., to greet fellow Klan leader Don Black on his return from prison. Sheila Toohey (opposite page) became Beam's fourth wife in 1987.

broke out in nearby Spokane, Wash., causing an estimated \$5 million in damage. Every available firefighter was called out as a major section of downtown Spokane burned. There were no arrests, but investigators said they thought it highly likely that the arsonist had attended the class taught by Beam and Mohr earlier in the day.

In 1984, Beam became one of the first three racist activists to establish computerized bulletin boards as a way of communicating within the movement, starting up an Aryan Nations-based network he called Aryan Nations Liberty Net. The system allowed activists to communicate via dial-up computer systems he set up in Idaho, Texas and North Carolina.

Beam's system was certainly the most successful of the three racist computer networks, and it served as an inspiration to those who would pioneer hate sites on the Internet in the mid-1990s. In particular, Beam was followed by Don Black — a former fellow officer of David Duke's Knights

"This 'orthodox' pyramid scheme of organization ... is not only useless, but extremely dangerous for the participants when it is utilized as a resistance movement against communism, because experience has revealed over and over again that so-called 'secret army' organizations are sitting ducks for enemy infiltration, entrapment and destruction of the personnel involved. ... The so-called 'phantom cell' mode of organization ... does not have any central control or direction. ... [A]ll members of phantom cells will [instead] tend to react to objective events in the same way, usually through tactics of resistance and sabotage."

"LEADERLESS RESISTANCE," INTER-KLAN NEWSLETTER & SURVIVAL ALERT, 1983

"It may very well be that American know-how has provided the technology which will allow those who love this country to save it from an ill deserved fate. Computers, once solely the domain and possession of governments and large corporations, are now bringing their power and capabilities to the average American. ... Imagine, if you can, a single computer to which all leaders and strategists of the patriotic movement are connected. Imagine further that any patriot in the country is able to tap into this computer at will. ... Such a computer is already in existence and operational. We hereby announce the Aryan Liberty Net."

"COMPUTERS AND THE AMERICAN PATRIOT," 1984

of the Ku Klux Klan — who would set up the first Internet hate site, known as Stormfront, in March 1995.

“It may very well be that American know-how has provided the technology which will allow those who love this country to save it,” Beam wrote at the time. It was a message that would soon be taken up in earnest by the revolutionary right.

On the Lam

Based on information from Order members, FBI officials believed that Beam had received \$120,000 of the \$4.1 million that The Order stole in several spectacular armored car robberies. Butler was also believed to have received money. But unlike 24 members of The Order, neither man was among those indicted in 1985.

In April 1987, Beam and Butler finally were indicted, along with 12 other leading white supremacist activists, by a federal grand jury in Fort Smith, Ark. They were accused of seditious conspiracy in connection with an alleged plot, hatched at the 1983 Aryan World Congress, to overthrow the government. Officials said that the 14 were godfathers in the plot, which was to be carried out by The Order.

When the FBI went to arrest Beam, he had vanished. Just days earlier, he had married for a fourth time in a Christian Identity church in Pennsylvania. He told his latest bride, Sheila Toohey, that they’d have to spend their honeymoon on the run — he expected some kind of legal paperwork from the federal government.

First, they hid out with his old friend, Texas chiropractor Neill Payne. Then the couple fled to the area around Guadalajara, Mexico. In June, Beam’s name was added to the FBI’s Ten Most Wanted List, and his poster went up around the nation. Finally, in November, the FBI learned that

he was in Mexico after serving a search warrant and learning that Payne had secretly visited Beam in that country.

When plainclothes Mexican police arrested Beam outside a housing complex in the small town of Chapala on Nov. 6, 1987, his new bride grabbed a 9 mm pistol and began firing. She badly wounded a Mexican officer. Beam was handed over to FBI agents in Mexico, and his wife was released — inexplicably, she was not charged — a few days later. She

would later tell reporters in Houston that she had not known the Mexicans were police officers and had feared being raped.

Toohey, who grew up in a small Texas town, sounded incredibly naïve about her husband. “There is not a prejudiced bone in this man’s body,” she told a reporter. “People have to realize that he is a terrific man and not a white supremacist.”

In Fort Smith, meanwhile, FBI agents who’d tracked Beam sought to introduce 38 items found in his possession when he was arrested in Mexico — computer disks, documents, books and photographs — that they believed showed clear links to The Order. But Judge Morris Arnold suppressed most of this evi-

dence. He did, however, allow in a card with the words “Bruders Schweigen” printed on front.

Changing Diapers in Idaho

Beam represented himself, although he was aided by Kirk Lyons, whom he’d known in Texas and who was Neill Payne’s partner. (Beam would be Lyons’ best man at a bizarre 1992 double wedding held at the Aryan Nations compound. Lyons and Payne married two sisters whose brother, David Tate, was a member of The Order imprisoned for murdering a state trooper.) Beam denied that any conspiracy was hatched at the 1983 Aryan Congress, saying



“Working ‘within the system’ has not produced a SINGLE positive result toward restoring constitutional government. ... A single example, though hundreds can be given, should suffice to demonstrate this. For over 40 years now, the naked symbol of a world government has resided on American soil: the United Nations building in New York City. ... Yet ... patriots have been incapable of removing one brick from this structure by ‘working within the system.’ ... There are two paths open to those who love the great America of their Forefathers: Rebellion or departure.”

“WITHIN OR WITHOUT THE SYSTEM,” 1987

“The concept of Leaderless Resistance was [originally] proposed by Col. Ulius Louis Amoss... . Col. Amoss feared the Communists. This author fears the federal government. Communism now represents a threat to no one in the United States, while federal tyranny represents a threat to everyone. ... We are a band of brothers, native to the soil, gaining strength one from another as we have rushed into a battle that all the weaker, timid men say we can not win. Perhaps... but then again, perhaps we can. It’s not over until the last freedom fighter is buried or imprisoned, or the same happens to those who would destroy their liberty.”

“LEADERLESS RESISTANCE,” SECOND VERSION, *THE SEDITIONIST*, 1992 ➤

all he remembered was drinking coffee and changing his baby daughter's diapers. But his third wife, Kara, testified that Beam had not been involved in any diaper-changing, and she recounted how he talked about bombings and assassinations in service of the revolution.

The jury was also told about Beam's links to a heavily armed, white supremacist compound in Arkansas — The Covenant, The Sword, and The Arm of The Lord (CSA). Prosecutors alleged that members of The Order and a fugitive murderer of two U.S. marshals had been hidden at the CSA compound.

"Beam came to CSA to get us hooked up to his bulletin board," recalled Kerry Noble, the second-in-command at CSA who later renounced the racist movement. "I thought he was just a really arrogant, angry person, a lot of show. In those days, everybody said he was going to take Butler's place as leader of Aryan Nations. But me personally, I wouldn't have followed him across the street."

When all was said and done, the all-white jury didn't buy it. In a disaster for the government, all the defendants were acquitted on all charges. To add insult to injury, one of the female jurors married a defendant. Leaving the courthouse after the April 7, 1988, acquittals, Beam saluted a Confederate war hero's statue. He had tangled with the state and won. Henceforth, he announced, the struggle would move underground. In the months that followed, Beam would start a racist newspaper called *The Seditiousist* — a mocking jab at his prosecutors.

'To the Federal Dogs'

Beam had won a round with the federal government, but it only increased his fury. The following January, he gave a fiery speech in Pulaski, Tenn., at the annual Klan rally held in the hooded order's 1865 birthplace. He told the audience that he had a message for fellow patriots — and for "yellow dog feds from the FBI."

"First, to the federal dogs," he shouted, hurling a fistful of bloody hamburger meat from the podium to the floor. "I spit on you! You're dogs! You're scum! We're gonna dance on your graves! I'm gonna dance on your tombstone! If you think we're gonna let you have this country, you're wrong. We're gonna take it back!"

"If you want to give us terror, we'll give you terror back," he yelled. "If you think we're going to take this lying on our backs, you're wrong, federal dogs!"

It was quite a speech. A newspaper story once suggested that Beam "could bring a tear to Billy Graham's eye" with his speaking style. But former colleagues say that the Pulaski speech was actually Beam's stump presentation — he almost always used the hamburger prop. His anger, however, was very real.



Beam was brought to Fort Smith, Ark., after his 1987 arrest in Mexico on charges of plotting to overthrow the government (above). At right, Sheila Toohey Beam is comforted upon returning to Texas after the arrest, during which she shot and badly wounded a Mexican officer.

That came out dramatically one night in 1992.

Floyd Cochran, the Aryan Nations spokesman who later became an anti-racist activist, remembers Beam and others drinking for many hours the night before the Payne/Lyons double wedding. "The thing I won't forget," said Cochran, "is Louis, who could not hold his liquor, trying to climb a ladder that was lying flat on the ground. As he 'climbs,' he's pulling up wads of grass between the rungs, acting very mean, and shouting, 'I hate gooks! I want to kill them all!' That's when Sheila asked some of us to pick him up, get him in the house and shut his mouth."

Some time that year, Beam returned to Texas. "He said he was going back to Texas to raise blond-haired children and black-eyed peas," Cochran said. "We didn't hear much from him after that, though he moved back to Idaho in the late '90s."

Also in 1992, in the pages of *The Seditiousist*, Beam published the second version of an essay, "Leaderless Resistance," that he first printed in 1983. Learning from The Order's demise, Beam warned that hierarchical organizations presented a very high risk for the radical right — if one person

"We, like political environmentalists, have opposed the construction of that great work, the New World Order; and by so doing, we each became enemies of the state. ... We claim that their world order means an end to the Constitution and to freedom. They say we are radicals and enemies of the state. Let there be no mistake about it, no doubt in anyone's mind. Both sides are right in their claims, and both sides will be required to act upon their beliefs. ... I warn you calmly, coldly and without reservation that over the next 10 years you will come to hate government more than anything else in your life. ... Men, in the name of our Father, we are called upon to make a decision — a decision that you will make in the quietness of your heart in the still places in the night. ... [Y]ou must answer the question: Will it be liberty or will it be death? As for me, give me liberty or give me death. Thank you."

SPEECH AT ESTES PARK, COLO., 1992

"While some in the so-called right wing sit at home and talk ... some other really brave people have been out confronting the Police State [in the violent 1999 anti-globalization protests in Seattle]. Instead of hoarding guns that will never be fired, these people were out bravely facing the guns of the New World Order. ... The New American Patriot will be neither left nor right, just a freeman fighting for liberty.

"New alliances will form between those who have in the past thought of themselves as 'right-wingers,' conservatives, and patriots with many people who have thought of themselves as 'left-wingers,' progressives, or just 'liberal.' ... The old words of divide and conquer will come to mean less and less to thinking people. ... Wake up and smell the tear gas, freedom is calling its sons and daughters."

"BATTLE IN SEATTLE: AMERICANS FACE OFF THE POLICE STATE," 1999 ➤



NICHOLAS C. CHRIST/HOUSTON CHRONICLE

Later in 1992, a standoff between an Idaho white supremacist named Randy Weaver and federal officials developed on a mountaintop known as Ruby Ridge. Before it was over, a federal marshal and Weaver's wife and son were killed by gunfire. Weaver had attended an Aryan Nations gathering in 1986 when Beam was a speaker who wielded a sword and threatened to kill federal informants.

Ruby Ridge, Waco and Militias

Beam, along with the rest of the radical right, was livid over Ruby Ridge. On Oct. 6, he told a crowd of 200 people in Sandpoint, Idaho, that the government was "like a lion that has tasted the blood of human victims." Federal agents were its "paid assassins."

It was a warm-up for the passionate speech Beam gave later that month to some 160 radical leaders who gathered in Estes Park, Colo., to consider a reaction to the events on Ruby Ridge. In some ways, this meeting helped to shape the contours of the militia movement that would erupt in the next two years — most specifically, its downplaying of racism and emphasis on broad-based, unified resistance.

Beam delivered the message. Christian Identity believers, neo-Nazis, Klansmen, home schoolers, "Constitutionalists," fundamentalists, "Freemen," and others — all were in the same spot. "Those who wear badges, black boots and carry automatic weapons and kick in doors already know all they need to know about you," he shouted in this famous speech. "You are enemies of the state."

And he offered a remarkably prescient prediction. "I warn you calmly, coldly and without reservation," he said, "that over the next 10 years you will come to hate the federal government more than anything else in your lives."

The next year, 1993, Beam again showed up at the hottest spot on the map of the radical right — Waco, Texas, where the federal government was engaged in a long-running standoff with a well-armed Branch Davidian sect. He came as a writer for *Jubilee*, a small-circulation newspaper

were arrested, it was quite likely that the whole structure would be destroyed. Beam proposed that radicals adopt a "lone wolf" or "leaderless resistance" strategy — that they act in small, independent cells that take orders from no one and keep their plans entirely to themselves.

"No one need issue an order to anyone," Beam wrote. "Those idealists truly committed to the cause of freedom will act when they feel the time is ripe, or will take their cue from others who precede them."

Beam credited the original concept to one Col. Ulius Louis Amoss, a right-wing anti-communist who wrote his 1962 essay in the context of resisting a much-feared Communist invasion of the United States. Although many scholars believe that the idea was picked up by Beam directly from Amoss, in fact it was bandied about by other ideologues of the radical right in the 1960s and 1970s.

"I shall now take this opportunity to tell you something that you will not believe. ... The government of the United States had advance knowledge of the 'attack' on the WTC [World Trade Center]. Elements within the security structure and ruling elite ... allowed it to occur for their own maleficent objectives. ... We are entering a period ... [where] each conflict including the one in Afghanistan will lead to another. ... All Americans will be potential targets as other people in other lands send their fighters to avenge the deaths of those we have killed and will kill. ... [W]e must begin to take personal responsibility for the government in Washington, if for no other reason than the fact that others hold us responsible."

"WORLD TRADE CENTER WAS JUMP POINT FOR GLOBAL POLICE STATE," 2001

run by an old friend, Paul Hall, that espoused the racist and anti-Semitic theology of Christian Identity.

Beam showed up at the daily press briefing held by the FBI and was turned away. When he reappeared a few days later, shouting a remark to the effect that the United States was a "police state," he was arrested. Kirk Lyons filed a \$300,000 suit against the government on behalf of Hall and Beam, but it went nowhere.

Heading South Again

In the years that followed, Beam was out of sight more often than not. Rumors abounded in the movement that he was suffering the effects of Agent Orange, that he wasn't healthy and was maybe even dying. But Beam did show up now and then, writing occasional articles for *Jubilee*, buying lakeside land with Hall in northern Idaho, and traveling frequently between Texas and Idaho. In 1994, he went to a conference hosted by E. Tom Stetson, co-founder of the Unorganized Militia of Idaho and yet another Beam confidant. (Beam's Idaho driver's license today lists the address of Stetson's ex-wife, according to documents in the custody case.)

Beam also renewed his strong interest in Costa Rica, where his drug fugitive friend Brian Michael Knoff reportedly has been hiding since 1994. Knoff is known to have helped run a smuggling ring that brought tons of marijuana into the United States — and he is believed to have plowed his profits into the radical right. In court papers, Beam's ex-wife alleges that Beam worked frequently for Knoff; Beam says in a rejoinder that he went to Costa Rica because of his current wife's work.

The precise relationship between the men is unclear, but it is clearly a close one. Beam's daughter, Sarah, is now married to Knoff's son, Brant. Sheila Toohey alleges in court filings that Knoff has helped Beam financially since the 1980s.

As the '90s progressed, Beam dropped even further out of sight. One exception was his attendance at a major 1996 Christian Identity conference. Another was his 1997 eulogy

for Eva Vail, a fellow anti-government activist, in Coeur d'Alene, Idaho. After the funeral concluded with shouts of "Heil victory!" and Nazi salutes, Beam slipped out a back door to avoid reporters and photographers.

Beam married for a fifth time as the millennium approached. In November 2000, he had twin boys with his latest wife, Cathy, naming them after Confederate generals Robert E. Lee and Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson. (Beam, always a great partisan of the antebellum South like his

friends Lyons and Payne, had throughout his career used the name of another Confederate war hero, Nathan Bedford Forrest, as a *nom de plume*. Forrest was the Klan's first national leader.)

Today, Louis Beam's main influence on the movement comes through his writings, especially the essays he frequently posts on his Web site. One of the most important came after black-masked anarchists clashed with police during larger anti-globalization protests at the World Trade Organization conference, held in Seattle in late 1999. In it, Beam argued that the traditional left-right paradigm had no meaning any more, and that hard leftists would make the best recruits of all.

"The new politics of America is liberty from the New World Order police state and nothing more," Beam wrote in his "Battle in Seattle." "The new American patriot will be neither left nor right, just a freeman fighting for liberty."

'Aryan' Hero or Devoted Dad?

Louis Beam has become something of a loner on the radical right, but that is not to say he doesn't have intensely loyal friends. Walking into a February hearing in the custody case, he was accompanied by four people who were apparently ready to testify on his behalf: Katja Lane, an Idaho hard-liner whose husband David Lane is serving a life sentence for crimes committed as a member of The Order; Terry Long, a Canadian who was once the Alberta representative of Aryan Nations; Bruce Campbell, an anti-government writer from Oregon; and Bob



GARRY NUNCESTER



Though most of his recent activities have been conducted in a shadowy underground, Beam remains one of the angriest — and most fiery — of angry white men.

Holloway, also from Idaho. Joining them was Beam's fifth wife, Cathy, and their twin sons.

But that show of support may not be enough.

In his 1997 divorce from his fourth wife, Sheila Toohey, Beam was granted only very limited time with his two girls by a Texas judge who said he had "good cause" for the restrictive parenting plan. Beam sued last year, asking to see more of his daughters, who live in Idaho with their mother. Now, in response, Toohey is asking the current judge to terminate all contact between Beam, who now lives in Zavalla, Texas, and their daughters.

Her list of grievances is long — and, assuming her allegations are true, they cast a harsh light on the man who says he is merely seeking liberation from a tyrannical government. She alleges that Beam told the girls, now aged 7 and 9, that Yankee soldiers used bayonets to stab babies

"and throw them in the air." He refused to allow them to share a hotel swimming pool with blacks, because, he said, they carried diseases. He warned his girls that police officers kill children, described Hitler as "a great man," and said the United States sent Americans "to kill young Aryan men for money" in World War II.

Toohey also alleges in court papers that she moved from Texas to Idaho in 1999 because her husband of 10 years told her there would be "a race war and major chaos like you've never seen" at the start of 2000, and that she would be safer in the Northwest. She says Beam told her that he and his "armed comrades" would come and "forcibly remove the children" if she didn't leave Texas by the end of 1999.

The custody trial has been postponed. But what may be far more important is the criminal investigation in Texas, where Beam allegedly molested his daughters. If those charges are prosecuted and stick, Louis Ray Beam, who claims in court papers not to have given a public speech since 1996, could find himself forever expelled from the pantheon of America's "Aryan" revolutionary heroes. ▲



In the anarchic world of underground radio, Allan Weiner is a certifiable legend. Weiner started to gain notoriety in the early 1970s with a series of unlicensed, or “pirate,” AM and FM radio stations around New York. His attempts to sneak onto the air were repeatedly shut

down by the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) — most spectacularly in 1987, when Weiner and a band of radio enthusiasts tried to broadcast alternative rock from a rusty fishing vessel anchored off Long Island. Coast Guard officers boarded the boat, handcuffed Weiner and shackled him on deck while dismantling his equipment.

Free-speech advocates jumped to Weiner’s defense — and many were outraged again in 1994, when Weiner’s second attempt at ocean-based broadcasting was routed off the South Carolina coast. Weiner’s memoir, *Access to the Airwaves*, came out in 1997, with its back cover touting the radio pirate as a “heroic free-speech advocate.” Inside, Weiner struck the noble pose of a liberal-minded martyr. “All I wanted to do,” he wrote, “was broadcast messages of peace, love and understanding to the world. Was that such a terrible crime?”

After a 14-year quest to license a legitimate shortwave station with the FCC, Weiner finally succeeded in 1998. From his farm in little Monticello, Maine, station WBCQ began sending out radio waves that could be picked up in Mexico, Cen-

tral America, the Caribbean and all of North America. At long last, Weiner was beaming out his message of “peace, love and understanding” with the federal government’s blessing.

Tune into WBCQ four years later, and you’ll hear the message being delivered in the exaggerated accent of an Italian-American New Yorker, to the tune of John Lennon’s “Imagine”: “Imagine there’s no homos. I hate those little fudge-packin’ nancy-boy pricks; Manolo, every time I see one, I wanna beat ’im in the friggin’ head; You know what I mean? Then I’ll rip his heart out, cut off his friggin’ little [beeped out]; Imagine all the [gays], oh Manolo, just droppin’ dead from AIDS...”

When the song ends, the regular voice of the show’s host returns, chuckling. “You don’t hear music like that on any radio show, but you hear it here on ‘The Hal Turner Show.’”

And the place to hear “The Hal Turner Show” is WBCQ. Though there are 16 privately owned shortwave stations in the United States, Weiner’s is the only one that sells airtime — Monday evening, 8 to 9 p.m. EST — to what Turner loves to call the “most controversial talk show in the world.”

But several shortwave station owners sell air time to radio show hosts with messages that would fit right in on “The Hal Turner Show.” Most owners, like Weiner, argue that they are simply supporting freedom of speech — not making a mint off hate speech. “It’s not a business thing,” insists Jeff White, co-owner of Miami-based WRMI, which sends its mostly Latin American listeners a “religious” show that vilifies and ridicules anyone who’s not a heterosexual Anglo-Saxon. “The money we’re talking about is insignificant.”

Not insignificant enough to consistently turn away, however. Other owners are more matter-of-fact about their motives for airing hate-filled broadcasts. “We do have to stay alive,” says George McClintock, general manager of WWCR in Nashville, which claims more than 10 million listeners worldwide. Besides paying the

**Behind
shortwave hate radio
is a group of entrepreneurial
station owners who claim that
they love free speech**

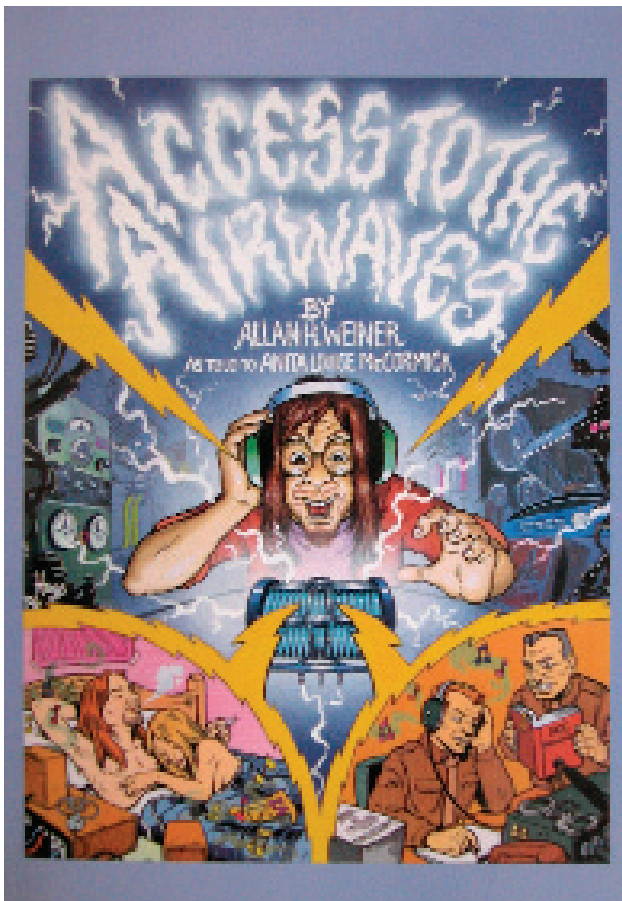
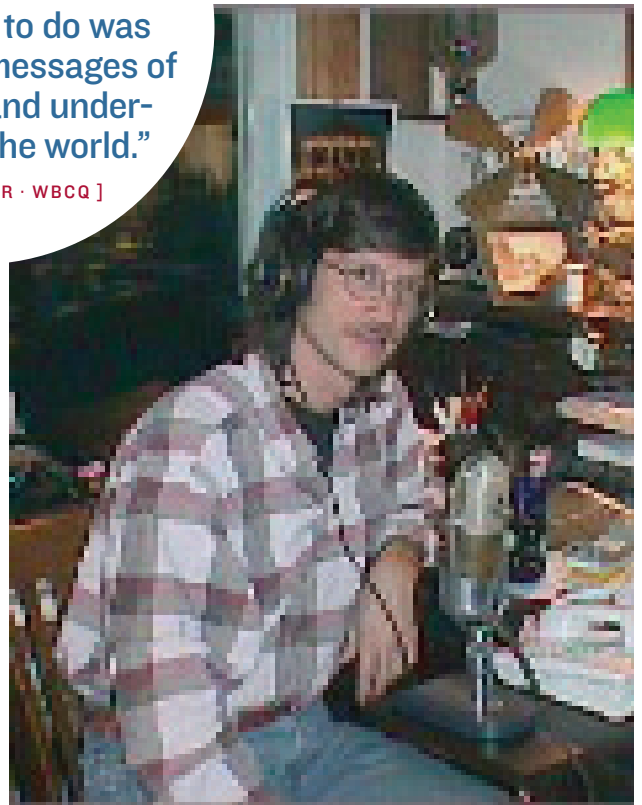
in hate’s pay

[BY JAMES LATHAM]



“All I wanted to do was to broadcast messages of peace, love and understanding to the world.”

[ALLAN WEINER · WBCQ]



Allan Weiner's attempts at ocean-based broadcasting never quite panned out, but the underground radio pirate (above right) finally got a shortwave license from the FCC in 1998 and put WBCQ on the air. Weiner's memoir (above) paints him as a liberal-minded advocate for free speech. His prime-time host on Monday evenings, Hal Turner (right), speaks freely about “faggots,” “savage Negro beasts” and “lazy-ass Latinos,” among other targets.



bills, McClintock says hate broadcasters fill another important — and frightening — role: “They draw an audience.”

But Isn't Lynching Murder?

Why would a self-styled peacemaker of the airwaves run the most inflammatory show on shortwave? Questioned by the *Intelligence Report*, Weiner noted that Hal Turner “has a lot of support and he has people sending him money so he can pay his bills.” But Weiner insists that he doesn't air Turner's show just because he's a good paying customer. It's a matter of principle. “The reason it's on,” he said, “is because of a promise I made my listeners [to be] open to all kinds of people.”

Turner, a former real-estate salesman in New Jersey who failed in a 2000 run for Congress, certainly takes aim at all kinds of people. His frequent rants about “faggots” are only the tip of the iceberg. Turner talks about “savage Negro beasts,” “lazy-ass Latinos ... slithering across the border with wet backs” and “bull-dyke lesbians.” He has described Israeli soldiers as “the spawn of Satan” who “deserve to be hunted down and killed.” In the creative revision of John Lennon's classic song, listeners were asked to “Imagine there's no cripples,” with the faux-Italian voice adding, “Christ, I wanna kill those goddamn little wheelchair gimps.”

Hate murder is a theme of “The Hal Turner Show,” which last year repeatedly advertised an imaginary product called the “Portable Nigger Lyncher.”

“Does the community where you live tend to be getting darker and darker?” asked a voice with an overblown Southern accent. “Are you looking for an evening of entertainment with your friends and family? Well, folks, this is the answer to your prayers. The one and only PNL — Portable Nigger Lyncher. Complete with two ropes and custom hand-tied nooses.”

Such messages appear to clearly violate Weiner's hate-speech policy, posted on the WBCQ Web site. “WBCQ Radio shall not broadcast any speech which incites hatred” likely to lead to “physical harm,” it promises. The policy goes on to define off-limits hate speech as “advocating or promoting ... killing.”

Doesn't lynching count? “Hal Turner doesn't build his whole show around this,” Weiner replied. Besides, “Hal does know that I am upset with his program.” In fact, he said in all seriousness, he's put Turner on “double-secret probation.” Weiner also noted that he yanked a show featuring William Pierce, head of the neo-Nazi National Alliance, because Pierce talked about “exterminating Jews.”

Sad Testimony, Indeed

But soon after Weiner talked to the *Report*, Turner's show began carrying advertising for one of Pierce's latest brainstorms — “Ethnic Cleansing: The Video Game.” This time, the product was real. A few weeks after the ads started airing, Turner plugged the game with an enthusiastic description.

“Christ, I want to kill those goddamn little wheelchair gimps”

[HAL TURNER SHOW · WBCQ]

“The media is in a tirade [sic] over ‘Ethnic Cleansing’ because it allows teenagers to dress up as either a Skin-head or, um, Ku Klux Klan member carrying an assault rifle ... and killing the savage Negro beasts that infest the urban area... . You are also able to mow down the Third World, savage mongrels, ah, Mexicans, et cetera. Actually, the goal of the game is to come across and capture or destroy Ariel Sharon, the Chief Jew, who along with his fellow Jews are helping to destroy the United States with their sick, perverted multiculturalism.

“You heard about it first on the Hal Turner radio show, worldwide on radio station WBCQ.”

WBCQ's owner is himself Jewish. But while Weiner calls Turner's views “wacko” and “ridiculous,” he contends that we all have something to learn from tuning in. “I think ‘The Hal Turner Show’ is a good lesson in people,” Weiner said.

“It's a sad testimony to the hearts of humans out there.”

Helping Your Enemies

Such sad testimony is a programming staple on several shortwave stations based in the United States. Like the Internet, shortwave radio is a medium of choice for the radical right — and for some of the same reasons. The price is right, with studio equipment running as low as \$1,000 and air time around \$25 to \$250 an hour. With 17 million receivers in the United States and a worldwide audience estimated at a whopping 2.5 billion, that's some serious bang for the buck.

Plus, as William Pierce once explained, shortwave is ideal for the far right because, unlike AM and FM radio, regulations on content are extremely lax. “Commercial networks are hesitant to take any politically incorrect views,” said Pierce, “because they face a lot of pressure from Jewish groups.”

Ironically, some of the small number of people who really do have power over shortwave programming — the station owners themselves — are among the very minority groups villified by Pierce, Turner, and other broadcasters of hate. The shortwave operators who air the most hate-filled shows include not only Jews like Allan Weiner, but also Catholics and Hispanics.

Take Miami-based WRMI. Founded in 1994 by four men — three of them Hispanic — WRMI's original mission was to air anti-Castro exile programming. Over the years, the station has broadened its reach with shows of special interest to listeners in Haiti, Brazil, Peru and other parts of Latin America.

JAMES LATHAM is the co-founder of *Radio for Peace International* (RFPI), a shortwave radio station based outside El Rodeo, Costa Rica, since 1987. He is also the host of “Far Right Radio Review,” a show that seeks to expose extremists and their hateful programming on shortwave radio.

More recently, the station has branched out in a different way, broadcasting far-right shows like “Herald of Truth.”

Host Robert Hallstrom — call him Pastor Bob — preaches the dogma of the Christian Identity movement, which labels Jews the offspring of Satan, calls for executing homosexuals and deems Anglo-Saxons the real chosen people of God. People of color, including Hispanics, are viewed as soulless, animals created by God along with the “beasts of the field” as a sort of dry run for real humans.

‘Nobody Seems to Mind’

“Pastor Bob is theoretically doing a religious program,” says Jeff White, one of WRMI’s co-owners. “We do air the program with a strong disclaimer.”

Small wonder. In February, Hallstrom presented a program titled “God’s Immigration Laws.” The pastor from Harrison, Ark., was agitated about “the world’s overflow from pagan lands that hate our God.”

“By violating God’s laws,” Hallstrom fumed, “we have now created considerable blocs of unassimilable aliens who have also been given the vote. They hate all the ideals of this land to which they came only to get more money.”

“If you’re going to talk about Jews on my program, talk about them as Antichrist Jews.”

[PETE PETERS · WWCR]

Why does WRMI deliver Hallstrom’s hatred to an audience that is largely Latin American and, according to White, mostly young? “I know that many would argue that he is spreading racism behind the cloak of religion,” said White, a former public-radio employee who acknowledged that he and the other station owners find Hallstrom’s message repugnant. “But we have all types of programs,” he said, “and the people can sort it out for themselves.”

That philosophy is mirrored by the FCC, which licenses and regulates shortwave stations. “The FCC cannot prohibit such programming,” said Audrey Spivack, a spokesperson for the federal agency.

That leaves it up to the station owners. But their decisions about whether or not to air extremism are anything but consistent. Though he acknowledges “we’ve had a lot of [antigovernment] Patriot programming,” for instance, White was quick to point out that Hallstrom is the only voice of

The entrance to WWCR (below) looks innocuous enough, but the station beams out far-right messages to an estimated 10 million listeners worldwide.



the extreme right still on WRMI, “the only straggler we have.”

“If we had a significant number of complaints about the program,” White said, “we’d take it off. But nobody seems to mind.”

In fact, WRMI airs at least two other fringe-right shows, including “Battlecry Sounding,” hosted by Gen. James Green, who rails against “liberated, jezebelized and lesbianized” women and has offered on-air “cures” for “the sin of sexual deviation.”

White claims that he comforts himself with the hope that WRMI’s millions of potential listeners will pay no attention to such messages. “If you are broadcasting this stuff internationally, I think it goes in one ear and out the other,” he said. “I think most of the international listeners barely listen — not only to some of the racist stuff, but some of the other political programming that’s targeted at a domestic audience. They don’t listen to it.”

In Tennessee, a Cornucopia of Hate

It’s the best bargain in shortwave broadcasting: For only \$25 an hour, you can air an hour’s worth of vitriol on one of shortwave’s most notorious stations, WWRB. This leader in fringe programming, formerly known as WWFV, was long nestled incongruously in the gently rolling foothills of the Appalachian Mountains, where David Frantz started beaming out a 50,000-watt signal from McCaysville, Ga., in 1996. Although he has since moved to Manchester, Tenn., Frantz still fills an extraordinary amount of his station’s air time with anti-government, anti-Semitic, anti-gay and racist propaganda.

Even William Pierce, whose infamous “American Dissident Voices” Allan Weiner axed from WBCQ, has a home twice a week on WWRB. In February, the droning, nasal voice of America’s leading neo-Nazi could be heard on Frantz’s station, predicting that “more and more young people everywhere will see the Jews for the deceivers and corrupters and destroyers that they are.”

“If our race is to live and if our civilization is to survive,” Pierce advised his worldwide audience, “we must destroy them and those who work for them.”

The destruction of gay people has also been strongly recommended on Frantz’s station. “The Black Brigade,” co-hosted by Pastor John Lewis from his church in Cambellsburg, Ind., specialized in violent anti-homosexual rants until it went off the air last year. On one show, Lewis mused: “In Columbus, Ohio, I think there are supposed to be 20,000 fags. Wouldn’t that make a real barbecue to feed a bunch of gay sharks out in the ocean?”

Asked about such programming, David Frantz refused comment. “We don’t respond to any of your questions,” he told the *Intelligence Report*. But when his neighbors asked the FCC to shut down the station in 1998, claiming that its electromagnetic and radio waves were a public threat, Frantz did talk to the *Chattanooga Free Press*. He called the complaints “a ruse,” saying local citizens were trying to “run me out” because of the shows he was broadcasting.

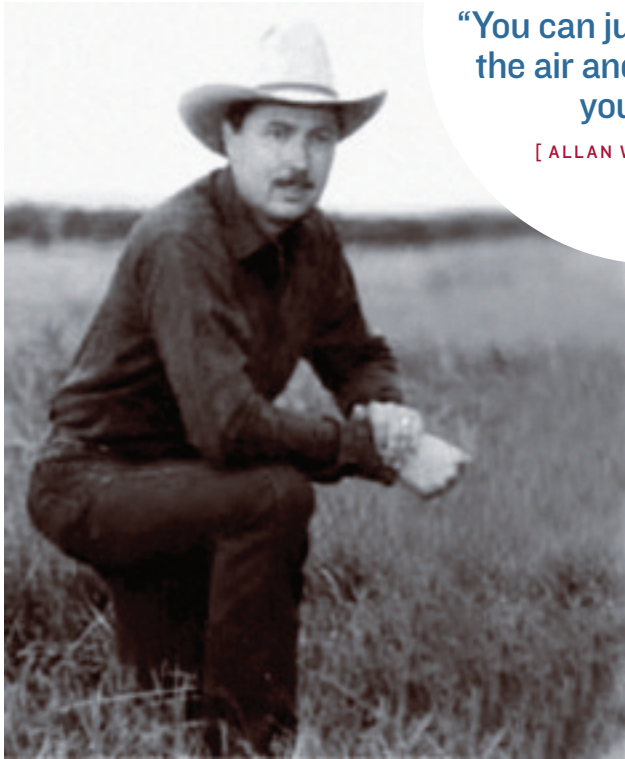
“Our job is not to make judgment calls.”

[GEORGE McCLINTOCK · WWCR]



WWCR General Manager George McClintock, who sells air time to broadcasters who rant about “Antichrist Jews” and have called the pope “the great whore,” distributed Bibles to residents of the Caribbean Islands earlier this year (above). WWCR lost one of its best-known clients, James Dobson’s “Focus on the Family,” when the *Intelligence Report* described the contents of Pete Peters’ show to the Christian group’s press officer.

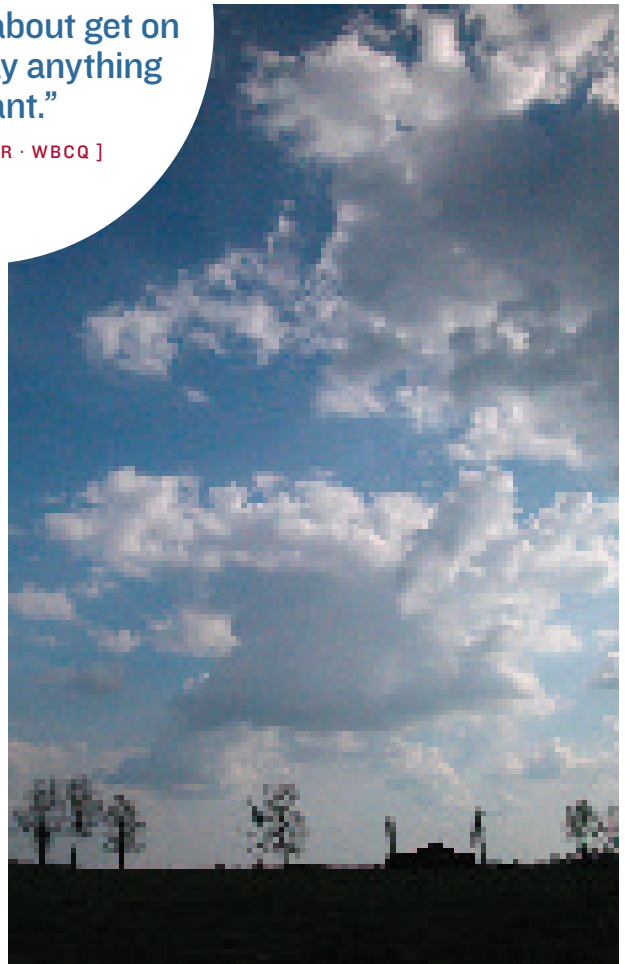




“You can just about get on the air and say anything you want.”

[ALLAN WEINER · WBCQ]

Pete Peters (above), who preaches the anti-gay, anti-Semitic word of Christian Identity on WWCR, says right-wing radio inspired his career. One of the most notorious purveyors of hate radio, WWFV, is nestled in the gentle Appalachian foothills (right). David Frantz (below, right), a retired aircraft inspector for the federal government, fills much of his airtime on WWRB with right-wing extremism.



“We have been accused of being part of a militia,” complained Frantz, who before his shortwave days had a top security clearance as a federal aircraft inspector. “They tried to get DHS [Department of Human Services] to take our children away, and these clowns actually accused me of threatening the president.”

Frantz noted that his station had been “given a clean bill of health” by the FCC. Anybody could buy a time slot, he said, even “blacks, Indians, Jews, or the average person on the street.”

Who's Getting the Message?

Though shortwave radio beams in under most people's radar in the media-saturated United States, it is one of the most powerful tools for communicating with a worldwide audience. Exact audience numbers are hard to come by, since there are no Arbitron ratings for shortwave. But Groupe France Telecom, the communications arm of the French government, published a report last year estimating that at any given moment, over 200 million receivers are tuned in to shortwave broadcasts. With much of the world unwired for the Internet, the agency concluded, “Shortwave remains the only means of reaching a broad audience anywhere in the world.”

Thousands of people tune into shortwave broadcasts as a way to learn English. Thousands of others, living in countries



with authoritarian regimes, look to their shortwave receivers for an even more pressing reason: They want objective news sources.

What they will get, if they dial up WWCR out of Nashville, Tenn., might be the peculiar spin of Brother R.G. Stair. A self-proclaimed “prophet of God,” Stair sends out doomsday scenarios from the otherwise sleepy town of Walterboro, S.C., twenty-four hours a day on one of WWCR's four 100,000-watt transmitters. Much of Stair's airtime is devoted to claiming that disasters — both natural and terrorist — are being caused by America's growing acceptance of homosexuality. In 1999, he gave this example: “The last two Gay Pride days have resulted in an awesome earthquake that shook the entire Western area of the country and a flood that devastated the entire Midwest.”

George McClintock, general manager of WWCR, told the *Intelligence Report* that Stair's views on homosexuality “are from a Biblical point of view. And according to the Constitution, he has a right to that point of view.”

Stair doesn't stop with gay people. He has also targeted Catholics, calling them "Mary worshippers" and labeling the pope "the great whore."

That doesn't seem to phase McClintock, either, despite the fact that he is himself a Catholic. "Those programs are a relatively small portion of what we do," he said. Besides, McClintock said, "Our job is not to make judgment calls."

What Would Ross Say?

Judgment calls abound on some of WWCR's programs. While Stair rains hellfire on gays, Catholics and those who tolerate them, Pete Peters preaches the anti-Semitic, homophobic word of Christian Identity with even more authority — and fire — than Pastor Bob Hallstrom. Peters, who founded the La Porte Church of Christ in Colorado, hosts two shows on WWCR-3, "Healthy Trinity Today" and "Scriptures for America." On the latter, Peters instructed a caller in 1997 on the proper etiquette to follow: "If you're going to talk about Jews on my program, talk about them as Antichrist Jews."

Though Peters has been a leading figure in the movement for more than two decades, McClintock insisted that Peters "does not" preach Christian Identity. "He lives out in a ranch in Colo... whatever it is out there in the Midwest, kind of isolated, and I think the worst you can say about him is he's living in the 1950s, kind of a Ross Perot individual."

Perot might not relish the comparison. Peters' Colorado church first came to national notice in 1985, when it was revealed that several members of The Order, the most violent far-right terrorist group of the '80s (see related story, p. 11), had attended during their criminal heyday. Presumably because of the negative connotations attached to the term "Identity," Peters has recently disavowed the word — but he hasn't changed his message in any discernible way. "Certain Jews of this day attempt to take the Israel truth labeled Identity and make it into racism, violence, Nazism and hatred in the minds of the populace," he wrote online in 2000. "Now that the meaning has been transformed by our enemies, it is now foolish for one to call himself an 'Identity Christian.'" For lack of a better term, Peters has taken to calling himself part of "the restoration movement now underway."

While McClintock is unruffled by Peters' hate-mongering, one of WWCR's most famous clients, the conservative religious group Focus on the Family, professed shock when they learned of the views that Peters espouses on air. "Gosh," said press officer Paul Hetrick, "the Bible teaches just the opposite. That is unbelievable."

Hetrick said he intended to check into WWCR's programming, since the Rev. James Dobson, founder of Focus on the Family, was airing his daily 30-minute show in English and Spanish on WWCR-1. Less than a week later, Hetrick called to say his research was done.

"I think the American people ought to go there bodily, rip down the United Nations building and kick those bastards off our soil."

[WILLIAM COOPER · WBCQ & WWCR]

"We are sending a letter asking them to stop or discontinue airing our program," he told the *Intelligence Report*. "We want to express our appreciation to you for calling this to our attention."

'Say Anything'

If station owners conveniently discount the impact their hate-filled shows can have on listeners, then they might want to talk to Pete Peters. The pastor from Laporte credits radio with indoctrinating him into Christian Identity. As he tells it, it all started on a drive one lonely night, when a young Peters turned his dial to the blaring voice of a preacher. That voice happened to belong to Sheldon Emry, who carried the torch for Christian Identity over AM radio stations from the mid-1960s through the 1970s. Hearing Emry on the radio that night changed Peters' life forever.

Another radio fan, Timothy McVeigh, might tell a similar story if he could be reached for comment. Most people know the Oklahoma City bomber was a big fan of William Pierce, who in addition to his broadcasting efforts wrote *The Turner Diaries*, the pseudonymous novel that helped inspire McVeigh's mass murder. Fewer know about McVeigh's other shortwave hero, William Cooper, whose "Hour of the Time" served up global conspiracy paranoia, complete with UFOs, most nights on shortwave stations including WWCR and WBCQ.

When he wasn't concocting a conspiracy, Cooper was recommending remedies: "I think the American people ought to go there bodily, rip down the United Nations building and kick those bastards off our soil," he once proclaimed on WWCR. "We're at war and I don't really care."

Supposedly quoting the Clinton White House, Rush Limbaugh called Cooper "the most dangerous radio host in America" after the Murrah Building was bombed. James Nichols, brother of McVeigh's co-defendant Terry Nichols, said during a 1996 court proceeding that McVeigh had regularly tuned in to Cooper's programs in the months leading up to Oklahoma City.

"Hour of the Time" came to a halt last November, when its host was killed in a shootout after critically wounding an Arizona sheriff's deputy. Cooper had holed up in Eagar, Ariz., since 1998, broadcasting relentlessly and claiming on the air that he had been pursued by "Nazi jack-booted thugs" ever since he failed to appear in court on charges that he paid no taxes from 1992 to 1994. His death came when authorities tried to arrest him on another warrant — this one accusing him of aggravated assault on a passerby.

For more than a month after the death of the shortwave extremist, Allan Weiner aired selections from Cooper's old programs on WBCQ. While that didn't do much for his reputation as a purveyor of "peace, love and understanding," it did provide still further proof of Weiner's unguarded view of shortwave radio: "You can just about get on the air and say anything you want." ▲

'Patriot'

**FOR THE FIFTH
CONSECUTIVE
YEAR, THE
ANTIGOVERNMENT
MOVEMENT THAT
PRODUCED
AMERICAN
MILITIAS
UNDERGOES A
MAJOR DECLINE**

Almost nine years ago, on a warm October day in Opelika, Ala., Americans got an early taste of the violence that was soon to come from the antigovernment "Patriot" movement.

On that day, in the parking lot of a local shopping center, a Floridian couple who were deeply steeped in the conspiracist world-view of the Patriots gunned down a police officer who had stopped to check on the welfare of the woman's 9-year-old son. Lynda Lyon, then 45, and common-law husband George Sibley Jr., 51, killed Sgt. Roger Motley, 38, after the officer asked to see Sibley's license.

The murder was a harbinger of the violence that was soon to explode in the Patriot world, culminating in the deaths of 168 people in Oklahoma City. Now, the May 10 execution of Lyon, who like Sibley was sentenced to die for the killing, may likewise serve to mark the continuing demise of the Patriot movement.

Eight years after it began, the Patriot movement — characterized by armed militias, wild conspiracy theories, a hatred of the federal government and government regulation, an overarching love for guns, and an occasionally strong dose of racism — is less than a fifth the size that it was at its peak, in 1996. Battered by arrests, defections, and promises of a revolution that never seems to

materialize, the movement today seems nearly moribund.

In its annual count, the Southern Poverty Law Center's Intelligence Project identified just 158 antigovernment Patriot groups that were active in 2001. That is down 19% from the year before, when there were 194 such groups, and the fifth consecutive decline since the movement peaked with 858 groups in 1996. And even the current numbers seem to overstate Patriot activity, which for several years has been anemic at best.

As Patriots Decline, the Right Hardens

Several groups disappeared due to the legal troubles of their leaders. Paul Giovanni Graham, leader of the Colorado State Defense Force Reserve, was arrested and charged with manufacturing and selling explosive devices. Six staffers of the Christian Patriot Association, a publishing house, were charged with conspiring to defraud the Internal Revenue Service. And the main principals of Greater Ministries International Church, a Patriot-influenced organization, were finally sentenced to prison for their parts in an investment scam that netted close to \$500 million.

This is not to suggest that the American radical right is diminishing. In fact, the number of harder-line groups has been growing quite steadily since the early 1990s. The Intelligence Project counted 676 white supremacist and

other hate groups that were active last year, and that number seems likely to keep on rising.

“We’ve seen a transformation in the kinds of groups on the radical right in the last few years,” said Joe Roy, director of the Intelligence Project. “Overall, the movement today is harder line and much more explicitly racist.”

The terrorist attacks of last Sept. 11 have reduced the movement’s volatility. Many militia leaders, including some relative hard-liners, reacted to the deaths of

some 3,000 Americans by rallying to the flag, or at least to their fellow Americans. The Michigan Militia Corps-Wolverines, one of the first militias to appear in 1994, offered its support to President Bush and the Administration; like a number of other militias, it described itself as shocked when its offer was not taken up. Jim Strode, leader of the New Mexico Militia, is trying to bring the American Constitutional Militia Network back to life to defend the country. Even Norm Olson, former leader of a hard-line Michigan militia group, wants to use his few remaining followers to help defend against terrorism.

Body Bags in Queens

A much smaller contingent has treated the September attacks much like the militia movement treated the Oklahoma City bombing — they see it as part of a dark conspiracy, although it’s unclear who the conspirators are or why they acted.

The Militia of Montana, the first major militia to appear in this country, questions nearly every aspect of the attack. In its *Taking Aim* newsletter, it claims that 20,000 body bags were delivered to Queens three weeks before the attack.

“A former Federal agent has informed us,” the same newsletter says, “that many tall buildings in the United States are retrofitted with explosives to be detonated if a building were to slant 12 degrees or

more. The logic behind this, we are told, is to stop collateral damage by preventing the domino effect. ... [C]ount the puffs coming out of the right side of the bend in the South Tower. If these are not demolition charges to realign the structure ... please tell us what they are.”

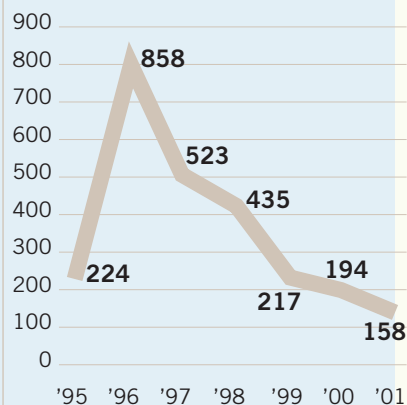
At the same time that the number of groups fell, the number of Patriot Web sites went up, from 155 in 2000 to 175 in 2001. But that may have reflected a retreat to cyberspace rather than an increase in propaganda efforts. For one thing, fewer sites were connected to actual groups in 2001 than in 2000 (75, as opposed to 85), despite the fact that there were more sites overall in the later year. What’s more, the longer-term trend has been one of steady decline: There were 263 Patriot Web sites in 1999, which is still significantly more than the number recorded in 2001.

The militia movement that roiled America in the 1990s, despite not being explicitly tied to racist or anti-Semitic doctrines, produced a level of violence that was at times quite remarkable. Even after the Oklahoma City attack by a bomber deeply steeped in Patriot ideology shocked the world, domestic terrorism from other supposed Patriots — people like Lyon and Sibley — continued through the decade.

Despite the fading of the movement that birthed Lyon, Sibley and Oklahoma City mass murderer Timothy McVeigh, the hardheaded politics of many of its principals remain. There are few better examples of that than the case of Lynda Lyon, who went to her death rejecting any and all appeals and insisting that the entire U.S. court system is operating illegally. ▲

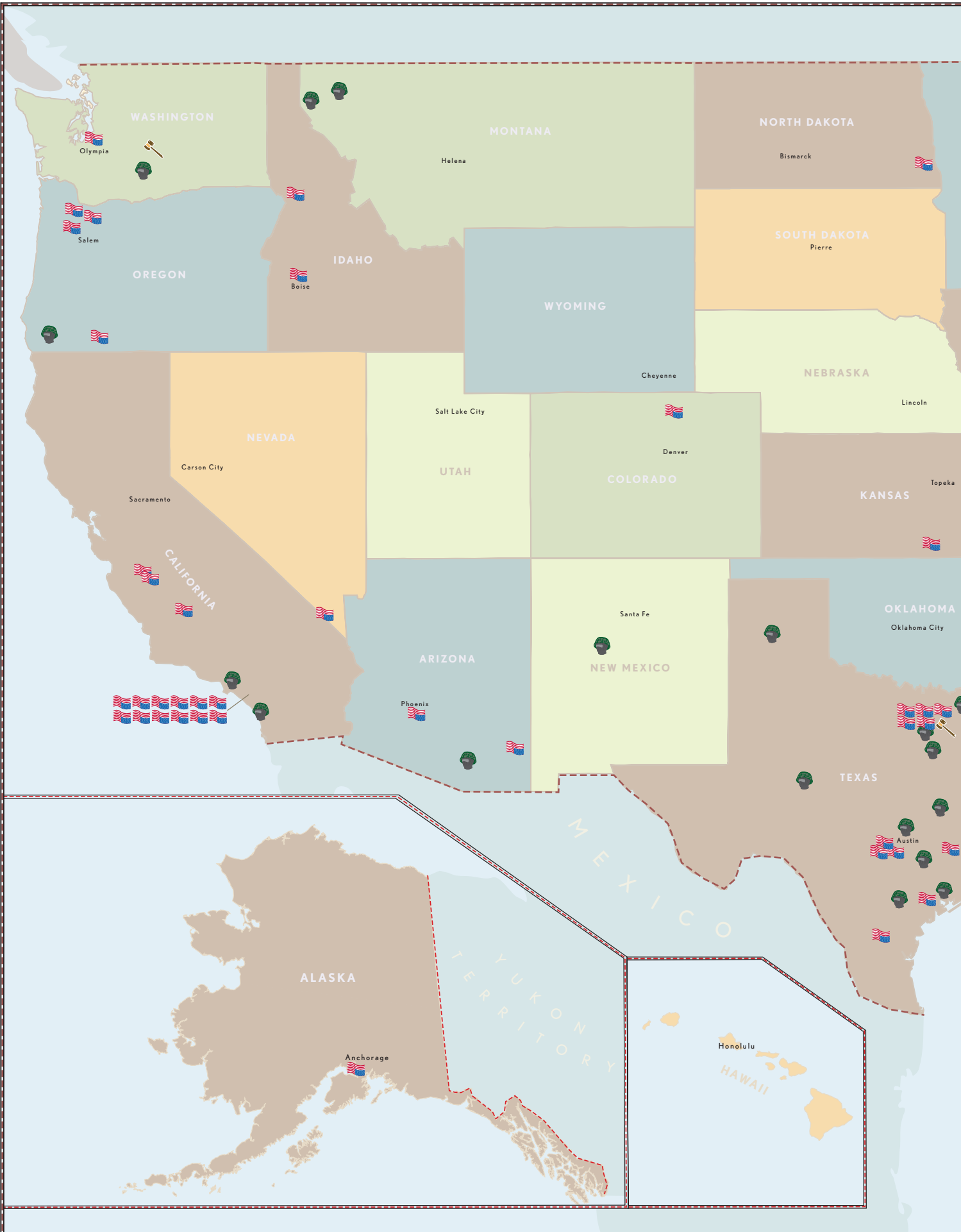
‘Patriot’ Groups

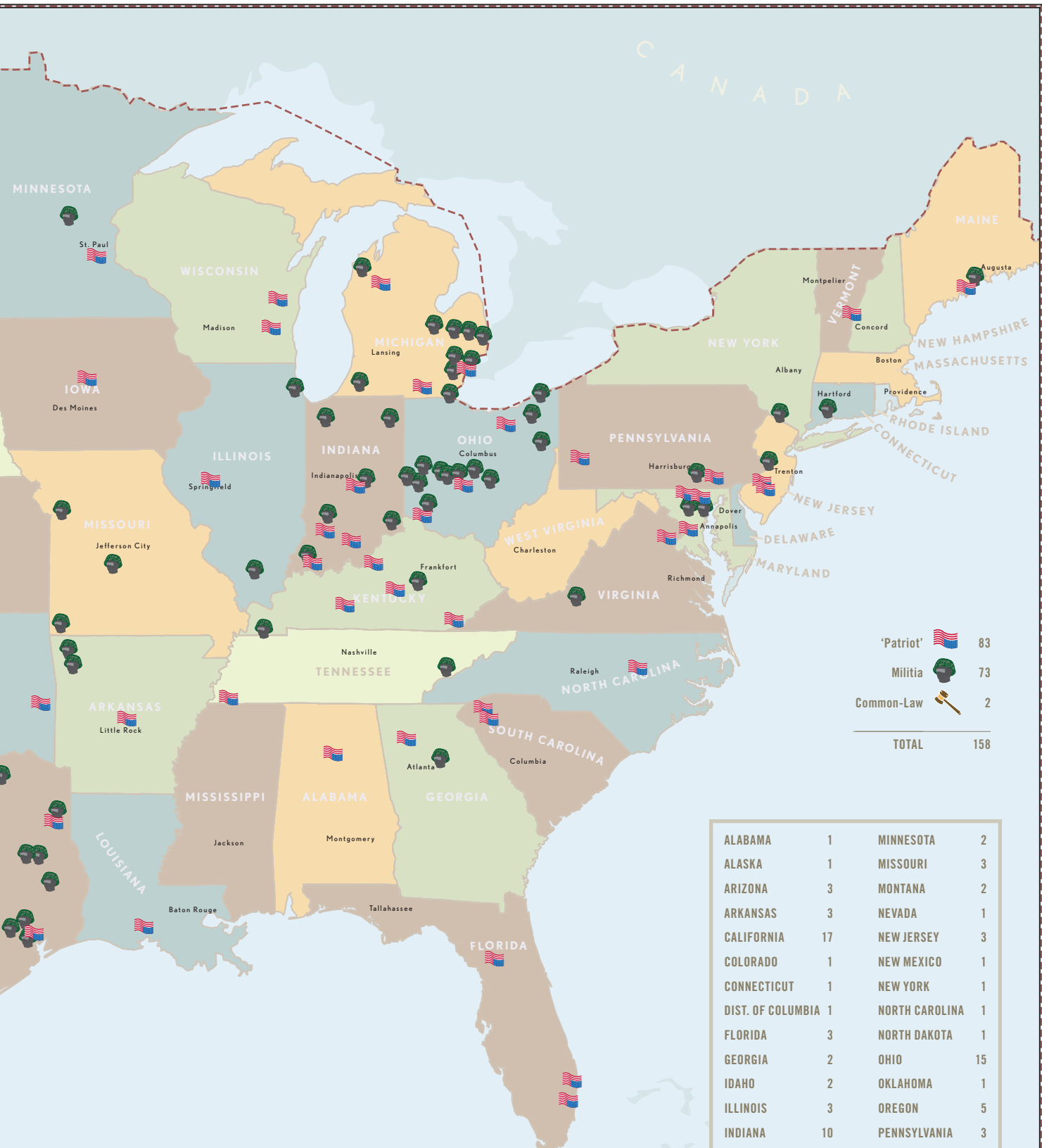
Antigovernment Patriot groups peaked in 1996 and have been declining ever since.



Free

Fall





Active 'Patriot' Groups

IN THE UNITED STATES IN 2001

ALABAMA	1	MINNESOTA	2
ALASKA	1	MISSOURI	3
ARIZONA	3	MONTANA	2
ARKANSAS	3	NEVADA	1
CALIFORNIA	17	NEW JERSEY	3
COLORADO	1	NEW MEXICO	1
CONNECTICUT	1	NEW YORK	1
DIST. OF COLUMBIA	1	NORTH CAROLINA	1
FLORIDA	3	NORTH DAKOTA	1
GEORGIA	2	OHIO	15
IDAHO	2	OKLAHOMA	1
ILLINOIS	3	OREGON	5
INDIANA	10	PENNSYLVANIA	3
IOWA	1	SOUTH CAROLINA	2
KANSAS	1	TENNESSEE	2
KENTUCKY	6	TEXAS	31
LOUISIANA	1	VERMONT	1
MAINE	2	VIRGINIA	2
MARYLAND	4	WASHINGTON	3
MICHIGAN	13	WISCONSIN	2

Active 'Patriot' Groups IN THE UNITED STATES IN 2001

The Intelligence Project identified 158 "Patriot" groups that were active in 2001. Of these groups, 73 were militias, two were "common-law courts," and the remainder fit into a variety of categories such as publishers, ministries, and citizens' groups. Generally, Patriot groups define themselves as opposed to the "New World Order" or advocate or adhere to extreme antigovernment doctrines. Listing here does not imply that the groups themselves advocate or engage in violence or other criminal activities, or are racist. The list was compiled from field reports, Patriot publications, the Internet, law enforcement sources and news reports. Groups are identified by the city, county or region where they are located. Within states, groups are listed alphabetically by place of origin.

ALABAMA

Alabama Committee to Get US Out of the United Nations
Birmingham

ALASKA

Jefferson Party
Anchorage

ARIZONA

American Patriot Friends Network
Glendale

Sovereign Citizen Resource Center
Thatcher

Arizona Free Citizen's Militia
Tucson

ARKANSAS

Militia of Washington County
Fayetteville

Arkansas State Militia
Franklin County

Constitution Party
North Little Rock

CALIFORNIA

California Militia
Brea

John Birch Society
Brea

State Citizens Service Center Research Headquarters
Canoga Park

Truth Radio
Delano

John Birch Society
Fountain Valley

Free Enterprise Society
Fresno

Second Amendment Committee
Hanford

John Birch Society
Laguna Hills

John Birch Society
Mission Viejo

John Birch Society
Newport Beach

John Birch Society
Oceanside

Southern California High Desert Militia
Oceanside

John Birch Society
Orange

John Birch Society
Riverside

John Birch Society
Santa Ana

Truth In Taxation
Studio City

Freedom Law School
Tustin

COLORADO

American Freedom Network
Johnstown

CONNECTICUT

Connecticut 51st Militia
Terryville

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

American Free Press
Washington

FLORIDA

Constitutional Guardians of America
Boca Raton

Citizens for Better Government
Gainesville

Constitution Party
Jupiter

GEORGIA

Militia of Georgia
Lawrenceville

Constitution Party
Woodstock

IDAHO

Sons of Liberty
Boise

Police Against the New World Order
Kamiah

ILLINOIS

Illinois State Militia
Addison

Southern Illinois Patriots League
Benton

Constitution Party
Springfield

INDIANA

Old Paths Baptist Church
Campbellsburg

NORFOLK

Evansville

Indianapolis Baptist Temple
Indianapolis

Indiana Militia Corps 2nd Brigade
Northeast Indiana

Indiana Militia Corps 1st Brigade
Northwest Indiana

Indiana State Militia 14th Regiment
Owen County

Indiana Militia Corps 5th Brigade
Pendleton

Constitution Party
Shoals

Indiana Militia Corps 4th Brigade
Southeast Indiana

Indiana Militia Corps 3rd Brigade
Southwest Indiana

IOWA

Constitution Party
Randall

KANSAS

Constitution Party
Wichita

KENTUCKY

Take Back Kentucky
Clarkson

Free Kentucky
Lebanon

Constitution Party
Louisville

Kentucky State Militia
Nicholasville

Kentucky Mountain Rangers
Smilax

Kentucky State Militia 9th Battalion
Western Kentucky

LOUISIANA

Common Law Defense Fund
Lafayette

MAINE

Maine Militia
Belfast

Constitution Party
Spruce Head

MARYLAND

Southern Sons of Liberty

Citizens Militia of Maryland
Baltimore

Constitution Party
Taneytown

Save A Patriot Fellowship
Westminster

MICHIGAN
Proclaim Liberty Ministry
Adrian

Michigan Militia Corps Wolverines, 3rd Division
Benzonia

Southern Michigan Regional Militia
Burton

St. Clair County Militia
Capac

Southern Michigan Regional Militia
Capac

Justice Pro Se
Dearborn

Michigan Militia
Detroit

Southern Michigan Regional Militia
Fowlerville

Michigan Militia Corps Wolverines
Kalamazoo

Southern Michigan Regional Militia
Monroe County

Michigan Militia, Inc.
Redford

Southern Michigan Regional Militia
St. Clair

Lawful Path
Tustin

MINNESOTA
Minnesota Militia
St. Cloud

Constitution Party
St. Paul

MISSOURI
Missouri 51st Militia
Grain Valley

7th Missouri Militia
Granby

2nd Missouri Militia
Tusculum

MONTANA
Project 7
Kalispell

Militia of Montana
Noxon

NEVADA
Center for Action
Sandy Valley

NEW JERSEY
Constitution Party
Palmyra

New Jersey Committee of Safety
Shamong

New Jersey Militia
Trenton

NEW MEXICO
New Mexico Liberty Corps
Albuquerque

NEW YORK
New York Patriot Militia
Slate Hill

NORTH CAROLINA
United America Party
Zebulon

NORTH DAKOTA
Constitution Party
Casselton

OHIO
Right Way L.A.W.
Akron

Ohio Unorganized Militia Assistance and Advisory Committee
Ashtabula County

Ohio Unorganized Militia Assistance and Advisory Committee
Champaign County

True Blue Freedom
Cincinnati

Ohio Unorganized Militia
Columbiana County

Central Ohio Unorganized Militia
Columbus County

Ohio Unorganized Militia Assistance and Advisory Committee
Darke County

Ohio Unorganized Militia Assistance and Advisory Committee
Delaware County

Central Ohio Unorganized Militia
Franklin County

E Pluribus Unum
Grove City

Ohio Unorganized Militia Assistance and Advisory Committee
Lebanon

Central Ohio Unorganized Militia
Madison County

Ohio Unorganized Militia Assistance and Advisory Committee
Montgomery

Ohio Unorganized Militia Assistance and Advisory Committee
Portage County

Ohio Unorganized Militia Assistance and Advisory Committee
Westerville

OKLAHOMA
Present Truth Ministry
Panama

OREGON
Emissary Publications
Clackamas

Southern Oregon Militia
Eagle Point

Freedom Bound International
Klamath Falls

Constitution Party
Portland

Embassy of Heaven
Stayton

PENNSYLVANIA
American Nationalist Union
Allison Park

Pennsylvania 1st Unorganized Militia
Harrisburg

Constitution Party National Office
Lancaster

SOUTH CAROLINA
AWARE Group
Greenville

Constitution Party
Greenville

TENNESSEE
Militia of East Tennessee
Knox County

Constitution Party
Germantown

TEXAS
Texas Unified Field Forces
Alto

People's Court of Common Law
Arlington

13th Texas Infantry Regiment
Austin

Constitution Society
Austin

John Birch Society
Austin

Living Truth Ministries
Austin

Constitution Party
Brenham

13th Texas Infantry Regiment
Bryan

Buffalo Creek Press
Cleburne

13th Texas Infantry Regiment
Conroe

Citizens for Legal Reform
Dallas

Republic of Texas
Dallas

Texas Unified Field Forces
Duncanville

Republic of Texas
Fort Worth

Texas Unified Field Forces
Grimes County

Texas Unified Field Forces
Harleton

Texas Unified Field Forces
Harris County

Texas Unified Field Forces
Hill County

Republic of Texas
Houston

Texas Unified Field Forces
Hunt County

Texas Unified Field Forces
Huntington

Texas Unified Field Forces
Jackson County

Texas Unified Field Forces
Neches

Texas Unified Field Forces
Potter County

Texas Unified Field Forces
Red Rock

13th Texas Infantry Regiment
San Antonio

American Opinion Bookstore
San Antonio

Texas Unified Field Forces
Tom Green County

Republic of Texas
Victoria

Church of God Evangelistic Association
Waxahachie

Republic of Texas
White Oak

VERMONT
Constitution Party
Quechee

VIRGINIA
Virginia Citizens Militia
Roanoke

Constitution Party
Vienna

WASHINGTON
Yakima County Militia
Yakima County

Jural Society
Ellensburg

Constitution Party
Tacoma

WISCONSIN
John Birch Society
Appleton

Constitution Party
Watertown ▲

Active 'Patriot' Websites

IN THE UNITED STATES IN 2001

MILITIA • 41

13th Texas Infantry Regiment*

freeweb.pdq.net/metalryder/13thTIR
Bryan, TX

17th Wisconsin Militia

clandestineservices.tripod.com

7th Missouri Militia*

www2.mo-net.com/~mlindste/7momilit.html
Granby, MO

Alaska Militia

www.geocities.com/alaskamilitia

America's Republic Militia

www.americasrepublicmilitia.com

Arizona Free Citizen's Militia*

www.azfcmilitia.homestead.com/
AZFCM.html
Tucson, AZ

Arkansas State Militia*

www2.arkansas.net/~ericp
Arkansas

California Militia*

geocities.com/CapitolHill/Congress/2608/
welcome.html
Brea, CA

Central Ohio Unorganized Militia*

www.pandar.com/coum
Columbus, OH

Citizens Militia of Maryland*

www.expage.com/page/
citizensmilitiaofmaryland
Baltimore, MD

Freedom Fighter Militia

homestead.juno.com/vikingwarrior2/
FreedomFighters.html

Illinois State Militia*

illinoisstatemilitia.homestead.com/
ILLINOISSTATEMILITIA.html
Addison, IL

Indiana Militia Corps*

IndianaMilitia.homestead.com
Indiana

Maine Militia*

mainemilitia.homestead.com/
Belfast, ME

Marietta Pennsylvania Militia

www.mariettapa.com/marietta_militia.html

Michigan Militia, Wayne County*

www.geocities.com/havoc223
Detroit, MI

Michigan Militia*

www.michiganmilitia.com
Detroit, MI

Michigan Militia Corps, Wolverines*

www.mmcw.homestead.com
Kalamazoo, MI

Militia Alliance

www.geocities.com/militiaalliance/

Militia of East Tennessee*

www.geocities.com/met3rdbrigade
Tennessee

Militia of Georgia*

www.militiaofgeorgia.com
Lawrenceville, GA

Militia of Montana*

www.militiaofmontana.com
www.montana.com/militiaofmontana
Noxon, MT

Militia of Washington County*

www.angelfire.com/ar2/militia
Fayetteville, AR

Minnesota Militia*

minnesotamilitia.8k.com/index.html
St. Cloud, MN

Missouri 51st Militia*

www.mo51st.org
Grain Valley, MO

New Jersey Militia*

www.njmilitia.org
Trenton, NJ

New Mexico Liberty Corps*

www.users.uswest.net/~toad419
Albuquerque, NM

New York Patriot Militia*

www.fortunecity.com/underworld/doom/
278/Frame1.htm
Slate Hill, NY

Ohio Unorganized Militia Assistance and Advisory Committee*

www.oumaac.com
Westerville, OH

Pennsylvania 1st Unorganized Militia*

www.1stPA-Militia.org
Harrisburg, PA

St. Clair County Militia*

www.michiganmilitia.org
Capac, MI

Southern California High Desert Militia*

www.hdmisc.org
Oceanside, CA

Southern Illinois Patriots League*

ssipl.addr.com
Benton, IL

Southern Sons of Liberty*

ssol.cjb.net
Maryland

Texas Unified Field Forces Militia*

www.tuffmilitia.com
Texas

United Texas Militia Forces

www.xoasis.com/~utmf

This list of 175 sites on the World Wide Web includes pages linked to the so-called "Patriot" movement, which generally defines itself as opposed to the "New World Order" or advocates or adheres to extreme antigovernment doctrines. Pages were current in the spring of 2002, but sites tend to move from server to server or shut down without notice, so they may be hard to locate. Of the sites, 18 were linked to "common-law" or related doctrine; 41 were connected to militias or militia ideology; and the others fit into a variety of other categories. Listing here does not imply that the individuals or groups with Web sites advocate or engage in violence or other criminal activity. The 75 sites indicated with an asterisk are linked to actual groups that actively promote Patriot doctrine beyond the mere publishing of their Internet material.

Unorganized Militias
www.city-net.com/~davekle/idxmil.html

US Militia
us-militia.org

Virginia Citizens Militia*
vcm.freesevers.com
www.VIRGINIA-CITIZENS-MILITIA.org
Roanoke, VA

SOVEREIGN/Common Law • 18 AMERIKA?
www.prostar.com/web/amerika

Christian National Common-Law Court
www.christiancommonlaw-gov.org

Common Law Defense Fund*
www.civil-liberties.com/commonlaw/common.html
Lafayette, LA

Dixieland Law Journal
fly.hiwaay.net/~becraft

Embassy of Heaven*
www.EmbassyOfHeaven.com
Stayton, OR

Freedom Bound International*
www.americansovereign.com/freedombound.htm
Klamath Falls, OR

Freedom County
exordia.net/freedomcounty/

Justice Pro-Se of Michigan*
justiceprose.8m.com
Dearborn, MI

Republic of Texas*
www.republic-of-texas.net/
White Oak, TX

Republic of Texas*
www.republic-of-texas.org/
www.texasrepublic.com
Fort Worth, TX

Right Way L.a.w.*
www.rightwaylaw.com/
www.ultimate.org/242
Akron, OH

Sovereign Citizens Resource Center*
www.zekes.com/~happy/scrc
Thatcher, AZ

State Citizens Service Center Research Headquarters*
www.state-citizen.org
Canoga Park, CA

Taking Back America
www.wealth4freedom.com

Team Law
www.teamlaw.org

Truth in Taxation*
www.taxfreeusa.org
Studio City, CA

PATRIOT MEDIA • 11 American Freedom Network*
www.americannewsnet.com
www.americanfreedomnetwork.com
Johnstown, CO

Genesis Communication Network
www.gcnlive.com

Jeff Davis Show
members.aol.com/TFIJDSHOW
www.jdshow.com

Keystone Report
www.keystonereport.com

Liberty Tree Radio
www.libertytreeradio.4mg.com/index.html

Radio Free Lenawee
radiofreelenawee.freesevers.com

Radio Liberty
www.radioliberty.com

Truth Radio Network*
www.truthradio.com
Delano, CA

United Patriot Radio
www.posse-comitatus.org/unitedpatriotradio/index.htm

PATRIOT MINISTRIES • 7 Church of God Evangelistic Association (Newswatch Magazine)*
www.newswatchmagazine.org
Waxahachie, TX

Dog House
www.iei.net/~doghouse

Eternal Grace Baptist Church of New Maysville
www.link2000.net/~preacher

Freedomgardener's Christian Remnant
www.angelfire.com/in2/truebelievers/index.html

Iahushua
www.iahushua.com

Indianapolis Baptist Temple*
www.indianapolisbaptisttemple.com
Indianapolis, IN

Living Truth Ministries*
www.texemarrs.com
Austin, TX

PATRIOT PUBLISHING • 9 American Free Press*
www.americanfreepress.net
Washington, DC

The Spotlight *
www.spotlight.org
Washington, DC

American Opinion Book Services*
www.aobs-store.com
Appleton, WI

American Opinion Bookstore*
xld.com/public/alamo/home.htm
San Antonio, TX

Buffalo Creek Press*
www.buffalo-creek-press.com
Cleburne, TX

Emissary Publications Midnight Messenger*
www.midnight-emissary.com
Clackamas, OR

Free American Magazine Online
www.FreeAmerican.com

Idaho Observer
www.proliberty.com/observer

The Sierra Times
www.sierratimes.com

PATRIOT SUPPORT • 52 American Patriot Friends Network*
www.apfn.org/apfn/main.htm
Glendale, AZ

American Patriot Network
www.civil-liberties.com

American Republic Recovery Alliance
arralliance.freesevers.com/index.html

AssaultWeb.Net
www.Assaultweb.net

AWARE Group*
www.theawaregroup.com
Greenville, SC

Barefoot's World
www.barefootsworld.net

Be Wise As Serpents
www.posse-comitatus.org/BeWise/index.html

Caged Patriots
www.involved.com/ewolfe/caged

Captain Nemo's Freedom Lovers Site
www.vaix.net/~captainnemo

Center for Action*
www.bogritz.com
Sandy Valley, NV

Citizens for Legal Reform*
www.constitution.org/mil/tx/crl_meet.htm
Dallas, TX

Committees of Protection, Correspondence and Safety
www.committee.org/cos1400.htm

Common Man
www.thecommonman.com

Connecticut Survivalist Alliance
www.geocities.com/ctsurvivalist

Constitution Society*
www.constitution.org
Austin, TX

Downsizing Government
www.texasbestseminars.org

E Pluribus Unum*
www.epuohio.org
Grove City, OH

Eric's Patriot Page
www.freedombyfaith.com/PATRIOT/PATRIOT.HTML

Free Enterprise Society*
www.freeenterprisesociety.com
Fresno, CA

Free Kentucky*
www.freekentucky.com
Lebanon, KY

Free Republic
www.freerepublic.com

Freedom Page
freedompage.home.mindspring.com

Freedom Site
www.freedomsite.net

Guardians of Liberty
www.guardians.org

Jeff's Favorite Links
www.jeffry.com/links/links.htm

Land of Liberty
user.aol.com/rmckin6412/liberty/index.htm

Law Research & Registry
www.lawresearch-registry.org

LizMichael.com
www.lizmichael.com

Minutemen of America
www.minutemenofamerica.com

Nation in Distress

www.involved.com/ewolfe/distress

New Jersey Committee of Safety*

www.committee.org/NJcos/Default.htm
Shamong, NJ

NORFED - National Organization for the Repeal of the Federal Reserve Act*

www.norfed.org
Evansville, IN

Outpost of Freedom

www.illusions.com/opf

Patrick Henry On-Line

www.mo-net.com/~mlindste

Patriot

www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/6627

Patriot Truth

www.angelfire.com/ab/PatriotTruth/index.html

Patriot's WWW Research Base

www.relaypoint.net/~patriot

Republic USA

www.republicusa.org

Save A Patriot Fellowship*

www.save-a-patriot.org
Westminster, MD

Second Amendment Committee Home Page*

www.libertygunrights.com
Hanford, CA

Sons of Liberty*

www.sonsofliberty.org
Boise, ID

Survival Enterprises

www.survival.simplenet.com

Take Back Kentucky*

www.takebackkentucky.org
Clarkson, KY

Texas Reserve

www.texasreserve.com/

True Blue Freedom*

www.true-blue.org
Cincinnati, OH

U.S.A Patriotic/Militia/ Anti-NWO Links

www.theofficenet.com/~redorman/pagepm.htm

U.S. National Militia Directory

www.constitution.org/mil/mil_us.htm

United America Party*

www.unitedamericaparty.com
Zebulon, NC

Watcher's Conspiracy Links

www.mt.net/~watcher/conspir.html

We the People

www.givemeliberty.org

Wizard Killer's Home in Cyberspace

www.geocities.com/Heartland/7006/home.html

Wolfe's Lodge

www.curleywolfe.net/cw/Lodge.html

PATRIOT VENDOR • 3

Frugal Squirrel's Homepage for Patriots, Survivalists, and Gun Owners

www.frugalsquirrels.com

Lawful Path*

land.netonecom.net/tlp
Tustin, MI

Proclaim Liberty*

www.proclaimliberty.com
Adrian, MI

POLITICAL/CITIZEN GROUPS • 34

Alabama Committee to Get US Out of the United Nations*

themustardseed.home.mindspring.com
www.mindspring.com/~doncasey
Birmingham, AL

American Nationalist Union*

www.anu.org
Allison Park, PA

Citizens for Better Government*

www.afn.org/~govern
Gainesville, FL

Constitution Party*

www.constitutionparty.com

www.constitutional.net

www.ustaxpayers.org
Lancaster, PA

constitutionpartymaine.homestead.com/page1.html
Spruce Head, ME

familyresources.net/cpfl/index.html
Jupiter, FL

home.earthlink.net/%7Ecastleroyal/index.htm
North Little Rock, AR

ks.constitutionparty.com/index2.html

Wichita, KS

mrclint.freelyellow.com/cpsy.html

Louisville, KY

www.constitutionpartynd.com

Casselton, ND

www.constitutionpartynj.org

Palmyra, NJ

www.constitutionpartyofwa.org

Tacoma, WA

www.constitutionpartyoregon.org

Portland, OR

www.constitutionpartyvt.com/index.html

Quechee, VT

www.cpmn.org

St. Paul, MN

www.cpow.org

Watertown, WI

www.dsindex.com/cp

Greenville, SC

www.gaconstitutionparty.org/index.html

Woodstock, GA

www.illinoisconstitutionparty.com

Springfield, IL

www.inetresults.com/ustp-va

Vienna, VA

www.marylandconstitutionparty.com

Taneytown, MD

www.nashville.com/~eaglet

Germantown, TN

www.sensiblepc.com/

constitutionpartyofindiana/info.htm

Shoals, IN

www.cptexas.org/

Brenham, TX

iResist.com

www.iresist.com/

Jefferson Party*

www.jusbelli.com/

Anchorage, AK

John Birch Society*

www.jbs.org/

Appleton, WI

home.earthlink.net/~bircher/

Newport Beach, CA

www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/Lobby/8855/

Riverside, CA

www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/Lobby/6707/

Orange County, CA

xld.com/public/jbs/austin.htm

Austin, TX ▲



Defending Immigrants

A key activist in the struggle for immigrant rights discusses the evolution and nature of the anti-immigration movement

Over the last quarter of a century, Rick Swartz may have done more than any other activist to encourage a healthy level of immigration to America and to protect the rights of immigrants once they are here. After graduating from the University of Chicago Law School, Swartz directed an immigrant rights project at the Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights before going on to found, in 1982, what has become the nation's leading immigration rights advocacy group, the National Immigration Forum. Swartz was president of the Forum, a coalition of more than 250 national organizations and several thousand local groups, until 1990. In that post, he worked to secure a safe haven for Haitian and Central American war refugees, to legalize the status of millions of other immigrants and to battle the anti-immigrant and English Only movements. Since leaving the Forum, Swartz, now 52, has run a small public policy firm representing a range of corporate and nonprofit clients, at the same time continuing his immigration advocacy work. The Intelligence Report asked Swartz about his lengthy battles with America's leading anti-immigration activists, his view of the movement today, and his analysis of the movement's prospects.

INTELLIGENCE REPORT: In looking at the contemporary anti-immigrant movement [see story, p. 44], we've found that even though there are a large number of organizations involved, they almost always seem to go back to one man — John Tanton, the Michigan ophthalmologist who founded the Federation for American Immigration Reform [FAIR] in 1979. Has that always been the case?

SWARTZ: Tanton is the puppeteer behind this entire movement. He is the organizer of a significant amount of its financing, and is both the major recruiter of key personnel and the intellectual leader of the whole network of groups. I don't know if he's personally wealthy — it could well be that people give him big donations just because he is so mesmerizing. He does have a charismatic feel about him.

It's been clear since 1988, when a series of embarrassing internal memos by Tanton and Roger Conner [who was then executive director of FAIR] were leaked to the press, what the overall strategy is. Those memos are a blueprint for what Tanton and his friends have been doing ever since.

IR: Can you describe that blueprint?

SWARTZ: The blueprint envisaged creating a whole array of organizations that serve the overall ideological and political battle plan to halt immigration — even if some of these groups have somewhat differing politics. They camouflage the links between these organizations, their true origins, so that they appear to have arisen spontaneously. But in fact they have the same creator, Tanton.

IR: So the idea was to create the illusion of a grassroots movement that was supported by a significant number of Americans?

SWARTZ: Yes indeed, to confuse the press. The leaked memos did bring some public attention to the Tanton network, and some of these linkages were further exposed in the early 1990s. More recently, FAIR's tax records established that the Center for Immigration Studies, which has become an influential Washington institution, was spun off from FAIR as a separate organization. But these facts aren't widely known by the public today.

For years and years, FAIR and these other spinoffs have been part of a strategy of, "Well, it can't just be FAIR and other major Tanton creations like U.S. English and the Center for Immigration Studies, because then it's too easy to pin us down. So therefore how about creating NumbersUSA, English First, the American Immigration

to reduce immigration, but the senior staff and at least some members of the ZPG board resisted. As a result, FAIR was created. Conner ran FAIR as executive director through most of the '80s before leaving to become executive director of yet another Tanton creation, the American Alliance for Rights and Responsi-

"THESE GROUPS HAD THEIR OWN PERSON RUNNING THE HOUSE IMMIGRATION SUBCOMMITTEE AT A CRITICAL MOMENT. [THEY HAD] AN OPPORTUNITY TO HAVE TREMENDOUS INFLUENCE THROUGHOUT THE CONGRESS AND THE GOVERNMENT, AS WELL AS THE MEDIA."

Control Foundation and all these smaller local groups?" All of this was anticipated by the memos, which were written in 1986, two years before the leak.

IR: Has even the limited exposure of these kinds of linkages damaged the ability of Tanton's anti-immigrant groups to affect public policy in Congress?

SWARTZ: They are well known to everybody deeply involved in the immigration debate. But when it comes to Congress, very few members — maybe two — can come close to understanding the situation or the history of the immigration reform efforts of the last 25 years. They may have voted on immigration-related items, but immigration is not a way of life for them.

IR: Let's go back a little. How did Tanton get started?

SWARTZ: When Tanton started FAIR in 1979, he was already president of a liberal organization, Zero Population Growth [ZPG]. He wanted ZPG to be the vehicle for a significant advocacy effort

bilities, which was intended to be an antidote to the ACLU [American Civil Liberties Union]. At the time, FAIR was promoting employer sanctions [laws to punish those who hire illegal aliens] and dramatic increases in border enforcement, sweeps, arrests and deportations. It was opposing guest worker programs and asylum for refugees from Haiti or the Central American wars.

It was also FAIR that first had the idea of barring social services and other public benefits for immigrants [an enterprise that came to fruition with California's Proposition 187 which was passed in 1994 with the support of FAIR and other Tanton creations, but ultimately found to be unconstitutional]. FAIR also tried to build linkages to mainstream environmental groups, but without much success.

IR: When did Tanton get into the English Only movement?

SWARTZ: Tanton established an organization called U.S. English in the early 1980s, and this became his second

major national organization after FAIR. The organization was dedicated to “English Only” [the idea that all official government business should be conducted in English alone], and it attracted into its ranks a number of well-known celebrities — Walter Cronkite and Arnold Schwarzenegger, for example. U.S. Eng-

lish helped to arrange for the English-language publication of *The Camp of the Saints*, a grotesquely racist French novel that tells of European civilization being overrun by bestial Third World immigrants. And he continues to promulgate that book in his role as publisher of The Social Contract Press, a hate group. What do you make of the role of this remarkable book?

SWARTZ: A movement of the kind that Tanton envisions needs a bible. It needs a bible for conversion. It needs a bible as an ideological road map. It needs a bible to stimulate zeal and a sense of belief among its followers. *The Camp of the Saints* is that book for Tanton. It puts out a vision of immigrants rampaging and destroying the West, and that is the vision that Tanton believes in and wants his followers to believe in. James Craw-

ford, who wrote a book on the English Only movement, calls *The Camp of the Saints* “a cult book” — and that is what I think it is.

IR: A similar vision of white people being overwhelmed by dusky, Third World hordes is suggested in the Tanton-Conner memos. Did the leak of those memos to *The Arizona Republic* hurt Tanton and FAIR significantly?

SWARTZ: It hurt him a lot at the time. The revelations led to the resignation of Linda Chavez, who had become executive director of U.S. English in the mid-1980s [and is a conservative Republican columnist today]. A whole group of celebrities resigned from the board or advisory board of U.S. English because of the memos, which were complicated by *The Camp of the Saints* being sort of a Holy Bible for the movement. All this revealed the underlying ideology of Tanton.

It also made it that much more difficult for people like [former Sen.] Alan Simpson [R-Wyo.] and others who shared FAIR’s point of view from holding FAIR up as

this great organization that other members worked with all the time. And the political character of the Tanton-Conner memos — the strategies of infiltration and so on that they discussed — also contributed to the rash of resignations.

IR: Are there good examples of that infiltration strategy at work?

SWARTZ: In the 1980s, while Conner was executive director of FAIR, a woman named Cordia Strom became the legal director. The memos had specifically discussed infiltrating the Congressional staff, and Cordia was their big success story. She became part of the staff of Rep. Lamar Smith [R-Texas] and then she went to work for the House Immigration Subcommittee. She was in that job through 1996 and was the subcommittee’s chief counsel during the big 1996 immigration debate [which resulted in harsh legislation, introduced by subcommittee chairman Lamar Smith, that sharply reduced the rights of legal immigrants]. At some point after that, she went over to the Executive Office for Immigration Review [the administrative appeals arm of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, or INS, that is responsible for making final decisions on such matters as deportations], where she is still employed [as counsel to the director and coordinator for congressional affairs]. After the 2000 election, there was even an [unsuccessful] effort to get Cordia appointed deputy director of the INS.

IR: Then the infiltration strategy was really quite effective?

SWARTZ: Well, these groups had their own person running the House Immigration Subcommittee at a critical moment. Being the staff director of that subcommittee brings tremendous daily influence on Lamar Smith [chairman of the subcommittee from 1994 to 2000] and other Republican members. The staff director has lots of access to inside information, including confidential and classified information regarding immigration. You have constant dealings with the INS, with the Justice Department and the State Department. So someone like Cordia, with her ideological bent, has an opportunity to have tremendous



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lish funded a range of “official English” state and local referenda [through early 2002, 27 states had passed English-only legislation]. The most recent example of this kind of activity is in Iowa, where the governor earlier this year declared English the state’s official language.

By the way, there is a lot happening in Iowa right now. Why Iowa? Well, you’ve got meatpacking plants and the immigrants employed in them, leading to demographic change. And you have Iowa’s governor making pro-immigration statements over the last couple of years, saying we’re losing people and we need new people, therefore we should be trying to attract immigrants. And, of course, Iowa is the first presidential primary. So add it all up, and you can see why they’re spending a ton of advertising money in Iowa. It’s perfect for Tanton’s message.

IR: Although he has always denied it, Tanton and his progeny have frequently been accused of being racist, not to mention anti-Catholic and, in particular, anti-Hispanic. In fact, Tanton

influence throughout the Congress and the government, as well as the media.

IR: Yes, similarly, we've found that a woman named Rosemary Jenks, a lobbyist for NumbersUSA, is now working part-time out of the office of Rep. Tom Tancredo. *[Editor's note: Tancredo is a Colorado Republican, chairman of the Congressional Immigration Reform Caucus, and a harsh immigration critic whose Web site carries data from one of Tanton's creations, the Center for Immigration Studies. Tancredo's Congressional Immigration Reform Caucus Web site links directly to a hard-edged hate group, the Voice of Citizens Together, also known as American Patrol.]*

SWARTZ: That's another example of infiltration at work. FAIR and the others have successfully placed their people around folks like Tancredo in Congress.

IR: Are there other important methods that Tanton has employed?

SWARTZ: Another tactic of Tanton's is to turn ethnic groups on each other, to create conflict between different ethnic and racial groups. One of his big arguments has always been that immigration hurts blacks. FAIR has bought radio advertising on black radio stations to push that vision. A prime example was in Chicago 10 or 12 years ago, when an ad ran basically saying, "You know why you don't have a job? Because some undocumented Mexican came in and stole yours from you."

FAIR also has hired black professionals and has put a lot of effort into building alliances with African-American intellectuals, because the unfortunate reality is that there is a lot of anti-immigrant sentiment in the black community. When you have dramatic demographic change going on in places like South Central Los Angeles — well, it's the oldest trick in the book. It's called making those who don't have a lot but are making progress feel threatened by those coming after them. There is some conflict among Latinos, Asians and African Americans competing politically and economically, and this provides fertile ground for the kind of poison that the Tanton crowd has been trying to plant in the African-American community for years — the idea

that Latinos in particular, and immigrants in general, are a threat.

Once again, all this is pre-figured in the Tanton-Conner memos.

IR: That kind of conflict permeates our history, doesn't it?

SWARTZ: America's history is in part a story of ethnic succession. At times, we've had major ethnic violence surrounding this dynamic of ethnic succession. Benjamin Franklin was afraid Germans were going to come in and take over Pennsylvania and overwhelm the English language. We had the Know-Nothing Party that came up in response to the beginnings of Irish and Catholic migrations in the early and middle 19th century. There were similar responses to Jewish and Italian immigrants in the late 19th century. The KKK of the 1920s was rooted in anti-Catholicism. Today, Tanton works to create similar kinds of conflict amongst ethnic groups.

IR: During the 2000 Michigan senatorial race, FAIR ran ads that essentially suggested that Spencer Abraham [R-Mich.] was allowing terrorists into the country by backing higher numbers of visas for immigrants with high-tech skills. The ads also implied, but didn't say directly, that that was because Abraham was an Arab American. Did the brouhaha over those ads hurt FAIR? Didn't Alan Simpson, one of FAIR's biggest supporters in the Senate, resign their board as a result?

SWARTZ: He did! Simpson condemned the ads. I think the attacks on Abraham really hurt FAIR among certain Republicans. Something like 20 to 25 Senate Republicans put their names on a letter denouncing FAIR for the Abraham attacks. Some of these senators today probably have no idea that so-called "respectable" organizations, like the Center for Immigration Studies, are linked to FAIR. But to go back to the theme of infiltration, if you look at the



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record of witnesses before the House and Senate immigration subcommittees, you will see that FAIR or some other FAIR-connected group is a witness at the vast majority of the hearings. Thank you, Lamar Smith and Alan Simpson! Those kinds of relationships are legitimizing. FAIR can say, "How can you say we're an extremist group when we're being invited to testify to Congress all the time?" It creates great camouflage.

IR: We've noticed some connections between the Tanton network and European anti-immigrant parties. For instance, Glenn Spencer, leader of the hate group Voice of Citizens Together and a Tanton grant recipient, recently shared the podium with Nick Griffin, leader of the neofascist British National Party. Both men spoke at an event put on by another racist outfit, *American Renaissance* magazine.

SWARTZ: There is a transatlantic character to the ideological underpinnings of the Tanton movement. I believe that there has been for years substantial financial and political and personnel interaction between the Tanton movement here and the anti-immigration movements in Europe. I remember in the '80s, when I was always debating Conner in a variety of public forums, that he made a lot of references to France, how he had just come back from France and so on.

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In fact, I believe that FAIR and Tanton have an agenda of seeking a Front National [a virulently anti-immigrant French party] type of political party in the United States, in significant part through their strong involvement in the Reform Party. Their takeover attempt was personified by the former governor of Colorado, Dick Lamm, who is a FAIR adviser and director and who tried to run for president in 1996 on the Reform Party ticket. In 2000, Pat Buchanan, whose views are quite similar to those of FAIR, also tried to take over the Reform Party. *[Editor's note: Glenn Spencer was scheduled to speak to the Iowa Reform Party this April.]* So while I can't name names, I would guess a significant number of Reform activists are connected to the Tanton network.

But then again, both Lamm and Buchanan failed pathetically. This gives

hope that their ideology is seen as bankrupt by most Americans.

IR: Since California's Proposition 187 was thrown out by the courts in 1998, a number of anti-immigration groups like the Voice of Citizens Together/American Patrol and the California Coalition for Immigration Reform [CCIR] seem to have gotten significantly harder-line, and also far more conspiracy-oriented. At the same time, Tanton creations like Center for Immigration Studies very assiduously court mainstream respectability. Are these contradictory strategies?

SWARTZ: My guess is that every move is strategic and deliberate. The anti-

extremes, while FAIR appears more “sophisticated.”

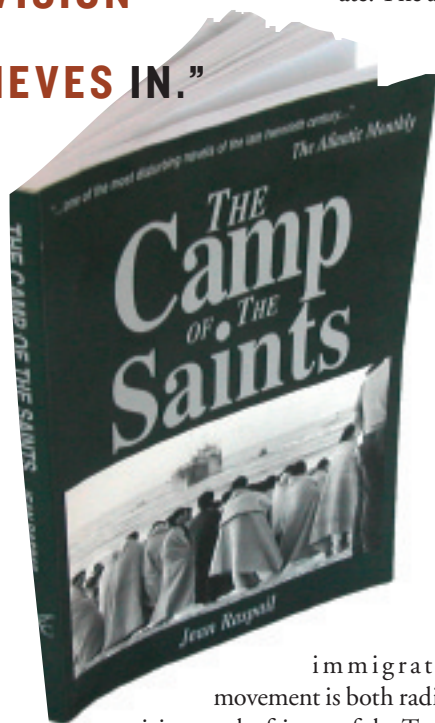
My point is that Tanton is a brilliant tactician. He has created a system where he can have his cake and eat it, too. He has a political movement on the extremist, racial fringe that is stirring up popular discontent and hatred with its harsh rhetoric. There is a lot of fertile ground out there, and the fringe is increasingly significant in areas like what is going on in Iowa right now. At the same time, other Tanton groups are getting invited to testify before Congress on a regular basis.

IR: So what is your prognosis for the future?

SWARTZ: The challenge is to ensure that our political culture is not poisoned by Tanton and his crowd, and that leaders and citizens alike repudiate racial and ethnic fearmongering. Know-Nothing ideologies — and multimillion-dollar media buys — cannot be allowed to spawn racial and ethnic violence against immigrants.

In Europe over the last 20 years, Tanton-like leaders have resurrected far-right and sometimes violent movements — and political parties — rooted in the fear of the stranger. The Tanton vision laid out in the 1986 memos is of an apartheid United States beset by racial violence, and whites not going quietly into the night as their numbers are overwhelmed by the demographics of immigration.

It would be very unwise to underestimate the danger in the *Camp of the Saints* ideology that Tanton embodies and in the work that they have doing for 25 years to turn immigrant against native, black against brown, and so on. But in the end, I am confident that the vast majority of Americans will, as they have in the past, reject the fearmonger and, through the toil of people from all over the world, build the freest and most prosperous nation yet known. America is hugely resilient and immigration is one of our priceless resources, especially in the coming global age. I take nothing for granted when it comes to threats to America's future, but I am totally confident about the goodwill and common sense of America's people. ▲



immigration movement is both radicalizing on the fringes of the Tanton network and at the same time mainstreaming at the core of the network. In some ways, FAIR is more moderate than it once was. NumbersUSA is also more sedate. Simultaneously, the harder edge is carried by people like [CCIR leader] Barbara Coe. She acts on the

the PUPPETEER

THE ORGANIZED ANTI-IMMIGRATION 'MOVEMENT,' INCREASINGLY IN BED WITH RACIST HATE GROUPS, IS DOMINATED BY ONE MAN

Before he even said a word, U.S. Rep. Tom Tancredo (R-Colo.) got a standing ovation from the 27 anti-immigration activists who gathered at the Cannon House Office Building in Washington, D.C., on the morning of Feb. 13 to kick off a two-day lobbying effort on Capitol Hill. Tancredo, chairman of the Congressional Immigration Reform Caucus, proceeded to regale his audience with ominous warnings of a global plot to destroy the United States. Many countries are pushing immigration in order to erode American sovereignty, Tancredo warned. "China is trying to export people. It's a policy for them, a way of extending their hegemony. It's a government-sponsored thing."

After Tancredo's 10-minute pep talk, Brian Bilbray, a former Republican congressman from San Diego, Calif.,

weighed in with horror stories about an impending social catastrophe due to immigration. "We are creating a slave class that criminal elements breed in," said Bilbray, who complained bitterly — and improbably — that he lost his 2000 re-election bid because "illegal aliens" had voted against him. But all was not doom and gloom, according to Bilbray. Praising the post-9/11 sweeps of Arab communities by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) that resulted in the indefinite detention of more than a thousand people, Bilbray called for the INS to carry out an enlarged dragnet. "We could have a terrorist coming in on a Latin name," he said.

The meeting with Tancredo and Bilbray — and the entire lobbying operation in mid-February — was masterminded by NumbersUSA, an anti-immigration group that had recently opened a "government relations office" in a three-story, red-brick Victorian near the Capitol. NumbersUSA hosted an afternoon open house at its plush new digs, where the lobbyists relaxed, nibbled on catered food, and conversed with the leaders and other officials of key anti-immigration organizations.

Patrick McHugh of the Washington-based Center for Immigration Studies, which purports to be a squeaky clean think tank that rejects racism, was there pressing the flesh along with Barbara Coe, head of the California Coalition

for Immigration Reform, who repeatedly referred to Mexicans — as she has for years — as “savages.” The *Citizens Informer*, a white supremacist tabloid put out by the Council of Conservative Citizens hate group, was available. NumbersUSA executive director Roy Beck, a long-time friend of Coe’s, adopted a more moderate tone when he addressed his guests and told them what they should be doing to end the current immigration regime. It would be better, Beck counseled, if their attempts to lobby legislators that week did not appear to

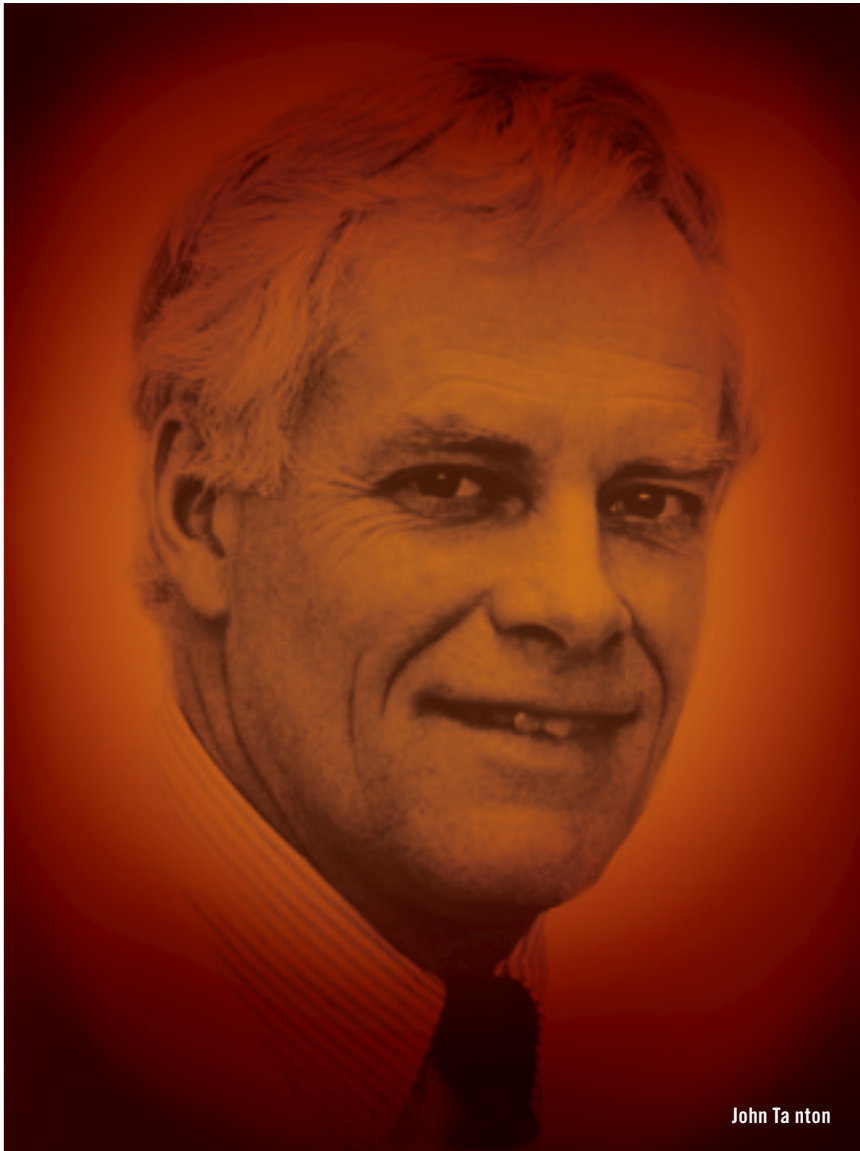
be orchestrated by NumbersUSA. For their campaign to be effective, he said, it “needs to look like a grassroots effort.”

Grassroots – or Astroturf?

To be sure, this was no grassroots effort. Nor is NumbersUSA, in any sense of the word, a grassroots organization. Despite attempts to appear otherwise, it is a wholly owned subsidiary of U.S. Inc., a sprawling, nonprofit funding conduit that has spawned three anti-immigration groups and underwrites several others, many of which were represented at the NumbersUSA conclave. What’s more, this interlocking network of supposedly independent organizations is almost entirely the handiwork of one man, a Michigan ophthalmologist named John H. Tanton.

A four-month investigation by the *Intelligence Report*, conducted in the aftermath of the September terrorist attacks, found that the appearance of an array of groups with large membership bases is nothing more than a mirage. In fact, the vast majority of American anti-immigration groups — more than a dozen in all — were either formed, led, or in other ways made possible through Tanton’s efforts. The principal funding arm of the movement, U.S. Inc., is a Tanton creation, and millions of dollars in financing comes from just a few of his allies, far-right foundations like those controlled by the family of Richard Mellon Scaife. Moreover, tax returns suggest that claims of huge numbers of members — in the case of one group, more than 250,000 — are geometric exaggerations put forward to create a false picture of a “movement” that politicians should pay attention to.

Finally, even as activists court increasing numbers of national politicians in the wake of Sept. 11, the *Report’s* investigation reveals that they are moving in large numbers into the arms of hate groups like the Council of Conservative Citizens — a 15,000-member organization whose Web site recently described blacks as “a retrograde species of humanity.” In fact, many anti-immigration



John Tanton

ST. PETERSBURG TIMES

groups have been growing harder- and harder-line since 1998, when they first began working together with open white supremacists. Today, many of their leading officials have joined racist organizations.

There's a word in Washington for outfits like these anti-immigration organizations — "astroturf," meaning that they lack any genuine grassroots base. That such groups, with their increasingly

"[E]thnicity is a more acceptable term than race. ... So perhaps we should speak of Hispanic Whites and non-Hispanic Whites, to further diffuse [the author means defuse] the issue. Is Anglo a better term than White? LANGUAGE IS VERY important here." —John Tanton/the WITAN memos



After warning of a global plot to destroy the United States with a flood of immigrants, U.S. Rep. Tom Tancredo (R-Colo.) cradles an "award of appreciation" presented in Washington, D.C., by hard-line California activist Barbara Coe (right) at a Feb. 13 kick-off for two days of anti-immigration lobbying.

direct links to racist organizations, should have real power in the nation's capital may seem hard to believe. But Americans have grown increasingly xenophobic in the wake of the September terrorist attacks, and the rapid growth of the Congressional Immigration Reform Caucus that Tancredo heads reflects that — from just 10 legislators prior to the attacks to 59 by May.

What kind of influence do extremists have in this congressional caucus? Although that is hard to measure, the caucus Web site now carries a prominent link to an outfit called American Patrol — a racist hate group run by Californian Glenn Spencer. With a tip of the hat to Tancredo and the other legislators who

have helped to provide him legitimacy, Spencer recently deleted from his Web site the image of a cartoon figure urinating on a Latino Presidential Medal of Freedom recipient.

From Environment to Race

It is not often that a single individual is largely responsible for creating an entire political movement. But John Tanton can claim without exaggeration that he is the founding father of America's modern anti-immigration movement. In addition to directly controlling four prominent immigration restriction groups, Tanton has been critical in establishing or helping fund several other anti-immigration groups. He serves on the

board of the group with the largest membership, the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR), which he founded 23 years ago.

It was an odd turn of events for an erstwhile liberal activist who loved beekeeping and the rural life. Raising a family and practicing medicine in Petoskey, Mich., Tanton started out as a passionate environmentalist. In the 1960s and early 1970s, he was a leader in the National Audubon Society, the Sierra Club and other mainstream environmental groups. But Tanton soon became fixated on population control, seeing environmental degradation as the inevitable result of overpopulation. When the indigenous birth rate fell below replacement level in the United States, his preoccupation turned to immigration. And this soon led him to race.

Tanton had something akin to a conversion when he came across *The Camp of the Saints*, a lurid, racist novel written by Frenchman Jean Raspail that depicts an invasion of the white, Western world by a fleet of starving, dark-skinned refugees. Tanton helped get the novel published in English and soon was promoting what he considered the book's prophetic argument. "Their [Third World] 'huddled masses' cast longing eyes on the apparent riches of the industrial west," Tanton wrote in 1975. "The developed countries lie directly in the path of a great storm."

And so he began to develop a counter-force. After 1979, when he co-founded FAIR, Tanton launched "a whole array of organizations that serve the overall ideological and political battle plan to halt immigration — even if those groups have somewhat differing politics," explained

Rick Swartz, the pro-immigration activist who founded the National Immigration Forum in 1982 (see interview, p. 39).

“Tanton is the puppeteer behind this entire movement,” Swartz said. “He is the organizer of a significant amount of its financing, and is both the major recruiter of key personnel and the intellectual leader of the whole network of groups.”

Tanton declined to be interviewed for this story.

The Strategy Emerges

Tanton’s strategy was to fight his war on several fronts. FAIR relied heavily on arguments about diminishing resources and jobs. In 1982, Tanton created U.S. Inc. to raise and channel funds to his anti-immigration network. The following year, he created his second major vehicle, U.S. English, which made a cultural argument — that the English language was in mortal danger of being made irrelevant. And later, in 1985, FAIR would spin off yet another major Tanton organization — the Center for Immigration Studies, which presented itself as an impartial think tank and later even sought to distance itself from the organization that had birthed it. Today, the Center regularly dispatches experts to testify on Capitol Hill, and last year it was awarded a six-figure research contract by the U.S. Census Bureau.



EMILY SUMMER

In the 1980s, U.S. Inc. provided millions of dollars to FAIR, U.S. English, the Center for Immigration Studies and several similar groups — the 21st Century Fund, Population-Environment Balance, and the Immigration Reform Law Institute, which is now a litigation arm of FAIR.

During the 1990s, Tanton’s U.S. Inc. adopted a new tactic, creating programs called NumbersUSA, The Social Contract Press (which publishes *The Camp of the Saints*), and Pro English. Although these units would often present themselves as independent, tax forms make it clear that they are merely programs of U.S. Inc. Tanton’s funding organization, U.S. Inc., also has recently given money to Barbara Coe’s California Coalition for Immigration Reform and Glenn Spencer’s American Patrol (also known as Voice of Citizens Together), two of the most virulently anti-Hispanic groups in Tanton’s network.

In the Trenches

Tanton’s “movement” achieved some notable successes. Almost 30 states and many more local communities passed “English Only” statutes enshrining English as the language of official business. In 1994, after extensive campaigning by Tanton-supported groups, millions of Californians joined in passing Proposition 187 which denied social services to undocumented workers. Two years later, Tanton celebrated the passage of the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act, a law meant to cut illegal immigration that was heavily backed by anti-immigration groups. It required that asylum seekers be held in detention until they established a credible fear of persecution at home, a process that could take years.

There were failures, too. In 1996, Tanton spearheaded an effort to get the Sierra Club, a mainstream environmentalist group whose Population Committee he headed (earlier, he had been

The Tanton-created NumbersUSA opened its swank new lobbying headquarters, convenient to the U.S. Capitol, with a February open house.

THE NETWORK

The organized anti-immigration “movement” is almost entirely the handiwork of one man, Michigan activist John H. Tanton. Here is a list of 13 groups in the loose-knit Tanton network, followed by acronyms if the groups use them, founding dates, and Tanton’s role in the groups. Those organizations designated as hate groups by the Southern Poverty Law Center are marked with an asterisk (*).

	*American Immigration Control Foundation AICF, 1983, funded
	*American Patrol/Voice of Citizens Together 1992, funded
	California Coalition for Immigration Reform CCIR, 1994, funded
	Californians for Population Stabilization 1996, funded
	Center for Immigration Studies CIS, 1985, founded and funded
	Federation for American Immigration Reform FAIR, 1979, founded and funded
	NumbersUSA 1996, founded and funded
	Population-Environment Balance 1973, joined board in 1980
	Pro English 1994, founded and funded
	ProjectUSA 1999, funded
	*The Social Contract Press 1990, founded and funded
	U.S. English 1983, founded and funded
	U.S. Inc. 1982, founded and funded

In this chart, “founded” means a group was founded or co-founded by John Tanton. “Funded” means that U.S. Inc., the funding conduit created and still headed by Tanton, has made grants to the group.

"Gobernar es poblar translates 'to govern is to populate.' ... In this society, where the majority rules, does this hold? Will the present majority peaceably hand over its political power to a group that is simply more fertile?" -John Tanton/the WITAN memos

executive director), to pass an anti-immigration plank. A major battle ensued, with many Sierra Club members seeing the proposed plank as fundamentally racist and out of line with the group's charter. The plank was finally rejected by 60% of those voting – but that may not be the end of it. Another Tanton-financed group, Californians for Population Stabilization, which formed after the 1996 vote, is now gearing up to reintroduce the issue to the Sierra Club.

Tanton was also careless in several ways.

Between 1985 and 1994, FAIR accepted \$1.2 million from the Pioneer Fund — an outfit once described by eugenics expert Barry Mehler as a “neo-Nazi organization, tied to the Nazi eugenics program in the 1930s, that has never wavered in its commitment to eugenics and ideas of human and racial inferiority and superiority.” When the Pioneer link was disclosed in 1988, Tanton, who was then president of FAIR's board, said he knew nothing of Pioneer's unsavory history. Yet his group continued to accept Pioneer grants for another six years, until 1994.

The Wise Men's Mistake

More damaging, however, was the leak, shortly before a 1988 English Only referendum in Arizona, of the so-called WITAN memos written by Tanton and the then-executive director of FAIR, Roger Conner. (WITAN was short for the Old English term “witenangemot,” meaning “council of wise men.” The

memos were meant for Tanton colleagues who met at retreats to discuss immigration.)

The memos were replete with derogatory references to Latinos, reflecting a kind of entrenched bigotry that had only been suspected before. They complained mightily of the high Hispanic birth rate, suggested that Latin American immigrants would bring political corruption to the United States, and included a demographic punchline that depicted Hispanics as hyperactive breeders and revolted many readers: “[P]erhaps this is the first instance in which those with their pants up are going to get caught by those with their pants down.”

Linda Chavez, executive director of Tanton creation u.s. English and later a prominent Republican conservative columnist, quit over what she saw as Tanton's bigoted, anti-Latino bias. So did several well-known u.s. English board members, including Walter Cronkite, who called the memos “embarrassing.” Eventually Tanton left, although he complained he was being smeared as a racist, and went on to form a replacement organization — English Language Advocates, later renamed Pro English.

More to the point, perhaps, the WITAN memos spelled out the strategy that Tanton would continue to follow for years. “We have spent some time, money and effort trying to build a membership for purposes of political validity and power,” one memo said, “but this has

not been a major emphasis.” The memos candidly added what anti-immigration groups would not admit publicly — that the “movement” was “heavily based on a small number of donors.”



FAIR Executive Director Dan Stein addressed a big gathering of anti-immigration groups during 1999's Immigration Reform Awareness Week. Another featured speaker was FAIR co-founder John Tanton.

Crossing the Rubicon

In many ways, 1998 became a kind of political Rubicon for Tanton and his colleagues. That year, a federal judge found much of Proposition 187 unconstitutional, dealing the anti-immigration movement one of its harshest setbacks ever and igniting a kind of desperation that drove many activists into increasingly extremist politics. At the same time, Congress was whittling away at the 1996 immigration law, and u.s. political and economic elites generally were supporting immigration. At least partly as a result of these developments, anti-immigration activists increasingly came to embrace conspiracist ideas like the notion pushed by Spencer and Coe of a Mexican plot

"Can homo contraceptivus compete with homo progenetiva if borders aren't controlled? Or is advice to limit one's family simply advice to move over and let someone else with greater reproductive powers occupy the space?" -John Tanton/the WITAN memos

to reconquer the American Southwest. More and more key leaders in the Tanton network seemed to abandon all caution when it came to joining forces with like-minded white supremacist activists.

That summer, The Social Contract Press released a special issue of its journal, *The Social Contract* (published by Tanton), that was entitled “Europhobia: The Hostility Toward European-Descended Americans.” The lead article was written by John Vinson, head of the Tanton-supported American Immigration Control Foundation, and argued that “multiculturalism” was replacing “successful Euro-American culture” with “dysfunctional Third World cultures.” Tanton himself elaborated on Vinson’s remarks, saying an “unwarranted hatred and fear” of white Americans was developing. The main culprits, in Tanton’s view, were immigrants and their ideological allies, the “multiculturalists.”

The issue was one of the first public manifestations of a collaboration between Tanton’s network and open racists. In addition to Tanton and Vinson, the line-up of authors included Sam Francis, who would later become editor of the *Citizens Informer*, the racist publication

of the Council of Conservative Citizens; Lawrence Auster, who also spoke at conferences of *American Renaissance*, a pseudo-scientific magazine devoted to racial breeding and the idea that blacks are less intelligent; and Joseph Fallon, who writes for *American Renaissance*. (Later issues of *The Social Contract* would carry articles by James Lubinskas, an editor of *American Renaissance*; Derek Turner of *Right Now!*, a similar British publication; and Michael Masters, the Virginia leader of the Council of Conservative Citizens.)

An unholy alliance had begun to take shape.

Number Inflation

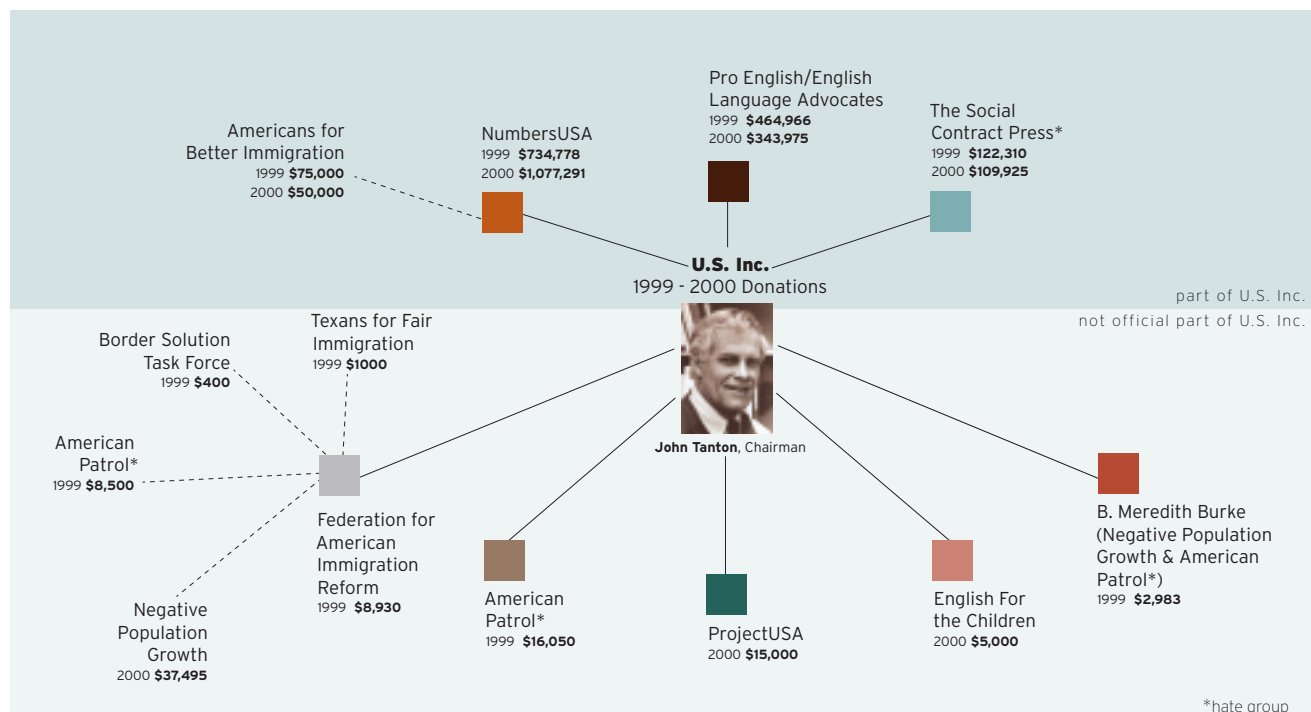
Tanton also wrote an editorial in 1998 that spoke of “trying to touch off the political phase of the immigration reform movement.” While Tanton didn’t spell out exactly what he meant, it seems clear that he sought to develop a real base of popular support — and to regain the trust of lawmakers, particularly the many Republicans who were scared off in the wake of the Proposition 187 fiasco. Many already had been punished at the polls for their support for the California proposition.

Typically, American politicians respond most to those groups that seem to represent a real constituency — groups whose leaders are presumed to be able to command votes and money. Obviously, it was in the interest of the now struggling anti-immigration groups to appear to have large numbers of paid-up members.

The problem was, most of them did not.

First of all, the vast majority of funding for most of these groups comes from just a handful of donors, many of them large, right-wing foundations. In 2000, the latest year for which tax returns are available, Vinson’s American Immigration Control Foundation (AICF) received 90% of its funding from just three contributors. Five contributions accounted for 82% of U.S. Inc.’s income in the same year. Fifty-eight percent of FAIR’s 2000 donations were provided by six donors. Fourteen donors account for 94% of the Center for Immigration Studies income for that year.

The narrow funding base of such groups becomes even more apparent in cases like that of FAIR (with a budget of \$4.2 million in 2000), which received more than \$6 million from a single donor between 1996 and 1999. U.S. Inc. (whose



2000 budget was \$2.3 million) likewise got nearly \$5 million in that period from one donor, while three other Tanton-linked organizations were given \$1 million to \$2 million donations by single donors.

If these kinds of major grants are subtracted from the groups' annual donation totals — and if the membership fees

fortune. Richard Mellon Scaife, a reclusive figure, has been instrumental in establishing right-wing organizations like the Heritage Foundation and supporting causes like the "Arkansas Project," an effort to dig up dirt on President Clinton. Scaife family foundations, including those controlled by Scaife's sister,

his anti-immigrant videotape in the same tabloid. In 1999, the CCC hosted a panel on immigration that featured four key anti-immigrant activists — Vinson, Spencer, Population-Environment Balance's Virginia Abernethy and Wayne Lutton, who had begun to edit *The Social Contract*, a Tanton publication, just a year earlier.

More recently, Lutton joined the editorial board of the *Citizens Informer* — and also became a trustee of the racist New Century Foundation, parent of *American Renaissance* magazine. Barbara Coe of California Coalition for Immigration Reform has spoken at three recent CCC conferences and writes regularly for the *Informer*. Brent Nelson, who is on the board of Vinson's AICF, began serving as president of the CCC's Conservative Citizens Foundation and as an adviser to the *Informer*.

Asked by the *Intelligence Report* about Lutton — who works out of Tanton's Petoskey, Mich., offices — and other anti-immigration activists who have climbed on board with hate groups, Tanton declined to answer that or a series of other questions faxed to him by the *Report* at his request. The questions

On the same day that anti-immigration activist Virginia Abernethy described the Council of Conservative Citizens as simply promoting "traditional values," its Web site compared Michael Jackson with a character in "Planet of the Apes."

"Will Latin American migrants bring with them the tradition of the mordida (bribe), the lack of involvement in public affairs, etc.? What in fact are the characteristics of Latin American culture, versus that of the United States?"

-John Tanton/the WITAN memos

posted on group Web sites are taken seriously — then the membership claims made by many groups are clearly exaggerated. For example, after subtracting the three major donations reported on AICF's 2000 tax forms, only \$39,386 in income is left. If members pay \$15 a year, as the AICF Web site says, then the group has at most 2,625 members — hardly the 250,000-plus that it claims. Similarly, ProjectUSA has said it has 3,000 members; but if a donation of \$20 — a figure recently suggested on its Web site — was paid by each donor, then it would have had 841 members. In the case of FAIR, which claims 75,000 members, the 2000 tax forms suggests a real membership base of about half that.

FAIR's executive director, Dan Stein, defends his numbers, telling the *Intelligence Report* members pay "a certain amount over a period of 24 months ... like \$20" — in other words, \$10 a year. FAIR's Web site says that membership costs \$25 a year.

The Foundations

The tax returns reveal another hidden aspect of many anti-immigration groups — their heavy reliance on funding by right-wing foundations. Tanton's most important funding source for the last two decades may well have been the Scaife family, heirs to the Mellon Bank

Cordelia May Scaife, provided some \$1.4 million to FAIR from 1986-2000. These foundations, along with private trusts controlled by Scaife family members, have also provided millions of dollars to other anti-immigration groups.

Other foundations that have supported the Tanton network include the McConnell Foundation, whose president, Scott McConnell, is on both FAIR and the Center for Immigration Studies' boards; the Shea Foundation, which also funds the Council of Conservative Citizens; and the Weeden, Salisbury, Smith Richardson, Blair and Sikes foundations.

Joining the Extremists

Since 1998, the links have been strengthened between key anti-immigration activists and groups and white supremacist organizations — in particular, the Council of Conservative Citizens (CCC) and *American Renaissance* (also known by the name of its parent, the New Century Foundation). That year, Coe, Spencer and Rick Oltman, FAIR's western regional representative, all came to Cullman, Ala., for a CCC-organized protest against a swelling local population of Mexican workers.

After the protest, Vinson, the leader of the American Immigration Control Foundation, began writing of the perils of immigration for the CCC's paper, the *Citizens Informer*. Spencer started selling



showed “little evidence of tolerance for differences of opinion,” he wrote.

Last year, Virginia Abernethy, a professor emeritus at Vanderbilt’s medical school and leader of the Tanton-influenced Population-Environment Balance, became the latest in the Tanton network to join the *Citizens Informer* editorial board. “My view of the Council of Conservative Citizens,” she told the *Intelligence Report*, “is that they support traditional values and the freedom of people to associate with people that they want to associate with.” She spoke on the same day that the CCC’s Web site carried a comparison of black pop singer Michael Jackson and an ape — a comparison that Abernethy suggested may have reflected “bad taste,” but not racism.

“What is the point of a society that pushes [racial] mixing?” she asked when told of another CCC Web item that derided the wife of murdered *Wall Street Journal* reporter Daniel Pearl as a “mixed race” woman who is “committed to racial and ethnic amalgamation.” “Our society pushes mixing,” the retired Vanderbilt professor added. “I think this is probably not a good thing for the society.”

The Threat from the Right

Two weeks after the NumbersUSA lobbying trip to the offices of Tom Tancredo and a series of other congressmen, Glenn Spencer, head of the Tanton-funded anti-immigrant American Patrol, was one of the main speakers at a conference hosted by Jared Taylor of *American Renaissance* magazine. Joining Spencer, who warned his audience that a second Mexican-American war would erupt in 2003, was an array of key extremists: Mark Weber, a principal of the Holocaust-denying Institute for Historical Review; white power Web maven, former Klansman and ex-con Don Black; and Gordon Lee Baum, “chief executive officer” of the CCC. In addition, several members of the neo-Nazi National Alliance were present.

Neo-Nazis like those of the National Alliance were not among those who lobbied Tancredo and the other politicians during the NumbersUSA event two weeks earlier. But there were strong indications that the Tanton network and some of its

new friends did make a number of key inroads in the halls of Congress.

The white supremacist CCC, for instance, later boasted in print about how its “members were welcomed . . . and made a number of stops” during the lobbying trip. Both congressmen and senators were offered copies of its *Citizens Informer*, the group’s newspaper reported. Several of the anti-immigration activists who attended later claimed that the Tancredo caucus had grown in size specifically because of their lobbying efforts. At the end of the day, the CCC told its members that the Senate was now expected to pass a restrictive visa-tracking bill, which it said President Bush would likely sign.

There were other indications, too, of the strength of the Tanton network

like “Infiltrate the Judiciary Committee” and “Secure appointments of our friends” to key governmental positions. Indeed, Cordia Strom, who was once FAIR’s legal director, became a staffer for the House Immigration Subcommittee in 1996. Today, Strom is counsel to the director and coordinator of congressional affairs for the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

There is a real threat that members of Congress — many of whom are rushing to become involved in immigration issues in the wake of the Sept. 11 attacks — may be taken in by the propagandists of the racist right. Opinion polls consistently show that a majority of Americans believe that immigration needs to be cut below current levels, although that does not imply that



A 1999 anti-immigration panel sponsored by the racist Council of Conservative Citizens highlighted the group’s close ties to Tanton-allied activists, with Wayne Lutton of The Social Contract Press (left), Glenn Spencer of American Patrol (second from left), John Vinson of the American Immigration Control Foundation (second from right) and Virginia Abernethy of Population-Environment Balance (right) all participating.

inside Tancredo’s congressional immigration caucus. Rosemary Jenks, who used to be a researcher at the Center for Immigration Studies, and Linda Purdue, who has worked with Tanton for years, are now both lobbyists with NumbersUSA. Addressing her fellow lobbyists with Tancredo still in the room, Jenks said that she and Purdue could be reached any time in Tancredo’s offices — where, she said, they were “virtual staffers.” This kind of strategy was explicitly foreseen in the WITAN memos, described under subtitles

they support the ideas of white supremacists or other bigots. Certainly, the lobbyists who visited in February were taken seriously by many of those they visited — today, the Web page of Tancredo’s Congressional Immigration Reform Caucus carries links to the pages of a whole array of Tanton-associated groups. The danger is not that immigration levels are debated by Americans, but that the debate is controlled by bigots and extremists whose views are anathema to the ideals on which this country was founded. ▲

JENNIFER WARBURG



AP WIDE WORLD PHOTO

DESCENT

INTO

DARKNESS

Two liberal San Francisco attorneys got involved in the Aryan Brotherhood. It cost them their freedom, and their souls

BY DAVID BARRY

LOS ANGELES — Bill Kuenzi was visiting a friend in San Francisco's posh Pacific Heights neighborhood on the afternoon of Jan. 26, 2001. He was unlocking his friend's third-story apartment door when he heard a woman begin to scream.

"It was high-pitched, desperate, continuous screaming," Kuenzi testified in Superior Court in Los Angeles early this year, "of a woman who was obviously being attacked. I knew I had to do something and I tried to call 911 on my cell phone."

Kuenzi's phone didn't work where he was. So he went to the stairs for better reception and began climbing toward the screaming. The cell phone still didn't work. Kuenzi continued until he reached the fifth floor. Then fear stopped him. The screaming was coming from the sixth floor.

"I assumed it was a domestic violence situation," said Kuenzi, a 35-year-old stockbroker. "Or a woman being sexually assaulted. I realized that when I climbed to the sixth floor

landing, I would be exposed to the situation, which I knew was violent, and I was scared."

He had good reason. The violence that Kuenzi feared was not being perpetrated by some enraged boyfriend who might be calmed down, or even a rapist who could be scared off by the arrival of other people. The attack taking place a floor above Kuenzi was being carried out by two huge Canary Island mastiffs bred as vicious attack dogs by a pair of prison cellmates who belong to the white supremacist Aryan Brotherhood — possibly the most frightening race-based prison gang in this country. The dogs were mauling to death Diane Whipple, a petite 34-year-old college lacrosse coach and resident of the sixth floor.

Descending again, Kuenzi finally got through to police. As he reached the ground floor, he heard Whipple's cries change to a low moan.

"Then the screaming stopped," he said.

Known as Presa Canarios, the dogs belonged to Whipple's neighbors, Robert Noel and Marjorie Knoller, husband-and-wife attorneys whose practice had put them in contact with the two life-term prisoners at Pelican Bay, the most secure facility in the California system. With Noel and Knoller's help, Paul "Cornfed" Schneider and Dale Bretches were running a dangerous business — against prison rules that outlaw such long-distance entrepreneurship — that they called Dog o' War. Officials believe that huge dogs were being raised for sale to guard methamphetamine labs.

Noel, 60, and Knoller, 46, were convicted here in late March of involuntary manslaughter and, in Knoller's case, second-degree murder as well. They face sentences of up to four years and 15 years, respectively, for their roles in Whipple's death.

These were hardly your run-of-the-mill Aryan Brotherhood associates. Noel is a former federal prosecutor, and both attorneys had a fondness for the opera and causes like helping the homeless and the mentally ill. But in the days following Whipple's death, both made grotesque comments that essentially blamed the victim for her own death. For them, it seemed clear, Whipple's savaging was, at worst, an inconvenience and annoying public relations problem.

Beyond the issue of criminal liability for the dogs' behavior lies the deeper

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“We were afraid for our lives. We saw what the dogs had done to her and we didn’t know whether we would be attacked, too. I radioed that I was going to shoot on sight.”

puzzle that seems beyond logical explanation: What was the Aryan Brotherhood doing in the latte-and-Pellegrino realm of Noel and Knoller’s toney Pacific Heights neighborhood? What possible explanation was there for the couple’s transformation from socially aware attorneys into apparently depraved human beings?

Those questions may never be fully answered. But the circumstances of

Whipple’s death and the events leading up to it — including the attorneys’ illicit ties to the Aryan Brotherhood — make it clear that Noel and Knoller’s descent into darkness involved the age-old attractions of power, violence and forbidden sex.

‘Afraid for our Lives’

The bloodshed that Schneider and Bretches’ Dog o’ War business visited

upon an upscale apartment building in San Francisco was beyond the emotional and professional scope of the emergency workers who responded. The first police officers at the scene found Whipple in the sixth-floor hallway, nude, mutilated, covered in blood, and trying to crawl to her open apartment door. On the witness stand in the Knoller-Noel trial, veteran officers said they radioed for backup



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

From the Secure Housing Unit of California's most secure prison, Pelican Bay (left), Paul "Cornfed" Schneider (below) became a "shot-caller" for the dreaded Aryan Brotherhood — and, with a little help from Marjorie Knoller and Robert Noel, a trafficker in deadly dogs.

claimed she had suffered in trying to stop the fatal attack.

Knoller, a small woman, usually did not try to manage both dogs herself because Bane, the 140-pound male, substantially outweighed her. Hera, the 115-pound female, was plenty. On the day of Whipple's death, Knoller says she took both dogs out because Noel was away. When she opened her apartment door, Bane supposedly bolted in a mad rush for Whipple, dragging Knoller after him down the hall toward Whipple, who just had time to unlock her door and set one grocery bag down inside her apartment. Then, in a scene that suggested a horror movie, Bane mauled Whipple from head to toe while Hera ripped off her clothing.

Michael Scott was the second animal control officer to arrive at the scene. "I was told that the bigger of the two dogs — Bane — was in the bathroom," he testified. "I could hear him, panting, snarling and pacing behind the bathroom door. The bathroom door was being covered by a police officer with a machine gun, backed up by another officer with a drawn gun." Two other officers stood with drawn guns guarding the door to the bedroom where Hera could be heard bashing the door from inside, so hard that Scott feared the door might give way.

Scott cracked the bathroom door and fired three tranquilizer darts at Bane, none of which had any effect. Then he attempted to remove Bane with a come-along, a device with a steel braid loop that functions as a rigid leash.

"When I tried to move the dog," Scott said, "he rushed me and almost knocked me off my feet. I was lucky I was wearing a bulletproof vest. It took all my strength to force him with the come-along away from the door opening and shut the door." Scott waited until a third animal control officer arrived. Then the two of them were able to control Bane, using two come-alongs. He was quickly put to death.

If that had been all, as horrible as it was, that might have been the end of it.

But lawyers Noel and Knoller could not seem to keep their mouths shut.

Faulting the Pheromones

San Francisco, a dog-friendly town known also for its sizable and politically powerful gay and lesbian population, was horrified by the brutal death of Whipple, a world-class marathon runner who lived with her partner Sharon Smith, an investment company manager. What made it even worse were the words of the lawyers, who virtually blamed Whipple for her own death. Knoller told reporters she'd instructed Whipple to stay still, adding coolly that the woman would still be alive if she had done so. Noel made a thinly veiled dig at Whipple's sexual orientation, suggesting she might have excited Bane by a pheromone-bearing perfume (pheromones are chemicals produced by an animal that stimulate other animals) or the use of steroids. Appearing before a grand jury, Knoller reportedly claimed



before giving Whipple first aid. "We were afraid for our lives," Patrol Sgt. Lesley Forrestal explained. "We saw what the dogs had done to her and we didn't know whether we would be attacked, too. I radioed that I was going to shoot on sight."

Whipple was beyond help. Her larynx was crushed and her jugular vein had been severed by dog bites. She would die in the emergency room 70 minutes after the attack. Meanwhile, as more police and paramedics arrived minutes after Forrestal's call, Marjorie Knoller emerged from her apartment down the hall, her sweatshirt bloodied, blood on her hair and face, and small cuts on two fingers of one hand that she

that she had tried to save Whipple's life, but then added that Bane had sniffed Whipple's crotch "like she was a bitch in heat" — a comment that did not sit well with grand jurors. Again and again, the pair described their dogs as peaceful animals with no record of violence.

There was more. Two weeks before Bane's fatal attack on Whipple, Noel wrote Schneider in a joking, sarcastic tone, telling of an incident in which both dogs rushed out of the elevator and almost knocked Whipple down, terrifying her. Noel mocked Whipple as a "timorous little mousy blond" who "almost ha[d] a coronary" during the incident. In contrast to the couple's courtroom claims that the dogs had no history of threatening behavior, the prosecution presented testimony about more than 30 incidents of terrifying

encounters between neighbors and the dogs — and it was hard to avoid the impression that the lawyers had enjoyed the fear their dogs provoked. It turned out that a veterinarian, after examining the dogs when the lawyers first got them, had written the couple with a warning: "These animals would be a liability in any household."

Outside the courtroom, prosecutor James Hammer acknowledged that Whipple's death most likely would not have been investigated as a crime without Noel and Knoller's statements. The outraged response to those remarks, Hammer said, included so many reports of previous frightening encounters with

the dogs that there was immediate pressure for a criminal investigation. That probe turned up more and more evidence that the dogs had always presented an unmistakable threat.

Outrage over Noel and Knoller's apparent indifference to Whipple's death intensified with the news of the Aryan Brotherhood connection. Evidence brought out in the trial would show that the lawyers had taken in the huge, frightening dogs to accommodate Aryan Brotherhood members Schneider and Bretches, who were allegedly running the dog business in order to produce fighting dogs and guard dogs for methamphetamine labs run by the

What could possibly draw two socially aware, opera-loving San Francisco attorneys into the twisted world of a murderous prison gang? For Marjorie Knoller (below) and Robert Noel (right), it was the dark lure of power, violence and forbidden sex.



AP WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

Mexican Mafia. The cellmates deny that, although their artwork and correspondence make it perfectly clear that a chief aim was to breed animals that were as large and terrifying as possible.

But the news that really rocked San Francisco came four days after Whipple's death, with the revelation that Noel and Knoller had legally adopted Paul Schneider, 39, a particularly ruthless leader of the Aryan Brotherhood.

From Pacific Height to Pelican Bay

Most San Franciscans were probably only dimly aware of the Aryan Brotherhood, the widely feared white prison gang formed in San Quentin in 1967 in response to the founding of the Black Guerilla Family and the rising power of Nuestra Familia and La Eme, which is short for the Mexican Mafia. Though



“I could hear him, panting, snarling and pacing behind the bathroom door. The bathroom door was being covered by a police officer with a machine gun, backed up by another officer with a drawn gun.”

powerful in the prison system through violence and intimidation, the Aryan Brotherhood does not actively recruit outside prison walls. It is not a political organization and has no direct connection with the Aryan Nations, the neo-Nazi organization that was based for more than 25 years in Idaho.

Inside the 160,000-inmate California prison system, the Aryan Brotherhood claims only a few dozen full members. Its power is sustained by its reputation for ruthless, unhesitating violence. The California Department of Corrections attributes at least 40 prison killings to the group, with seven murders at Pelican Bay alone in just two years, 1996 and 1997. Nationally, the Aryan Brotherhood is believed to have several hundred members, although no one is sure of the precise number; experts say there are major concentrations of members in the Florida, Missouri and Texas prison systems.

The group's history and undisputed position at the top of the white prison-gang pyramid makes the Aryan Brotherhood the status gang for young Skinhead prisoners, many of whom already belong to newer gangs like the Nazi Low Riders, the Peckerwoods or PENT, short for Public Enemy Number One.

During the trial, which was moved to Los Angeles because of massive pre-trial publicity in San Francisco, Knoller's attorney Nedra Ruiz, a histrionic and confrontational woman who seemed to have a gift for antagonizing the courtroom, derided the significance of Noel and Knoller's Aryan Brotherhood connection. Ruiz went to great pains to paint the pair as fine, warm-hearted, public-spirited citizens devoted to good causes, a couple who loved their dogs as family members.

Ruiz said that Noel and Knoller had become involved with Schneider and Bretches through their commitment to

individual rights, first by representing prison guards against the California Department of Corrections, then by representing prisoners in lawsuits against prison guards and the department. But their track record seems a little more ambiguous than the trial lawyer suggested.

Into the Abyss

Robert Noel and Marjorie Knoller met while working at a San Francisco law firm where they concentrated on various aspects of commercial and tax law. But in 1994, they took their first prison case, representing a Pelican Bay guard who claimed that other guards were harassing him because he had testified on behalf of brutalized inmates. They lost the case, and their client hanged himself.

Three years later, the couple seemed to be moving in a different direction. Now they were representing a Pelican Bay guard accused of conspiring with the Aryan



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

When she wasn't acting out the dogs' attack, defense attorney Nedra Ruiz tried to paint Knoller and Noel as good-hearted citizens — but only succeeded in antagonizing the jury with her courtroom histrionics.

Brotherhood to help arrange beatings and murders. They lost this case as well, but not before calling Paul Schneider as a witness. Schneider was serving a life sentence for robbery and attempted murder — he had once stabbed a lawyer he didn't like in a courtroom, after smuggling in a prison knife that he apparently concealed in his rectum — but Noel and Knoller seemed to like him just the same.

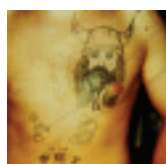
Schneider, a well-muscled, 220-pound blond, was no garden-variety criminal. Prison officials say Schneider and Bretches' cell in the maximum-security Secure Housing Unit serves as the Pelican Bay State Prison headquarters of the Aryan Brotherhood. They have labeled Schneider as an Aryan Brotherhood "shot-caller," meaning that he is believed to order killings for the group, both inside and outside prison.

California Department of Corrections prison gang expert Devan Hawkes learned of the dog-raising business in 1999, when a woman named Janet Coumbs reported that she had been frightened by individuals at Pelican Bay who had consigned a number of Presa Canarios to her care. Schneider and Bretches had invested almost \$20,000 cash in the business, which they told Coumbs had come from the settlement in a lawsuit won by another inmate. Even as Hawkes looked into the apparent violation of rules prohibiting inmates from running unapproved businesses, Schneider asked Noel and Knoller to help recover the dogs from Coumbs, who found them terrifying. Noel and Knoller did so, taking Hera and Bane into their own apartment.

At the same time, the lawyers' involvement with Schneider was deepening. After Whipple's death, the authorities learned that Schneider had had topless photos of Knoller in his cell, and they also served a search warrant looking for photos that supposedly depicted Knoller and the dogs having sex. There were erotic letters from the lawyers to the man they now call their son. And there was Schneider's prison artwork, much of it depicting a nearly nude Knoller with the big dogs.

A Flirtation No Longer

What happened to Robert Noel and Marjorie Knoller? One lawyer at the trial suggested that Noel, himself a big man, was attracted to the extreme machismo and



"They used to have this charming flat. The dogs, turned it into a piss pot."

violence that was represented by Schneider and was so different from his own well-to-do life. A former Pelican Bay guard quoted in *Rolling Stone* magazine said he saw Noel change. "I'd get on the phone with Bob to ask him about a case," Keith Whitley said, "and all he did was talk about how big Bane's balls were." Noel himself bragged to the magazine about the size of the dog's penis and its erections.

Noel made similar comments in some of his correspondence, and he seemed to revel in the fear that the dogs inspired

in his neighbors. He did not seem to mind Knoller's apparent attraction to Schneider, however, and in fact wrote in sexual terms about his wife in letters to the Aryan Brotherhood boss.

Knoller seemed simply smitten. "I think Marjorie Knoller just fell in love with Schneider," said Hawkes, the gang expert. "She fell in love, and that's it."

Clearly, the couple was consumed with the dark world they now lived in. Police found in their apartment a book entitled *Manstopper!* that described how to train a killer dog. Some experts believe that the lawyers had trained the dogs in their apartment using a rag-biting technique — training that could explain Hera's tearing off of Whipple's clothing. "They used to have this charming flat," said Whitley, who visited just days before Whipple's killing. "The dogs turned it into a piss pot."

Whatever the reasons, how far Noel and Knoller had traveled into a world of violence and death became even more apparent on Sept. 5, when Schneider and seven others, one of them a former girlfriend, were charged with racketeering in the attempted murders of 24 people over a 15-year period. Schneider is also charged with the 1995 murder of a sheriff's deputy killed by Aryan Brotherhood associates who were carrying out a series of robberies allegedly ordered by Schneider from his prison cell. Those charges are in addition to the attempted

murder and the armed robbery convictions that earned him a life sentence.

For three years, Noel and Knoller flirted with the violent codes, along with the explosively repressed sexuality, of prison gang life. Little by little, they abandoned the trappings of middle-class professional life, taking up the work and attitudes of the Aryan Brotherhood instead. Now, barring a highly unlikely sentencing decision, Robert Noel and Marjorie Knoller are about to join that life for themselves. ▲

BOOKS ON THE RIGHT

From UFOs to Yoga

A new book explores the bizarre fringes of National Socialism, past and present

Black Sun: Aryan Cults, Esoteric Nazism, and the Politics of Identity

By Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke

NEW YORK: NEW YORK UNIVERSITY PRESS, 2002, 369 PP., \$29.95

George Lincoln Rockwell, leader of the American Nazi Party until his violent death in 1967, gushed about having had a mystical experience when he first read Hitler's *Mein Kampf*. "I realized that National Socialism [was] actually a new religion," said Rockwell, who considered April 20th the holiest day of the calendar year. That's when neo-Nazis around the world celebrate Hitler's birthday at secretive gatherings with Aryan shrines, devotional rituals, white power regalia, and other racialist kitsch. These annual conclaves are akin to religious ceremonies where true believers worship Hitler as an infallible diety whose every utterance is gospel.

The bizarre quasi-religious and mythic elements that proliferate in sectors of the contemporary neo-Nazi milieu are explored by Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke in his important, new book *Black Sun: Aryan Cults, Esoteric Nazism, and the*

Politics of Identity. Although there has always been a theocratic strain in fascist movements, several factors are contributing to a latter-day, "folkish" (or tribal) revival among white youth who are beset by an acute sense of disenfranchisement in Western societies. In response to the challenges of globalization, multiculturalism, and large-scale Third World immigration, neo-Nazi racism in the United States, Europe and elsewhere has sometimes morphed into what the author describes as "new folkish religions of white identity." This neo-folkish resurgence — reminiscent of some early Nazi ideas — encompasses a hodgepodge of anti-Semitic neo-Pagan sects, Christian Identity churches, skewed variants of eastern mysticism, occult influences, New Age conspiracies, and Satanists into the "black metal" music subculture.

Goodrick-Clarke, a British scholar who writes in an engaging and accessible style, has long foraged on the farther shores of right-wing extremist politics. His first book, *The Occult Roots of Nazism*, is a masterful study of a much sensationalized subject — racist groups in early 20th century Austria that embraced forms of mystical nationalism and

helped incubate Aryan racial ideas. Building on his previous work, Goodrick-Clarke draws a parallel in *Black Sun* between folkish ferment in Hitler's Austria and the role of

today's marginalized neo-Nazi sects, many of which have repackaged Aryan racism in new forms influenced by eastern religions. A crucial difference, the author maintains, is the shift from the virulent German nationalism of the Third Reich to a broader racist ideology of global white supremacy.

"It is highly significant that the Aryan cult of white identity is now most marked in the United States," says Goodrick-Clarke, adding that American neo-Nazi groups behave like persecuted religious sects preparing for the final confrontation with a corrupt world. Although each have their specific eccentricities — ranging from anti-Semitic Christian Identity churches to anti-Christian, racist Odinist groups — almost all of them espouse millenarian visions of a white racial utopia.

Satan Meets the Führer

Early American neo-Nazi James Madole, who rejected Christianity as a degenerate Jewish construct, became a key figure in developing bizarre forms of fascism after he founded the National Renaissance Party, the first U.S. neo-Nazi organization, in 1952. Although he never attracted many followers, Madole became known as "the father of postwar occult fascism" by saturating his ideology with a mish-mash of science-fiction and other notions drawn from eastern traditions and theosophy, a mystical religious movement originating in late 19th century America. During the 1960s and 1970s, Madole's party cultivated close links with a Church of Satan spin-off — an alliance that anticipated the recent emergence of a violent, international fringe network devoted to Nordic gods, black magic, occultism and devil worship.

David Myatt, chief representative of Nazi Satanism in Great Britain, defends human sacrifice and praises a new wave of satanic black metal Skinhead bands that spout demented lyrics



and anti-social rants. Myatt's "religion of National Socialism" owes much to Savitri Devi, the grand dame of post-war neo-Nazism, who had traveled from her native France to India as a young woman. An admirer of the racist caste system, Devi immersed herself in early Hindu texts. Noting that the Nazi swastika is also an ancient, mystical Indian symbol, she romanticized the Third Reich as "the Holy Land of the West." Devi was the first Western writer to acclaim Hitler as a spiritual "avatar," a supernatural figure who pointed the way toward a future Aryan paradise. The Jews, whom Devi blamed for all the world's suffering and alienation, were predictably pegged as the main obstacle on the path to the Golden Age.

Devi's obsession with the pre-Christian origins of Indo-European culture was shared by Julius Evola, an Italian Nazi philosopher whose racial theories were adopted and codified by Mussolini in 1938. Calling for a "Great Holy War" to battle national and ideological enemies, Evola exerted a significant influence on a generation of militant neofascist youth in postwar Italy. Among his protégés were leaders of right-wing terrorist organizations linked to numerous bomb attacks from the 1960s to the 1980s. Evola's mystical fascist writings include books on Zen Buddhism, yoga, alchemy, Tantrism (a kind of sexual mysticism), and European paganism. After he died in 1974, his esoteric musings were rediscovered by New Age publications. Today, many of Evola's books are available in English translation in trendy New Age bookstores in the United States, despite his status as an avowed fascist.

UFOs, Polar Bases and the Black Sun

Another influential figure in the occult-fascist underground is Miguel Serrano, a former Chilean diplomat and Nazi die-hard who touts yoga, meditation, and hallucinogenic drugs



as ways of raising consciousness in order to make contact with higher Aryan intelligence. Serrano blends exotic oriental religious themes with dubious lore about secret religious societies. He likens the Nazi SS — which was condemned in its entirety for war crimes — to an order of initiates seeking the Holy Grail. This notion appealed to Wilhelm Landig, an Austrian SS veteran and postwar Nazi activist who coined the idea of the "Black Sun," a mystical energy source allegedly capable of regenerating the Aryan race.

Goodrick-Clarke credits Landig with reviving the folkish — and far out — Germanic mythology of Thule, the supposed Arctic homeland of the ancient Aryans, in order to prophesy the recovery and resurrection of Nazism as an earth-conquering force. Landig and other occult-fascist propagandists have circulated wild stories about German Nazi colonies that live and work in secret installations beneath the polar icecaps, where they developed flying saucers and miracle weapons after the demise of the Third Reich. The abundance of UFO sightings, which began in the early 1950s, is attributed to the amazing prowess of Nazi science and technology. The fall of the Third Reich is cast merely as a temporary setback; at any moment, a battalion of Nazi extraterrestrials could

Many of those who were close to Adolf Hitler, seen here in the early 1930s, subscribed to highly unusual religious and even supernatural ideas.

zoom forth in their magical discs to deliver Aryan folk from the ills of democracy and Judeo-Christian decadence.

A hot item among New Age conspiracy theorists and promoters of Holocaust denial, stories about Nazi UFOs may seem ludicrous to anyone with their feet firmly planted on *terra firma*. And, certainly, this kind of thinking does not dominate even the contemporary world of the extreme right. But these sci-fi legends underscore, in the words of Goodrick-Clarke, how "Aryan cults and esoteric Nazism posit powerful mythologies to negate the decline of white power in the world." Moreover, if the past is any kind of prologue, these bizarre, new religious sects "may be early symptoms of major divisive changes in our present-day Western democracies."

"The risks of race religiosity are great. ... Whenever human groups are interpreted as absolute categories of good and evil, light and darkness," Goodrick-Clarke cautions, "both the human community and humanity itself are diminished."

A timely warning, indeed.

— Martin A. Lee

LEGAL BRIEF

Strange Bedfellows

In South Carolina, pro- and anti-Confederate flag groups find themselves on the same side of a state lawsuit

What does David Duke, perhaps the country's most notorious white supremacist, have in common with Kweisi Mfume, the head of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)? Not much, of course, except now their organizations find themselves on the same side of a lawsuit filed by South Carolina Attorney General Charlie Condon. Unfortunately for the NAACP, the side that they share with their strange bedfellow may be the losing one.

It all started out as a replay of a familiar 1960s theme: a Southern politician takes aim at NAACP civil rights activities. But along came David Duke and his European-American Unity and Rights Organization (EURO) and things took a 21st-century twist.

The conflict pitting the NAACP and EURO against Attorney General Condon began with a dispute over the Confederate battle flag flying over the Capitol dome in Columbia. The NAACP launched a boycott of South Carolina's tourist industry in an effort to have the flag removed. In response to the boycott, the flag was relocated to a monument on the capitol grounds under compromise legislation brokered by South Carolina Gov. Jim Hodges.

But Hodges' compromise bill failed to satisfy either the NAACP or the flag's supporters, who included the conservative Charlie Condon. The NAACP continued the boycott because the Confederate flag remained on the statehouse grounds. Condon, on the other hand, continued to be sore over the fact that the flag had lost its place of prominence.

'Outside Agitators'

From the beginning, Condon, who was running for governor, took an aggressive stance against the NAACP boycott.

He wrote an open letter to Gov. Hodges and the legislature likening the NAACP's demands to those of "hostage-takers, terrorists, hijackers [sic] [and] any other group that uses tactics of fear, threat, or intimidation to gain their demands." He then announced plans to open an investigation into the legality of the boycott. Harkening back to Southern politicians' denunciations of "outside agitators" during the civil rights movement, Condon said: "We ... need to send a strong signal to the NAACP agitators that it is 'quitting time.' Working together, we can slam the door shut on the NAACP's incessant demands and stop its insatiable appetite for agitation."

The NAACP did not back down. This March 1, the organization began conducting "border patrols" at welcome centers on the interstate highways leading into South Carolina to reinforce its continuing boycott.

Condon responded in a bellicose manner. "I am

drawing the line in the sand," he said, in language reminiscent of George Wallace's famous speech in support of segregation. "If the NAACP uses South Carolina's rest stops and welcome centers to urge visitors not to buy in South Carolina or to stage demonstrations or protests, I will take legal action."

Dueling groups offered very different "welcomes" to the state of South Carolina.



AP WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

The NAACP "border patrols" began as planned with no immediate legal response from the attorney general. Then EURO members showed up at the welcome centers one day to provide their own "welcome patrols" as a counterpoint to the NAACP's protesters. Despite statements by EURO national director Vincent Breeding that EURO had no plans to conduct additional "welcome patrols" in the future, Condon quickly filed a lawsuit against both the NAACP and EURO alleging that their protests were illegal.

Two Kinds of Forums

Condon no longer had to fear the uncomfortable parallels to civil-rights era lawsuits attempting to suppress NAACP activities. He simply argued that he was enforcing the state's laws in an even-handed fashion. "In a system based on equal justice," he said, "we cannot allow one group access and then deny that same access to other groups."

CONTINUED ON PAGE 64



for the Record

Incidents of apparent hate crimes and hate group activities listed in *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 first quarter of 2002 (an unabridged listing for the entire year may be found on the Southern Poverty Law Center's Web site, www.splcenter.org). Because hate crimes often are not reported, this listing understates the true level of bias incidents in the United States.

Alabama

Caddo • March 11, 2002

Fliers from the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan were distributed at a local school.

Montgomery • Feb. 9, 2002

A group of white men allegedly attacked an 18-year-old black man.

Alaska

Anchorage • Jan. 21, 2002

Racist stickers from the neo-Nazi group the National Alliance were plastered on a Martin Luther King monument.

Arizona

Phoenix • Feb. 13, 2002

Thaddeus R. Carroll, 28, was charged with burning a cross in a black woman's yard in April 1999.

California

Huntington Beach • March 9, 2002

Three teenage boys were charged with suspicion of felony assault with a deadly weapon, criminal threats and a hate crime for allegedly attacking a Filipino man.

La Mesa • Feb. 18, 2002

Two white men allegedly attacked a Hispanic man while yelling racial epithets.

Lancaster • Feb. 12, 2002

Alan Elmus Hall and Antoine Bohannon, both 18, and a 17-year-old boy were charged with battery causing serious bodily harm after allegedly yelling racial epithets while attacking a biracial boy.

Moorpark • Jan. 15, 2002

The word "Satan" and profanities were carved into the pulpit at a

Mormon temple, a scripture book was burned and a painting depicting the face of Christ was desecrated.

Napa • Jan. 1, 2002

Felix Camelion Paz, 35, was sentenced to three years' probation and 30 days in county jail and ordered to pay \$200 in restitution for attacking a Palestinian florist in September.

Norwalk • Feb. 21, 2002

James Scott Yungkans, 37, was sentenced to a year in jail and placed on three years' probation for threatening a store clerk of Middle Eastern descent in September.

Redwood City • Feb. 9, 2002

A swastika and the words "Nazi ya!" were scrawled on a synagogue.

Riverside • March 18, 2002

Travis Miskam, 23, was sentenced to 20 years in prison and Jesse Douglas, 20, was sentenced to 14 years in prison for attacking a black man in March 1999. Both Miskam and Douglas are reported neo-Nazi Skinheads.

San Diego • Jan. 7, 2002

Horatio F. Plascencia, 30, was sentenced to six years in prison for committing a hate crime against a Jordanian immigrant.

San Francisco • Jan. 21, 2002

Anti-Semitic graffiti was drawn at a local synagogue.

San Francisco • Feb. 11, 2002

A red swastika, the word "Nazi" and the numerals "187" were spray-painted at a local synagogue.

Santa Barbara • Feb. 24, 2002

Martin Thomas Hartman, 39, was charged with murder, arson and a hate crime for allegedly killing a man because he was gay.

Colorado

Centennial • Feb. 22, 2002

Racist fliers from the neo-Nazi group the National Alliance were distributed in two communities.

Littleton • Jan. 17, 2002

Anti-gay messages were scrawled on the walls of a church.

Connecticut

Danbury • Jan. 3, 2002

Jeffrey Rollinson, a 39-year-old white man, was charged with committing a bias crime, making threats, breaching the peace and carrying a weapon in a motor vehicle for allegedly threatening a black man while yelling racial slurs.

New London • March 8, 2002

Three racist and threatening letters were sent to a black school superintendent and other black school officials.

District of Columbia

Washington • March 7, 2002

Michael Johnson, 50, was sentenced to 60 days in jail and three years' probation after beating an Afghan immigrant in September 2001.

Florida

Cooper City • Feb. 2, 2002

A Muslim mosque and school were ransacked.

Gainesville • Feb. 9, 2002

Anti-gay slurs were scrawled on the apartment door of a female impersonator.

Key West • Jan. 20, 2002

Irley Fleets, 18, was charged with battery/exhibiting prejudice while committing a crime for allegedly attacking a man because of his sexual orientation.

West Palm Beach • Feb. 21, 2002

Jeffrey Scott Schlosberg, a 33-year-old man, was charged with a hate crime, intent to commit vehicular homicide and "evidentiary prejudice" for allegedly hitting a black man with his car.

Georgia

Athens • Feb. 8, 2002

Mark Thomas Harris was charged with battery after allegedly hitting a Latino student for speaking Spanish.

Idaho

Lewiston • Feb. 13, 2002

Matthew E. White, 25, was charged with malicious harassment and second-degree assault for allegedly making racially harassing comments to a black man.

Illinois

Bloomington • Feb. 23, 2002

Patrick Draut, 22, was charged with a felony hate crime, aggravated battery and resisting a peace officer and William Fiorito, 23, was charged with aggravated battery and a hate crime after they allegedly yelled insulting remarks at eight Indian men.

Chicago • Jan. 19, 2002

A swastika and anti-Semitic and anti-gay slurs were scrawled on a condominium complex that was also set on fire.

Chicago • Feb. 7, 2002

Roger Robinette, a 59-year-old white man, was sentenced to two years in prison

for yelling racial slurs and shooting at a homeless black man in June 2000.

Chicago • Feb. 14, 2002

Two men allegedly attacked a 46-year-old man because of his sexual orientation. Anti-gay graffiti was also allegedly scrawled on the victim's body and the walls of his home.

Joliet • March 18, 2002

Mark Austin, 20, a 16-year-old and a 17-year-old were charged with arson and a hate crime in connection with the torching of a garage and two vehicles belonging to a predominantly black church.

Peoria • Jan. 13, 2002

David K. Speerly, 21, was charged with aggravated battery with a weapon, unlawful use of a weapon and a hate crime for allegedly pulling a knife on a black man while yelling a racial slur.

Indiana

Brownstown • Jan. 2, 2002

Patrick L. Vogel, 21, was sentenced to 25 years in prison for robbery resulting in serious bodily injury for attacking a Hispanic man in July 2001. Mark A. Combs, 27, was sentenced to 10 years in prison for aggravated battery in his role in the attack.

Elkhart • March 7, 2002

Alex Witmer, 21, was sentenced to 85 years in prison for his role in the killing of a black teenager in November 1999.

Elkhart • March 14, 2002

Jason Powell, 21, was sentenced to life in prison for the racially motivated killing of a black teenager in November 1999.

Kansas

Kansas City • Jan. 1, 2002

A swastika was spray-painted on a black man's car.

Louisiana

New Orleans • Jan. 27, 2002

John Jordan, Justin McGee and Richard McGee, all 19; Shawn McGee, 21,

Alan Case, 20, and Austin Levalley, 18, were charged with a hate crime for allegedly attacking two men whom they believed to be gay.

New Orleans • Feb. 14, 2002

A group of black teenagers allegedly attacked a white man.

Massachusetts

Brookline • March 8, 2002

Sean Fields, 17, and Chad Thalini, 18, were charged with damaging property for the purpose of intimidation based on race, color, religion, national origin, sexual orientation or disability; destruction or threats to destroy a place of worship; and defacement and tagging of property after they allegedly spray-painted a swastika on a church.

Dorchester • March 13, 2002

A group of white men allegedly beat a 23-year-old black man while yelling racial slurs.

Essex • March 12, 2002

A threatening letter was sent to a family with two mentally ill sons. Authorities are investigating the incident as a hate crime.

Framingham • Jan. 10, 2002

Anti-Semitic literature from the neo-Nazi group the National Alliance was distributed at a meeting.

Medford • Feb. 5, 2002

Derogatory remarks were scrawled across a flier targeting black students at Tufts University.

Mendon • Feb. 9, 2002

Swastikas were painted on the walls of a Catholic church.

Southboro • Jan. 27, 2002

Anti-Semitic and racist propaganda from the neo-Nazi group the National Alliance was tossed onto driveways and yards throughout a neighborhood.

Michigan

Warren • Jan. 15, 2002

Melvina T. Johnson, a 28-year-old black woman, was charged with two counts of ethnic intimidation and one count of disturbing the peace for allegedly yelling racial slurs at two white women.

Missouri

Kansas City • Jan. 9, 2002

A swastika and a racial epithet were spray-painted at a black family's home.

St. Louis • March 14, 2002

A swastika was painted on the hood of a car owned by a black person and the tires were flattened.

Montana

Billings • March 2, 2002

Jason Potter, 28, Sean Allen, 29, Eric Dixon, 23, and Jeremiah Skidmore, 24, were each sentenced from eight to 15 years in prison for harassing and chasing a group of blacks and Hispanics from a local park in July 2000.

New Jersey

Boonton • Feb. 12, 2002

Anton Maricic, 48, was charged with aggravated assault for allegedly punching a doughnut shop employee of Egyptian descent after scrawling derogatory remarks about Middle Eastern countries on a paper bag.

Manchester • Feb. 21, 2002

A swastika was drawn on the wall of an interracial couple's residence that was also set afire.

Princeton Township • Feb. 13, 2002

A hate message targeting blacks and Jews was scrawled on a basement wall at Princeton University.

New York

Bayside • March 14, 2002

Marlon Fernandez, 20, was sentenced one to three years in prison and

Marvin Ortega, 17, was sentenced to six months in jail for attacking two black teenagers while voicing racial slurs in November 2000.

Bearsville • Jan. 19, 2002

Racist literature from the neo-Nazi group the National Alliance was left on cars in two neighborhoods.

New York • Jan. 11, 2002

Two black men allegedly attacked a black gay couple while shouting anti-gay slurs.

New York • Feb. 7, 2002

A group of high school students allegedly attacked two Muslim students.

New York • Feb. 7, 2002

A group of 15 men allegedly attacked a gay man.

Palermo • Feb. 19, 2002

Mitchel Trumble, 18, was charged with felony criminal mischief as a hate crime and fourth-degree criminal mischief for allegedly participating in the destruction of a Sikh temple in November.

Riverhead • Jan. 9, 2002

Ryan Wagner, 20, was sentenced to 25 years in prison for trying to kill two Mexican laborers in a racially motivated attack in September 2000.

North Carolina

Halifax • Jan. 19, 2002

Four white men allegedly beat a 21-year-old black man in a racially motivated attack. Gary Thomas Harris and Donnie Lee Hedgepeth, both 21, were charged with assault with a deadly weapon, inflicting serious injury with intent to kill, ethnic intimidation, communicating a threat, assault on an officer and resist and delay.

Ohio

Athens • Jan. 13, 2002

Two men allegedly attacked a lesbian student on the campus of Ohio University while calling her obscene names.

Cincinnati · Jan. 11, 2002

Joshua Yaden, 15, and Kevin Carroll, 17, were each charged with two counts of felonious assault and one count of ethnic intimidation for allegedly attacking a black man in November. Christina Noel, 22, and Calvin Cooper, 21, were each charged in December with three counts of felonious assault and one count of ethnic intimidation for their roles in the attack.

Cleveland · Jan. 9, 2002

Eric M. Richley, 29, was sentenced to five years in prison for ramming

a mosque with his car six days after the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks.

Pennsylvania**Brownstown · Feb. 15, 2002**

Literature from the neo-Nazi group the National Alliance was thrown into yards in three neighborhoods.

Windsor · Jan. 5, 2002

Racist fliers from the neo-Nazi group the National Alliance were distributed throughout a neighborhood.

York · Jan. 12, 2002

Members of the neo-Nazi groups the World Church of the Creator, the National Alliance and the Aryan Nations, along with numerous racist Skinheads, rallied.

Tennessee**Jackson · March 11, 2002**

Octavian Reeves, 19, was sentenced to 25 years in prison without parole for second-degree murder in the murder of a Jordanian man in April 2001.

Newport · Jan. 2, 2002

A Klan group, the Church of the Knights of Yahweh, held a rally.

Newport · Jan. 16, 2002

A wooden cross was burned on the front lawn of the city's black mayor.

Utah**Salt Lake City · Jan. 7, 2002**

James Herrick, 32, was sentenced to four years in prison for trying to set fire to a Pakistani-American family's business in September 2001.

Salt Lake City · Jan. 25, 2002

Three people allegedly attacked an Indian student.

Salt Lake City · Feb. 15, 2002

Three bricks with derogatory messages were thrown through the window of a gay couple's residence.

Salt Lake City · Feb. 17, 2002

Fliers from the neo-Nazi group the National Alliance were distributed throughout neighborhoods.

Salt Lake City · March 5, 2002

Two black college students received racist and threatening letters.

Virginia**Charlottesville · Feb. 8, 2002**

Nine black juveniles and an 18-year-old were charged with an alleged series of

attacks on several University of Virginia students who appeared to be white.

Herndon · March 19, 2002

Anti-Semitic literature from the neo-Nazi group the National Alliance was left on several residents' cars.

Washington**Asotin · Feb. 4, 2002**

Chad Shaffer, 28, and Nathan W. Fehl-Haber, 22, were charged with malicious harassment and fourth-degree assault after allegedly assaulting a black man with a wooden baseball bat while shouting racial epithets.

Moses Lake · March 3, 2002

A cross was burned in the backyard of a biracial family.

Seattle · Feb. 22, 2002

Four white men allegedly attacked four Hispanic men.

Wisconsin**Janesville · Feb. 12, 2002**

Gibb Gibson, 29, and Malcolm Grady, 31, were charged with disorderly conduct as a hate crime for allegedly yelling racial slurs at two white men after a hit-and-run accident.

Madison · March 4, 2002

Paul Murphy, a 42-year-old white man, was sentenced to seven years in prison for stabbing two black men while yelling racial slurs.

Milwaukee · Feb. 12, 2002

Andrew Franz, 23, was sentenced to 19 years in prison for his part in setting fire to an Asian family's home.

Shawano · Jan. 15, 2002

Jeremy S. Martin, 20, was sentenced to a year in jail and three years' probation for participating in an attempt to run an Asian couple off the road in November 2000. ▲

Strange Bedfellows

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 61

Condon's complaint states that the welcome centers exist to provide the "weary traveler" with the chance to "relieve the call of nature and to perhaps get a snack or look for lodging or attractions" without being "a captive audience to the views of any person or group." Accordingly, Condon argues that the centers are "not a traditional public forum," so that the "government can prohibit speech or expressive activity which is not related to the limited purposes" that the centers serve.

Condon's argument may be right. The distinction between traditional public forums and non-public forums is a significant one. In a traditional public forum — such as a public park or the grounds of a state capitol — the ability of the state to restrict speech is "strictly circumscribed." *Perry Educ. Ass'n v. Perry Local Educators' Ass'n*, 460 U.S. 37, 44 (1983). Restrictions on speech

in public forums must be "content-neutral, be narrowly tailored to serve a significant governmental interest, and allow for sufficient alternative channels of communication." *Id.* at 45. But in a non-public forum, the only real limit on a state's ability to restrict speech is that it must refrain from "suppress[ing] expression merely because public officials oppose the speaker's view." *Id.* at 46.

In South Carolina, EURO's entry into the controversy may doom the NAACP's welcome center protests. Courts that have considered the question have held that interstate highway rest stops are not public forums. *Jacobsen v. Bonine*, 123 F.3d 1272, 1274 (9th Cir. 1997); *Sentinel Comm. Co. v. Watts*, 936 F.2d 1189, 1205 (11th Cir. 1991). In suing groups with such divergent views, Condon is well positioned to claim that he acted with malice towards neither. ▲

Revolution by the Numbers

An alleged plot by a tiny but well-armed Montana militia group has officials scratching their heads

The 1950s gave us Ed Wood. Carried away with post-war paranoia, the supremely untalented movie director masterminded “Plan 9 from Outer Space.” Ostensibly about a space-alien conspiracy to destroy the Earth before our nuclear bombs blow up the sun, “Plan 9” is widely considered the most inept movie ever made. The problems go deeper than the clearly visible strings manipulating Wood’s paper-plate flying saucers; the most mystifying thing about Plan 9 is that no one — actors, director or audience — has any clue about the details of the “plan.”

The 2000s now give us Dave Burgert. In picturesque little Kalispell, Mont. (population 17,000), Burgert masterminded Project 7, a tiny “Patriot” militia with a farfetched scheme to inspire an armed uprising across the United States.

Before Project 7 — named for the license-plate number Montana assigns to Flathead County — unraveled in February, Burgert was best known as a local ne’er-do-well. He had been charged with assaulting a police officer in January 2001, and with obstructing another officer later in the year. Last December, when his neighbors lined their street with paper-bag luminaries, Burgert cranked up his snowmobile and extinguished them in short order.

The next thing anybody knew, Burgert’s wife was reporting him mysteriously absent. He went fishing, she said; maybe he drowned. Sure enough, Burgert’s truck was right there by the river, with his fishing pole nearby. But officers got suspicious when they saw no hook on the line, and found the tackle box filled with lures unsuited to fishing in Montana.

A few weeks later, the whistle was blown by a 17-year-old Project 7 acolyte who was mad because Burgert allegedly had beaten him up. After revealing that Burgert was hiding out in the home of his married girlfriend, 32-year-old Tracy Brockway, he sketched out the alleged Project 7 plot. The heavily



David Burgert (center) may — or may not — have been behind a plot to violently kick off the revolution.

armed Patriots would start by killing a long list of officials: police officers, judges, prosecutors, an FBI agent, a police dispatcher, even a dogcatcher. This would then force Montana to call in the National Guard, whose troops would meet a similar fate.

From there, it got a little fuzzy. According to Sheriff Jim Dupont, the group hoped that after it mowed down the Guard, “NATO troops would be sent in and that would trigger an all-out revolution.” Dupont said the plotters were also braced for an invasion of “Red Chinese” crossing the border from Canada.

The insurrection was tentatively scheduled to commence on Earth Day, April 22. That was more than two

months off when police spotted Burgert coming out of Brockway’s house during a snowstorm on Feb. 7. A chase ensued. When Burgert’s truck slid off the road, he ran off into the woods with a snow-camouflaged, fully automatic machine gun. After an all-night standoff, Burgert finally surrendered.

Police conceded that aspects of the plot struck them as comic. But nobody was guffawing when a search of Brockway’s home uncovered a massive trove of deadly supplies: 25,000 to 30,000 rounds of ammunition, machine guns, booby traps, a silencer, bomb-making chemicals, body armor, shackles and military rations.

“It all certainly supports the theory that there was going to be big trouble,” Sheriff Dupont told a reporter. “The last I heard, it didn’t take 30,000 rounds of ammo to kill a turkey.”

At press time, Burgert and Brockway were the only Project 7 members facing charges — and neither had been charged in relation to the supposed plot. “We have to find evidence that supports a conspiracy,” Dupont told the *Daily Inter Lake*. “Merely making a threat to do that without taking steps to accomplish the goal is not a crime.”

With the paramilitary stockpile seized, Burgert locked up and the FBI investigating, Montanans struggled to make sense of the plot. Was Project 7 a real threat? Should folks be worried about Project 56, a militia group allegedly operating in adjacent Lincoln County — former home to Unabomber Ted Kaczynski?

Eager to shoo away memories of Montana’s extremist past, Gov. Judy Martz gave the whole episode two thumbs up. “It just goes to prove that people love Montana,” she told *USA Today*. ▲

AP/WIDE WORLD

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Teaching Tolerance is an education program dedicated to helping teachers across the nation foster respect and understanding among their students. Its award-winning *Teaching Tolerance* magazine provides practical ideas for promoting an appreciation of diversity and the values of democracy and is distributed free twice a year to more than 500,000 educators. The program's video-and-text kits and anti-bias handbooks have been distributed free of charge to more than 300,000 schools and community organizations.

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