

DEADLY SHOOTOUT RAISES EXTREMIST SPECTER

THE SOUTHERN POVERTY LAW CENTER'S

Intelligence Report

SPRING 2004 • ISSUE 113



THE YEAR IN HATE



EDITORIAL

The Party of Fear

BY MARK POTOK, EDITOR

From the very beginning, America has been a country of contradictory impulses. A strong strain of fair-mindedness, rebellion against the dead hand of the past, and heady idealism runs like a bright thread through our history. But we also have always been afflicted with dark undercurrents of hatred and fear — a tendency to turn on those seen as outsiders when social and political changes strain the body politic.

Nowhere is this clearer than in the case of immigrants. With each new wave of the foreign-born — Africans, Catholics, Jews, southern Europeans, Chinese, Japanese and Asians — nativist backlashes have erupted. Men and women have been murdered, deported, and excluded from jobs and neighborhoods because they weren't "100% Americans." Convents, churches and synagogues have been burned. Those with "alien" ideas have been harassed, imprisoned or forced to flee.

And in each case, the complaints have been basically the same. The outsiders distort "our" culture. They are bringing in political corruption, disease and immoral practices. They have suspicious loyalties to other countries and causes. They don't speak English and they don't belong to the right race. They are not as smart, as good-looking, as democratic or as educated as the rest of us.

It has always been so. Benjamin Franklin, as *Washington Post* writer Peter Carlson pointed out recently,

called German immigrants "generally the most stupid of their nation" and complained that "few of their children know English."

During the 1850s, the peak of the Know-Nothing movement against "papist" Catholics and other foreigners, Massachusetts Gov. Henry Gardner attacked Irish immigrants in his state as a "horde of foreign barbarians."

And so it goes. Time and again, the story is repeated.

"The campaigns against alien people and alien ideologies are found in every period of American history," David

Bennett wrote in his 1988 book, *The Party of Fear*. "These are the movements which constitute the party of fear."

Now it is the turn of the Latin Americans. From the studios of CNN and Fox News to the halls where right-wing extremists meet and eat, denunciations of Latinos are becoming a part of the national dialogue. In California, Republican State Sen. Rico Oller recently produced ads featuring a picture of Mexicans crossing the border superimposed on a photo of a masked terrorist. In Illinois, Congressman Tom Tancredo (R-Colo.) recently campaigned with a Senate candidate, saying that illegal immigrants "are coming here to kill you and to kill me and our families."

Such statements aren't very different from the messages being emitted by *bona fide* hate groups. And they certainly have encouraged those on the radical right — groups ranging from the white supremacist Council of Conservative Citizens to the neo-Nazi National Alliance — to join in the immigrant-bashing. The 9/11 attacks haven't hurt much either — Tancredo's anti-immigration Congressional Immigration Reform Caucus has grown from 10 members before the attacks to 71 today.

Ironically, the vitriol about immigrants has damaged President Bush, who normally is a hero to the right wing of his party. Bush has proposed normalizing the status of millions of undocumented workers in the United States, an idea that has infuriated Tancredo and many other Republican leaders. While opposition to immigration may help the GOP in many local and state races, it is very possible that it will hurt Bush's reelection chances as angry reductionists stay home.

This winter, the battle over immigration moved into a most unlikely venue — the Sierra Club, a highly influential environmental organization with more than 700,000 members and a budget of almost \$90 million a year. As detailed in this issue of the *Intelligence Report*, immigration opponents inside and outside the Club are attempting to convert the group into an anti-immigration organization.

The attempt has been a long time coming. It was first discussed 18 years ago in a secret memo by anti-immigration maestro John Tanton, and the initial battle occurred in 1998, when reductionists were outvoted by a 3-to-2 margin. Now, that same faction is trying to elect Club directors sympathetic to their cause.

As this issue goes to press, the election hangs in the balance. It is important that the anti-immigration faction be defeated — to save the Club as an environmental powerhouse, to repudiate the hate groups that have tried to skew the vote, and, in keeping with the very best of our country's traditions, to choose hope over fear. ▲



29 On the Cover After a tumultuous period, hate groups in America made something of a comeback last year, with racist Skinheads, Klansmen and antigovernment "Patriots" showing particularly strong signs of life. Overall, it was a time of realignment and rebuilding for the radical right, which continued to be marked by outbursts of extreme violence. This year-end special report also includes a story on a major Texas weapons case (p. 33) and a listing of crimes attributed to the movement (p. 34).



9 Taliban on the Palouse? Religious zealots Douglas Wilson and Steven Wilkins, co-authors of a book defending slavery, set off a storm of protests in Idaho — and draw attention to the theology now animating much of the neo-Confederate movement.



16 The Abbeville Horror A shootout in South Carolina — in which a family of antigovernment extremists is implicated in the murder of two law enforcement officers — is a reminder of the region's longstanding reputation for far-right activism.



55 'Hostile Takeover' What's going on at the Sierra Club? A director and two-time past president discusses an ongoing attempt by activists inside and outside the Club to convert the environmental powerhouse into an anti-immigration group.

SPRING 2004 • ISSUE 113

Intelligence Report

2 Intelligence Briefs

36 Hate Group Map

38 Hate Group List

43 Hate Web Site List

50 'Patriot' Group List

52 'Patriot' Web Site List

67 Books on the Fringe

69 Legal Brief

70 For The Record

6 The Rating Game

Despite recent anti-Semitic tirades, only ratings seem to matter when it comes to No. 4-rated radio talk show host Michael Savage.

64 Talking Tough

A conference of tax protesters, one of the largest antigovernment gatherings in recent memory, is marked by calls for revolution.

73 Hitler and the Sea-Monkeys

Dead at age 77, Harold von Braunhut, best known for his patent on Sea-Monkeys, helped fund America's neo-Nazi movement.

CORRECTIONS In "Rough Ride," a story in the Winter 2003 issue of the *Intelligence Report*, Immigrant Workers Freedom Rider Jaye Rykuny is identified as a participant in the 1961 Freedom Rides for civil rights. She was not. • "Into the Mainstream," an article in the Summer 2003 issue, stated that Walter Cronkite quit the board of U.S. English after an internal memo containing bigoted language was made public. Cronkite quit the group's advisory board. • An article in the Summer 2002 issue, "The Puppeteer," reported that John Tanton had once been the executive director of the Sierra Club and that Californians for Population Stabilization (CAPS) formed in the late 1990s. In fact, Tanton was never executive director, although he did serve on the Club's Population Committee in the 1970s. CAPS was started in the 1980s.

INTELLIGENCE
PROJECT

Intelligence Report Editor MARK POTOK • Staff Writers HEIDI BEIRICH, CAMILLE JACKSON, BOB MOSER • Design Director RUSSELL ESTES • Designers VALERIE DOWNES, CHRYSTAL PHILLIPS • Production Manager BETTY POWELL • Intelligence Project Director JOSEPH ROY, SR. • Senior Intelligence Analyst LAURIE WOOD • Information Manager MICHELLE BRAMBLETT • Researcher NIA HIGHTOWER • Data Specialists TAMARA COBB, ANGELA FREEMAN, KARMETRIYA JACKSON • Technology Information CHRISTOPHER NORRIS • Administrative Assistant LATONYA PENN • Southern Poverty Law Center President RICHARD COHEN • Chief Trial Counsel MORRIS DEES • The *Intelligence Report* is compiled by the staff of the Intelligence Project of the Southern Poverty Law Center. It is published quarterly. ©2004 Southern Poverty Law Center. All rights reserved. Permission to reprint text and maps (but not photographs or illustrations) is granted to law enforcement and other government agencies as well as to schools and universities for educational and research purposes on the condition that the Southern Poverty Law Center's *Intelligence Report* is credited. Contact Mark Potok, *Intelligence Report* editor, with requests. The Southern Poverty Law Center is an organization supported entirely by private donations. No government funds are involved. Inquiries are welcome. Law enforcement inquiries should be sent to Joe Roy, Director of the Intelligence Project, at the following address: Southern Poverty Law Center, P.O. Box 548, Montgomery, AL 36104-0548. Printed in the USA.

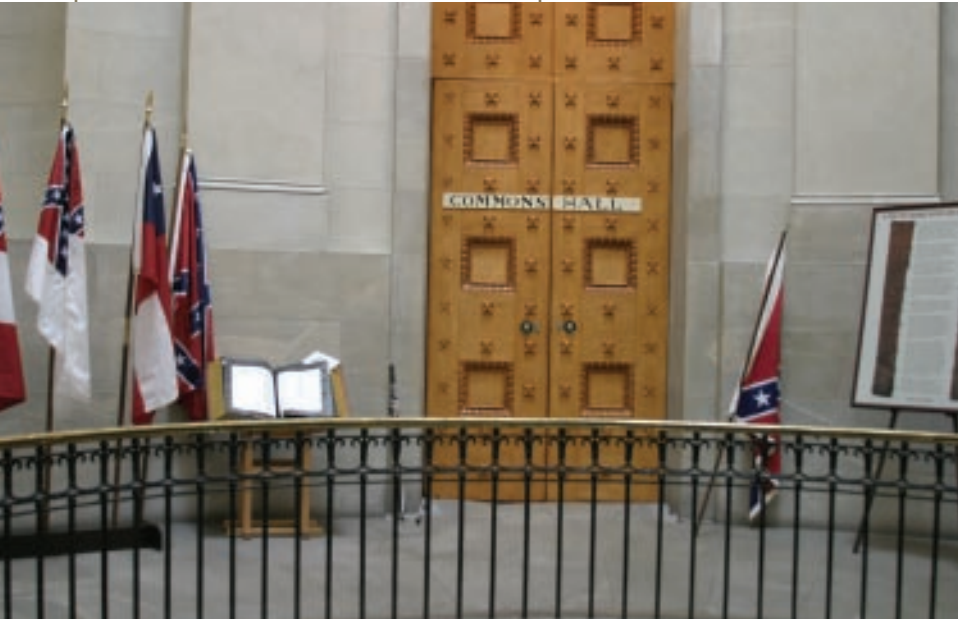
NEO-CONFEDERATES

Rocked by Porn Scandal, SCV Attempts to Oust Moderates

So far, no musket fire has been reported. But a continuing civil war over control of the nation’s largest Southern “heritage” group, the 31,400-member Sons of Confederate Veterans (scv), is producing a flurry of battle maneuvers, counterinsurgencies and hot rhetoric.

Ron Wilson, the extreme-right national commander in chief who has fought to make the scv more “activist,” tried to

by a “G.W. Lee,” urging camps to reject the special convention. “Lee” enclosed a copy of an *Intelligence Report* story about Wilson’s Florida ally and state leader, John Walker Adams, who signed up *Intelligence Report* staff writer Heidi Beirich for Internet porn sites and then bragged about it to the scv board. Adams, the scv’s adjutant-in-chief and a national executive board member, was fired from those



JENNIFER WARBURG

declare the equivalent of martial law in January. In a letter sent to all the scv’s local “camps,” Wilson called for a special convention to pass a series of constitutional amendments that would have hogtied his opponents and allowed him to serve a second two-year term when his time is up in July. But his call to “stymie a handful of powerful dissidents” was rejected en masse by camps in eight states by the end of January, and only 180 camps had signed on out of the 421 needed.

Wilson’s maneuver hit a serious snag when an anonymous letter was mailed out

posts for his “ungentlemanly” behavior, but Wilson’s refusal to expel him from the group entirely so upset longtime scv loyalist Bill Dorris that he took extreme measures: He literally turned off the lights and shut off public access at his Confederate history park along I-65, just south of Nashville, which features a massive statue of Confederate general and Ku Klux Klan Grand Wizard Nathan Bedford Forrest. “Some of us won’t stand for that kind of misconduct,” Dorris told the *Report*.

In February, the battle shifted to North Carolina, where an internal group

of dissidents called Save the scv (sscv) had earlier sprung up to oppose racism within the scv and the Wilson regime. The state’s Wilsonite executive council voted unanimously to “prepare possible recommendations of expulsion” for “each listed sscv supporter/member.” The leaders claimed they were “not attempting to limit members’ free speech or curtail diverse opinions,” but instead saving the scv from “an organization hostile to and destructive of the code of conduct and core values” of the group. By booting antiracist dissidents, the state council said it would be acting “to appropriately safeguard its integrity and its historic mission.”

Save the scv supporters say it’s Wilson and his radical cohorts who are tainting the group’s historic mission — an allegation supported by another action the North Carolina leaders took in February. They invited Sam Francis, the chief editor of the white supremacist Council of Conservative Citizens hate group, to be guest speaker at Confederate Flag Day ceremonies in March. “Apparently, scv types all over this state are gleefully breaking their robes and hoods out of the closet and getting them spiffy for the next big event,” wrote Chip Pate, a former scv leader in North Carolina who resigned after Wilson’s 2002 election.

The question of whether or not the scv continues its radical drift could be determined in July, when its national convention in Dalton, Ga., is slated to elect a new commander in chief. Wilson’s hand-picked candidate, Denne Sweeney, will face at least two opponents. One of them is Walt Hilderman, head of Save the scv, who is running on a strong antiracist platform — assuming that he and his supporters have not been kicked out by then.

Roger McCredie, a member of Wilson’s radical home camp in Easley, S.C., is running for what is effectively the scv’s No. 2 post, head of the Army of Northern Virginia, a geographical division of the group. His own racial views were made plain recently when McCredie replied to someone on an scv e-list who’d written, “I didn’t know ‘we all agreed slavery was wrong.’”

McCredie’s response: “Hear hear.”

‘PATRIOT’ GAMES

Aryan Financial ‘Whiz’ Pleads to Ripping Off Investors

The National Investor, an online financial newsletter, has a caveat on its home page warning Americans about “pitfalls, exaggerations, frauds, and scams.” Good advice — especially since the site’s editor, anti-Semitic “Patriot” activist Chris Temple, pleaded guilty to running his own million-dollar scam.

Temple, the former owner and associate editor of *Media Bypass*, an antigovernment magazine that has grown increasingly anti-Semitic, pleaded guilty in February to mail fraud and money laundering charges. His company, National Investor Publishing, had been widely touted in both antigovernment and mainstream publications — but was apparently a facade for a Ponzi-like scheme that Temple hid from investors with humble “Christian” charm. Investigators alleged that Temple stole \$1.6 million from investors between 1998 and 2003, using the money to publish his newsletter, remodel his home, and pay off earlier investors. At press time, Temple was facing a maximum sentence of 40 years without parole.



JENNIFER WARBURG

Temple must have known his downfall was coming. Rachele Schnapf, assistant editor of *Media Bypass*, told the *Report* that on the last day of the magazine’s convention in May 2003, Temple suddenly stepped down as associate editor. Schnapf says Temple left in response to an *Evansville Courier & Press* story about one of his investors, Donald Eldon, suing him over \$130,000. Eldon’s lawsuit claimed Temple duped his customers, exerting “unauthorized control” over their money and promising big returns. In August, Eldon was awarded \$393,230.

Due to what Schnapf called “financial strain,” the magazine has not published since its July/August 2003 issue.

The legal troubles apparently have not put Temple totally out of business as a financial adviser. The well-known CBS MarketWatch.com quoted Temple’s advice as late as last November. This February, the respected *Hulbert Financial Digest* was still listing *The National Investor* as one of the high-performing financial newsletters that it tracks, and Temple’s online newsletter remained current.

NEO-NAZIS

EURO Chief’s Final Answer: Pornography Trumps Aryanism

Aspiring porn king Bruce Alan “Vince” Breeding quit his job as national director of David Duke’s European-American Unity and Rights Organization (EURO) hate group late last year in the wake of an *Intelligence Report* exposé. The story, “Monkey Business,” exposed Breeding’s New Orleans-based porn site, xsitenola.com, and its raunchy companion magazine, Xsite, which promote mother-daughter sex, dungeon rentals and “slave girls for voyeurs.” The Web site, in which Breeding is portrayed as a pimp-like character, “Vince the Munkay,” is still operating but has not been updated since September.

“I like naked women,” Breeding told the *Report*. “That’s what I do now.”

What Breeding will no longer do, he says, is to help lead the white supremacist movement. (Roy Armstrong, a long-time Duke aide, also told the *Report* that Breeding resigned after the story.) Before EURO, the longtime activist held a leadership position in a major neo-Nazi hate group, the National Alliance, which has traditionally inveighed against pornography as a Satanic invention of “the Jews” and claims to offer “a moral compass, so that people once again know instinctively what is wholesome and natural and what is degenerate and alien.”

Fifty-four-year-old Kenny Knight, a former leader in Duke’s National Association for the Advancement of White People and currently a member of the Council of Conservative Citizens hate group, has been named Breeding’s replacement at the helm of EURO.



DUKE

BREEDING

HERITAGE BATTLES

Neo-Confederate Attorney Gets Slapped Down — Again

White supremacist attorney Kirk Lyons’ quixotic quest to establish “Confederate Southern Americans” as a legally protected minority has run into a serious roadblock — again. This time, the future of Lyons’ Southern Legal Resource Center (SLRC) could be in jeopardy.

Last summer, Lyons took up the case of seven longtime DuPont employees in Richmond, Va., who had been forbidden by the chemical giant to wear or display the Confederate battle flag at work. The employees claimed they were being discriminated against because of their Southern heritage — a classic “heritage violation” in Lyons’ book. Lyons charged in court that DuPont was helping perpetuate “erroneous, bigoted, discriminatory and offensive stereotypes against” the plaintiffs, simply because its other employees may be offended by an “innocent display of Confederate symbols.”

As usual, Lyons’ case was dismissed for lack of merit. He promptly filed an amended complaint describing “Confederate Southern Americans” as a diverse people with their own culture and religion. The plaintiffs, he claimed, were being discriminated against because of their “national origin.” No luck there. Richmond’s U.S. District Court rejected Lyons’ claims three times before DuPont attorneys asked the court to sanction Lyons for litigation abuse and to bill his clients for Dupont’s attorneys’ fees.

In February the court took that unusual step, personally sanctioning Lyons for \$10,000 — a big sum for the financially shaky SLRC to pay. The clients whose cause Lyons was championing were slapped with total fines of \$26,100. The court couldn’t decide whether Lyons’ claims were the result of “bad faith or just poor judgment.” But it was certain that the national-origin claim was “frivolous, unreasonable, and without foundation.”

True to form, Lyons plans to appeal. “I have pledged to help my clients through this and I will not abandon them,” he wrote in an e-mail.

The plaintiffs may have different ideas. Jimmy Jones, who’s worked at DuPont for 30 years, told the *Intelligence Report* the fines are a hardship and that he “doesn’t understand the whole dang-gone thing.” But he says the group will pursue the case, possibly by turning to a very different set of lawyers. “We’re going to go ahead and talk to the ACLU,” says Jones. “There’s so many different issues in this whole discrimination charge that hopefully there’s something they can sink their teeth into.”

KU KLUTZ KLAN

KKK Initiation Ceremony Goes Astray

“Oh my God, I shot little brother!” was the first thing police say America’s Invisible Empire Knights of the Ku Klux Klan member Gregory Allen Freeman said after he accidentally shot a fellow Klansman in the head during a Nov. 23 initiation in Johnson City, Tenn.

The ritual began to go awry after Klan initiate Karl Mitchell III, 27, was strung to a tree with a noose and made to stand on tiptoe while being pelted with paintballs. According to Chief Deputy Patrick Littleton of Washington County, Freeman apparently meant to scare Mitchell with the sound of real gunfire by firing his handgun near Mitchell’s ear. But one of the paintballs apparently struck Freeman, causing him to buckle and squeeze off a round in the direction of Klan brother Jeffrey S. Murr, 24, who may have leaned forward after being hit with a paintball as well. A 9mm bullet entered the top of Murr’s head and exited the bottom of his skull.

Freeman’s reaction wasn’t very helpful to his brother Klansman. A 45-year-old who goes by the nickname “Rebel,” Freeman reportedly paced back and forth, hitting himself in the head with his handgun over and over, before he fled the scene.

Only Mitchell, the initiate, seemed to have his wits about him after the accidental shooting. After telling the Klansmen to cut him down from the tree, Mitchell rushed to Murr’s side and applied pressure to the wound until help arrived. Three months later Murr remained in serious condition, unable to speak.

Freeman was later found near his home and charged with reckless endangerment and aggravated assault. Released on \$7,500 bail, he was scheduled to face a judge in mid-March.



GREGORY ALLEN FREEMAN

AP WIDE WORLD PHOTO

EXTREMIST CRIMES

Neo-Nazi Fundraising Success Turns Sour

When Georgia’s fiery National Alliance leader, Chester Doles, was arrested for illegal weapons possession last March, some leaders of the fractured white supremacist movement saw a golden

like spreading division are seriously concerned with Chester, we’ll see their financial donations pour in and their solidarity work getting results,” said the show’s host, Kevin Strom, a principal

federal charges were politically motivated and mistaken.

Though some members objected online that Doles had “landed himself straight into these messes,” Linder’s fundraising campaign seemed like a welcome success for the chronically troubled movement. But then, in January, Doles pleaded guilty — and left many members wondering aloud where their donations went.

“We expected Chester to fight” a man calling himself “Rev. Patrick” wrote amid a swirl of controversy on VNN’s discussion forum. “He didn’t, he caved in.” Meanwhile, “Rev. Patrick” charged, Doles’ wife Teresa “got a cash cow” while donors got “suckered.” So much for movement solidarity.

opportunity to promote solidarity in the ranks. But they only ended up with another dose of divisiveness.

Alex Linder, an Alliance member who then operated his own personal Vanguard News Network (VNN) Web site, began a fundraising campaign to “free Chester Doles” after Doles’ wife, Teresa, turned up on a National Alliance radio show saying she needed \$65,000 to hire former Republican Congressman Bob Barr’s law firm to represent her husband. “If the supposedly concerned people who

Alliance leader.

Linder took up the challenge, ultimately managing to raise nearly \$80,000 through his site — a development that was severely embarrassing to Strom and other Alliance leaders because the Alliance itself raised almost nothing for

its Georgia leader. Linder’s site portrayed Doles — a former Klan leader who has been arrested for assault a dozen times, once nearly beating a black man to death — as a dedicated family man whose 11 children needed him, and claimed the





“Savage’s anti-Semitism is nothing new. But this takes him a step beyond, into the company of neo-Nazi conspiracists.”

Moore for installing a Ten Commandments monument in the state’s judicial building. After vowing to defy a federal appeals court, Moore was removed from office by fellow Supreme Court justices despite protests from some Christian Right activists and others.

On Nov. 13, during one of many furious tirades that month about the Southern Poverty Law Center, Savage responded to a caller who seemed to agree with him about the case, but who questioned what appeared to be Savage’s Jew-baiting.

“What do you mean I am trying to stir it up?” Savage demanded. “A guy like Cohen, who is obviously a Jew from New York, is going after a decent Christian man. What am I supposed to do? Sit here and take crap from him? I think he is a vile human being who ought to be arrested for a hate crime. And I am not going to mince words. And I guarantee you that he says ‘goy’ behind the scenes.” (“Goy” is a Hebrew word for a non-Jew that, depending on its usage, can be derogatory. Savage also uses the plural “goyim.”)

At one point in the exchange, Savage seemed ready to advocate violence against Jews. But he stopped short of spelling it out.

“I’ll tell you the truth, it’s enough to break your heart to see what this country has become,” he said. “And I have a lot of things that I really want to say today, that I’m going to have to control myself and not say, because there are things that need to be done that I can’t say. But the country’s at a terrible, terrible balancing point.”

Savage’s self-control didn’t last long. Later in the same broadcast he mocked Jews in a fake Brooklyn accent and laid out a justification for anti-Semitism.

“That’s next isn’t it?” Savage asked. “From these verminous Brooklyn College lawyers, isn’t it? Go down South and have a tee-hee over the goyim. Laugh at the goyim. Go down there and take away the crosses and they can’t touch you, huh Mr. Cohen? [Mock laughter.] Mr. Cohen, and you wonder where anti-Semitism comes from. Let me strip the mask off it for you today, because if you think I’m going to mince words you are mistaken. It comes from situations like this, when you have a New York Jew like Cohen going down South into the heartland of Christianity and stealing the religious symbol from Christians.”

The Wiener Nation

There’s just one thing. Savage is himself “a New York Jew,” a man who was born — and legally remains — Michael Alan Wiener. According to the liberal media watchdog Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting (FAIR), Savage is the son of Jewish parents in the Bronx. He adopted his pseudonym in 1994, with his first major radio show. Despite that, Savage frequently talks about Christianity as “our” religion and bitterly criticizes those he characterizes as “Christophobes.” Now, with his attacks on Cohen, FAIR’s Steve Rendall says Savage has crossed a new line.

“Savage’s anti-Semitism is nothing new,” said Rendall, a long-time analyst of Savage’s show. “But this takes him a step beyond,

area, is ranked No. 4 among the nation’s radio talk shows. As many as 7 million people around the country — most of them white men aged 35 to 55, according to the industry-watching *Talkers Magazine* — listen to “The Savage Nation” through some 330 affiliated stations. To them, Savage is a celebrity.

That Savage is also a bigot is well known. He has called inner-city victims of gunfire “ghetto slime.” He refers to non-white nations as “Turd World” countries. Latinos, he says, “breed like rabbits.” He regularly bashes gays and liberals.

But there is one type of group hatred that Savage, who claims to have coined the phrase “compassionate conservative” in 1994, long held in relative check. Although he called Jewish talk show host Jerry Springer “hook-nosed,” attacked a fictional ACLU lawyer named “Mark Nobodyberg,” and referred to Sen. Joseph Lieberman as “throwing his bagel into the ring” of the presidential campaign, Savage avoided sustained, on-air expressions of anti-Semitism.

Not any more.

‘Jews From New York’

Last November, Savage went after the Southern Poverty Law Center’s president, Richard Cohen. Savage’s ire came in response to the Center’s lawsuit against former Alabama Chief Justice Roy

THE RATING GAME

Despite talk show host Michael Savage’s astounding bigotry and anti-Semitism, the radio industry can’t get enough of him

BY CAMILLE JACKSON ILLUSTRATION BY DARREN THOMPSON

MSNBC learned the hard way. Resisting a lengthy campaign by human rights groups that asked that it not hire radio talk show host Michael Savage, well known for his bigoted on-air vitriol, then-MSNBC President Erik Sorenson gave Savage a major television talk show last March, saying Savage hadn’t said anything hateful on MSNBC’s air — at least not yet. Then, in July, Savage described a caller to his new show as a “sodomite” and a “pig,” and told him to “get AIDS and die” and to “go eat a sausage and choke on it.” The cable news network fired him within hours.

MSNBC had reached its limit. But to others, Savage’s astounding bigotry was simply money in the bank. Savage had lost his shot at big-time television, but all was not over for the man whose bestselling 2003 book, *The Savage Nation*, was still bringing in sizable royalty checks. Originating station KNEW-AM 910 in San Francisco, station owner Clear Channel Communications, and the Talk Radio Network syndication group chose to keep Savage’s immensely popular radio show, also called “The Savage Nation,” on the air. After all, KNEW had just lured Savage away from local rival KSFO-AM a month before his firing.

And Savage was, as KNEW understood, a cash cow. His drive-time program, aired for four hours a day, five days a week from a station in what is arguably America’s most liberal metropolitan

into the company of neo-Nazi conspiracists like [hate group leader] Matt Hale and [former Klansman] Don Black. What's most remarkable, though, is how Savage has put the blatant racism and anti-Semitism of the shortwave dial onto commercially sponsored AM stations."

That doesn't seem to bother his backers.

"It's hard for us to comment on anything other than Michael is just wildly popular," KNEW-AM spokesman Ken Kohl told the *Report*. "You don't achieve this kind of success in markets like New York and San Francisco unless you are wildly entertaining to huge numbers of people."

For their part, officials at Clear Channel Communications, after reviewing Savage's remarks about Cohen, limited themselves to a simple statement. "Clear Channel's radio stations," it said, "are operated and programmed locally based on extensive audience research."

Talk Radio Network (TRN), a radio syndicator based in Central Point, Ore., and featuring an array of hard-right hosts, did not respond to requests for comment. But it has defended Savage from the start. Last May, it went to federal court to sue the operators of three small Web sites critical of their leading host in a bid to shut them down. After the public interest group Public Citizen stepped in to help defend the case, however, TRN seemed to crumble. On the December day that they were to respond to a defense motion to dismiss the case, TRN's attorneys instead asked the judge for permission to drop their own case. It was granted.

None of this has turned off Savage's publisher at WND Books, a new publishing house that is a partnership between the far-right World Net Daily Web site and Thomas Nelson Inc., a Nashville-based publisher of Christian books. WND Books also published Savage's latest book, *The Enemy Within*, which debuted this January at No. 8 on *The New York Times*' bestseller list.

"I can only say that I am a bit mystified by your assertion that Dr. Savage is anti-Semitic," David Dunham, who identified himself as WND Books publisher and a senior vice president at Thomas Nelson, Inc., said after reading transcripts of Savage's rhetoric. "I would suppose that you are extrapolating this from his repeated comments that, 'Mr. Cohen is a Jew from New York.' That's no more anti-Semitic than if he said, 'David Dunham (me) is a Christian from Nashville.'"

Except for one thing. Cohen was born and raised in Virginia. ▲

BELLIGERENT BROADCASTER

A hate group leader in St. Louis continues to broadcast vitriol — even after his most racist diatribe to date comes to light

Earl P. Holt III was very sorry for what he did. Maybe it was the booze, or his own stupidity, but something caused the brash St. Louis, Mo., radio talk show host — a man whose co-host is the leader of one of the nation's largest hate groups — to post an expletive-laden, racist e-mail on the Internet on the night of Nov. 14. Just in case anyone wondered if it was really him, Holt tacked on his home address.

Luckily for Holt, his remarks were not made on the air. That, say officials of WGNU-AM 920, is the reason he wasn't fired after his tirade became public.

Holt's long-time "Right at Night" co-host is Gordon Lee Baum, the CEO of the Council of Conservative Citizens (CCC), the reincarnation of the segregationist White Citizens Councils of the 1950s and 1960s and a group that has described blacks as "a retrograde species of humanity." Holt, who was a member of the St. Louis school board between 1989 and 1993, is on the CCC's national advisory board and is its St. Louis leader. Baum and Holt have co-hosted their show since 1995. Holt once edited and still writes for the CCC's racist tabloid, *Citizens Informer*.

The CCC has angrily denied charges that it is white supremacist, although a five-minute visit to the group's Web site will dispel that notion for most people. For any who might remain in doubt, Holt's outburst last fall was an instructive one.

"Dear Commie," Holt began as he responded to an Internet blogger who had accused Holt and three others, who also won election to the St. Louis school board on an anti-busing platform in the late 1980s, of being white supremacists.

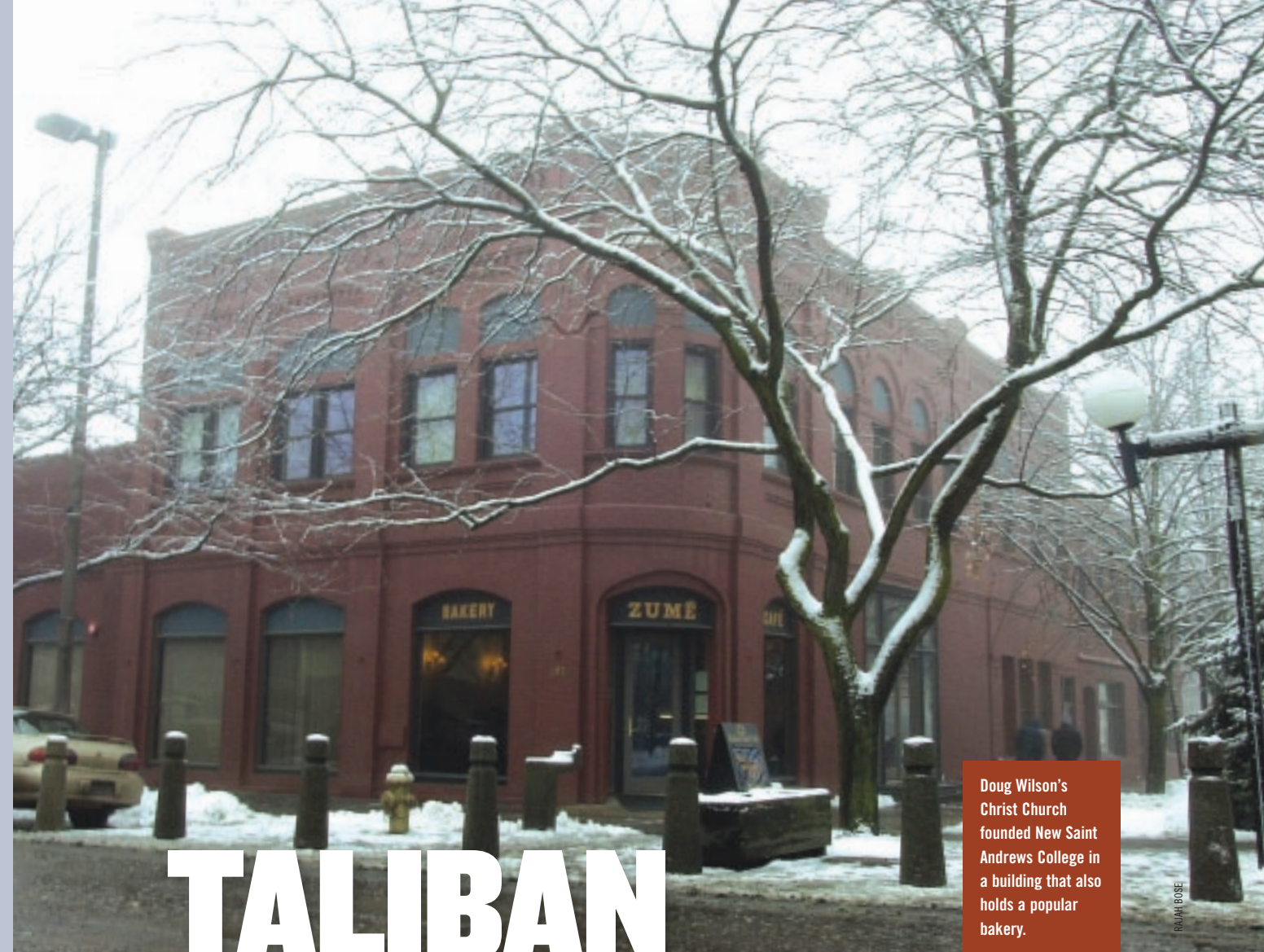
"Being the shallow nigger-loving dilettante that you are, you probably DO consider niggers to be your equal (who am I to question this?)," Holt wrote. "Yet, unlike you and your allies, I have an IQ in excess of 130, which grants me the ability to objectively evaluate the Great American Nigro (Africanus Criminalis)."

Holt then reeled off a series of questionable statistics to back his assertion that the "nigro is still as criminal, surly, lazy, violent, and stupid as he/she ever was," despite years of government aid. Busing students to desegregate schools, Holt added in his posting, "is a colossal waste and nothing more than a symbolic gesture."

"I honestly pray to God that some nigger fucks, kills and eats you and everyone you claim to love!" Holt concluded, daring the blogger to print his e-mail on the blogger's Web site.

As news of the e-mail spread on the Internet and beyond, Holt found himself making a tail-between-the-legs apology to his bosses at WGNU, a small station that broadcasts other fringe characters. General manager Esther Wright and owner Chuck Norman discussed the situation "extensively," Wright told the *Intelligence Report*, but decided that they would keep Holt because his remarks were not made on the air and because it was the station's policy to be "controversial." "With so many different opinions going out," Wright said, "we want to be fair all the way around and give everybody the opportunity to speak and say what they feel."

— Camille Jackson



TALIBAN ON THE PALOUSE?

BY MARK POTOK

MOSCOW, Idaho — The fliers showed up one day last fall, scattered around the sprawling campus of the University of Idaho at Moscow and looking for all the world like a routine advertisement for a couple of visiting scholars.

"Meet the Authors!" the one-page announcements shouted, referring readers to an upcoming February conference on campus that would be featuring speakers Douglas Wilson and Steven Wilkins, the co-authors of *Southern Slavery, As It Was*. There followed five excerpted "highlights" from their book.

"Slavery as it existed in the South ... was a relationship based upon mutual affection and confidence," the excerpts read in part. "There has never been a multiracial society which has existed with such mutual intimacy and harmony

A religious empire based in Idaho is part of the far-right theological movement fueling neo-Confederate groups

in the history of the world. ... Slave life was to them [slaves] a life of plenty, of simple pleasures, of food, clothes, and good medical care.”

This flier was no advertisement. It was a call to arms.

In the months that followed, sparked by the fliers anonymously distributed by antiracist activists, an uproar erupted that convulsed the campus, the town, and even the community around Washington State University, another huge school some eight miles away in Pullman, Wash. Before it was over, the presidents of both universities had condemned Wilson and Wilkins’ book in unsparing terms, dozens of newspaper articles, editorials, advertisements and letters to the editor had been printed, major demonstrations had been held, new antiracist groups had formed, and a whole array of counter-events had been organized for the Wilson/Wilkins event. Few who lived on the Palouse, as the region is known, avoided the boiling controversy.

The reason for the powerful reaction wasn’t just that the two men had written a repulsive apologia for slavery and the antebellum South. More important was the fact that one of them, Doug Wilson, had been in Moscow for 30 years.

And during those three decades, largely beneath the radar of his neighbors, Wilson had built a far-flung, far-right religious empire that included a college, an array of lower schools, an entire denomination of churches, and more. At the same time, with longtime collaborator Wilkins, Wilson was developing a theology that married an enthusiastic endorsement of the antebellum South with ideas of religious government — an ideology now at the center of the neo-Confederate movement.

Doug Wilson, it seems, was raising a religious army.

Back to the Future

The racism and sorry scholarship that informed *Southern Slavery, As It Was* — and that set off the recent hullabaloo in Idaho — did not spring full-blown from the minds of Doug Wilson and Steve Wilkins. In fact, these ideas were born long before.

During the 1960s, as part of a backlash against the civil rights movement, a theologian named Gregg Singer rediscovered the work of Robert L. Dabney, the chaplain to Civil War Gen. Thomas “Stonewall” Jackson. Soon, he was joined by another far-right theologian, Rousas John Rushdoony, who also came across Dabney, a man who had spent the 30 years after the Civil War popularizing the idea that the “godly” South had been victimized by godless Yankees.

Both Singer and Rushdoony admired Dabney’s ideas, which included a view of the South as a religiously ordered society, an “orthodox” Christian remnant in a

nation increasingly overtaken by rationalist and anti-religious thought. Dabney’s virulent racism — he saw blacks as a “morally inferior race,” a “sordid, alien taint” marked by “lying, theft, drunkenness, laziness, waste” — also supported Rushdoony’s dislike for the civil rights movement and ongoing desegregation. Dabney explicitly defended slavery as godly, a theme Wilson and Wilkins would later repeat.

In 1973, Rushdoony published *Institutes of Biblical Law*, a book that established him as the founding thinker of a radical theology that came to be known as Christian Reconstruction. The book

“Slave life was a life of plenty, of simple pleasures, of food, clothes, and good medical care.” — DOUGLAS WILSON



fleshed out Rushdoony’s vision of a society “reconstructed” along Old Testament lines — a world in which religious governors would mete out biblical punishments like the stoning to death of gays, adulteresses, “incorrigible” children and many others. Relying on a literal reading of the Bible, Rushdoony espoused a society of classes with differing rights, opposed interracial marriage, and scoffed at egalitarianism. Even Ralph Reed, then

the highly conservative executive director of the Christian Coalition, warned that Christian Reconstruction represented a threat to the “most basic liberties ... of a free society.”

Rushdoony also developed a strategic plan. The most effective way of implementing his vision, he said, would be to develop Christian homeschooling and private schools in order to train up a generation to take the reins of society. So vigorous was his pursuit of this strategy that Rushdoony would eventually come to be known to many as the father of the Christian homeschooling movement.

It was an exciting time for Rushdoony. Some of his principal co-religionists and followers became active in the 1970s, and his influence began to extend to some of America’s leading evangelical churches. And it marked the start of an important collaboration between people who viewed themselves as “orthodox Christians” and “Confederate nationalists,” a merging of the theocratic idea of religious government and a view of the 19th-century Confederate cause as fundamentally right.

Building a Movement

In Moscow, Idaho, a Southern-born recent graduate of the University of Idaho was working as song leader in the town’s Christ Church. In 1977, just as Christian Reconstruction was picking up momentum nationally, Doug Wilson gave a sermon for the former pastor at his church, who had just moved away. That sermon led to a permanent job, and Wilson to this day remains leader of Christ Church.

Over the following decades, Wilson built up an empire. He created the Logos School in Moscow, a private Christian academy that is a template for Wilson’s “classical schools” movement and instructs students in Greek and Latin. He formed the Association of Classical and Christian Schools as a kind of accrediting agency for such schools and, since then, some 165 schools with curriculums similar to that of

Logos have been started around the country. Many of them, along with thousands of homeschoolers, order their books from yet another Moscow-based Wilson creation, Canon Press. The firm has published and sells 31 books by Wilson.

Wilson also helped start the Confederation of Reformed Evangelicals (CRE), the denomination that includes Christ Church and some 20 other churches with similar ideas. At his own church, Wilson created a three-year training program for ministers, Greyfriars Hall. Graduates, who must promise to engage in “cultural reformation,” have started several churches around the country.

And, in 1994, Wilson’s Christ Church founded New Saint Andrews College, a Moscow institution that teaches Wilson’s brand of Christianity and now has an enrollment of about 120 students. (On its Web site, the college treats Rushdoony and Dabney as foundational thinkers on the order of Plato and Aristotle.) Many Moscow residents say the college, like Wilson’s Logos School and Christ Church, also has shown a strong taste for the Confederacy, with paintings of Civil War Confederate heroes and the like. Some parents have reported that Logos School celebrates the birthday of Gen. Robert E. Lee, another hero in the Confederate pantheon.

The same year that Christ Church kicked off New Saint Andrews, another organization with a liking for things Confederate was in the works. In Alabama, a college professor named Michael Hill founded what would come to be called the League of the South. The league quickly adopted radical positions — such as calling for a second Southern secession — as disputes over the Confederate battle flag heated up around the South. With Hill, a founding league director was Steven Wilkins, a man who already had been hosting Confederate



Some 350 students and others protested against Doug Wilson’s “Revolution & Modernity” conference at the University of Idaho this February.



Logos School and New Saint Andrews College have shown a strong taste for the Confederacy.

heritage conferences for years (and still runs the R.L. Dabney Center for Theological Studies out of his church).

It wasn't long before the League of the South became more or less openly racist. Hill said his aim was the "revitalization of general European hegemony" in the South. The league went on record as officially opposing interracial marriage. Hill painted segregationist Alabama Gov. George Wallace as a hero, and other league thinkers defended segregation as safeguarding the "integrity" of blacks and whites alike.

The league was theocratic from the start, with Hill arguing publicly for a restructuring of the South as a "Christian republic" — a place where others might live, but only if they acknowledged and obeyed the rules of his religion. He asserted that the South was fundamentally "Anglo-Celtic" and ought to remain that way. And he explicitly rejected egalitarianism as "Jacobin" and argued for a society composed of classes with differing legal rights — all ideas extremely similar to those of Rushdoony.

Developing these concepts, and adding his reverence for Dabney to the mix, was Wilkins, the pastor of Auburn Avenue Presbyterian Church in Monroe,

La., and a close friend to Hill — something emphasized by Hill's move to Monroe for several years ending in 2003. With his sympathy for the Confederacy, his admiration of Dabney's ideas, and a bent toward theocracy, Wilkins became a leading religious ideologue of the league — a group that today claims 15,000 members organized into 87 chapters in 16 states — and the larger neo-Confederate movement. By the mid-'90s, Wilkins also had become a close collaborator and fellow ideologue of Wilson's.

"Collaboration between the Christian Reconstructionist movement and the League of the South has ... increased," wrote scholars Edward Sebesta and Euan Hague in a 2002 study of Dabney and the neo-Confederates, "evidencing a growing overlap in the historical, political and theological perspectives of participants in both organizations. This indicates a conflation of conservative, neo-Confederate and Christian nationalisms into a potent reinterpretation of United States history, one centered upon the thesis that

the Confederate states were a bastion of orthodox Christianity standing in the face of the heretical Union states."

An ideological merger, in other words, was under way.

But Are They Reconstructionists?

As the Idaho controversy reached a fever pitch, Wilson flatly denied that he was a Christian Reconstructionist. That movement, he told a reporter, was "dead." But while Wilson may have slight differences with one or another Reconstructionist, it is false that the movement is dead — and not true that Wilson is no part of it.

In fact, Wilson's theology is in many ways indistinguishable from basic tenets of Reconstruction. And, going back to the 1990s, both he and co-religionist Steven Wilkins have been tightly linked to America's leading Reconstructionists.

In the early 1990s, Wilkins began hosting annual Confederate heritage conferences (see also related story on Wilkins' ideology, p. 14) in Monroe. Within a few years, Wilson was a regular speaker.

These conferences also featured some of the leading lights of Reconstruction, including Otto Scott; George Grant, a leading speaker at Wilson's 2004 conference at the University of Idaho; Larry Pratt, a gun rights radical who had to step down as co-chair of Pat Buchanan's 1996 presidential campaign because of his links to white supremacists; Joe Morecraft III; and Howard Phillips, founder of the U.S. Taxpayers Party, reincarnated as the Constitution Party in 2000, both of them shot through with strong Reconstructionist elements.

Similarly, Wilson and his journal, *Credenda/Agenda*, began hosting "history" conferences in the mid-1990s that highlighted Wilkins and Reconstructionists like Grant. (Grant is a Tennessee anti-abortion activist and former state leader of the U.S. Taxpayers Party.) Like Wilkins' Louisiana conferences, Wilson's well-attended gatherings in Idaho frequently included speeches extolling Dabney, who Wilson and Wilkins describe, incredibly, as "a godly man who fought for the South." In 1996, the two men wrote their *Southern Slavery, As It Was* — a full-throated endorsement of the views of Dabney and the Reconstructionists on slavery and the Civil War.

Credenda/Agenda is also linked to the Coalition on Revival (COR), a far-right Christian group, formed in 1982, that has mixed key Reconstructionist ideologues like Rushdoony, Gary North (Rushdoony's son-in-law), Gary DeMar, David Chilton and Morecraft with more mainstream Christian Right hard-liners. COR's Web site still carries links to *Credenda/Agenda* — which was inaugurated as a Christ church ministry in 1988 — and a number of Christian Reconstructionist Web sites.

'Overthrowing Secularism'

Wilkins and Wilson have together probably done more than any others to construct the theology now animating much of the neo-Confederate movement. But there is more to their ideology than a defense of the South and slavery.

In his voluminous and often tedious writings, Wilson lays out an array of hard-right beliefs, many of them related

to family and sexual matters. Overall, he told congregants last year, his goal is "the overthrow of unbelief and secularism."

The world as Wilson sees it is divided not by race but by religion — biblical Christians versus all others. As he says in one of his books, "[I]f neither parent believes in Jesus Christ, then the children are foul — unclean."

"Government schools" are godless propaganda factories teaching secularism, rationalism, and worse. Wilson's congregants are instructed to send their children to private Christian schools (like the one

and then, if the father approves, marry his victim.

Homosexuals, Wilson says, are "sodomites," "people with foul sexual habits." But the biblical punishment for homosexuality is not necessarily death, Wilson says in trying to distance himself from Reconstruction. Exile is another possibility.

Cursing one's parents *is* "deserving of punishment by death," Wilson adds. "Parental failure is not a defense." And Christian parents, by the way, "need not be afraid to lay it on" when spanking, he says. Indeed, "godly discipline" would include spanking 2-year-old children for such "sins" as whining. (On a similar note, Dabney called opposition to whipping wrongdoing slaves "Godless humanitarianism.")

Scripture does not forbid interracial marriage, Wilson says. But "wise parents" will carefully weigh any union involving "extremely diverse cultural backgrounds."

Wilkins summed up many of his and Wilson's ideas in 1997, when he told *The Counsel of Chalcedon*, a Reconstructionist journal edited by Morecraft, that he wanted "the principles upon which the South stood" reinstated.

These ideas, taken together with the unusual historical views expressed by Wilkins and Wilson, are critically important. Reconstructionist commentator James Wesley Stiver said as much in a recent essay, describing Wilson, Wilkins and George Grant — the three main speakers at Wilson's University of Idaho conference this February — as part of a "Celtic sunrise" within Christian Reconstruction.

Here Comes the Sun

Is Doug Wilson working toward a theocracy?

Certainly, some of his close friends are. George Grant, the Tennessean who Wilson has repeatedly invited to give speeches at his history conferences, once described his goals as "world conquest," according a 1998 article in the journal *Reason*. "It is dominion we are after. Not just a voice, not just influence, not just equal time. It is dominion we are after."

As the February conference approached, Wilson tried hard to distance himself from



he started) or to home-school them.

Woman "was created to be dependent and responsive to a *man*," Wilson writes. Feminists seek "to rob women of their beauty in submission." Women should only be allowed to date or "court" with their father's permission — and then, if they are Christian, only with other Christians. If a woman is raped, the rapist should pay the father a bride price

suggestions that he was interested in such a “takeover” of society, noting that his theology favored the “regeneration” of persons first and saying that he was not interested in secular power. He told a reporter that only far in the future, perhaps “500 years” from now, could he envision any kind of Christian republic.

That may be. But there is no question that Wilson is working toward his theological goals right now, with determination and in very substantial ways.

Today, Wilson and Christ Church are expanding, buying up properties around downtown Moscow, and many in the region fear that it will soon become a dominant force in the area. The church, with a congregation that has now reached about 800, also hosts several major con-

the participants’ deep hatred of what they described as “revolutionaries” who oppose the will of God, was scheduled during Black History Month.

Wilson, whose shoddy scholarship in *Southern Slavery, As It Was* had earlier been attacked by two University of Idaho historians in a paper entitled “Southern Slavery, As It Wasn’t,” mocked “intolerant” academics at his February conference. Wilson also offered a tepid criticism of Dabney’s racism, but watered even that down by asserting Northern racism was worse than that of the South. “I condemn the racism of Dabney,” he added sarcastically, “and the racism of Abraham Lincoln, [Planned Parenthood founder] Margaret Sanger, Charles Darwin and Ted Kennedy.”

Outside the Student Union where Wilson’s conference was held, some 350 students and others demonstrated against the gathering. University officials hosted antiracist speakers, and antiracist literature was distributed. Radio stations, student newspapers and media from as far away as Seattle came to cover the events.

Wilson was defiant throughout, portraying his critics as small-minded and incapable of honest scholarly inquiry. What he did not do was make clear exactly what his goals are as he continues to expand his religious empire.

But he offered a substantial clue last Dec. 28, when, in the midst of the controversy, he gave a sermon discussing evangelistic “warfare” to his congregation. Good Christians, he said, needed to look for “decisive points” in society, places that are both “strategic and feasible” targets to be “taken.” New York City, for instance, is strategic but not feasible — too many godless liberals. Other places are feasible but not strategic — unimportant places in the theological wars that Wilson foresees.

“But,” Douglas Wilson added in an upbeat note that day, “small towns with major universities (Moscow and Pullman, say) are both.” And that, say many residents of the Palouse, is what has them so frightened. ▲

WILKINS’ WORLD

Homeschoolers nationwide are learning an unusual version of the American story from neo-Confederate Steve Wilkins

You’ve got to hand it to Steve Wilkins. Tilting bravely against his own personal windmills — feminists, homosexuals, civil rights advocates, evolutionists, rationalists, “Marxist historians,” and a whole list of other ungodly enemies — he has told the story of America as he sees it. Sure, it’s an unusual take. It’s true that no serious historian would agree. But Wilkins, perhaps the leading theological thinker of the neo-Confederate right, is not afraid to tell it like he thinks it was.

Trouble is, some people might actually believe him.

The pastor of Auburn Avenue Presbyterian Church in Monroe, La. — the mother church to a noxious brand of theocratic thinking that has swept the entire neo-Confederate movement — markets his \$80, 12-cassette version of the American saga under the title of “America: The First 350 Years.” The tapes and accompanying teaching guide sold by his Covenant Publications — a set that has been marketed widely to Christian homeschoolers — float a rather remarkable story. A glance at his notes shows that an array of extremists, from a violently racist Confederate chaplain to a series of far-right religious writers, provides the basis for Wilkins’ tale.

And just what is the world according to Wilkins?

All of history is a struggle between “biblical faith” and “non-biblical faith.” White colonists made early America a godly nation, agreeing that “all areas of life must be ruled by His law,” that democracy was to be “despised and condemned,” and that theocracy was “the only proper role of government.” Wilkins notes in approving tones that the death penalty in early Massachusetts was pre-

scribed for blasphemy, “devilish practice,” homosexuality, adultery, and rebellion.

The Salem witch trials really weren’t so bad. “Only” 23 people died as a result. Anyhow, “there was a large amount of occultic experimentation at the time.” There were also “a number of seemingly inexplicable events” to explain. Yes, there were mistakes, but the Puritan clergy was dead set against these excesses.

The French Revolution *was* bad, the creature of “subversive groups” aiming to sow “chaos and anarchy.” The American Revolution *was good* — it never, ever, appealed to “the rights of man” despite propaganda to the contrary from mainstream historians who cite Thomas Paine and his pamphlet *Common Sense*. Actually, it was King George III who was the revolutionary, “not the colonists.” The colonists knew perfectly well that “rebellion” amounted to “a refusal to obey God.”

The Declaration of Independence was no product of the Enlightenment, despite what historians say and no matter how many Enlightenment thinkers the Declaration’s authors cited. It was no “radical document.” The fact that the writers referred to “reason” and not to God? Well, that’s just how folks talked back then.

Although it doesn’t say so, the Constitution laid out “the Biblical role of government.” The framers only referred to “coin money” — because of their “great fear” of paper money (not coincidentally, a *bête noire* of today’s radical right). They obviously intended for the nation to hew to a gold and silver standard.

It’s true that the right to vote was limited to property-holding white men. But the purpose of the restriction “was primarily moral and spiritual.” Says Wilkins: “To allow non-property holders to vote would be to allow the slothful and the ungodly to rule.” And anyway, giving non-property citizens the vote would surely lead to an aristocracy of those who could buy poor men’s votes. The wise leaders of the day “saw that universal suffrage opened the door to an attack on private property.”



“It is now our responsibility by the grace of God to keep this flame burning. We dare not allow it to go out!”

The Bill of Rights does not delineate “human rights” — those rights come

straight from God, and humans have nothing to do with them. Separation of church and state is no part of the Constitution or Bill of Rights. “Religious neutrality is impossible,” says Wilkins. “All law is an establishment of some ‘religion.’”

The roots of the Civil War lie in a 19th-century religious reawakening in the South that came during the same period that the North was increasingly rejecting “orthodox Christianity” and its leading universities were adopting anti-religious rationalism. The public school movement of the 1830s-1840s, for instance, arose from “the desire to destroy the Christian foundations of the nation.”

“Radical humanists” in the North wanted to attack religion. “That meant the destruction of the South.” These God-hating revolutionaries needed an excuse to launch their war. “That issue turned out to be slavery.” Immigration — by Catholics, although Wilkins doesn’t spell it out — also turned the North against the Bible. The “War Between the States” really had nothing whatsoever to do with slavery.

And slaves, by the way, had it pretty grand — even if “black historians” today insist on ignoring “unequivocal testimonies to the general benevolence of Southern slavery.” Slaves actually “lived relatively easygoing lives.” A normal day’s tasks took a slave three to four hours, so slaves would often do two or three days’ work in one day. Then, Wilkins suggests, the slaves would “take several days off” and travel by horse or boat “to visit friends, family, or lovers on other plantations.”

The anti-slavery movement “had more support in the South than in the North.” Two thirds of anti-slavery societies were in the South. But abolitionists used “slandorous propaganda” and “political terrorism” to

paint a different picture. Once the North won its battle to destroy the constitutional system — part of a plot to centralize and aggrandize a “God-like” federal government — it set out “to punish Southern whites” and to entrench the Republican Party in the South.

Southern legislatures passed repressive Black Codes after the war — but only to “govern the employment and work of the free Negroes,” Wilkins says. And anyway, the codes really weren’t so bad. After all, they were “identical” to the rules Union Army officials imposed on blacks in the South as the war concluded.

And that is where Steve Wilkins’ interest in history comes to an end — the last dates mentioned in “America: The First 350 Years” come shortly after the South surrendered in 1865, apparently the end of all things good in the American drama.

But all is not lost. “The vision of the Puritan fathers is not dead, but in our generation has revived and is beginning to spread through our land again,” Wilkins exults in the last scary words of his teaching guide. “It is now our responsibility by the grace of God to keep this flame burning. We dare not allow it to go out!”

— Mark Potok

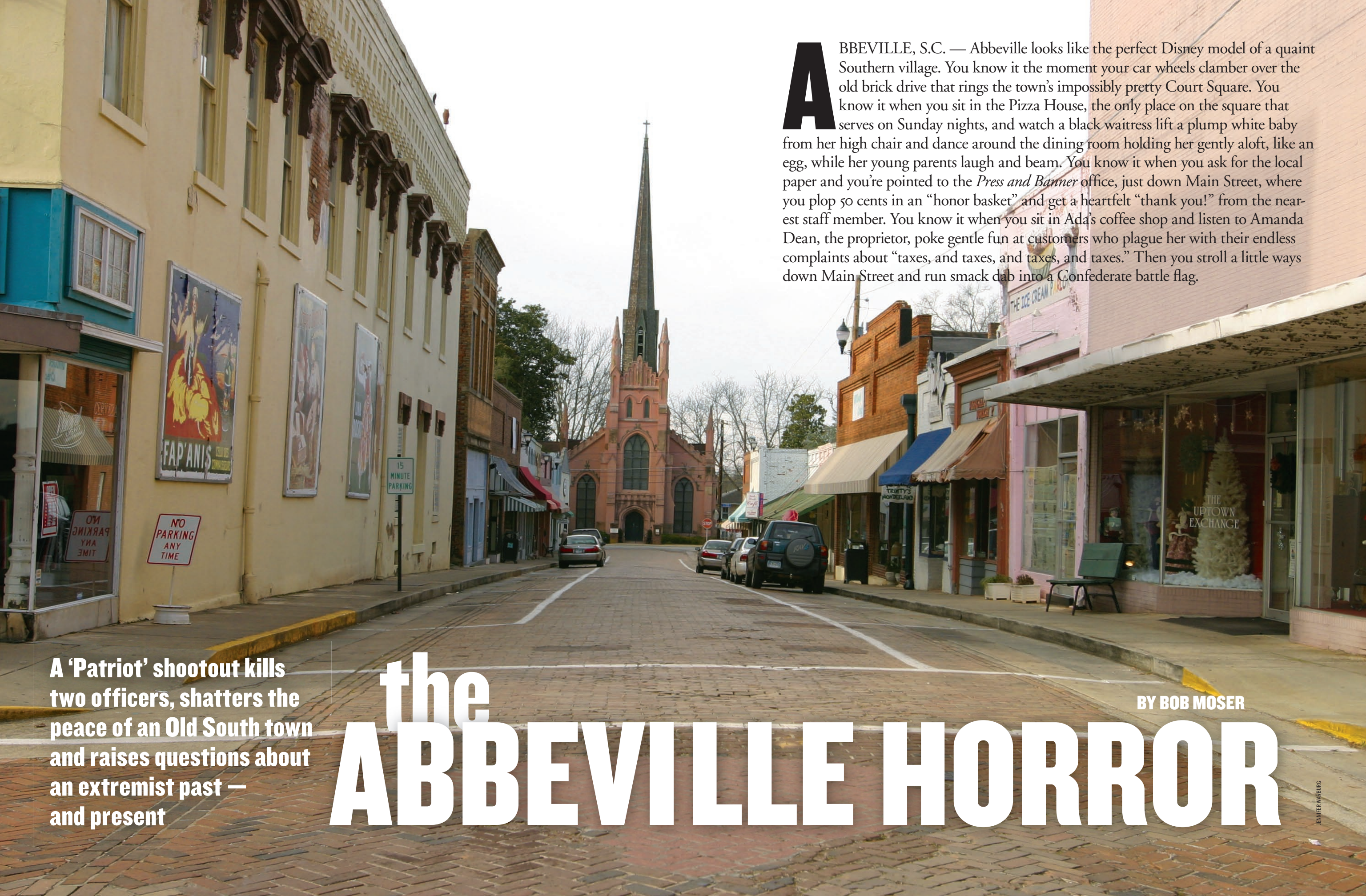


RAJAH BOSE

Doug Wilson’s comments about homosexuality particularly enraged many protesters.

ferences every year — including “history” conferences such as the one that attracted almost 850 people this February.

Wilson held his conference amidst a major controversy, kicked off by the fliers circulated months before. University students and officials were particularly outraged that the Feb. 5-7 gathering, headlined “Revolution & Modernity” and focusing on



ABBEVILLE, S.C. — Abbeville looks like the perfect Disney model of a quaint Southern village. You know it the moment your car wheels clamber over the old brick drive that rings the town’s impossibly pretty Court Square. You know it when you sit in the Pizza House, the only place on the square that serves on Sunday nights, and watch a black waitress lift a plump white baby from her high chair and dance around the dining room holding her gently aloft, like an egg, while her young parents laugh and beam. You know it when you ask for the local paper and you’re pointed to the *Press and Banner* office, just down Main Street, where you plop 50 cents in an “honor basket” and get a heartfelt “thank you!” from the nearest staff member. You know it when you sit in Ada’s coffee shop and listen to Amanda Dean, the proprietor, poke gentle fun at customers who plague her with their endless complaints about “taxes, and taxes, and taxes, and taxes.” Then you stroll a little ways down Main Street and run smack dab into a Confederate battle flag.

A ‘Patriot’ shootout kills two officers, shatters the peace of an Old South town and raises questions about an extremist past — and present

the ABBEVILLE HORROR

BY BOB MOSER



South Carolina League of the South director Robert Hayes in the Abbeville store.

“Responsible governments have nothing to fear from an armed populace.”

The stars and bars herald your arrival at America’s only League of the South store, where proceeds benefit a major racist hate group that calls for a second Southern secession. So much for Disney.

Beneath its graceful surface, Abbeville is less like a Hollywood set than a creation of William Faulkner, the novelist who explored the rot underneath the Old South veneer and came up with the famous observation: “The past is never dead. It’s not even past.”

The past draws people to this self-proclaimed “birthplace and deathbed of the Confederacy,” most to visit and some to stay. Some of the transplants come, says longtime police Lt. Det. John Smith, because “you can retire and live pretty comfortable in this poor-ass town.” Some, like League of the South official Paul Griffin, who moved down from Michigan last year to man the League of the South store, come to revel in the undying spirit of secession.

Then there are the indefinables — folks who move here not to revive the Confederacy, exactly, but to live among kindred spirits who despise the federal government every bit as strongly as their ancestors did in 1861. Call them “Patriots,” tax protesters or sovereign citizens — whatever you call them, they’re a hearty species that has thrived like kudzu in the piney hills of western (or “upstate”) South Carolina since long before the Civil War. Nowadays, there may be more antigovernment extremists in the vicinity of Abbeville than anywhere else in America, with the possible exceptions of the Idaho panhandle and the Ozarks.

An hour down the road in Edgefield, birthplace of both Strom Thurmond and his interracial daughter, Essie Mae Washington-

Williams, longtime neo-Confederate stalwart Walter Mims and League of the South Internet whiz Virgil Huston published the South’s most incendiary tabloid, *The Edgefield Journal*, from 1998 to 2002. *The Journal* made its mark by blending shrill “Southron” nationalism (“The Klan of the 21st century is spelled N-A-A-C-K,” read one front-page headline) with New World Order paranoia (“Disarming U.S. Citizens: the coming UN-led push,” read another). An hour up the road in Anderson, public officials have been fending off “a bunch of darn common-law nuts” — and death threats — since the 1980s. The New South boom-

town of Greenville, home to Bob Jones University (where interracial dating was banned until 2000), is a national rallying point for hard-line Christian Right politics, with one of the nation’s staunchest anti-gay ordinances and a stubborn refusal to recognize the Martin Luther King holiday. Sprinkled through-



Like many in Abbeville, Sheriff Charles Goodwin “never saw any red flags” with the Bixbys.

JENNIFER WARBURG PHOTOS



Edgefield *Edgefield Journal*, radical secessionist organ

Abbeville America’s only League of the South store

Anderson Common-law mecca

Easley Home of Ron Wilson, radical Sons of Confederate Veterans commander

Greenville Religious Right stronghold, staunch anti-gay statute

Laurens Redneck Shop and Klan Museum

out the upstate is the most radical aggregation of Sons of Confederate Veterans camps in the United States. Ron Wilson, the national commander in chief who’s fought to turn the 31,400-member scv from a respectable “heritage” group into a neo-racist group (see p. 2), is currently campaigning for state Senate from his hometown of Easley, a Greenville suburb. And just a short piece eastward, in tiny Laurens, another rebel flag on another downtown sidewalk marks the entrance to the “World Famous Redneck Shop and Klan Museum,” public store and private meeting place for the Cleveland Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

It adds up to an uncommonly combustible mix — not that the upstanding, law-abiding majority want to believe it. Upstaters, like all good Southerners, are experts at looking away. They know how to avert their eyes from the League of the South store, how to gloss over the tall white Confederate memorial that has pride of place in Abbeville’s Court Square, and — above all — how to ignore any signs of troubling weirdness in their fellow citizens.

Looking away gave folks in the upstate a Disneyesque sense of tranquility. But it all blew away on Dec. 8.

Trouble Comes to Town

The Bixbys were trouble with a capital T. Steven was the first of the clan to pop up in Abbeville in the mid-1990s, a beefy blowhard in his late twenties who quickly became notorious around local taverns for hollering about his constitutional rights and bellowing the motto of his home state, New Hampshire:

“Live Free or Die!” Because people in these parts don’t like to ask pesky questions, nobody knew what could have possessed Steven Bixby to abandon his cherished home state. (A warrant for his arrest, folks later discovered.) And nobody knew why his elderly parents moved down to join him in 2000. (Threat of foreclosure on their New Hampshire house for failing to pay taxes, folks later discovered.)

The Bixbys had left behind a trail of hard feelings in the mountainous middle of New Hampshire. Rita and Arthur, Steven’s parents, had terrorized neighbors and public officials since the 1970s with sham lawsuits, common-law tax protests, and the occasional armed threat. The husband of a state Supreme Court justice who was harassed and threatened by the Bixbys told the *Union-Leader* they were “a bunch of lunatics.” Stephen Savage, a local police chief who’d tip-toed up to their doorstep several times to serve court papers, told the *Intelligence Report* the family “made the hair on the back of my neck stand up.” A man who spent \$10,000 to fend off bogus Bixby lawsuits said Rita, the family’s constitutional mastermind, “has been crazy since she was born.”

But once they’d landed in Abbeville, folks weren’t sure what to make of the Bixbys. “The more Steve would drink, the louder he would get,” says Lt. Det. Smith, who befriended the younger Bixby after arresting him during a domestic dispute with his girlfriend. “People would say, ‘Well, that’s just Steve.’ He would say the police was always wrong, especially in his case — but who doesn’t say that?”

“His mother was kind of like Steve — she didn’t like the laws and wanted to see them changed,” adds Smith. “But everybody bitches about the government. If you can’t bitch about the government, you’re not American.”

Truck driver Noel Thompson was also a friend. Thompson, who lives “less than a half a football field” from the little white house Arthur and Rita Bixby purchased along busy Highway 72, helped Steven buy a mobile food cart to peddle chicken and chips at fairs and festivals. (“He never made no money at it,” Thompson says.) The Bixbys came over to Thompson’s house on occasion, and Rita once tried to leave some of her antigovernment “Patriot” literature. (Back in New Hampshire, she liked to hand out copies of the anti-Semitic conspiracy tabloid, *Spotlight*.) “My wife told her to keep it,” says Thompson. “But we didn’t think nothing much about it. Rita was always writing these letters, and they was always running back North, suing people. I just thought it was old people being grumpy.”

“A lot of people, you think they’re weird, but you wouldn’t think they’d kill somebody.”

Thompson’s view of the Bixbys changed drastically last September, when Steven called and “threatened to kill my kids because they were walking through Arthur and Rita’s yard on their way to the school bus. Called me all kinds of racist names and stuff.” The police report is a bit more specific: “the suspect called the victim a fucking nigger and threatened to kill him.”

The harassment led to just one of Steven Bixby’s several run-ins with local authorities. Even before his arrest for domestic violence, New Hampshire officials found out where the fugitive had fled. But under South Carolina law, suspects can’t be extradited unless they face a sentence of one year or more; Steven Bixby had a variety of driving offenses that added up to only nine likely months of jail time.

New Hampshire officials said they were told South Carolina would charge Bixby as a fugitive from justice. But that never happened, and New Hampshire renewed its arrest warrant this past October.

While Steven Bixby was locked up in Abbeville, one officer says, “He kept hollering about his rights and all that.” But nobody thought it was anything but talk. “I never saw any red flags,” says Sheriff Charles Goodwin.

Shirley Surrett did. A neighbor of Steven’s at Abbeville Arms apartments, Surrett says, “When I first met him, I thought, ‘Well, he’s just a Northerner and he needs lots of prayer.’” Her opinion changed when Steven threatened “a couple of times to come down here and knock my head off” after listening in on her cell-phone calls and hearing things he didn’t like. “I knew it would happen to somebody someday because he had that temper,” Surrett says. “He was one of those people, if he said something, you could bank on it — he would do it.” But when she complained to police, “They told me he wasn’t a problem.”

Surrett wasn’t convinced. Whenever she passed by Steven’s parents’ home on the highway, she could sense trouble brewing. The state was expanding 72, and the project was creeping closer to the Bixbys’ front yard. “They had a sign like you’d see for no hunting, no fishing or something,” Surrett says. “I thought, ‘This is one time that sign ain’t gonna work!’”

The sign was yellow and carried a stark warning: “Trespassing strictly forbidden” by “Governmen [sic] Agents + all others.”

Live Free or Die!

On Saturday, Dec. 6, mild-mannered Arthur Bixby made a surprise visit to the office of Craig Gagnon, an affable chiropractor who chairs Abbeville’s Republican Party. Gagnon had met the Bixbys when Steven came for treatment of a spinal injury suffered on the job. “I guess they felt a friendship with me because I had family in New Hampshire,” Gagnon says. “I thought they were all right — OK folks. Sometimes I’d talk with Steven and he’d get a little blustery, a little wild, but you never figured he’d do anything.”

Arthur handed Gagnon a copy of a letter he and Rita had just fired off to several state officials, including the governor. On Thursday, Arthur explained, transportation workers had come to stake out their yard for the highway project. The state had told the Bixbys their home’s previous owner had signed a right-of-way — but as always, when the government said something, the Bixbys were convinced it was a conspiratorial lie. The local transportation department officer had hand-delivered the Bixbys a copy of the original agreement, Gagnon says, but “their position was that it had been doctored by the state. I told Arthur he should go to the courthouse to make sure.”



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

The Bixbys’ letter, dated Dec. 3, speculated about the conspiracy against them, ranted about “government ... taking away the rights of the people,” accused the state of “FRAUD!” and contained a thinly veiled threat: “You will be on posted, private property and will be treated as such.” The Bixbys closed with an even stronger message:

“Patrick Henry, of Virginia, said, ‘Give Me Liberty Or Give Me Death. Death is not the worst of evils.’

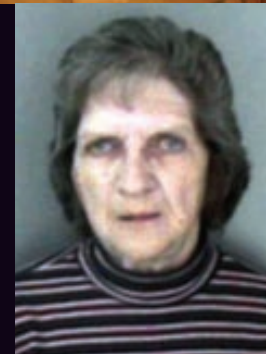
“General John Stark of New Hampshire said: ‘Live Free or Die!’

“We, the undersigned, echo those sentiments!”

It was hard to see why the Bixbys were so riled up. While the project would cut off a tiny corner of their front yard, the highway’s new direction would give them extra yardage elsewhere — which they could purchase from the state for a token \$1. “They were going to lose some, and they were going to get some back,” says state Department of Transportation



Neighbor Shirley Surrett sniffed trouble when she saw the stern notice posted outside the house where Rita Bixby (right) moved in 2000 with her husband, Arthur. Their son Steven (above) quickly became notorious in Abbeville for hollering about his rights.



Thunderstruck, Gagnon managed to ask, “How long ago?” “About 15 minutes,” Rita said, her voice cool and matter-of-fact. “How’s the deputy?” “I don’t suppose he’s doing too well right now, since Steven shot him with a 7mm.”

‘Man, They’re So Crazy’

It had begun that morning around 9:15, when Deputy Sheriff Danny Wilson came knocking at the Bixbys’ front door. Though officers reportedly had been warned over the weekend that there might be trouble at the little white house on the highway, Wilson had apparently decided to try and defuse the Bixbys before the highway workers showed up. A former high-school football player known around town as “Danny Boy,” Wilson knew the Bixbys, having recently arrested Steven for flashing a trigger finger at ex-friend Noel Thompson, whom he’d been ordered to avoid after threatening his life. “I’d seen Danny Boy down at Burger King,” Thompson says. “He said, ‘I locked him up. Thought I ought to lock up the mother, too. Man, they’re so crazy.’”

Crazy enough to shoot Wilson square in the chest with a 7mm magnum.

Investigators believe the cannon-like fire of the 7mm blasted Wilson through the door as he tried to reason with the folks inside. Arthur and Steven Bixby then dragged his bloody body inside, barricaded the door, and waited for more trespassers.

After Rita’s frightening message, Craig Gagnon had jumped in a car with his business partner and sped down to the Bixbys’

“If you can’t bitch about the government, you’re not American.”

spokesperson Pete Poore. Arthur Bixby had attended at least one public meeting held by department engineers and officials, who “brought maps and numbers and answered every question about the project,” according to Poore.

But when transportation workers had tried staking out the yard, one of the Bixby men had stalked out of the house, yanked the stakes out of the ground and flung them into the middle of the road. “That’s when we heard a lot of unkind remarks,” says Poore. Unkind enough that workers called the Abbeville sheriff’s department to report violent threats — while the Bixbys got busy warning the state that when they said no trespassing, they meant it.

Even after reading the letter, Gagnon wasn’t especially worried. “I could see them hollering at the construction workers and telling them to get off the property,” Gagnon says. “But I couldn’t imagine this.”

“This” commenced with another bolt-out-of-the-blue communication from the Bixbys. Around 9:30 that Monday morning, Gagnon’s phone rang and a familiar voice said, “Craig, this is Rita. I just wanted to let you know that it’s begun, and Steven has shot a deputy.”

house. “When we got there, we saw the empty patrol car sitting in front, idling. I thought, ‘Oh my goodness, nobody knows what’s happened!’” As Gagnon frantically dialed 911, he saw a familiar face walk around from behind the house. It was Constable Donnie Ouzts, better known in Abbeville as “Smiley.” The 63-year-old Ouzts had recently recovered from heart bypass surgery and happily returned to his beat. As he approached the front door, Gagnon’s partner yelled out, “Donnie, hey, they’ve got a gun!”

As Ouzts turned and started to edge away, Gagnon recalls, “I heard a loud shot coming out of there, bang! Glass came out and landed on the front porch. We figured it was a warning shot, so we ran up toward the little church [across the way]. By that time, a lot of law-enforcement people had come. We learned after a few minutes that Constable Ouzts was laying in the yard, dead. It was frightening, unbelievable. The rest of the day was like that, too. You kept thinking, ‘Is this really happening?’”

It was. Before long, sleepy Abbeville was wide awake to the sounds of wailing sirens, flying rumors, chopping helicopter blades, and even the roar of an armored vehicle brought in by the State Law Enforcement Division (SLED). The longest, nastiest



“The first thing we heard from them was a gunshot.”



militia standoff anybody can remember in upstate South Carolina was underway, with Deputy Wilson still inside the house — maybe alive, maybe dead.

Beirut in Abbeville

When SLED Chief Robert Stewart helicoptered in from Columbia to take charge of the hundreds of officers now surrounding the Bixbys’ house, he knew he had a “real dilemma” on his hands. The uncertainty about Deputy Wilson made it impossible to storm the house with force. Making matters even more intractable, Rita Bixby had announced in her morning phone calls that she was holed up in Steven’s apartment — along with enough ammunition to mow down the residents of Abbeville Arms, if the cops dared to mess with her son or her husband.

“This thing had been planned all the way,” Stewart says, and Arthur and Steven were not going to muck things up by negotiating with the enemy. Throughout the morning and afternoon, police enlisted Craig Gagnon to try and get them talking. He crouched in a squad car out front and talked through the P.A. as a psychiatrist from the state whispered helpful hints in his ear, to no avail. “We tried all day,” Stewart says. “But they wouldn’t talk to us. The first thing we heard from them was a gunshot.”

That was several nerve-racking hours later, after a state negotiator coaxed Rita Bixby out of Steven’s apartment around sunset. As dusk settled in, officers used their armored vehicle to ram through the Bixbys’ front porch and door. One of the state’s robots was sent through the gash, loaded with surveillance cameras and tear gas, and fed back video of Deputy Wilson, hands cuffed behind his back, blood everywhere. Then a propane tank, jostled either by the battering ram or the robot, caught fire. Ten officers, Chief Stewart among them, grabbed fire extinguishers and doused the blaze while a SWAT team darted inside the house and pulled out Wilson, who was now declared dead.

No shots had been fired during the rescue. “We figured the people inside must have been dead if they didn’t take aim at us,” Stewart says. “But apparently they just didn’t want the house to burn up with them in it.” Just as Stewart and his fellow firefighters retreated to the armored tank, the Bixbys broke the ceasefire with a massive explosion of gunfire.

What ensued was “probably more than I’ve ever experienced in

30 years” as an officer, Stewart says. “They’d shoot at us two times with that 7mm mag, which sounds like a cannon going off,” Stewart says, “and we’d have to shoot back 100 times just to get ‘em to stop.” Officers kept running out of ammunition and calling

for resupply, which was another tricky proposition. “We’d have to lay down cover fire,” Stewart says, “so the resupply people wouldn’t get hit.”

A mile and a quarter up the road, says bed and breakfast owner Karen Berney, “You could hear it loud and clear, starting and stopping, starting and stopping, sounding like Beirut.”

Around 10 p.m., about three hours into the gun battle, officers heard a voice calling from the tear-gassed, bullet-filled house. It was Steven Bixby, miraculously unhurt and ready to surrender. After he’d been secured, a robot was sent inside to find Arthur. Spotted in a back bedroom, he “indicated through the robot that he was injured,” Stewart says. Thirteen hours after Deputy Wilson knocked on the Bixbys’ front door, it was finally over.

And now the shock could fully set in.

Once a Hotbed...

“The town was so quiet that night,” says Karen Berney. “There was nobody on the roads, nobody out walking their dogs. When it happens in bigger cities, it’s faces nobody’s ever seen before. Here, it was people we’d all seen. You just can’t forget that.”

Nor can people like Berney ignore the unnerving questions raised by the Bixbys’ murderous explosion over a paltry scrap of land. “Is this place a hotbed for this kind of activity?” she asks. “I know there’s rednecks and rebels, but — I want to believe no.”

It only takes a little digging into the upstate’s past — and the past that isn’t past — to come to a very different belief.

The first time shots in Abbeville rang out across the world, the ammunition was rhetorical. But the target was the same as the Bixbys’: an interloping government. On Nov. 22, 1860, Abbeville staked its claim to be the Confederacy’s birthplace when militia companies from across the state convened on a high spot in town, now known as Secession Hill. It was the first mass meeting to call for secession — and to judge from the next day’s account in the *Press and Banner*, it was a ringing call indeed. “[O]ne sentiment pervades the meeting,” wrote the breathless correspondent, “and from the mountains to the sea the cry is echoed back: ‘Resistance to tyrants is obedience to God.’”

In an ironic twist, the Confederacy’s cradle became its resting place five years later. Confederate President Jefferson Davis, fleeing south from Richmond with a couple of thousand haggard troops in tow, called together the remains of his cabinet in Armisted Burt’s big white mansion, now a historic site near Court Square. According to one first-person account, Davis gamely “urged that a stand should be made.” But his cabinet members and the generals in attendance all agreed “there was now no use.” The Confederacy’s official papers were ordered burned by “Jim the butler,” Secretary of State Judah Benjamin promised to toss the official seal in the Savannah River on his way out of South Carolina, and the largest organized rebellion in U.S. history was, for all practical purposes, dead.

But the spirit of secession was anything but moribund. Like President Davis, folks in the upstate had never much cottoned



The lengthy gunbattle with state sharpshooters left the Bixbys’ house in ruins.

JENNIFER WARBURG PHOTOS



AP WIDE WORLD PHOTO

“I just can’t believe he died over a strip of land.”

to the notion of surrender. The white people came from tough stock, Scotch and Irish mostly, and had spent decades fighting gory turf wars with the Cherokee Indians who used to command the region. Their first big stand had been the Whiskey Rebellion in the 1790s, when Irish bootleggers refused to pay federal taxes on their moonshine. After the Civil War, upstate South Carolina became a stronghold for the Ku Klux Klan — so strong that, according to one Klansman in Abbeville, “nearly all” the town’s Democrats were night riders in the wake of the war.

In 1876, many upstate rebels traded their white hoods for red shirts, becoming part of the “red shirt rebellion” that elected Democrat Wade Hampton governor, forcefully stripped white and black Republicans of their political power and precipitated a withdrawal of Union troops from South Carolina. The first

Red Shirt rally was held in Anderson, the next county north of Abbeville. Just this past year, the Red Shirt tradition was revived by the League of the South, which conducted “red-shirt pickets” outside both of South Carolina’s Democratic presidential debates, holding signs that named each candidate and demanded: “Yankee Go Home.”

‘Our Little Birthmark’

By the time the Bixbys moved down from New Hampshire, the New South economic boom that began in the 1980s had only made some folks cling more fiercely to their twin strains of extremism — anti-federalist and white supremacist. Upstate South Carolina remained a fine place for a family of extremists to blend into the woodwork. A fine place, too, to find fellow travelers whose distrust of the government was just as reflexive as theirs.

Soon after the Bixby standoff, the *Intelligence Report* has learned, the Abbeville sheriff’s office had a surprise visitor: Anderson’s Robert Clarkson, longtime rabble-rouser, rebel-flag supporter and organizer of tax-protest groups like the Carolina Patriots and the Patriot Network. Clarkson claimed he wanted to offer “helpful information.” Instead, officials say his visit only raised suspicions about the Bixbys’ possible connections with other upstate “Patriots.”

The Bixbys paid at least one known visit to the League of the South store, and there’s plenty of merchandise that might have piqued their interest. Alongside the expected array of “Dixie Forever” t-shirts, shot glasses, pocket knives and pickled goods in Mason jars, the Bixbys would have been able to peruse Patriot publications like *The Truth* newspaper out of Toccoa, Ga., purchase a sepia-toned portrait of John Wilkes Booth, and delve into conspiratorial literature with titles like “The Empire Comes Back!” and “Our Guns/Our Rights/Our Future?”

Even the League’s recruitment materials often read like militia propaganda. After recommending “self-defense through firearm ownership,” one pamphlet warns, “Without the ability to force real and potential tyrants to honor our Constitution and Bill of Rights, we will fall into abject servitude, and our children and grandchildren will curse our memory as they toil under a godless, socialist regime. ... Join the League of the South and say, ‘Not me, not my family, not my way of life. I choose to keep my rights and live free!’” Lest this sound too incendiary, the pamphlet adds a disclaimer that seems darkly ironic after what Abbeville saw on Dec. 8. “Remember, it is only the tyrant who fears honest citizens with firearms. Responsible governments have nothing to fear from an armed populace.”

Officers salute Donnie Outzs, the slain constable known as “Smiley.” Deputy Danny Wilson (below) was also known for his trademark grin. The officers’ funerals attracted hundreds and brought the grieving town to a virtual standstill.



The Bixbys’ interest in the League — however serious or casual it might have been — has made some Abbevillians think twice about the storefront they’re accustomed to looking away from. “The League of the South has always been our little birthmark,” says Karen Berney. “It was here, but it didn’t make us unhealthy. Now you wonder.”

Nobody in Abbeville has more to wonder about than those closest to Deputy Wilson and Constable Outzs. Deputy Wilson’s fiancée, Verteema Chiles, spent Dec. 8 in an agonized wait-and-see mode with Wilson’s sisters (two of whom also work in law-enforcement) and extended family. Wilson’s National Guard unit was headed to Iraq in January, and he and Chiles were planning — Lord willing — to marry this summer.

“We kept getting bits and pieces from TV, from people in the community,” she recalls. “Both officers are dead — no, just one. Danny’s been rescued — no, he hasn’t. It went on all day. We didn’t know anything until late that night, when somebody called to tell us, ‘They got Danny Boy, but he might be dead.’ So we all bust out crying and consoling each other. And then the sheriff’s office said it hadn’t been confirmed, so we thought there was some hope left and drove over to the scene. And then to have this dude come out and say, ‘It’s been confirmed.’ ” She breaks off, momentarily overcome.

Once they knew the deputy was dead, his folks hoped they’d also learn how he died. “They led us to believe he died instantly,”



“I love this country – I just can’t stand the bastards in it.”

says Chiles, “and I want to believe that. But we didn’t get to see his body that night — not until that Friday morning, right before the public viewing. It just made you wonder if the rumor was true about him being tortured. I saw a picture that showed bruises on his head. And they put handcuffs on him after they dragged him inside. Why would you put handcuffs on a dead man? They told me, well, they thought he could have been faking it or something. But you wonder what happened in that house. My only hope and wish is that he didn’t see it coming.”

The broader mystery, for the officers’ survivors and everyone else in Abbeville, is why anyone had to be killed that day. “I just can’t believe Danny died over a piece of land, a strip of land,” says Chiles. “I can’t rationalize it. Why?”

‘Was This An Aberration?’

Shortly after Abbeville’s longest day, Steven Bixby left an arraignment hearing and treated local reporters to a vintage Patriot rant. “I love this country — I just can’t stand the bastards in it,” he bellowed. Hoping to go down in antigovernment lore, he likened Dec. 8 in Abbeville to the legendary standoffs at Ruby Ridge and Waco — one more example of the governmental tyrant trampling on the rights of the common folk. Asked whether he’s currently a militia member, Bixby

replied, “Everybody is that agrees with the Second Amendment of the Constitution.”

“We’re not ruling out a connection” to militia or hate groups, says Sheriff Goodwin. “You’ve got a lot of folks around here that’s antigovernment. You can see them every time you raise taxes!” But he notes that the nature of extremist organizing has changed drastically in recent years. “Whereas you used to have militia groups where people were proud to say they were members, most people now try to keep their affiliations secret because the government has gotten more interested” — especially since Oklahoma City and 9/11. “They came out of the closet, and now they’ve gone back in. They’re not like those League of the South people, with that flag flying right out in the open.”

The Bixbys may turn out to exemplify the trend toward “closet extremists,” agrees Anderson County Sheriff Gene Taylor. “You have a lot fewer Patriot groups now, but that’s partly because people don’t need to be in a particular group. You can find out whatever you want about taxes and guns and bombs and common law on the Internet.”

Steven Bixby was an Internet whiz, says his former friend, Noel Thompson. “He’d stay up all night on the computer, not sleeping. Called himself Master Chaos. He could go in and disrupt things, boot people off, all that.” The contents of Bixby’s

JENNIFER WARBURG

Attack of the CAVE People

Up the road from Abbeville, a coalition of extremists puts county government in the crosshairs

One morning last May, 30 miles north of Abbeville in Anderson County, local radio talk-show host Rick Driver was bantering amiably with a regular caller. The subject turned to County Council meetings, and the caller — identified only as “Ginger” — casually vowed that the next time the council convened, “I’ll come with Bible in one hand and a gun in the other.”

The remarkable thing about Ginger’s threat was that it was anything but remarkable. Since the 1980s, a coalition of common-law “Patriots,” far-right Christian activists, neo-Confederates and “not-in-my-backyard” reactionaries have waged a spirited war against county officials working to bring good government and New South prosperity to this traditionally turbulent slice of upstate South Carolina.

County officials half-jokingly call their opponents “CAVE people — Citizens Against Virtually Everything.” They estimate there are about 300 such activists in Anderson County. They come together on Driver’s radio show, on the Internet, and at meetings of the Anderson County Taxpayers Association. They hold regular protests outside Town Hall, wielding signs like “County Council = Commie Crooks.” They’ve filed so many sham lawsuits, subpoenas and liens that Sheriff Gene Taylor says he has “a stack at least two feet high.” There have been several threats against county officials and, just since 9/11, five threats to blow up Town Hall.

“They don’t like growth, they don’t like Northerners, they don’t like progress,” says a longtime local businessperson who asked to remain anonymous because of past harassment after speaking out. “If you’re not one of ‘em, you’re not worth shootin’.”

Sheriff Taylor has long feared just the opposite: that some of Anderson’s angry people will start shooting. “I’ve tried to warn folks about this for years,”

says Taylor, a Republican first elected in 1988 when he promised to clean up a department so corrupt that in the 1970s, a sheriff and his deputies were convicted of running an auto-theft ring. “We have people here who sit around all day and listen to Rick Driver and Rush Limbaugh spew their hate-filled rhetoric. Sooner or later, somebody is going to feel like they’ll be martyrs and kill somebody. After what happened in Abbeville, nobody can deny that they really will kill people over their nutty beliefs.”

Many local extremists are “Patriots” who have been using common-law tactics to bog down local government since the 1970s. The most influential is Robert Clarkson, who calls himself “the South’s most famous IRS fighter.” Clarkson founded the Patriot Network, which runs common-law workshops throughout upstate South Carolina, Tennessee, Georgia and North Carolina. In an episode that’s become all too typical here, two of Clarkson’s associates were recently arrested for passing out jury nullification flyers during jury selection for the fraud trial of another Clarkson pal; both protesters refused to give their full names and were jailed.

Clarkson subsequently filed “habeas corpus” papers, demanding proof that the men were being held legally.

Clarkson recently got in hot water for claiming to be a lawyer on the Patriot Network’s Web site. During South Carolina’s Confederate flag controversy, he started Save Our Flag, leading protests around the state with his “main assistant in the Southern Cause,” Nelson Waller. Waller serves as vice-chair of the state chapter of the white-supremacist Council

of Conservative Citizens. He also contributes fiery rhetoric to the Rick Driver show and to a variety of “Patriot” and secessionist tabloids.

Extremists like Clarkson and Waller

NELSON WALLER



JENNIFER WARBURG

are anything but fringe-dwellers in Anderson County. Clarkson, in fact, is currently listed as a precinct chair for the local G.O.P., joining a host of other “CAVE people” active in mainstream politics. When state Christian Coalition leader Lesley White was ticketed for speeding in 1998, she and her husband, county Republican leader Dick White, issued phony subpoenas to Sheriff Taylor and other law-enforce-

CONTINUED ON PAGE 28

ment officers, ordering them to appear in common-law court for questioning. “For a simple speeding ticket,” Taylor says, “I probably had two or three inches’ worth of papers from them.”

Another Republican stalwart, Ted Davis, was stopped after years of driving around town with a homemade tag on his car that read, “MYCAR1.” After he refused to give his identity to officers, they searched his car, according to Taylor, “and we found in plain sight anti-Jewish literature, international drivers’ licenses, all that stuff.” Local officials say County Council member Cindy Wilson, the one office-holder popular with local tax protesters, has forced Anderson to fend off lawsuits related to the use of her property.

Driver’s radio show provides fuel for these folks’ fury. With an impossibly deep voice reminiscent of Don Imus, Driver wakes up Anderson every morning with assertions like “hate is not a crime, folks.” In 1999, Driver recommended a “constitutional amendment” against legislative bodies “meeting more than 15 minutes out of every year.” If they exceed the limit, Driver quipped, “we’ll line them up and shoot them out back.” Driver, who denies any militia or hate-group affiliations, welcomed the NAACP boycott of South Carolina because there would be a “drop in crime as leftists and blacks stay away.” His station, WAIM, once erected billboard advertisements that read, “Rick Driver 7 to 10 am/Liberals in Season,” with the “o” in season designed to look like the crosshairs of a rifle.

Sheriff Taylor sued Driver and WAIM for slander in 2000, after being called everything from a cross-dresser to a wife-beater to a burglar. Since Driver agreed to settle the suit out of court, Joey Preston, named national County Administrator of the Year in 2002, has been the prime target. “They call me Little Hitler, Little Castro, you name it,” says Preston. “They track where I eat, who I’m seen with, what I drive, when I come and go. They’ve done everything but lay down in front of cars to stop progress here.”

Taylor, whom Driver mocks as “Clean Gene,” recently decided to take himself out of the crosshairs and step down after this year’s election. After what happened in Abbeville in December, he hopes future county leaders will understand that they can’t overlook the potential for trouble from people like Earl Nash, the local king of common-law flings who “has a sign in his yard just like the Bixbys did: ‘no trespassing by the government.’”

“One of the biggest dangers is the lone individual or family who’ve spoken with other people and had their beliefs validated, whether it’s on the Internet or on a radio show or at a tax-protest meeting,” Taylor says. “When some guy’s on the radio saying all the things you believe, and that somebody ought to do something, you’ll probably feel good about doing something. Because you’re right, *we’re* right, and all those other people are dead wrong.”

— Bob Moser

computer were seized after the standoff, along with a pile of literature that investigators will only characterize as “strongly antigovernment.”

More details about the Bixbys’ brand of extremism will emerge, no doubt, when the three of them go on trial — probably this summer, and likely facing death. Until then, while they wait to see justice done, Abbevil-



The Confederate memorial has pride of place in Abbeville’s Court Square.

lians drive by the bullet-pocked ruin that used to be the Bixbys’ house, shaking their heads and puzzling over what it might all mean.

“Was this an aberration?” asks Craig Gagnon. “I don’t foresee anything like it happening again. But then again, I certainly didn’t foresee this.”

For law enforcement, the message seems more clear-cut. SLED Chief Stewart sees the stand-off in Abbeville as a bitter lesson — one that local officers, both in South Carolina and elsewhere, damn well better learn. “There have been a number of events around the country in recent years that indicate when you start hearing this inflammatory

language, like ‘Give me liberty or give me death,’ you better take it seriously. You can’t just dismiss people and say they’re wackos.” Though the Bixbys took their hatred of government to a shocking extreme, their paranoid beliefs were clearly no aberration in upstate South Carolina. If Arthur, Rita and Steven are allowed to choose their own epitaphs, in fact, it should surprise no one if they quote directly from the tall Confederate monument in the middle of Court Square: “THEY KNEW THEIR RIGHTS AND DARED MAINTAIN THEM.” ▲

A PERIOD OF REALIGNMENT AND REBUILDING FOLLOWS A TUMULTUOUS YEAR ON THE AMERICAN RADICAL RIGHT

THE YEAR IN HATE

BY MARK POTOK



Bouyed by rising numbers of Skinhead and Klan groups, the American radical right staged something of a comeback last year, following a tumultuous period that saw the destruction or hobbling of some of the nation's leading hate groups.

As 2003 came to an end, the number of racist Skinhead groups had doubled over the prior year. The neo-Nazi Aryan Nations, despite having lost its Idaho compound, boasted 11 new chapters. A newcomer on the scene, Arkansas-based White Revolution, had grown much more powerful and seemed poised to keep rising. Several new Klan groups had appeared, and Klan activity was significant.

At the same time, there were spectacular failures. The organization formerly known as the World Church of the Creator, for many years

a leading neo-Nazi group, virtually disappeared following the jailing of its leader Matt Hale, who stands trial this spring for allegedly soliciting the murder of a federal judge. The National Alliance, once the most important hate group in America, was reduced to about half its former size and faced criticism from a broad array of other hate groups. Its music operation, Resistance Records, suffered stiff competition from other labels.

Overall, it was a period of realignment and rebuilding. "The old organizations are dying," Craig Smith of the nazi.org Web site wrote, adding that the change was like "a lizard moulting. The older form is being destroyed and replaced."

The Southern Poverty Law Center's Intelligence Project counted 751 group chapters in 2003 (map, p. 36; complete listing, p. 38), up 6% from the 708 that were active the year before. Much of the gain was accounted for by improved counting of black separatist groups — groups that probably already existed in prior years. But there were real rises in key sectors of the hate movement. Hate

Web sites (listing, p. 43), meanwhile, rose from 443 in 2002 to 497 last year, a 12% increase.

"A lot has happened on the radical right in the last year," Joe Roy, director of the Intelligence Project, said. "The more professionally organized groups seemed to stumble, while a number of new groups have appeared fairly suddenly. What we are witnessing is a kind of shakeout in the world of right-wing extremism."

From the perspective of the radical right, there were some particularly bright spots. So-called "Patriot" groups — antigovernment groups like militias that are animated more by conspiracy theories than racial hatred — surged for the first time in years, jumping 20% from 143 groups in 2002 to 171 last year.

"What we are witnessing is a kind of shakeout in the world of right-wing extremism."

(Patriot Web sites also rose, from 152 sites in 2002 to 162 last year.) Tax protesters, separatists like the Republic of Texas group, and "sovereign citizens" who believe they are not subject to most laws, showed signs of new life. At one heavily attended Patriot event (see story, p. 64), speaker after speaker called for revolutionary violence.

Several frightening events served as a reminder that not all terrorists come from faraway places (see story and list, p. 33). In Texas, a man and his common-law wife were found with an arsenal including half a million rounds of ammunition, more than 60 pipe bombs, silencers, remote-control briefcase bombs and the parts needed to make a sodium cyanide bomb capable of killing hundreds. In South Carolina (see story, p. 16), antigovernment extremists allegedly murdered two law enforcement officers in a massive shootout. A religious zealot and former Army Ranger was arrested after allegedly plotting to bomb abortion clinics, churches and gay bars. An arsonist

destroyed an Indiana Holocaust memorial museum.

The Devils in the Details

In many ways, the story of the last year is most easily told in a series of snapshots detailing what's going on in major sectors or groups making up the radical right.

Neo-Nazis: The neo-Nazi category was the only one tracked by the Center that showed a decrease, and, at 32%, it was a significant one. This was attributable to the demise of the World Church of the Creator (wcorc), the largest such group in 2002 with 88 "contact points" or chapters. But after Hale's arrest that December — he is accused of soliciting followers to murder a federal judge who ordered his group to stop using its

name — the group now called The Creativity Movement began to collapse. A likely Hale replacement, Wyoming leader Thomas Kroenke, dropped out. A second potential Hale stand-in, Illinois leader Jon Fox, seemed a likely choice — until it was revealed that Fox had agreed to testify against Hale this spring. Just six chapters, one operating under the old wcorc name, limped into 2003.

The National Alliance, a neo-Nazi organization headquartered in West Virginia, has lost about half its membership since the July 23, 2002, death of its founder and longtime leader, William Pierce; now, there are signs that the group is stabilizing, with its losses slowing. Still, it is increasingly held in disrepute by almost every other neo-Nazi organization in America, and its current leader, Erich Gliebe, has seen no let-up in attacks on his character and management style. The crown jewel in the Alliance, its white power music operation Resistance Records, is in a bitter battle with other racist labels including its chief competitor, Minnesota-based Panzerfaust

Records. In January, Resistance was banned by other hate groups from a major racist music event in Phoenix called Aryan Fest. Over the last year, the Alliance's main activity has been distributing racist leaflets.

The Aryan Nations showed a surprising resurgence in 2003, doubling its chapters from 11 to 22 even though leader Richard Butler has lived in a suburban home in northern Idaho since a suit brought by the Southern Poverty Law Center cost him his rural headquarters compound in 2000. This expansion may have been driven, at least in part, by the 85-year-old Butler's increased presence at racist events. He traveled to a protest at the Center's offices in January 2003, a state Aryan Nations conference in Phoenix in November, and a Tennessee Klan rally this January. At the same time, a rival split-off group by the same name, headed by ex-Butler loyalists August Kreis and Charles Juba, fell precipitously from 12 chapters to two.

Another group that came on strong in 2003 was White Revolution, the creation of former National Alliance official Billy Roper. Roper organized the rally at Center offices and a number of other events including a well-publicized protest at the Alamo in Texas. Over the year, Roper solidified alliances with groups including Resistance rival Panzerfaust Records and many Klan and Skinhead groups.

Racist Skinheads: The number of Skinhead groups more than doubled from 18 chapters (making up 11 named organizations) in 2002 to 39 chapters (22 groups) in 2003. In part, this growth seemed to result from Skinhead activity in New Jersey, where a third of the active chapters — belonging to the AC Skins, Aryan Raiders, Bergen County Hooligans, Eastern Hammerskins and Werewolf Crew #45 — are located. But it may also be related to the increasing challenge being posed to Hammerskin Nation, a confederation of Skinhead groups that had long been the dominant force on the scene. Toward the end of 2003, Hammerskin Nation was faced with several new upstart factions in Indiana and Ohio. Like them, the dominant Pennsylvania skin group, the Keystone State Skinheads, has said it will no longer work with the Hammerskins, in part because of a stabbing incident that soured relations between the groups. A recent posting from a skin reflects the waning importance of the Hammerskins. "Rest assured," the skin wrote, "the days of crews submitting to their 'policing' of the skinhead sub-culture are over." Another group, White Power Liberation Front, also appeared on the Skinhead scene last year.

Ku Klux Klan: Around the country, Klan groups, which had been relatively unimportant on the radical right, seemed to surge. There was a large number of Klan rallies, cross-burnings, and other events. And several new groups appeared on the scene. The Orion (for "our race is our nation") Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, based in Alabama, was started in early 2003 and was highly successful in building up membership, particularly in Florida. For a time, the Orion Knights' Orlando klavern (or local chapter) was led by a woman, former paralegal Jamie Flynn, although she was replaced in November. In North Carolina, the Cleveland Knights of the Ku Klux Klan started operations last summer with Virgil Griffin as imperial wizard, or top official. (Griffin is the former



LOWELL HANDLER

AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

leader of the Christian Knights, which was ordered to pay \$15 million in damages in a 1998 civil lawsuit brought by the Southern Poverty Law Center over a South Carolina black church burned by Klansmen.) The Cleveland Knights has come on strong, holding four major rallies and absorbing another Klan group based in Tennessee.

The Georgia-based Southern White Knights, which temporarily went out of business in early 2003, was restarted last November and grew rapidly. A White Knights official in Ohio, Jeremy Parker, drew some attention when he posted pipe bomb-making instructions on the Internet in response to organizers of a Martin Luther King celebration. "Sure would hate to see anything happen," he wrote.

In Indiana, the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan gained three chapters and media attention. In Arkansas, Thom Robb's Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, one of the oldest of the nation's 45 current Klan organizations, was stirring. For the first time since 1999, non-headquarters chapters showed signs of real activity.

Neo-Confederates: The major drama in the world of neo-Confederate activism took place within the Sons of Confederate Veterans (scv), a 32,000-member southern heritage group whose national leadership is controlled by racist extremists (see story, p. 2). A pitched battle between moderates and radicals was shaping up as 2004 began, with two moderates planning to challenge Ron Wilson, the scv's commander in chief, in elections at the scv convention this July.

The League of the South, in most ways the leader of the neo-Confederate movement, was less active in 2003 than in prior years. But leader Michael Hill has announced plans for a "Southern National Congress" to be held in Montgomery, Ala., next October. Hill, whose speeches have increasingly emphasized revolution and race, hopes to launch a Southern political movement — something he has tried before, but that collapsed when various internal factions began squabbling.

Steve Wilkins, a founding league director who recently became a "senior adviser" to the board, has increasingly been pushing a radical theology along with a far-right Idaho pastor (see story, p. 9). This theology, emphasizing religious government and a defense of the antebellum South, has swept the neo-Confederate world and also reached many Christian private schools and homeschoolers.

Other: This category includes a hodge-podge of groups espousing hateful doctrines that do not fit neatly into other areas. The largest of these groups, the 15,000-member, white supremacist Council of Conservative Citizens (ccc), continued to drift further and further to the right. In the last year, its Web site began to call for readers to support Ernst Zundel, a Holocaust denier who has been held pending possible deportation from Canada for a year. It carried links to and advertisements about Christian Identity, a wildly anti-Semitic theology that describes Jews as the biological descendants of Satan. And it began to carry essays from anti-Semitic lawyer Edgar Steele and Jean-Phillippe Rushton, a Canadian race scientist who heads the racist Pioneer Foundation.

Former Klansman David Duke's European-American Unity and Rights Organization (EURO), which has been something of a paper tiger since Duke started it up in 2000, continued to lose chapters during the year. And even the 15 chapters that remained seemed extremely low-key. The group also had organizational problems to contend with. Last fall, Duke's hand-picked EURO leader, Bruce Breeding, quit after the *Intelligence Report* revealed his secret pornography empire (see story, p. 4). But EURO's fortunes could change when Duke, who has been serving a 15-month federal prison sentence for mail fraud, is released this May. A welcome-back party is planned by Duke aide Kenny Knight and others.

Holocaust denial organizations seemed to be doing well. The Institute for Historical Review, based in California, held two high-profile events last year and revamped its Web site. It also

helped to fund an upcoming April denial conference in Sacramento that promises to be one of the largest such events in years. That gathering is being hosted by Walter Mueller's European American Culture Council, which is becoming a leading Holocaust denier. Mueller, whose conference is also being funded by an Australian denial outfit, was a local ccc leader in 2000.

There was also a new addition to Holocaust denial literature last year with the inauguration of *The Revisionist*, published by long-time deniers Germar Rudolf, Frederick Toben and Jurgen Graf. The aim of the journal, which is based at Rudolf's home in Hastings, Tenn., will be to cover non-American Holocaust deniers.

Volksfront, a white supremacist group based in Portland, Ore., grew from five to eight chapters in 2003, spreading east to Pennsylvania and strengthening its presence in California. The group spent much of the year preparing for Aryan Fest 2004, which was held in Phoenix this January. By all accounts, the event went off well and, partly as a result, Volksfront is well-respected by other hate groups.

Black separatists: The count of racist black separatist groups went up almost 66% last year, largely driven by the addition of more than 30 additional chapters of the New Black Panther Party. In addition, the Center began counting outlying chapters of the Georgia-based United Nuwaubian Nation of Moors, a kind of cult built up around leader Dwight York, as hate groups. York was convicted last year of federal charges related to the sexual molestation of his youngest followers.

But the biggest story in this sector came from the Nation of Islam, the anti-white and anti-Semitic group led by Louis Farrakhan. The *New York Times* reported that key Nation leaders were controlling access to pop singer Michael Jackson, who had been charged with molesting a young boy. After the story appeared, the Nation denied involvement in Jackson's affairs. ▲

Heidi Beirich, Michelle Bramblett, Nia Hightower and Laurie Wood contributed to this report.



William Krar and some of the weapons authorities say he amassed

TERROR, AMERICAN STYLE

The discovery in Texas of a huge arms cache, including a cyanide bomb, is a reminder that not all alleged terrorists are foreign **BY CAMILLE JACKSON**

Last spring, as journalists scrambled to report the latest headlines from the U.S.-led war in Iraq and the global war against terrorism, they missed a remarkable bit of news from much closer to home. The focus on foreign terrorism apparently distracted the media from what was happening in Noonday, Texas. It would be more than six months before a federal raid there that turned up 800 grams of nearly pure sodium cyanide ready to be fashioned into a deadly bomb, a "huge arsenal of military-style weapons," and tantalizing suggestions of a terrorist plot concocted by members of the American radical right, received more than a passing mention.

The cyanide bomb was almost ready to go. If it had been used, authorities say it was powerful enough to kill everyone in a 30,000-square-foot building in minutes — a weapon of mass destruction reminiscent of the Oklahoma City bombing.

The case was not unique; there were a number of criminal cases last year that involved the domestic radical right (see list, p. 34). But it was remarkable — a stark reminder that terrorism doesn't only proceed from anti-American foreigners.

William Krar, 63, and his common-law wife Judith Bruey, 54, had stockpiled a cache of military weapons in three rented storage units in rural East Texas. The cache included a half a million rounds of ammunition, more than 60 pipe bombs, machine guns, silencers, and remote-controlled bombs disguised as briefcases. Anti-black, anti-Semitic, and antigovernment literature was found. The most disturbing were the books on how to make bombs and chemical weapons such as *The Anarchist Cookbook*, *The Poor Man's James Bond*, and *Assorted Nasties*.

Chemicals found during the April 10, 2003, search included containers of hydrochloric, nitric, and acetic acids, as well as the military-grade cyanide.

Krar's attorney, Tonda Curry, concedes that Krar owned and collected illegal weapons, but says he wasn't planning any antigovernment actions. Then why the chemicals? "For the time being," she told the *Report*, "I cannot answer why on the chemical question, but I will say that neither the government's evidence nor any of my numerous conversations with my client have indicated in any way that there was any

type of plot or plan by Mr. Krar or anyone else to do harm to this country.”

The government disagrees. “There’s no other reason for anyone to possess that type of device other than to kill people,” Brit Featherston, an assistant U.S. attorney, told one reporter. “The arsenal found in those searches had the capability of terrorizing a lot of people.”

There’s more. In the investigation of the case — a sprawling probe that ended up involving law enforcement agents around the country and some 150 subpoenas — prosecutors turned up a series of cryptic documents that appeared to detail some type of covert plan. There were elaborate secret codes, a list of nine cities designated as “meeting places,” what appeared to be a to-do list, and notes about fake IDs.

Neither Krar nor Bruey is talking. Curry says that Krar, who is being held in Texas’ Smith County Jail, is cooperative with her and has expressed remorse. But he has not been cooperative with authorities, declining to explain his operations. Last November, Krar pleaded guilty to possessing a dangerous chemical weapon, and faces up to life in prison. Bruey pleaded guilty to a lesser conspiracy charge and could receive up to five years. Sentencing is expected this spring.

Krar and Bruey — along with a second, much younger woman, who was apparently involved in some kind of love triangle with the couple — moved to Tyler, Texas, from New Hampshire. In both states, they apparently operated what appeared to be a military surplus and guns business out of rented storage units, selling items ranging from pepper spray and smoke grenades to recycled clothing.

But it was Krar’s alleged fake identification card business that got him and Bruey in trouble. In January 2002, Krar mailed a package of documents — including fake United Nations and Defense Intelligence Agency ID cards, a social security card, and birth certificates from three states — to Edward Feltus, 56, a self-described member of the New Jersey Militia. It was mistakenly delivered to a man in New York who, upon opening it, notified the authorities of its suspicious contents.

Federal law enforcement began surveillance on Krar’s residence. In January 2003, a year after his package was intercepted, Krar was pulled over by a state trooper in Tennessee. In Krar’s rented vehicle, troopers found three military-style atropine injections, used as an antidote for several kinds of nerve gas; 16 knives; a stun gun; a smoke grenade; two handguns; handcuffs; seven marijuana cigarettes; and 41 bottles and a syringe

containing unknown substances. Also found were the series of notes that appeared to outline some kind of plot — notes that Krar claimed were actually a plan to help his girlfriend escape her abusive husband.

Krar told federal authorities he was the CEO of International Development Corp., or IDC America, a company that manufactures gun parts. He claimed the guns, a 9mm and a .22 handgun, were his own but denied knowledge of the other items. He said he hadn’t sold firearms because his federal firearms license expired. Shortly after his Tennessee arrest, Krar posted bond and was free to go.

Authorities found discrepancies in Krar’s story and a history of suspicious behavior. Krar had never had a federal firearms license. Nor did he have a Texas driver’s license though he’d lived in the state for two years. His arrest record dated back to 1985, when he was found guilty of impersonating a police officer. It was also discovered that Krar had not filed federal income taxes since 1988.

In 1995, antigovernment activist Sean Bottoms was arrested in Tennessee with a large number of firearms, ammunition and bomb-making materials. Also found at the time was Krar’s business card. As a result, FBI agents began to monitor Krar and IDC America, which was then in Manchester, N.H. An informant told agents that a militia member known for his “strong

and violent antigovernment views” had been spending time at IDC, which was co-owned by Bruey, and that he believed Krar provided weapons to white supremacist and militia groups.

In June 2001 a fire broke out at the storage facility in New Hampshire where Krar and Bruey were then storing their goods. The fire department was forced to break in to one of their lockers. Inside they discovered thousands of rounds of ammunition and four firearms, one of which was a modified automatic rifle.

Still, until 2002, Krar and Bruey managed to avoid serious trouble.

Since the raid in Noonday, the unincorporated area near Tyler where Krar’s rental units were, federal agents, local police and prosecutors have worked to flesh out details of any alleged plot that may have been in the works. It is likely that Krar did act as a kind of arms supplier to radical right groups, and the authorities have expressed worries that Krar might have supplied them with other sodium cyanide bombs or briefcase bombs. For now, though, even as officials chase other leads turned up in the wide-ranging Krar investigation, whatever plan Krar and his associates may have had remains a mystery. What is clear, though, is that domestic terrorism and its suppliers are alive and well in the United States. ▲

THE BLOTTER

A large number of crimes were carried out by various types of radical-right extremists in 2003, ranging from the murder of a police officer to building up a huge, illegal arsenal. What follows is a representative selection of such crimes, with an emphasis on those connected to hate groups and organized extremist activities.

UKIAH, CALIF.

Tattoos of devil horns, lightning bolts and “Till Death, NLR” proved to police that **Neal Beckman**, 36, was a member of the Nazi Low Riders. A racist Skinhead group centered in California, the Nazi Low Riders are increasingly linked to the far more violent Aryan Brotherhood prison gang. On March 7, after seeing his girlfriend arrested for allegedly trying to return stolen goods to Wal-Mart, Beckman shot a police sergeant four times and nearly killed him, then stabbed a store security guard. The wounded police officer managed to kill Beckman moments later. Five pipe bombs packed with shrapnel were found later in the car Beckman had arrived in.

SCRANTON, PENN.

Twenty-six year old Antoni Williams was walking home on March 23 when three white men asked him if he’d ever been “beat up by a skinhead,” yelled racial slurs and threw a brick at him. **Keith Carney**, 22, **Steven Smith**, 32, and **Steve Monteforte**, 34, were arrested and charged with ethnic

intimidation and making terroristic threats. Carney and Smith are members of the Keystone State Skinheads, an aggressive group in Pennsylvania and New Jersey that is trying to establish itself in the mostly white area where the attack occurred. Monteforte later pled guilty and was sentenced to one year of probation. Smith, a former leader in the Pennsylvania chapter of the racist National Association for the Advancement of White People, also pled guilty and received a 1-year sentence. Carney, a former member of the neo-Nazi National Alliance, was sentenced to one to three years in prison. Carney had previously been arrested for placing Alliance stickers on graves at the Korean War and Vietnam Veteran memorials in Philadelphia.

SALINAS, CALIF.

Less than a week after the April 8 discovery of the badly decomposed remains of a murdered bisexual man, Robert Maricle, in a buried plastic drum, officials arrested **Daymon Douglas Schrock**, 21, **Dominique Daniel England**, 20, and **Jeanne**

Soja, 30. All three were charged with murder, kidnapping, conspiracy and torture. England and Schrock, an admitted member of the Nazi Low Riders and the Peckerwoods, two racist Skinhead groups, both appeared gleeful in court. Soja’s trial date has been set for this May 10. No trial date has been set for the others.

HAMPTON BEACH, N.H.

Russell Seace Jr., 33, the one-time Eastern regional office contact and pastor for the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations, was arrested after threatening a Hispanic inmate and his family saying “he could go fishing and use the man’s body for chum,” according to an FBI affidavit. Seace, who’d served time in prison on a burglary charge, accepted a \$500 down payment to kill the man in revenge for an attack on a white inmate. He was arrested on April 15 on federal murder-for-hire and weapons charges. He was also a member of the neo-Nazi World Church of the Creator. After pleading guilty to a weapons charge, Seace was sentenced in December to five years and three months in prison.

BALTIMORE, MD.

On July 1, **Lovell A. Wheeler**, 62, a white supremacist whose wife is a member of the neo-Nazi National Alliance, was arrested after authorities seized 80 pounds of gunpowder in bleach bottles and paint thinner cans, guns, gun parts and 20,000 rounds of live ammunition in his home. Prosecutors said the ammunition was powerful enough to blow up Wheeler’s Highlandtown rowhouse and the neighboring home. Wheeler

was held for nearly four months before pleading guilty to three misdemeanor charges of reckless endangerment, possession of more than three pounds of smokeless gunpowder and improper storage of gunpowder. Wheeler received a five-year suspended sentence with three years’ probation and was forced to forfeit his weapons.

SAN LUIS, ARIZ.

Two men were arrested on July 31 for detaining at gunpoint a group of six illegal immigrants, including three children, near the Arizona border. They then turned the six over to the U.S. Border Patrol. **Matthew Hoffman**, 23, and **Alexander Dumas**, 26, were initially each charged with six counts of aggravated assault and unlawful imprisonment, but the both pled guilty to a single felony charge of conspiracy. Hoffman was sentenced to four months, and Dumas to one month in jail. They were also placed on three years’ probation and ordered to perform 360 hours of community service.

BOSTON, MASS.

After a month of plotting, **Joseph L. Druce**, 38, reportedly a member of a white supremacist prison group, allegedly beat and strangled to death fellow inmate and defrocked priest John J. Geoghan, 68, on Aug. 23 inside the Souza-Baranowski Correctional Center, a maximum security prison. Geoghan, who was serving a 10-year sentence for fondling a 10-year-old boy, had allegedly molested more than 100 boys over a 30-year period, and was at the heart of an investigation into sexual abuse by clergy in the Catholic church the Boston

area. Druce was serving a life term for murdering a gay bus driver in 1988. Druce’s lawyer has said in court he believes his client is mentally ill. The case has yet to go to trial.

WEST PALM BEACH, FLA.

Inspired by alleged abortion clinic bomber Eric Rudolph, **Stephen John Jordi**, 35, admitted to plans to firebomb abortion clinics, gay bars and churches, officials say. Jordi, a former Army ranger with a flaming crucifix tattooed on his forearm, had purchased a gun, gas cans, propane tanks, gloves and flares on the day of his arrest. An evangelical Christian fundamentalist, Jordi attended doctor-killer Paul Hill’s execution, where he was seen speaking with fellow hard-liners Neal Horsley and Joshua Graff. Jordi was arrested on Nov. 11, after a three-month FBI undercover investigation, but only after trying to escape by jumping from a boat he shared with an FBI informant who’d earned his trust. He faces a term of five to 20 years when he is sentenced on April 30 on one count of attempted firebombing.

OGDEN, UTAH

On Nov. 9, once it was discovered that a fellow inmate and gang recruit had had sex with a black woman, three jailed members of the fledgling white supremacist gang Fourth Reich allegedly cut off his swastika tattoo with a bent razor blade from a disposable razor. It left a quarter-inch deep and 1-inch wide cut on the victim’s forearm. **Jonathan Gardner**, 24, **Caleb Iles**, 22, and **Link Heywood**, 21, were charged with aggravated assault, a second-degree

felony. Gardner pled guilty and was sentenced to one to 15 years in prison. Heywood pled guilty to reduced counts of assault and may serve up to five years. Iles also pled guilty to a reduced count even though he told authorities before sentencing that he hoped to plea bargain and “get out early so he could take care of that punk.”

TERRE HAUTE, IND.

On the night of Nov. 18, arson destroyed the CANDLES Holocaust Museum founded by Holocaust survivor Eva Kor. The museum is dedicated to the children who survived horrific Nazi medical experiments during World War II. The words “Remember Timmy McVeigh” were scribbled on an exterior wall and a light-colored car was videotaped leaving the scene. The vehicle’s description matched a car that belonged to convicted abortion clinic bomber **Joseph Charles Stockett**, 57, and officials say that Stockett told an informant days after the fire that he was on his way to “a major confrontation with the Jews” and that “the struggle to save my race from the Jews might require me to kill someone someday.” The informant alleges Stockett was using anti-Semitic literature to recruit for a neo-Nazi organization. Stockett, who has denied any involvement with the arson, earlier served five years for setting fire to an Oregon abortion clinic in 1976. He’d also been investigated for threatening former Vice President Dan Quayle and, more recently, President Bush. Stockett is being held pending a trial on federal firearms charges.

— *Camille Jackson*

INTELLIGENCE PROJECT

[illegible]

ACTIVE HATE GROUPS
IN THE UNITED STATES IN THE YEAR 2003

This list of 751 active hate groups (map, pp. 36-37), up 6% from 708 a year before, is based on information gathered by the Intelligence Project from hate groups’ publications, citizens’ reports, law enforcement agencies, field sources and news reports. Only organizations known to be active in 2003, whether that activity included marches, rallies, speeches, meetings, leafleting, publishing literature or criminal acts, were counted in the listing. Entities that appear to exist only in cyberspace are not included because they are likely to be individual Web publishers who like to falsely portray themselves as powerful, organized groups. This listing contains all known chapters of hate organizations. If the group has a known headquarters, it appears first in the listing of the group’s chapters.

Groups are categorized as Ku Klux Klan, Neo-Nazi, Racist Skinhead, Christian Identity, Black Separatist, Neo-Confederate and Other. Because Skinheads are migratory and often not affiliated with groups, this listing understates their numbers. Christian Identity describes a religion that is fundamentally racist and anti-Semitic. Black Separatist groups are organizations whose ideologies include tenets of racially based hatred. Neo-Confederate groups seek to revive many of the racist principles of the antebellum South. The Other category includes groups, vendors and publishing houses endorsing a hodgepodge of hate doctrines.



Free Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
Hiram, GA *
Buchanan, GA
Madison, NC
New York

Great Tennessee Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
Telford, TN

Imperial Guard Ku Klux Klan
Sparta, MO

Imperial Klans of America
Dawson Springs, KY *
Bankston, AL

Colt, AR
El Dorado, AR
Joiner, AR
Magnolia, AR
Mesa, AZ
Newport Beach, CA
Orangevale, CA
Washington, DC
Gainesville, FL
St. Marys, GA
Ty Ty, GA
Iowa
Litchfield, IL
Center Point, IN
Lakin, KS
Louisville, KY
Powderly, KY
Downsville, LA

Churchville, MD
Gregory, MI
Mapaville, MO
Walkertown, NC
Shirley, NY
Amelia, OH
Cincinnati, OH
St. Marys, OH
Sterling, OH
Lawton, OK
Boothwyn, PA
Cunningham, TN
Texas
Harrisonburg, VA
Virginia Beach, VA
Hometown, WV

International Keystone Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
Johnstown, PA *

Colt, AR
Cleveland, OH

Invisible Empire Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
Conroe, TX

Invisible Empire White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
Washington, PA

Invisible Empire of the International Knights
Enoree, SC

Invisible Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
Fort Wayne, IN

KU KLUX KLAN	158
NEO-NAZI	149
RACIST SKINHEAD	39
CHRISTIAN IDENTITY	31
BLACK SEPARATIST	136
NEO-CONFEDERATE	91
OTHER	147
TOTAL	751

Knight Riders of the Ku Klux Klan
Daniels, WV

Knights of Bedford Forest of the Ku Klux Klan
Greenville, TN

Knights of Yahweh
Morristown, TN *
Dandridge, TN

Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
Harrison, AR *
Concord, AR
Reno, NV
Newport, TN

Knights of the True Cross
Georgia

Knights of the White Kamellia
Germantown, OH

Ku Klux Klan
Compton, AR

Louisiana White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
Walker, LA

Mississippi White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
Petal, MS *
Bay St. Louis, MS
Robinsonville, MS

Mystic Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
Dayton, OH *
Fraser, MI
Dayton, OH
Delaplane, VA

National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
South Bend, IN *
Red Bay, AL
Calpella, CA
Homosassa, FL
Kalamazoo, MI
Nashville, TN
Blue Ridge, TX
Mercer, WI

North Georgia White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
Ft. Oglethorpe, GA

Orion Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
Grand Bay, AL *
Elba, AL
Malvern, AR
Hollywood, FL
Lake Placid, FL
Orlando, FL
Star, MS
Dickson, TN

Rebel Brigade Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Martinsville, VA

South Arkansas Knights
Smackover, AR

Southern White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
Savannah, GA *
Homosassa Springs, FL
Marion, OH

Templar Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
Fort McCoy, FL

Texas Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
San Antonio, TX *
Comal County, TX
DeWitt County, TX
Fayette County, TX
Gillespie County, TX
Goliad County, TX
Gonzales County, TX
Jackson County, TX
Kerr County, TX
Kimble County, TX
Lavaca County, TX
Mason County, TX
Matagorda County, TX
Mauriceville, TX
Midlothian, TX
Port Lavaca, TX
Tarrant County, TX
Victoria, TX
Webb County, TX

KU KLUX KLAN 158

Alabama White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
Clanton, AL*
Birmingham, AL

America's Invisible Empire Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
Hartselle, AL *
Welsh, LA
Erwin, TN

American White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
Cordele, GA

American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
Butler, IN *
Cedarville, AR

Collinsville, OK
Seminole, OK

Aryan Nations Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Munford, AL *
Waterbury, CT
Jacksonville, FL
Statesboro, GA
Bourg, LA
Calhoun, LA
Mount Clemens, MI
Lucedale, MS
Great Falls, MT
Elizabethtown, NC
Amherst, NY
St. Clairsville, OH
Adamstown, PA

Sequatchie, TN
Hurst, TX

Aryan Reformation Knights
Indianapolis, IN

Bayou Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
Homer, LA *
Mansfield, LA
St. Amant, LA
Fulton, MS

Brotherhood of Klans Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
Prospect Heights, IL *

Omaha, NE
Hurley, WI
Westfield, WI

Carolina White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
Lexington, SC *
Charleston, SC

Cleveland Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
Lawndale, NC

Confederate Crusaders
Homer, LA

Confederate Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
Henderson, NC

Flaming Sword Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
South Vineland, NJ

United Knights of the Ku Klux Klan Indianapolis, IN	Creativity Movement Riverton, WY * Clearwater, FL Massachusetts Pittsburgh, PA Newport News, VA	Seattle/Tacoma, WA Kaukauna, WI Evansville, WY	Edgewater, MD
U.S. Klans Jonesboro, GA* Acworth, GA	German American Nationalist PAC Pensacola, FL	National Socialist German Workers Party Lincoln, NE	Sons of Liberty Arabi, LA
U. S. Klans Knights of the Ku Klux Klan Big Sandy, TN	International National Socialist Party Cheyenne, WY	National Socialist Movement Minneapolis, MN * Calpella, CA Los Angeles, CA Reseda, CA San Diego, CA San Francisco, CA Denver, CO Lakeland, FL Morrow, GA Cedar Falls, IA Athol, ID Schiller Park, IL Indianapolis, IN Wakarusa, IN Hutchinson, KS Scandia, KS Wichita, KS Walton, KY Maine Kalamazoo, MI Hutchinson, MN Collinsville, MS Greensboro, NC Bismarck, ND Hudson, NH Livingston, NJ Oaklyn, NJ El Prado, NM Warwick, NY Lakewood, OH Lancaster, OH Tulsa, OK Bethlehem, PA York, PA Enoree, SC Sequatchie, TN Richardson, TX Port Angeles, WA Port Hadlock, WA Altoona, WI Cudahy, WI Milwaukee, WI Sheboygan, WI Sullivan, WI Romney, WV	White Aryan Resistance Fallbrook, CA
White Camelia Knights of the Ku Klux Klan Cleveland, TX	Liberty Bell Publications York, SC	National Socialist Movement Minneapolis, MN * Calpella, CA Los Angeles, CA Reseda, CA San Diego, CA San Francisco, CA Denver, CO Lakeland, FL Morrow, GA Cedar Falls, IA Athol, ID Schiller Park, IL Indianapolis, IN Wakarusa, IN Hutchinson, KS Scandia, KS Wichita, KS Walton, KY Maine Kalamazoo, MI Hutchinson, MN Collinsville, MS Greensboro, NC Bismarck, ND Hudson, NH Livingston, NJ Oaklyn, NJ El Prado, NM Warwick, NY Lakewood, OH Lancaster, OH Tulsa, OK Bethlehem, PA York, PA Enoree, SC Sequatchie, TN Richardson, TX Port Angeles, WA Port Hadlock, WA Altoona, WI Cudahy, WI Milwaukee, WI Sheboygan, WI Sullivan, WI Romney, WV	White Revolution Russellville, AR * Bridgeport, CT Jacksonville, FL Brooks, GA Franklin, IN Haverhill, MA Charlotte, NC Cinnaminson, NJ Covington, OH Charleston, WV
White Shield Knights of the Ku Klux Klan Mineral Wells, WV	National Alliance Hillsboro, WV * Anchorage, AK Lincoln, AR Phoenix, AZ Los Angeles, CA Oakland, CA Riverside, CA Sacramento, CA Van Nuys, CA Colorado Springs, CO Denver, CO Orlando, FL Tampa, FL Dahlongega, GA Boise, ID Chicago, IL Indianapolis, IN Boston, MA Baltimore, MD Petoskey, MI Plymouth, MI Portage, MI Columbia Heights, MN St. Louis, MO Benson, NC Charlotte, NC Laurinburg, NC Raleigh, NC Wilmington, NC Omaha, NE Hewitt, NJ New York, NY Las Vegas, NV Cleveland, OH Reading, PA Providence, RI Chattanooga, TN Memphis, TN Nashville, TN Austin, TX Dallas/Fort Worth, TX Houston, TX Odessa/Midland, TX Salt Lake City, UT Herndon, VA Kitsap County, WA	World Knights of the Creator Brooklyn, NY	White Aryan Resistance Fallbrook, CA
World Knights of the Ku Klux Klan Sharpsburg, MD * New Castle, PA	National Alliance Hillsboro, WV * Anchorage, AK Lincoln, AR Phoenix, AZ Los Angeles, CA Oakland, CA Riverside, CA Sacramento, CA Van Nuys, CA Colorado Springs, CO Denver, CO Orlando, FL Tampa, FL Dahlongega, GA Boise, ID Chicago, IL Indianapolis, IN Boston, MA Baltimore, MD Petoskey, MI Plymouth, MI Portage, MI Columbia Heights, MN St. Louis, MO Benson, NC Charlotte, NC Laurinburg, NC Raleigh, NC Wilmington, NC Omaha, NE Hewitt, NJ New York, NY Las Vegas, NV Cleveland, OH Reading, PA Providence, RI Chattanooga, TN Memphis, TN Nashville, TN Austin, TX Dallas/Fort Worth, TX Houston, TX Odessa/Midland, TX Salt Lake City, UT Herndon, VA Kitsap County, WA	World Church of the Creator Brooklyn, NY	White Aryan Resistance Fallbrook, CA
NEO-NAZI 149		RACIST SKINHEAD 39	
American Nazi Party Westland, MI		AC Skins Atlantic City, NJ Little Egg Harbor City, NJ Somers Point, NJ	
Aryan Nations Hayden Lake, ID * Talladega, AL London, AR Phoenix, AZ Citrus Heights, CA Sunland, CA Milton, FL Wrightsville, GA Mason City, IA Junction City, KS Calhoun, LA Cumberland, MD Hampton Beach, NH North Bergen, NJ Reno, NV Gibsonburg, OH North Bend, OR Jonestown, PA Clarksville, TN Hurst, TX Tacoma, WA Mercer, WI		Aryan Raiders Oceanport, NJ	
Aryan Nations (offshoot) Leola, PA * Ulysses, PA		Bergen County Hooligans Garfield, NJ Wallington, NJ	
Aryan Renaissance Society Moscow Mills, MO Island Heights, NJ Long Island, NY		Confederate Hammerskins Marietta, GA Jacksonville, FL North Carolina	
Christian Defense League Arabi, LA		Connecticut White Wolves Stratford, CT	
		East Coast Hate Crew Toms River, NJ Tuckerton, NJ	
		Eastern Hammerskins Howell, NJ * Brick, NJ Point Pleasant, NJ	
		Golden State Skinheads San Luis Obispo, CA	
		Keystone State Skinheads Harrisburg, PA * Altoona, PA Lancaster, PA Philadelphia, PA Youngwood, PA	
		Midland Hammerskins Springfield, MO	



EMILIE SOMMER

Northern Hammerskins Michigan	Aryan Covenant Church/ ACC Services Anderson, TX	House of Yahweh New Tazewell, TN	Long Beach, CA Los Angeles, CA Montclair, CA Oakland, CA Rialto, CA Richmond, CA Sacramento, CA San Diego, CA San Francisco, CA Denver, CO Bridgeport, CT Hartford, CT New Haven, CT Washington, DC Wilmington, DE Fort Lauderdale, FL Jacksonville, FL Miami, FL Pensacola, FL Tallahassee, FL Tampa, FL West Palm Beach, FL Albany, GA Athens, GA Atlanta, GA Augusta, GA Columbus, GA Macon, GA Savannah, GA Hawaii Waterloo, IA East St. Louis, IL Indianapolis, IN Louisville, KY Baton Rouge, LA New Orleans, LA Boston, MA Springfield, MA Baltimore, MD Detroit, MI St. Louis, MO St. Paul, MN Kansas City, MO St. Louis, MO Greenville, MS Holly Springs, MS Jackson, MS Charlotte, NC Durham, NC Greensboro, NC
Ohio State Skinheads Lancaster, OH * Columbus, OH Youngstown, OH	By Yahweh's Design Stevensville, MI	Kingdom Identity Ministries Harrison, AR	
Outlaw Hammerskins Michigan City, IN	Christ's Gospel Fellowship Spokane, WA	Kinsman Redeemer Ministries Tacoma, WA	
South Florida Aryan Alliance Sunrise, FL	Christian Research Eureka Springs, AR	Lord's Work Austin, KY	
Southern European Aryans League Army Muncie, IN	Christian Separatist Church Society Kodak, TN	Mission to Israel Scottsbluff, NE	
Tualatin Valley Skins Portland, OR	Church of Israel Schell City, MO	Orange County Assembly of Christ Brea, CA	
The Hated Duval County, FL	Church of Jesus Christ Bergman, AR	Reformed Church of Israel Schell City, MO	
United Skinheads of Atlanta Atlanta, GA	Church of the Sons of Yhvh Calhoun, LA	Remnant Outreach Ministries Cottonwood, AZ	
Werewolf Crew #45 Morristown, NJ	Church of True Israel Noxon, MT	Scriptures for America Laporte, CO	
West Virginia Skinheads Charleston, WV	Covenant Church of Yahweh Pipestone, MN	Virginia Christian Israelites Round Hill, VA	
White Pittsburgh Front Pittsburgh, PA	Crusade for Christ North Little Rock, AR	Virginia Publishing Company Lynchburg, VA	
White Power Liberation Front Livingston, NJ Whitney Point, NY Wilkes Barre, PA Fort Worth, TX	Excalibur Productions Johnstown, OH	Weisman Publications Burnsville, MN	
CHRISTIAN IDENTITY 31	Faith Baptist Church and Ministry Summerville, SC	Yahweh's Truth Essexville, MI	
America's Promise Ministries Sandpoint, ID	Fellowship of God's Covenant People Burlington, KY	BLACK SEPARATIST 136	
Artisan Publishers Muskogee, OK	Gospel Broadcasting Association Houston, TX	Nation of Islam Chicago, IL * Birmingham, AL Huntsville, AL Mobile, AL Montgomery, AL Little Rock, AR Phoenix, AZ Adelanto, CA	

Raleigh, NC Reidsville, NC Omaha, NE Camden, NJ New Brunswick, NJ Newark, NJ Plainfield, NJ Las Vegas, NV Albany, NY Buffalo, NY New York, NY Syracuse, NY Cincinnati, OH Cleveland, OH Columbus, OH Dayton, OH Toledo, OH Tulsa, OK Harrisburg, PA Philadelphia, PA Pittsburgh, PA Columbia, SC Chattanooga, TN Knoxville, TN Memphis, TN Nashville, TN Dallas, TX El Paso, TX Houston, TX San Antonio, TX Danville, VA Petersburg, VA Richmond, VA Seattle, WA Milwaukee, WI	United Nuwaubian Nation of Moors Eatonton, GA * Hartford, CT Washington, DC Athens, GA Atlanta, GA Augusta, GA Decatur, GA Macon, GA Brooklyn, NY Philadelphia, PA
FreeMississippi Perkinston, MS	NEO-CONFEDERATE 91
FreeSouth Wiggins, MS	
League of the South Killen, AL * Coosa County, AL Montgomery, AL Selma, AL Wetumpka, AL Hot Springs, AR San Jose, CA Boulder, CO Apopka, FL Jacksonville, FL Milton, FL Panama City, FL (2) St. Augustine, FL Wellborn, FL Adairsville, GA Athens, GA Augusta, GA Bremen, GA Brunswick, GA Canton, GA Cedartown, GA Clarkesville, GA Lavonia, GA Leesburg, GA McDonough, GA Peachtree City, GA Rome, GA Silver Creek, GA Talbotton, GA Thomaston, GA Tunnel Hill, GA Lebanon, KY Monroe, LA Nevada, MO Mendenhall, MS	

Big Fork, MT
Asheville, NC
Burlington, NC
Charlotte, NC
Durham, NC
Hamlet, NC
Salisbury, NC
Wilmington, NC
Winston-Salem, NC
Buffalo, NY
Abbeville, SC
Aiken, SC
Aiken County, SC
Anderson, SC
Bamberg, SC
Barnwell County, SC
Beaufort County, SC
Charleston County, SC
Colleton County, SC
Columbia, SC (2)
Easley, SC
Edgefield County, SC
Florence County, SC
Greenville County, SC
Greenwood County, SC
Kershaw County, SC
Lexington County, SC
Marlboro County, SC
Newberry, SC
Newberry County, SC
Oconee County, SC
Orangeburg, SC
Richland County, SC
Salley, SC
Saluda County, SC
Spartanburg, SC
Summerville, SC
Sumter, SC
Surfside Beach, SC
Westminister, SC
York County, SC
Westpoint, TN
Austin, TX
Iredell, TX
Northeast Texas
Rio Grande Valley, TX
San Angelo, TX
Texas
Bluefield, VA
Fredricksburg, VA
Hanover, VA
Norfolk, VA

OTHER 147

14 Word Press
Wilmington, NC

88 Enterprises
Canton, OH

American Immigration Control Foundation/Americans for Immigration Control
Monterey, VA

American Patrol/Voice of Citizens Together
Sherman Oaks, CA

American Renaissance/New Century Foundation
Oakton, VA

American Revolutionary Nationalist Nuclei
California

American Third Position
Clifton, NJ

Americans for Self Determination
Falls Church, VA

Barnes Review/Foundation for Economic Liberty, Inc.
Washington, DC

Blood and Honour
Richardson, TX *
Laguna Niguel, CA
Kennesaw, GA
Traverse City, MI
Liberty, MO
Salem, OH
Wheatland, PA
San Antonio, TX

California Coalition for Immigration Reform
Huntington Beach, CA

Charles Darwin Research Institute
Port Huron, MI

Conservative Citizens Foundation, Inc.
Bridgeton, MO

Council of Conservative Citizens
St. Louis, MO *
Birmingham, AL
Huntsville, AL
Jasper, AL
Montgomery, AL
Little Rock, AR
Bakersfield, CA
Jacksonville, FL
Tampa Bay, FL
Atlanta, GA
Norcross, GA
Paragon, IN
Baton Rouge, LA
New Orleans, LA
Iron County, MO

St. Louis, MO
Byram, MS
Calhoun City, MS
Chickasaw County, MS
Holly Springs, MS
Jackson, MS
Leflore County, MS
Vaiden, MS
Webster County, MS
Clemmons, NC
Morganton, NC
Raleigh, NC
New York, NY
Upstate New York
Cleveland, OH
Grove City, OH
Revere, PA
Saluda, SC
Chattanooga, TN
Cleveland, TN
Memphis, TN
Falls Church, VA
Richmond, VA

Diehard Records
Chesapeake, OH

European American Culture Council
Sacramento, CA

European-American Unity and Rights Organization
Mandeville, LA *
Hanceville, AL
Jacksonville, FL
Columbus, GA
Ames, IA
Coeur d'Alene, ID
Franklinton, LA
Shreveport, LA
Thibodaux, LA
Ripley, MS
Southaven, MS
Cleveland, OH
Tulsa, OK
Pittsburgh, PA
Charleston County, SC
Columbia, SC
Woodruff, SC
Irving, TX
Richmond, VA
Seattle, WA

Final Stand Records
Newark, DE

Heritage and Destiny
Ashburn, VA

Hypatia Publishing
Vancouver, WA *
Connecticut

Institute for Historical Review
Newport Beach, CA

Jewish Defense League
Los Angeles, CA *
Kingman, AZ
Phoenix, AZ
Brookdale, CA
Sacramento, CA
Fort Lauderdale, FL
Tampa, FL
Skokie, IL
Revere, MA
D'Iberville, MS
New Jersey
Reno, NV
Brooklyn, NY
Rochester, NY
Kent, OH
Philadelphia, PA
Fredricksburg, VA

Lawrence Dennis Institute
Fairfax, VA

MSR Productions
Wheat Ridge, CO

Micetrap Distribution
Maple Shade, NJ

NAAWP Florida Chapter Inc.
Jacksonville, FL

NF Publications
Olympia, WA

National Association for the Advancement of White People
Callahan, FL *
Marrero, LA

Nationalist Free Press
Dandridge, TN

Nationalist Movement
Learned, MS

Occidental Quarterly/Charles Martel Society
Mount Airy, MD

Order of St. Andrew
Southaven, MS

Panzerfaust Records
Newport, MN

Pioneer Fund
New York, NY

Power of Prophecy
Austin, TX

Racial Nationalist Party of America
Lockport, NY

Resistance Records
Hillsboro, WV

Sigdrifa Publications
Vancouver, WA *
Olds, IA

Social Contract Press
Petoskey, MI

The International Conspiratological Association
Coeur d'Alene, ID

The Redneck Shop
Laurens, SC

Thule Publications
Portland, OR

Union Christian Church
Martinsville, IN

United Patriots and Associates
Shreveport, LA

Upfront Records
Portland, OR

VDARE/Center for American Unity
Warrenton, VA

Vinland Winds Records
New York, NY

Volksfront
Portland, OR *
Phoenix, AZ
Los Angeles, CA
Newhall, CA
Eugene, OR
Springfield, OR
Mohnton, PA
Washington

Voz de Aztlan
Whittier, CA

Westboro Baptist Church
Topeka, KS

White Christian Soldiers
Lee's Summit, MO

White Power Warehouse
Wilmington, NC

Women for Aryan Unity
Brooklyn, NY *
Illinois
O'Fallon, MO
North Carolina
Dallas, TX
Houston, TX

ACTIVE HATE WEBSITES
IN THE UNITED STATES IN THE YEAR 2003

This list of 497 U.S.-based hate sites on the World Wide Web, up from 443 a year earlier, includes pages from Klan, Neo-Nazi, Racist Skinhead, Christian Identity, Black Separatist, Neo-Confederate and Other hate groups. Web sites tend to move from server to server or shut down without notice, so they may be hard to locate. Sites marked with an asterisk are linked to actual groups that actively promote hate beyond the mere publishing of Internet material (see also hate group listing, p. 38). Locations where sites are based are listed when known. Sites linked to a group's headquarters are marked with a †.

KU KLUX KLAN 124

Alabama White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*

www.kukluxklan.net
Clanton, AL

America's Invisible Empire Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*

www.aiekkkk.org/
www.aiekkkk.hostmb.com/
Hartselle, AL †

www.aiekkkk.org/tenn/
Erwin, TN

American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*
www.americanknights.com/
Butler, IN

American White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*

www.awkklkk.com/
www.awklkkk.org/
Cordele, GA

Aryan Nations Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*
www.aryannationsknights.com/
Munford, AL

Bayou Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*
www.bayouknights.org/
Homer, LA †

www.bayouknights.org/
mississippi.htm

Fulton, MS

Brotherhood of Klans Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*
bokklkk.net/
members.odinsrage.com/
bokklkk/

www.geocities.com/itson
lyme53934/
Prospect Heights, IL

Carolina White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*

www.cwklkk.org/
Lexington, SC

Confederate Crusaders*
www.bayouknights.org/confed
erateknights.htm
Homer, LA

European White Knights
www.europeanwhiteknights.com/

Free Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*
www.geocities.com/bigj418/
index.html?986331629890
Hiram, GA †

www.geocities.com/freenightsnc/
Madison, NC

www.geocities.com/free_knights_of_ny/free_knights_of_ny.html?1009398641870
New York

Imperial Klans of America*
www.kklkk.net/alabama/index.htm
Bankston, AL

www.k-k-k.com
Joiner, AR

www.KKKArizona.org/
Mesa, AZ

www.kklkcalifornia.org/
Newport Beach, CA

www.kklkk.net/washington/
index.htm
Washington, DC

www.kklkk.net/florida/
Gainesville, FL

www.kklkk.net/georgia/
Georgia

www.k-k-k.com/illinois.htm
Litchfield, IL

www.kklkk.net/Indiana
Center Point, IN

www.kklkk.net/kansas/
Lakin, KS

www.kklkk.net/
ika.ksites.net/
Dawson Springs, KY †

www.kklkk.net/
kentucky1/index.htm
Powderly, KY

www.k-k-k.com/louisiana/
index.htm
Downsville, LA

www.k-k-k.com/maryland/
index.htm
Churchville, MD

www.kklkk.net/michigan/
Gregory, MI

www.kklkk.net/missouri/
index.htm
Mapaville, MO

www.kklkk.net/northcarolina/
ikanc.htm
North Carolina

www.geocities.com/
IKATARHEELS/IKANC.html
Walkertown, NC

KU KLUX KLAN	124
NEO-NAZI	73
RACIST SKINHEAD	23
CHRISTIAN IDENTITY	29
BLACK SEPARATIST	12
NEO-CONFEDERATE	24
OTHER	212
TOTAL	497

www.k-k-k.com/newyork/index.htm

www.geocities.com/love_machine1998/warrior.html
Shirley, NY

www.kklkk.net/ohio/index.html
Cincinnati, OH

www.kklkk.net/pennsylvania/
Boothwyn, PA

www.kklkk.net/tennessee/
index.htm
Cunningham, TN

www.kklkk.net/texas/
Texas

www.k-k-k.com/virginia/
Harrisonburg, VA

www.kklkk.net/wisconsin/
Westfield, WI

www.kklkk.net/westva/
Hometown, WV

International Keystone Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*
www.geocities.com/
keystoneknights/ohio.html
Cleveland, OH

www.angelfire.com/empire2/
invisibleleikk/

www.angelfire.com/sc2/Keystones/
Johnstown, PA †

Invisible Empire White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*
whiteknights.us/
Washington, PA

Invisible Empire of the International Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*
www.uniqe.com/kkk/index2.html
Enoree, SC

KKK Gallery
www.kkkgallery.com/

KKKonline
www.kkkonline.com/

Klan Net Services
www.klannet.net/

Klans from Across America
expage.com/page/klansmen2

Knight Riders of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*

www.wvskinheads.com/knightriders/
Daniels, WV

Knights of Lady Inamorata
www.geocities.com/knightsofladyinamorata/

Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*
www.arkpower-light.com/
Concord, AR

www.kkk.com/
Harrison, AR †

www.pagerealm.com/florida/KnightsFla.htm
Florida

www.newporttennessee.net/
Newport, TN

Knights of the White Kamellia*
www.expage.com/kwkohio
Germantown, OH

Konfederation of Klans
konfederationklans.org/

Ku Klux Klan*
www.kukluxklan.bz/
Compton, AR

Louisiana White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*
www.lwkkkk.org/
Walker, LA

March on D.C. 2004
www.dcmarch2004.com/

Mississippi White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*
www.mwkkkk.org/
Petal, MS

Mystic Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*
www.mysticknights.org/Michigan.htm
Fraser, MI

www.mysticknights.org/

www.mysticknights.org/Ohio.htm
Dayton, OH †

www.mysticknights.org/Virginia.htm
Delaplane, VA

National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*
members.odinsrage.com/nkkkkca/
Calpella, CA

www.knightskkk.org/cnkkkk/florida.htm
Homosassa, FL

www.nationalknights.cjb.net/
www.freewebs.com/cnkkk/index.htm
www.homestead.com/youthkkk/
members.odinsrage.com/kigy/

www.expage.com/nationalknights
South Bend, IN †

www.freewebs.com/kleagle/
Kalamazoo, MI

Order of the Ku Klux Klan
www.kkkklan.com/

Orion Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*
www.geocities.com/texas_storm311/
www.orionknights.com/Illonios/
www.orionknights.com/Loties/
ORION%20LADIES.htm
www.orionknights.com/Texas/
www.orionknights.com/arizona/
www.orionknights.com/oregon/

<http://www.orionknights.com/>
Grand Bay, AL †

www.orionknights.com/ARK/
www.geocities.com/imperialkludd/
Malvern, AR

<http://www.geocities.com/orionknight-sofcentralfl/info.html>
Orlando, FL

www.geocities.com/orionknights-southfl/
Hollywood, FL

<http://www.orionknights.com/Florida/>
Lake Placid, FL

South Arkansas Knights*
www.bayouknights.org/southarknights.htm
Smackover, AR

Southern White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*
<http://www.swkflorida.org/>
Homosassa Springs, FL

swkxxx.com/
www.swkxxx.net/
swkxxx.org/
www.knightskkk.org/
Savannah, GA †

www.swkohio.org/
Marion, OH

Texas Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*
www.texaskkk.com/fayette/
Fayette County, TX

www.texaswhiteknights.com/gillespie/
Gillespie County, TX

www.texasamericanknights.org/goliad/
Goliad, TX

www.klavern.org/gonzales/
Gonzales County, TX



www.klavern.org/jackson/
Jackson County, TX

www.texaswhiteknights.com/kerr/
Kerr County, TX

www.texaswhiteknights.com/kimble/
Kimble County, TX

www.klavern.org/lavaca/
Lavaca County, TX

www.texaswhiteknights.com/mason/
Mason County, TX

www.klavern.org/matagorda/
Matagorda, TX

www.texasknights.com/orange/
Mauriceville, TX

www.klavern.org/calhoun/
Port Lavaca, TX

www.texasknights.com/tarrant/
Tarrant County, TX

texasknights.com/
texasamericanknights.org/
www.texaswhiteknights.com/
www.klavern.org/
www.texaskkk.com/
Victoria, TX †

www.klavern.org/webb/
Webb County, TX

U.S. Klans*
klavalier.freeyellow.com/
Jonesboro, GA

United Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*
www.unitedknights.org/
Indianapolis, IN

White Camelia Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*
www.wckkkk.com/
Cleveland, TX

World Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*
worldknightskkk.expage.com/
Sharpsburg, MD †

www.expage.com/worldknightsreal
mofpa
New Castle, PA

NEO-NAZI 73

Aryan Confederation
www.geocities.com/arcon_wp/

Aryan Militia
www.aryan-militia.com/

Aryan National Socialist Empire*
ansempire.net/
Conway, AR

Aryan Nations*
www.twelvearyannations.com/western/
members.odinsrage.com/anwestcoast/
Citrus Heights, CA

www.twelvearyannations.com
Hayden Lake, ID †

www.aryannationsnh.com/
Hampton Beach, NH

Aryan Nations (offshoot)*
www.aryan-nations.org
Leola, PA

Aryan Renaissance Society*
members.odinsrage.com/ars/
Island Heights, NJ

Boycott Cabela's
www.boycottcabelas.com/

Christian Defense League*
www.newchristiancrusadechurch.com/
www.cdreport.com
Arabi, LA

Cosmotheism
www.cosmotheism.net/

Creativity Movement*
www.flcreativity.com/
Clearwater, FL

members.odinsrage.com/cotcgai/
Massachusetts

members.odinsrage.com/hardyclloyd/index.html
Pittsburgh, PA

myweb.wyoming.com/~wyocreator/
Riverton, WY †

German Cross
www.germancross.com/

International National Socialist Party*
www.insp88.org
Cheyenne, WY

Jack's White Pride Page
members.odinsrage.com/jack88/

Julius Streiker's Webside
www.newsturmer.com/

Libertarian National Socialist Green Party
www.nazi.org/

Matt Hale Legal Defense Fund
matthale.org/

Metal Racial War
merawa.com/

National Alliance*
www.natallar.com/
Lincoln, AR

www.natallco.com
www.natallwest.com/
Denver, CO

www.natallchicago.com
Chicago, IL

www.natallindy.com/
Indianapolis, IN

www.natallboston.com/
www.f-zog.us/
Boston, MA

www.natallmd.com/
Baltimore, MD

www.natallmi.com/
Detroit, MI

www.natallnj.com/
Hewitt, NJ

www.natall-pa.com/
Reading, PA

www.natalltn.com/
Nashville, TN

www.natallaustin.com/
Austin, TX

www.utahna.com/
Salt Lake City, UT

www.nationalalliancewashington.com/
Seattle/Tacoma, WA

www.winatall.com/
Kaukauna, WI

www.natall.com
www.natvan.com/
Hillsboro, WV †

www.natallwy.com/
Evansville, WY

National Socialist Movement*
members.odinsrage.com/nsm88/index.html
Calpella, CA

www.geocities.com/sanfrannsm/
www.cafeshops.com/bay_area_nsm
San Francisco, CA

members.odinsrage.com/iamnaziskin/
Cedar Falls, IA

www.indianansm.com/
Indianapolis, IN

www.geocities.com/nsmkansas88/
NSMKANSAS
Hutchinson, KS

www.geocities.com/nsmkentucky/
Walton, KY

www.geocities.com/nsm_maine/
Maine

www.nsm88.com/
Minneapolis, MN †

members.odinsrage.com/nsmnc88/
Greensboro, NC

www.geocities.com/xben1488x/NSM_Western_New_York.html
Warwick, NY

www.nsm-texas.com/
www.geocities.com/southtexasnsm/
Richardson, TX

nsmeauclairawi.homestead.com/HOME
Altoona, WI

www.milwaukee88nsm.250x.com/
Milwaukee, WI

National Vanguard*
www.nationalvanguard.org/

New Order*
www.theneworder.org/
Milwaukee, WI

Pact 88
pact88.vze.com/

Racial Pride
www.racialpride.com/

Racial Volunteer Force
rvforce.com/

S.S. Enterprises*
www.ssenterprises.com
Fresno, CA

SS Chess Federation
www.nazichess.com/index2.htm

SS Regalia*
ssregalia.com/
Edgewater, MD

Save Lewiston
www.savelewiston.com/

Thunderbolt of Truth
www.thunderboltoftruth.net/

White Aryan Resistance*
www.resist.com/
Fallbrook, CA

White People's Project
www.whitepeoplesproject.com/

White Planet: The White Man's Radio
www.whiteplanet.org/

White Revolution*
www.whiterevolution.com/
Russellville, AR

White Struggle
www.whitestuggle.net/

RACIST SKINHEAD 23

Aryan Raiders*
www.expage.com/aryanraider
Oceanport, NJ

Connecticut White Power Skinheads
www.angelfire.com/ct3/arise14/

Connecticut White Wolves*
www.angelfire.com/ct3/ctww/
Stratford, CT

Furiat — Bergen County Hooligans*
www.furiat.net/
Wallington, NJ

Golden State Skinheads*
www.whiterevolution.com/gss/
San Luis Obispo, CA

Hammerskin Nation www.hammerskins.net
Keystone State Skinheads* kss88.com www.keystonestateskinheads.com/ Harrisburg, PA
Midland Hammerskins* www.hammerskin-nation.com/ www.hammerskins.net/mhs www.midlandhammerskins.net/ Springfield, MO
Milwaukee East Side Bullies Skinheads www.geocities.com/milwaukee eastsidebullies/bullies.html
Outlaw Hammerskins* www.outlawhammerskins.com Michigan City, IN
SkinNation members.odinsrage.com/demigorgona/ home.html
Skinheadz www.skinheadz.com/
Southern European Aryans League Army* www.geocities.com/sealarmyon line2003/index.html www.sealarmy.cjb.net/ Muncie, IN
Storm Skins www.anycities.com/user/stormskins/
Those Opposed www.thoseopposed.com/
Tualatin Valley Skins* www.nukeisrael.com/ Portland, OR
West Virginia Skinheads* www.WVSkinheads.com/ Charleston, WV
White Pittsburgh Front* www.whitepittsburghfront.com/ Pittsburgh, PA
White Power Liberation Front* www.geocities.com/wplf88/ Whitney Point, NY

By Yahweh's Design* wdx.com/2seed/ Stevensville, MI
Children of Yahweh www.childrenofyahweh.com/
Christian Research www.christianresearch.info/ Eureka Springs, AR
Christian Separatist Church Society* www.christianseparatist.org/ Kodak, TN
Church of Jesus Christ/ Thomas Robb Ministries* www.christianidentity.tv/ Bergman, AR
Church of the Sons of Yhvh* www.churchofthesonsofyhvh.org/ Calhoun, LA
Church of True Israel* www.churchoftrueisrael.com/ Noxon, MT
Gospel Broadcasting Association* www.broadcaster.org/ Houston, TX
Gospel Ministries* www.gospelministry.net/index.html Boise, ID
House of Yahweh* www.sbtc.net/~teacher/houseof.htm New Tazewell, TN
Jubilee Newspaper www.jubilee-newspaper.com
Kingdom Identity Ministries* www.kingidentity.com/ Harrison, AR
Kinsman Redeemer Ministries* www.kinsmanredeemer.com/ Tacoma, WA
Lord's Work* www.thelordswork.ws/ Austin, KY
Mission To Israel* www.missiontoisrael.org/ Scottsbluff, NE
Orange County Assembly of Christ* OCAssemblyofChrist.org/ Brea, CA
Posse Comitatus www.posse-comitatus.org

Reformed Church of Israel* www.reformedchurchofisrael.com/ Schell City, MO
Remnant Outreach Ministries* www.scatteredremnant.org/ Cottonwood, AZ
Right of Israel Online home.arkansasusa.com/dlackey/
Scriptures for America* www.scripturesforamerica.com/ www.scripturesforamerica.org/ Laporte, CO
Thatcher Thunders (ACC Services)* www.thatcherthunders.org/ Anderson, TX
The Church of Israel* churchofisrael.net/ Schell City, MO
Virginia Publishing Company* www.richardhoskins.com Lynchburg, VA
Weisman Publications* www.seek-info.com/ Burnsville, MN
Yahweh's Truth* www.jameswickstrom.com/ Essexville, MI

BLACK SEPARATIST 12
12 Tribes of Israel www.12tribes.com/
Blacks and Jews Newspage www.blacksandjews.com/
Final Call www.finalcall.com/
Million Youth March http://millionyouth.com/
Nation of Islam* http://www.mosque63.org/ Little Rock, AR
www.noi.org/ Chicago, IL †
noineworleans.org/ New Orleans, LA
www.mosque48.org/ Dallas, TX
www.noiswregion.org Houston, TX
www.noimilwaukee.com/index.htm Milwaukee, WI

New Black Panther Party* www.newblackpanther.com/ Washington, DC
United Nuwaubian Nation of Moors* http://www.unnm.com/ Eatonton, GA

NEO-CONFEDERATE 24
FreeMississippi* www.freemississippi.org Perkinston, MS
FreeSouth* www.freesouth.org/ Wiggins, MS
League of the South* www.dixienet.org Killen, AL †
www.alalos.org/ Selma, AL
www.rebelgray.com San Jose, CA
www.freewestflorida.org/ www.freeflorida.org/ Panama City, FL
cloud.prohosting.com/filos/ Wellborn, FL
savedixie.homestead.com pages.greetsomeone.com/savedixie/ Brunswick, GA
www.georgiacsa.org/ bartowlos.tripod.com/ Silver Creek, GA
www.geocities.com/gregoryj.geo/ Monroe, LA
www.missouricsa.com/ Nevada, MO
www.roanoke.infi.net/~jtuggle/index.htm www.TarheelLS.com/ Charlotte, NC
members.tripod.com/~nycopperhead/ Buffalo, NY
www.sclos.org www.palmetto.org Columbia, SC
www.freetennessee.org/entry.phtml Westpoint, TN
www.texasls.org/index.shtml Iredell, TX
virginiaLS.org/ Bluefield, VA

johnnyreb22553.tripod.com/ Fredricksburg, VA
www.virginials.org/ Hanover, VA

OTHER 212
14 Word Press* www.14wordpress.com/ Wilmington, NC
14 Words www.quickbizsites.com/14words/
88 Enterprises* home.earthlink.net/~ns4us/ Canton, OH
311 Mountain Church of Florida expage.com/mountainchurchoffl
A Woman's Voice www.elishastrom.com/
Alt.Flame.Niggers FAQ members.odinsrage.com/rebbiker/
American Defense League www.adlusa.com/adl/ www.americandefenseleague.com/
American Immigration Control Foundation/Americans for Immigration Control* www.americanimmigrationcontrol.com Monterey, VA
American National Conference ancpage.com/
American Patrol/ Voice of Citizens Together* www.americanpatrol.com/ Sherman Oaks, CA
American Reformation Ministries www.geocities.com/armcprcsa/index.html
American Renaissance/ New Century Foundation* www.amren.com/ Oakton, VA
American Third Position* www.politicalsoldier.net/atp/index.shtml Clifton, NJ
Americans Against Zionist Oppression and Occupation ourworld.cs.com/nonzion/
Americans for Self Determination* www.separatism.org/index.htm Falls Church, VA
Angry White Female angrywhitefemale.net/

Aryan Fest www.aryanfest.com/
Aryan Network www.aryannetwork.com/
Aryan Survival aryansurvival.com www.aryansurvival.cjb.net/
Aryan Wear* www.aryanwear.com/
Aryan Women Pride www.whitefuture.com
Bamboo Delight Company www.bamboo-delight.com/
Barnes Review/Foundation for Economic Liberty, Inc.* www.barnesreview.org/ Washington, DC
Beyond This Horizon www.beyondthishorizon.com/
Blood and Honour* www.kriegsberichter.com/ www.bloodandhonour-usa.com/ Richardson, TX
California Coalition for Immigration Reform* www.ccir.net/ Huntington Beach, CA
Campaign for Radical Truth in History www.hoffman-info.com/
Celtic Courier members.odinsrage.com/bulldog/ www.celticcourier.4t.com/
Charles Darwin Research Institute* www.charlesdarwinresearch.org/ Port Huron, MI
Christian Legal Reformation Club www.clrc.net/
Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust www.codoh.com/index.html
Council of Conservative Citizens* arcofcc.freesevers.com/index.html Little Rock, AR
hometown.aol.com/cofccsaxon/ myhomepage/index.html Bakersfield, CA
indianacofcc.org/ Paragon, IN
slccc.tripod.com/index2.htm New Orleans, LA

www.cofcc.org/ www.galilei.com/stl/cofcc/ St. Louis, MO †
www.nccofcc.org/ nc.cofcc.us/ Raleigh, NC
nycofcc.blogspot.com/ New York, NY
cofcc.info/index.htm Grove City, OH
www.cofcc.org/setn.htm Chattanooga, TN
David Duke Online www.davidduke.com/ www.davidduke.org/ www.duke.org/
Diehard Records* www.diehardrecords.net/ www.whitepowermusic.com Chesapeake, OH
Ethnic Rights Amendment www.ethnicrightsamendment.org/
EuroKnowledge www.EuroKnowledge.net/
European-American Unity and Rights Organization* www.whitecivilrights.com/ Mandeville, LA
FUCK ALL DIRTY NIGGERS www.angelfire.com/ky/biggot/index.html
Final Stand Records* www.finalstandrecords.com Newark, DE
Final War finalwar.rac-usa.org/ www.finalwar.com/
First Amendment Exercise Machine www.faem.com/
Folk and Faith www.folkandfaith.com/
Free American Magazine Online www.FreeAmerican.com/
Free Artie Wheeler www.freeartiewheeler.com/
Free Speech Online wa5dxp.www8.50megs.com/
Free the Order www.freetheorder.com

Fresh Nigger Joke Section www.fortunecity.com/roswell/van- thal/360/nig.htm
GRAND NIGGER JOKE PAIGE OR ANY OTHERS FOR THAT MATTER www.fortunecity.com/bennyhills/ marge/106/index.html
Gays Against Zionism: Exposing Zionists and Zionism www.geocities.com/GAZUnited/index.html
Hal Turner Show www.halturnershow.com
Hate Rock Community www.haterock.com/community/index.php
Hate and Flame www.hateandflame.com
HateCrimes.Net http://www.hatecrimes.net
Heritage and Destiny* www.heritageanddestiny.com/ Ashburn, VA
Holy Western Empire www.holywesternempire.org/
The Idyllic www.theidyllic.com
Independent Christian Action Network www.christianandominion.org/
Instauration www.acadiacom.net/wa5dxp/ buzz-2.html
Institute for Historical Review* www.ihr.org/ Newport Beach, CA
Intimidation One www.intimidationone.com/
Iron Guard www.ironguard.org/ www.geocities.com/ironguard88/
Jew Watch www.jewwatch.com/
Jewish Defense League* www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/ Lobby/5586/ Brookdale, CA
www.jdl.org Los Angeles, CA †
jdl-florida.org/ Fort Lauderdale, FL

THE YEAR IN HATE

www.angelfire.com/ma3/jdlboston/index.html
Revere, MA

www.freehomepages.com/jdlnj/index.htm
New Jersey

jdl.org.il/
Reno, NV

www.jdl-ny.org/
Brooklyn, NY

Joshua Caleb Sutter
members.odinsrage.com/jihad/

Kevin Strom
Kevin-Strom.com/

KPS Report
www.teutonicism.com/

Lawrence Dennis Institute*
www.lawrencedennis.org/
Fairfax, VA

Lone White Wolf
expage.com/lonewhitewolf

Lone Wolf
victorian.fortunecity.com/statue/1007/

Long Country Rebel
www.longcountyrebel.org/

Louis Beam
www.louisbeam.com/
www.yosemite.net/beam/

Martin Luther King Jr. A Historical Examination
www.martinlutherking.org/
www.mlking.org

Micetrap Distribution*
www.micetrap.net
combat18.com
www.whitepower.ws/
www.whitepride.com/
www.whitepride.com/rahowa/
www.whitepride.net/
Maple Shade, NJ

MSR Productions*
www.msraproductions.com/
Wheat Ridge, CO

NAAWP Florida Chapter Inc.*
www.naawpflch.org/
Jacksonville, FL

NS 88 Video Division
209.126.206.133/~stamend/ns88/index.htm

National Association for the Advancement of White People*
www.naawp.org/
Callahan, FL

Nationalist Free Press*
www.nationalistfreepress.com/
www.liesexposed.net/nfp/nfp.htm
Dandridge, TN

Nationalist Movement*
www.nationalist.org/
Learned, MS

Neo White Revolutionary Press
http://www.nwrpress.com

NeoEugenics
home.attbi.com/~neoeugenics/
www.neoeugenics.com

New Nation News
www.newnation.org/

No War for Israel
www.nowarforisrael.com/

Northern California Aryan Volk
e.1asphost.com/NE1488/

Northern Storm
storminthenorth.cjb.net/

Northwest Homeland
nwhomeland.blogspot.com/

Northwest Net
www.northwestnet.tk/

Occidental Origin
www.occidentalorigin.com/

Occidental Pan-Aryan Crusader
www.crusader.net/

Occidental Quarterly/Charles Martel Society*
theoccidentalquarterly.com/
Mount Airy, MD

Odins Rage
www.odinsrage.com/

Order of St. Andrew*
www.osa.faiithweb.com/
Southaven, MS

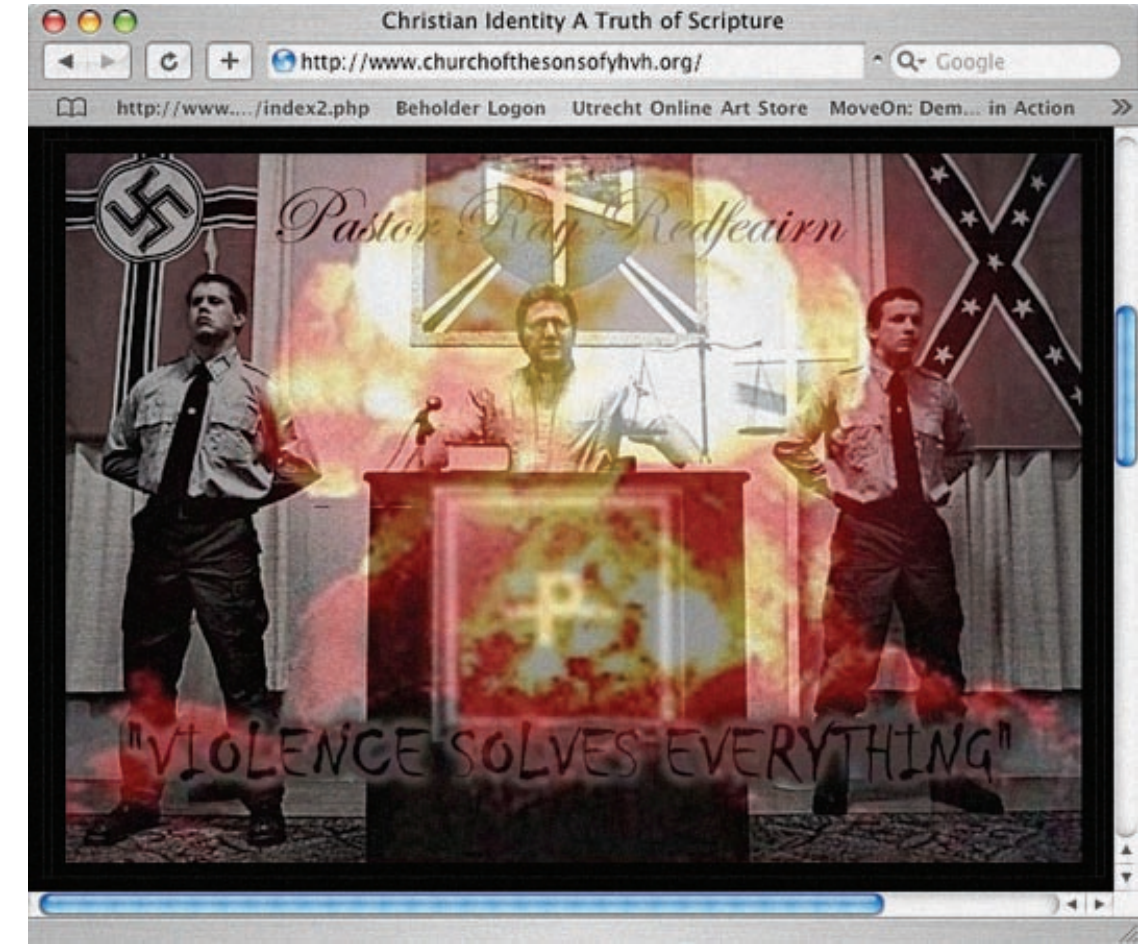
Order of White Knights
www.orderofwhiteknights.org/

Original Dissent
www.originaldissent.com/

Overthrow.Com
www.outrthrow.com/

Pages for Loyal Whites
www.geocities.com/curtalus88/

Panzerfaust Records*
www.panzerfaust.net/
www.panzerfaust.com/
Newport, MN



Per Ardua Foundation
www.geocities.com/perarduafoundation/

Pioneer Fund*
www.pioneerfund.org/
New York, NY

Plain Truth
theplaintruth.0catch.com/index.htm

Platoon 14
www.platoon14.com/

Power of Prophecy*
www.powerofprophecy.com/
www.texemarrs.com/
Austin, TX

Pride and Honor Store
www.freewebs.com/prideandhonor/

RAC USA
www.rac-usa.org/

Race Realist
www.racerealist.com/

Racial Compact
www.racialcompact.com/

Racial-Social-Fascist Party
www.rsfp.org

Racist Jokes
racist-jokes.com/

Regmeister
www.regmeister.net/

Resistance Records*
www.resistance.com/
www.1488.net/
Hillsboro, WV

Revilo Oliver
www.revilo-oliver.com/

Sam Francis Online
www.samfrancis.net

Serbian Defense League
sdlusa.com/sdl/
serbiandefenseleague.com/

Sigrdrifa Publications*
www.sigrdrifa.net/
Vancouver, WA

Skadi
www.skadi.net/

Social Contract Press*
www.thesocialcontract.com/
Petoskey, MI



SolarGeneral.com White Nationalist News Portal
www.solargeneral.com/

Southern Outlaw
www.homestead.com/southern_outlaw/index.html

Stormfront
www.stormfront.org/

The Common Sense Club
www.commonsenseclub.com/

The First Freedom
www.gulftel.com/homefree/

The International Conspiratological Association*
www.conspiratology.com/
Coeur d'Alene, ID

The Pyramid Prophecy
www.pyramidprophecy.net/

The Redneck Shop *
members.aol.com/padragon36/redneck.htm
unique.com/theredneckshop/
Laurens, SC

The Resist List
libreopinion.com/members/resistlist/

The Truth About Panzerfaust Records
www.anthonypierpont.com

The Truth Newspaper
www.thetruthnewspaperinc.com

Thule Publications*
www.thulepublications.com/
Portland, Oregon

Tightrope
www.tightrope.cc/

True Christian Church of Christ
www.truechristian.com/

Union Christian Church*
www.theonomy.org/
Martinsville, IN

Southern Pride
www.uniqe.com/

United Patriots and Associates*
www.geocities.com/rebely2070/RebelYell11776.html
Shreveport, LA

VDARE/Center for American Unity*
www.vdare.com
www.cfau.org
Warrenton, VA

Vanguard News Network
www.govnn.com
www.vanguardnewsnetwork.com/

Vinland Winds Records*
www.vinlandwinds.com/
New York, NY

Vinnish American Nationalists for Individual Rights
www.vanir.us/

Volksfront*
arizona.volksfront-usa.org/
Phoenix, AZ

http://www.volksfront-usa.org/socal/
Ventura, CA

www.volksfront.com/
www.volksfront-usa.org/
Portland, OR †

www.faughaballagh.com/
Mohnton, PA

VoteForUSA-Informing the American Voter
www.voteforusa.com/

Voz de Aztlan*
www.aztlan.net/
Whittier, CA

WAR-White American Resistance
www.geocities.com/warwhiteamericanresistance/warpage1.html

WASP
members.odinsrage.com/wasp/

Wake Up or Die
www.wakeupordie.com/

Westboro Baptist Church*
www.godhatesfags.com/
www.godhatesamerica.com/
Topeka, KS

White Awareness
www.whiteawareness.net/

White Children
www.whitechildren.com/

White Christian Soldiers*
www.angelfire.com/ny5/lansky2000/wcs1.html
Lee's Summit, MO

White Extinction
whiteextinction.com/

White Future
www.whitefuture.com

White Homeland
www.whitehomeland.com/

White Power Warehouse*
http://whitepowerwarehouse.com/
www.whitepowerrecords.com/
http://www.condorlegion.com/
www.whitepowerflags.com/
www.whitepowershirts.com/
Wilmington, NC

White Power World Wide
www.wppww.com/

White Rage Forum
www.whiterage.us/forum/index.php

White Rider Records*
www.whiteriderrecords.com
Dawson Springs, KY

White Underground
whiteunderground.com/

WhiteAlliance.com
www.whitealliance.com/

Whiteheat Productions
www.whiteheatproductions.com/

Whitewire.net
www.whitewire.net

Who Are the True Semites?
www.webspawner.com/users/truesemites/

Women for Aryan Unity*
w-a-u.net/
www.rac-usa.org/wau/
www.wauhqs.cjb.net/
Brooklyn, NY ▲

The Intelligence Project identified 171 “Patriot” groups that were active in 2003. Of these groups, 45 were militias and the remainder include “common-law” courts, 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.

Constitution Party
Springfield

INDIANA
Indiana Citizens Volunteer Militia 2nd Brigade
Allen County

Old Paths Baptist Church
Campbellsburg

Indiana Citizens Volunteer Militia 6th Brigade
Columbus

NORFED
Evansville

Indiana Citizens Volunteer Militia 4th Brigade
Indianapolis

Indianapolis Baptist Temple
Indianapolis

Indiana Citizens Volunteer Militia 1st Brigade
Lake County

Indiana Militia Corps 2nd Brigade
Northeastern Indiana

Indiana Militia Corps 1st Brigade
Northwestern Indiana

Indiana State Militia 14th Regiment
Owen County

Indiana Militia Corps 5th Brigade
Pendleton

Indiana Citizens Volunteer Militia 7th Brigade
Perry County

Indiana Citizens Volunteer Militia 5th Brigade
Putnam County

Indiana Militia Corps 4th Brigade
Southeastern Indiana

Indiana Militia Corps 3rd Brigade
Southwestern Indiana

Indiana Citizens Volunteer Militia 3rd Brigade

NORTH CAROLINA
Constitution Party
Rocky Point

NORTH DAKOTA
Constitution Party
Casselton

OHIO
Right Way L.A.W.
Akron

Central Ohio
Unorganized Militia
Columbus County

Constitution Party
Columbus

E Pluribus Unum
Grove City

Unorganized Militia
of Champaign County
St. Paris

OKLAHOMA
Ranch Rescue
Marietta

Present Truth Ministry
Panama

OREGON
Emissary Publications
Clackamas

Southern Oregon Militia
Eagle Point

Freedom Bound
International
Klamath Falls

Constitution Party
Scappoose

Embassy of Heaven
Stayton

PENNSYLVANIA
American Nationalist Union
Allison Park

Constitution Party
Lancaster

John Birch Society
Pittsburgh

Northern Voice Bookstore
Wildwood

Alabama	2
Alaska	2
Arizona	4
Arkansas	2
California	18
Colorado	2
Connecticut	0
Delaware	0
District Of Columbia	1
Florida	2
Georgia	2
Hawaii	0
Idaho	4
Illinois	2
Indiana	16
Iowa	1
Kansas	1
Kentucky	4
Louisiana	1
Maine	0
Maryland	3
Massachusetts	0
Michigan	12
Minnesota	1
Mississippi	0
Missouri	2
Montana	1
Nebraska	0
Nevada	2
New Hampshire	0
New Jersey	3
New Mexico	0
New York	2
North Carolina	1
North Dakota	1
Ohio	5
Oklahoma	2
Oregon	5
Pennsylvania	4
Rhode Island	0
South Carolina	2
South Dakota	0
Tennessee	6
Texas	44
Utah	1
Vermont	1
Virginia	4
Washington	2
West Virginia	0
Wisconsin	3
Wyoming	0
Total	171

Constitution Party Cleveland	Constitution Party Odessa
Constitution Party Conroe	Republic of Texas Overton
Constitution Party Corpus Christi	Constitution Party Plano
Republic of Texas Dallas	Constitution Party San Antonio
Constitution Party Danbury	Constitution Party Texarkana
Constitution Party Early	Constitution Party The Woodlands
Constitution Party El Paso	Church of God Evangelistic Association Waxahachie
Constitution Party Elkhart	Constitution Party Waxahachie
Republic of Texas Fort Worth	Constitution Party Weatherford
Constitution Party Franklin	UTAH Constitution Party Bountiful
Constitution Party Guthrie	VERMONT Constitution Party Quechee
Constitution Party Hondo	VIRGINIA Ranch Rescue Ashburn
Constitution Party Houston	Kenton's Rangers Virginia Line Militia Front Royal
Republic of Texas Houston	Virginia Citizens Militia Roanoke
Constitution Party Huntsville	Constitution Party Vienna
Constitution Party Iredell	WASHINGTON Washington State Jural Society Ellensburg
Constitution Party Jefferson	Ranch Rescue Vancouver
Constitution Party Kopperl	WISCONSIN American Opinion Book Services Appleton
Constitution Party Marshall	Constitution Party Appleton
Constitution Party McQueeney	John Birch Society Appleton ▲
Constitution Party Midland	
God Said Ministries Mount Enterprise	
Constitution Party Navasota	

ACTIVE PATRIOT WEBSITES

IN THE UNITED STATES IN THE YEAR 2003

This list of 162 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 2003, but sites tend to move from server to server or shut down without notice, so they may be hard to locate. Of the sites, 34 were connected to militias or militia ideology; the rest, grouped in the Other Patriot category, included sites associated with “common-law courts,” publishers, ministries and citizens’ groups. Listing here does not imply that the individuals or groups with Web sites advocate or engage in violence or other criminal activity or are racist. The 65 sites indicated with an asterisk are linked to actual groups that promote Patriot doctrine beyond the mere publishing of their Internet material (see also Patriot group listing, p. 50).

MILITIA 34 7th Missouri Militia* www.2.mo-net.com/~mlindste/7momilit.html Granby, MO	home.earthlink.net/~guyandalicia/index.html Memphis, MI	www.tippecanoeicvm.homestead.com/ Southwestern Indiana
A Well Regulated Militia www.awrm.org/	Civil Homeland Defense* www.civilhomelanddefense.us/Tombstone, AZ	Indiana State Militia 14th Regiment* 14thregofism.tripod.com/ Owen County, IN
California Militia* geocities.com/CapitolHill/Congress/2608/welcome.html Brea, CA	Georgia Militia Emergency Response Team* www.georgiamilitia.com/Lawrenceville, GA	Kenton's Rangers Virginia Line Militia* www.kentonsrangers.us/ Front Royal, VA
Central Ohio Unorganized Militia* www.pandar.com/coum/ Columbus, OH	Indiana Citizens Volunteer Militia 2nd Brigade* free.hostdepartment.com//Indianamilitia/index.html Allen County, IN	Kentucky State Militia* www.kysm.org/ Central Kentucky
Citizens Militia of St. Clair County*	Indiana Citizens Volunteer Militia 3rd Brigade*	Marietta Pennsylvania Militia www.mariettapa.com/ marietta_militia.html

Michigan Militia Corps Wolverines*
www.michiganmilitia.com/mmcwmacomb/mmcwmacomb.htm
Macomb County, MI

www.michiganmilitia.com/oakland/oakland.htm
Oakland County, MI

www.michiganmilitia.com/lcm/ecef.htm
Livingston County, MI

www.geocities.com/mecostacountymichigan/militia.html
Big Rapids, MI

www.mmcw.homestead.com/Kalamazoo, MI

Michigan Militia*
www.geocities.com/havoc223/Detroit, MI

New Jersey Militia*
www.njmilitia.org/
Trenton, NJ

Pacific Northwest Militia Coalition
www.washingtonstatemilitia.com/

Ranch Rescue*
www.ranchrescuecolorado.com
Boulder, CO

www.ranchrescue.com/Abilene, TX

Southern California High Desert Militia*
www.hdmsc.org/
Oceanside, CA

Southern Illinois Patriots League*
sipl.addr.com/
Benton, IL



www.michiganmilitia.com/Redford, MI

Militia of Georgia*
www.militiaofgeorgia.com/Lawrenceville, GA

Militia of Montana*
www.militiaofmontana.com/Noxon, MT

Militia of Washington County*
www.angelfire.com/ar2/militia/Fayetteville, AR

Southern Michigan Regional Militia*
www.michiganmilitia.org/
St. Clair, MI

Southern Sons of Liberty*
ssol.cjb.net/
Maryland

Unorganized Militia of Champaign County*
champaigncounty.tripod.com/
St. Paris, OH

Virginia Citizens Militia*
www.virginiamilitia.org/
Roanoke, VA

Wayne County Michigan Militia*
www.michiganmilitia.com/wcm/wcm.htm
Detroit, MI

OTHER PATRIOT 128 Alabama Committee*
themustardseed.home.mindspring.com/
Birmingham, AL

American Free Press*
www.americanfreepress.net/
Washington, DC

American Freedom Network
www.americanfreedomnetwork.com/

American Freedom Network*
www.americannewsnet.com/
www.amerifree.com/
Johnstown, CO

American Independent Party*
www.aipca.org/
Torrance, CA

American Nationalist Union*
www.anu.org/
Allison Park, PA

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

American Patriot Friends Network*
www.apfn.org/
Glendale, AZ

American Patriot Network
www.civil-liberties.com/

American Sovereign
www.americansovereign.com/

AssaultWeb.Net
www.Assaultweb.net/

Barefoot's World
www.barefootsworld.net/

Be Wise As Serpents
www.posse-comitatus.org/BeWise/index.html
http://www.iahushua.com/BeWise/bewise.html

Ben Hinkle Citizens for Liberty
www.constitution.org/mil/wa/citizens.htm

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

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

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

Church of God Evangelistic Association (Newswatch Magazine)*
www.newswatchmagazine.org/
Waxahachie, TX

Citizens for Legal Reform
www.constitution.org/mil/tx/crl_meet.htm

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

Common Law Defense Fund
www.civil-liberties.com/monlaw/common.html

Common Man
www.thecommonman.com/

Connecticut Survivalist Alliance
www.iirg.org/csa.html

Constitution Party*
www.cparkansas.org/
Little Rock, AR

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

www.gaconstitutionparty.org/index.html
Woodstock, GA

constitutionpartyidaho.com/
Boise, ID

www.illinoisconstitutionparty.com/
Springfield, IL

ks.constitutionparty.com/index2.html
Wichita, KS

www.cpkyc.com/
Nicholasville, KY

www.marylandconstitutionparty.com/
Pasadena, MD

www.cpmn.org/
St. Paul, MN

www.cpsc.info
Rocky Point, NC

65.101.96.73/constitution_party/Casselton, ND

www.constitutionparty-nj.org/
Palmyra, NJ

committed.to/cpny
Albany, NY

www.ohiocp.org/
Columbus, OH

www.constitutionpartyoregon.org/
Scappoose, OR

www.constitutionparty.com/
www.constitutional.net/
www.constitutionpartypa.com/
Lancaster, PA

www.dsindex.com/cp/
Greenville, SC

www.cpot.org/
Cookeville, TN

www.cptexas.org/index.shtml
Conroe, TX

www.cputah.org
Bountiful, UT

www.constitutionpartyva.com/cp-va/
www.inetresults.com/ustp-va/
Vienna, VA

www.constitutionpartyyt.com/index.html
Quechee, VT

www.cpow.org/
Appleton, WI

David Wynn Miller
www.dwmlc.com/

Dixieland Law Journal
fly.hiwaay.net/~becraft/

Dog House
www.iei.net/~doghouse/

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

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

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

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

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

Free Kentucky*
www.willowtown.com/
[freekentucky/](http://freekentucky.com/)
Lebanon, KY

Free Republic
www.freerepublic.com

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

Freedom Domain
www.freedomdomain.com/

Freedom Law School*
www.livefreenow.org/
Phelan, CA

Freedom Point
www.iahushua.com/FreedomPoint/freepoint.html

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

Frugal Squirrel's Homepage for Patriots, Survivalists, and Gun Owners
www.frugalsquirrels.com/

Genesis Communication Network
www.gcnlive.com/

Get Us Out of the United Nations
www.getusout.org/index.htm

God Said Ministries*
www.godsaidministries.com
Mount Enterprise, TX

Guardians of Liberty
www.guardians.org/

Hour of the Time
www.hourofthetime.com/

Iahushua
www.iahushua.com/

Idaho Observer
www.proliberty.com/observer/

Independent American Party*
www.iapn.org
Sparks, NV

Indianapolis Baptist Temple*
www.indianapolisbaptist-temple.com/
Indianapolis, IN

Infowars.com
www.infowars.com/

Jeff Davis Show
www.jdshow.com/

Jefferson Party*
www.jusbelli.com/
Anchorage, AK

John Birch Society*
www.jbsirvine.com/
Irvine, CA

home.earthlink.net/~bircher/
Newport Beach, CA

www.nolajbs.net/
New Orleans, LA

www.nowitsyourmove.org/default.htm
Pittsburgh, PA

xld.com/public/jbs/austin.htm
Austin, TX

www.jbs.org/
www.trimonline.org/
Appleton, WI

Keystone Report
www.keystonereport.com/

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

Law Research & Registry
www.lawresearch-registry.org/

Lawful Path*
lawfulpath.com
Tustin, MI

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

LizMichael.com
www.lizmichael.com/

Media Bypass
www.mediabypass.com/

National Economic Security and Reformation Act
www.nesara.us

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/
www.LibertyDollar.org/
Evansville, IN

Outpost of Freedom
www.outpost-of-freedom.com/

Patriot Broadcasting Network*
www.pbn.4mg.com/
Dexter, MI

Patriot Truth
www.angelfire.com/ab/Patriot-Truth/index.html

Police & Military Against the New World Order*
www.police-and-military-against-the-new-world-order.org/
Kamiah, ID

Radio Liberty
www.radioliberty.com/

Ralph Epperson's Conspiracy History
syninfo.com/Epperson/

Republic of Texas*
www.the-republic-of-texas.org/
Dallas, TX

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

Right Way L.A.W.*
www.rightwaylaw.com/
Akron, OH

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

Stanley 2002
www.stanley2002.org/

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

Take Back Kentucky*
www.takebackkentucky.com
Clarkson, KY

Take Back Tennessee*
www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/Lobby/4218/index.htm
Maynardville, TN

Taking Back America
www.wealth4freedom.com/

Team Law
www.teamlaw.org/

The Federal Observer
www.federalobserver.com/index.php

The New American*
www.thenewamerican.com/

The Power Hour
www.thepowerhour.com/

The Sierra Times
www.sierratimes.com/

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

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

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

U.S. National Militia Directory
www.constitution.org/mil/mil_us.htm

U.S. Taxpayers Party*
ustaxpayerspartyofmichigan.com/
Lansing, MI

U.S.A. The Republic: How You Lost It
www.usa-the-republic.com/

Watcher's Conspiracy Links
www.mt.net/~watcher/conspir.html

We the People*
www.cpfloida.com/
www.givemeliberty.org
Queensbury, NY ▲

‘HOSTILE TAKEOVER’

A director of the Sierra Club discusses an ongoing attempt to turn the environmental powerhouse into an anti-immigration group

Anti-immigration activists have pondered trying to take over the well-known environmental group, the Sierra Club, going back at least to the mid-1980s. The basic idea, suggested in a once-secret 1986 memo by anti-immigration leader John Tanton, was to seize the reins of a respected and well-financed liberal group to express immigration restriction arguments that might otherwise draw accusations of racism. Led by a group then called Sierrans for U.S. Population Stabilization (it is now known only by its acronym, SUSPS), anti-immigration activists including current Club director Ben Zuckerman made their first attempt in 1998. Their proposed resolution failed in a bitterly fought 60%-40% vote of the Sierra Club's membership. Last fall, as predicted earlier in these pages, it became clear that a second major attempt, led again by Zuckerman and his allies, had begun. SUSPS and other anti-immigration groups and individuals are now pushing to elect a board majority that agrees with them. Since that fact became public, 13 former Sierra Club presidents have signed an open letter warning that the Club is facing the most serious threat in its 112-year history. J. Robert Cox, a two-time former Club president (1994-96 and 2000-01) and a current board member, is in the forefront of those opposing the anti-immigration campaign. A professor at the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill, Robbie Cox studies the role of discourse in social change,

JENNIFER WARBURG

Robbie Cox, former Sierra Club president

including environmental change, and is a veteran of the immigration wars that have convulsed the Sierra Club.

INTELLIGENCE REPORT: What was your first personal contact with anti-immigration activists interested in the Sierra Club?

ROBBIE COX: When I was president of the Club for the first time. In 1996, volunteer leaders in the Club's population program approached the board of directors to alert us that new

members were coming into the Sierra Club wanting to push immigration as an issue. These leaders thought this was simply inappropriate for the Club, because we had no evidence that U.S. immigration was detrimental to the environment. These new members were asking that we update our policies on population and immigration, because immigration had never been a focus of our work. Our focus had been on population growth, particularly

global population growth. Globally, we understood that population had serious consequences for air, the land and the food supply, of course. But we were not persuaded that the evidence was at all clear on the United States. So we agreed that year to refine the existing policy by adopting a statement of neutrality on U.S. immigration.

IR: That wasn't the end of it, right?

COX: Once the board adopted the neutrality policy, it apparently motivated what we thought was simply a small group of Sierra Club members who began to object. The board held steadfast — we simply did not see the

We frankly didn't know some of the people working with him at the time. I think we underestimated how serious this was in 1998.

IR: Were you aware then of the 1986 Tanton memo that specifically mentioned the Sierra Club as a potential target for anti-immigration activists?

COX: No, we only became aware of that recently, as a result of the [Oct. 21, 2003] letter that the Southern Poverty Law Center sent to our president.

IR: The Club's policy in 1996 did say something about seeking to stabilize and ultimately reduce U.S. population, didn't it?

the board of directors placed its own initiative on the ballot that was an alternative to the SUSPS initiative.

SUSPS' Alternative A called for a reversal of the neutrality position and urged a reduction in net immigration into the United States. The board, which put forward Alternative B, tried to make clear that the way to address the root causes of not only population but also migration was to address such things as the reproductive health and rights of women, their empowerment, and also by encouraging sustainability in other countries — economic security, health and nutrition, human rights. There is less pressure for migrations across borders when populations have a secure existence and are not driven by desperate poverty to seek work elsewhere.

In the end, the membership overwhelmingly rejected the SUSPS initiative. At that point, we thought SUSPS had had their opportunity and the Club had spoken. Frankly, we turned our attention elsewhere.

IR: In the next few years, anti-immigration candidates Ben Zuckerman and Paul Watson ran for the board — both of them unsuccessfully at first, but winning in the end. Did you realize then that the anti-immigration effort had not yet concluded?

COX: We weren't aware at the time of an organized effort, either within the Sierra Club or stretching beyond it with some of the outside allies that we now know they have. But this began to change in the last two years.

In 2002, Zuckerman ran a second time and was elected. This time, he dramatically altered his ballot statement and began to speak of his concerns about the Club being more visible on college campuses and about funding for our conservation program. He did mention population, too, but he never talked about immigration, as he had in his first campaign. He was elected that year.

IR: Since winning, has Zuckerman discussed immigration with the board?

COX: He has asked for time in many board sessions to make speeches to us about the importance of immigration, often citing non-environmental reasons to reverse our neutrality policy, most recently having to do with post-9/11 security concerns. He has also cited concerns about U.S. workers being displaced by immigrants. At one point, we asked about the link between the environment and a story that he sent us about illegal crossings on the southern border. As far as I could see, the only documented environmental impact was that they were littering the desert with water bottles and trash — there was a photo of discarded bottles at a campsite.

Most recently, he sent to several of us on the board an article from VDARE.COM that claimed that Hispanics were spreading disease and crime in the U.S., and that "Hispandering politicians" were allowing this to happen. I was quite upset by that.

IR: What happened after Zuckerman's election in 2002?

COX: I think SUSPS realized they had a winning strategy. The following year, 2003, they ran three more candidates, including Doug LaFollette, the Wisconsin secretary of state, and, once again, Paul Watson. They referred to many conservation issues and to population in general, but never mentioned immigration. Two of them, LaFollette and Watson, were elected.

So by May of last year, we had begun to realize that we had an organized effort to put in place enough directors to take control of the board. The turning point came last fall, at the annual meeting of the Sierra Club in San Francisco. By then, we had already discovered that Paul Watson was making speeches at animal rights conferences and boasting quite openly about an attempt to take over the Club. One of the things that he said in one speech was that the "heartening thing"

was that only 8% of the Club's members had voted in the last election, so that just a few hundred or a few thousand people from the animal rights movement joining the Sierra Club and making it a point to vote could change the Club's entire agenda.

In other words, we became aware that people outside the organization who had little interest in our issues were being invited to join the Sierra Club simply for the purpose of electing directors with their own agenda.

The other thing that really raised some eyebrows was that the Southern Poverty Law Center sent a letter [signed

IR: What happened after the annual meeting?

COX: A small group of leaders began to organize their own independent research. We suspected that there was still a lot we didn't know about the forces behind Zuckerman and SUSPS. The more we looked into their association with right-wing anti-immigration groups and the funding behind those groups, the more we became alarmed. We realized they were running additional candidates and trying to seize control of the board.

What's happened most recently is that members throughout the Sierra Club have become concerned and even outraged with this concerted effort to take over the Club. They have come together and organized themselves as a movement to protect the Sierra Club. It's called Groundswell Sierra [groundswellsierra.org], and it is trying to provide information about the seriousness of this threat and the impact it could have. If Watson is to be believed, the intent is not only to seize control of the board, but also of the Club's assets and credibility — the reputation of the Club itself.

We read the original Tanton memos and became even more alarmed as we began to put some of the pieces together — the convergence of anti-immigration groups and Watson's particular wing of the animal rights movement. [Editor's note: Paul Watson co-founded Greenpeace but left because the group was not radical enough. He founded and still leads the Sea Shepherd Conservation Society, which has claimed credit for sinking 10 fishing vessels by ramming them. In January, Watson's wife, Allison Lance Watson, was arrested by FBI anti-terrorism agents for allegedly lying to a federal grand jury about loaning a rental truck to animal rights arsonists. She could face up to five years in prison and a \$250,000 fine.]

IR: Had Watson previously been interested in immigration restriction?

"We realized that we were being pulled into a very divisive and potentially ugly political battle."

evidence. This group then initiated the ballot proposition process. The Sierra Club is very open and democratic in its governing structure. It not only allows all its members, over 700,000 people, to elect its board of directors. It also allows members to put forward a ballot proposition, if they gather enough signatures, that can alter the Club's existing policies.

So this group organized itself as SUSPS, or Sierrans for U.S. Population Stabilization, and began a petition drive to get their proposition on the ballot. This happened in 1997, and the election occurred in the spring of 1998.

IR: Do you know who the principals of SUSPS were then?

COX: One principal actor was Ben Zuckerman. Zuckerman had formerly been a director of an anti-immigration group called Diversity Alliance for a Sustainable America, which is a group whose name does not suggest its goal of restricting immigration into the U.S. Zuckerman was also an officer on the board of another group called Californians for Population Stabilization, or CAPS.

COX: That's true. And SUSPS' argument was that we can't achieve that stabilization without reducing immigration. Once we understood that that was their interpretation of the policy, we realized that we were being pulled into a very divisive and potentially ugly political battle. We refused to go down that path. One of our primary concerns was that we would find ourselves less effective in working on population stabilization if our allies in Congress began to view us as more of an anti-immigration group than as having anything to do with the environment. We had also begun working very closely with coalitions in the United States that arose out of the environmental justice movement and with the Congressional Black Caucus.

IR: What happened during the ballot proposition campaign?

COX: Once they qualified it for the ballot, we realized that it was somewhat deceptive in that it suggested that the Sierra Club had not been working seriously on population issues. So, to present our voters with a clear choice of policy in the area of population,



JENNIFER WARDBURG

COX: Well, he ran as a SUSPS candidate, and he made his views clear once he joined the board. Watson supported Zuckerman, who had been floating resolutions to the board to reverse the immigration neutrality policy since he'd been elected the prior year. Zuckerman was consistently defeated, but Watson signaled his support of Zuckerman's agenda. We also found out that Zuckerman was actually on Watson's board of directors at the Sea Shepherd Conservation Society.

IR: Does Watson's role signal some kind of alliance between anti-immigration activists and the more radical

attempt backed by SUSPS. Morris has become very involved in the same anti-immigration groups that Zuckerman is involved in. Morris sits on the board of the Diversity Alliance for a Sustainable America, as does Lamm, and that's the organization that Zuckerman is a past director of. The third well-known SUSPS candidate, David Pimentel, is on the advisory board of the same group.

It goes further. Dick Lamm is also the chairman of the board of advisors for the large anti-immigration group the Federation for American Immigration Reform [or FAIR, a group originally started by John Tanton]. Morris is on

zations that are directly tied to the current SUSPS candidates: Lamm, Morris and Pimental.

IR: What do you think lies down the road?

COX: I think there's a Plan A and a Plan B. If the SUSPS folks fail to take over the board of directors, then their Plan B is to initiate another ballot proposition next year that would reverse the Club's policy of neutrality, similar to the 1998 effort.

IR: What ultimately is at stake here?

COX: I think the very identity and character of the Sierra Club is at stake if these outside forces succeed in taking it over. We will lose the historical values that have made the Club what it is — a grassroots-driven organization whose members care deeply about the protection of the wild places of the Earth, human health and the quality of the environment overall.

Just recently, I was deeply distressed to discover that a Sierra Club member and SUSPS advocate had posted something on what I consider a racist Web site, vdare.com. The article was an explicit and detailed set of instructions for how to join the Sierra Club and for whom to vote — a call for the readers of this Web site to sign up and vote for these candidates because of their position on immigration. I noticed the other articles posted on the site, too. One, called "Routing the Race Deniers," talked about the differences in racial groups based on skull measurements and compared the skulls of Northern European whites and Africans — just disgusting stuff. These are very alarming groups.

A victory by the anti-immigration forces would damage the credibility of the Club. We would be less trusted on mainstream environmental issues, and those who have supported the Club with their donations would feel betrayed. I expect that a number of senior staff would probably resign. But I think you would probably also see a rebellion of Sierra Club local leaders throughout the country. If we lose this election, by the next election a sleeping giant will have been awakened. ▲

"The very identity and character of the Sierra Club is at stake if these outside forces succeed in taking it over."

fringe of the animal rights movement?

COX: I wouldn't go so far as to bring in the whole radical animal rights movement. I don't want to speak for animal rights groups, but in my own association with them I have not seen an interest in immigration issues. Paul Watson is a very opinionated and charismatic individual committed to a range of issues including opposition to immigration, and he found a convenient alliance with Zuckerman. These forces have now converged and are willing to vote as a bloc on the board.

IR: What is SUSPS' strategy in the current election?

COX: One of their strategies has been to run high-profile candidates. This year, they are backing former Colorado Gov. Dick Lamm, who in recent years has been working very closely with anti-immigration groups and U.S. Rep. Tom Tancredo [R-Colo.], who chairs the Congressional Immigration Reform Caucus and is one of the most vocal anti-immigration leaders in Congress. Their second candidate is Frank Morris, a former head of the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation, who is making his second

the board of another anti-immigration group, the Center for Immigration Studies [also founded by Tanton] and, along with Zuckerman, is on the Californians for Population Stabilization board. Lamm is on that group's advisory board. Finally, the Carrying Capacity Network, another anti-immigration group, has David Pimentel on its board. Doug LaFollette and Frank Morris sit on its advisory board. So we're seeing something of an interlocking set of directors with all these anti-immigration groups.

IR: You also looked at the funding of some of these groups, didn't you?

COX: We did, and what we discovered simply blew us away. We found out that one of the primary players behind this movement is Richard Mellon Scaife, the right-wing Pittsburgh billionaire who financed a number of anti-Clinton activities [the so-called "Arkansas Project"] as well as a number of anti-immigration groups.

In fact, we've been able to document that the Scaife family foundations and other foundations on whose board Mr. Scaife sits have provided a combined total of \$2,720,500 to organi-



SOUTHERN POVERTY LAW CENTER
400 WASHINGTON AVENUE ▲ MONTGOMERY, AL 36104
PHONE 334/956-8200 ▲ FAX 334/956-8485
WWW.INTELLIGENCEPROJECT.ORG

Oct. 21, 2003

Larry Fahn, President
The Sierra Club
85 Second St., 2nd Floor
San Francisco, CA 94105

Dear Mr. Fahn,

As you know, forces allied with anti-immigration activist John Tanton recently began a campaign to convince directors and members of the Sierra Club to adopt a plank in favor of limiting immigration into the United States. We are very familiar with Tanton at the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) because we have written at length about his role in the anti-immigration movement in the SPLC's investigative magazine, Intelligence Report, which I edit. (The SPLC has monitored hate groups in America for over 20 years, and publishes an annual listing of such organizations.) In fact, the cover story of the Summer 2002 edition of the magazine was titled "The Puppeteer," and described Tanton's role in the anti-immigration movement in some detail. In a nutshell, we found that Tanton was the primary activist behind the entire anti-immigration movement, and we also documented links between Tanton and a number of racist hate groups and other organizations with bigoted agendas.

Earlier this month, Sierra Club Director Ben Zuckerman, seeking to sway Club directors and members to support the idea of an anti-immigration plank, described our report on Tanton as "pure, unadulterated trash" in an E-mail to board members. In another posting to the board, he defended Tanton as "a great environmentalist" and attached a lengthy rebuttal written by Tanton after our report was published. As editor of the Intelligence Report, I feel compelled to respond to some of Tanton's accusations and to try to further explain some of our findings about him.

First, however, I think it's important for Sierra Club members to recall that Tanton and other anti-immigration activists have been interested in having the Club adopt an anti-immigration position for years. That's because they realize clearly the political benefits that would accrue to their cause if they could say that the Sierra Club, too, agrees with their hard-line views of immigrants and immigration. Seventeen years ago, in 1986, Tanton wrote in a secret memo to his colleagues that was later leaked to the press that the Sierra Club would make a rich target: "The Sierra Club may not want to touch the immigration issue, but the immigration issue is going to touch the Sierra Club!" As many Club members will recall, that prediction did in fact come to pass, culminating in a 1998 Club vote that rejected, 60% to 40%, the immigration restriction plank. But that was not the end of it. As we reported in 2002, a second attempt to move the Club to an anti-immigration position was in the offing.

It is now clear that that attempt is in full swing. Not only are Zuckerman and others starting an internal Club campaign, but that campaign has spread into the larger anti-immigration activist community. Recently, for instance, the National Immigration Alert List sent out an "announcement" about the Sierra Club that urged opponents of

The Southern Poverty Law Center sent the following letter to the president of the Sierra Club last fall.

1986 Anti-immigration maestro and U.S. English founder John Tanton writes private memos naming the Sierra Club as a potential target for immigration activists.

1988 Tanton's memos are leaked, and their bigoted language provokes executive director Linda Chavez and advisory board member Walter Cronkite to quit U.S. English.

1996 Sierrans for U.S. Population Stabilization (SUSPS) is formed by Ben Zuckerman, Alan Kuper and others to lobby the Club to support immigration restriction.

1998 SUSPS engineers a Club ballot proposition committing the Club to immigration restriction. The proposition fails, 60%-40%.

immigration to join the Club by early next year, in time to vote for directors "who are concerned about the environmental consequences of our immigration-driven U.S. population growth." To that end, the announcement suggested readers "Ask all concerned immigration reduction activists to please join the Sierra Club." Members will recall that this was precisely the same strategy employed in the late 1990s.

At base, Zuckerman, Tanton and their allies are now attacking us because we have suggested that Tanton and many of the groups he has helped build or influenced are bigoted against Latinos. In his posting, Zuckerman describes his friend, Tanton, as "a most intelligent and courageous human being" and suggests we all learn from his words. Let us instead revisit some of Tanton's activities and Tanton's defense of them. Basically, Tanton says that he is no racist, that every movement gets its share of crazies on the fringes, and that we have unfairly pilloried him for distant or even nonexistent connections. But we think the historical record speaks for itself.

A key Tanton argument is that the SPLC is wrong to have listed The Social Contract Press, of which Tanton is publisher, as a hate group. The SPLC lists this publishing house as a hate group for two reasons: 1) bigoted articles it has printed in the journal that it publishes, also called The Social Contract, and, 2) its republication of an especially vile and racist book, Jean Raspail's novel The Camp of the Saints. In his rejoinder to our story, Tanton says "we simply brought the novel back into print" so that those interested could read "this controversial novel," and he complains that the SPLC has not "mustered the courage" to name the French and American mainstream publishers of earlier editions as hate groups. Needless to say, Tanton is missing a fundamental point -- he and his editor, Wayne Lutton, have unequivocally endorsed the novel, unlike the mainstream publishers to whom he refers. In fact, Tanton founded his best-known group, the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR), after reading the book. "You'd have to say he was almost prescient," Tanton told the Detroit Free Press. "I remember seeing pictures of Albanians in their boats about two years ago, and it was just like Raspail described, with people hanging off the sides and spilling overboard. ... Raspail was ahead of his time."

Tanton's "prescient" novel describes the takeover of France by "swarthy hordes" of Indians who arrive on France's beaches in a desperate refugee flotilla. It attacks white liberals who, rather than turn the Indians away, would "empty out all our hospital beds so that cholera-ridden and leprous wretches could sprawl between white sheets ... and cram our nurseries full of monster children." It describes in grotesque detail the orgy that Indian men, women and children are said to take part in aboard the flotilla. It explains how, after the Indians take over France, white women are sent to a "whorehouse for Hindus." The novel ends where it began, with the landing of the alien hordes: "[F]irst to land were the monsters, the grotesque little beggars from the streets of Calcutta. As they groveled through the wet sand like a pack of basset hounds, or a herd of clumsy seals exploring an unfamiliar shore, with their snorts and grunts of joy, they looked like an army of little green men from some remote planet. ... Yes, [France] would suit them fine." In an interview added as an afterword to The Social Contract Press edition, Raspail explains his fear that "the proliferation of other races dooms our race, my race, to extinction... ."

When The Social Contract Press published its edition of The Camp of the Saints in 1994, Tanton wrote that he was "honored" to republish the Frenchman's novel. He said, "We are indebted to Jean Raspail for his insights into the human condition, and for being 20 years ahead of his time. History will judge him more kindly than have some of his contemporaries. To support the reissuance of The Camp of the Saints we adopt its title as the theme for this issue of The Social Contract," Tanton's journal.

Tanton's closest colleagues agree with his view of the book. His Social Contract Press editor, Wayne Lutton, put it like this in a 1997 speech to a national conference of the white supremacist Council of Conservative Citizens (CCC), a group that regularly attacks

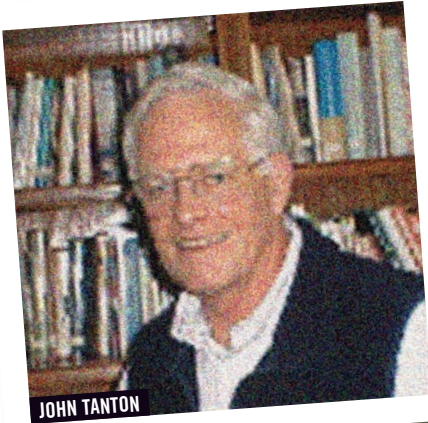
blacks and immigrants in the crudest of terms: "The Camp of the Saints is coming our way. They have declared racial demographic war against us. It's up to us to respond. Why are their populations exploding? Because of us. Our people have exported our medical technology. We feed them. Had we left them alone, many of them would be going extinct today. Can you imagine AIDS raging through Africa?" Lutton actually began speaking at gatherings of the CCC, a group that is directly descended from the infamous White Citizens Councils and that has described blacks as "a retrograde species of humanity," a year earlier, in 1996. Four years later, Lutton joined the editorial advisory board of the group's racist tabloid, Citizens Informer. Lutton is not some distant employee of Tanton's -- he is one of Tanton's closest colleagues and collaborators, and today the two men share offices in Petoskey, Mich. After going to work for Tanton in the 1990s, Lutton co-authored a lurid book, The Immigration Time Bomb, with his boss. An excerpt: "Whatever the benefits of increased diversity may be, there is one unavoidable defect -- it reduces that which is commonly agreed upon and taken for granted. As a result, it increases the needs for laws and regulations to mediate our increasing differences. Freedom suffers accordingly." Or, to put it more plainly: Diversity decreases freedom.

Responding to the Southern Poverty Law Center and his many other critics, Tanton writes in the rebuttal posted by Zuckerman that "the single biggest rap against me" is the fact that his FAIR group accepted over \$1 million from a foundation called the Pioneer Fund. He describes Pioneer as merely backing research that suggests nature plays "a major, perhaps even a dominant role" in comparison to nurture. He says he is "comfortable" in the company of other Pioneer grant recipients, "such as Johns Hopkins University, Cornell Medical School, Brandeis University" and so on.

Those statements are disingenuous at best. The Pioneer Fund was founded in 1937 to "improve the character of the American people" by promoting eugenics (the so-called "science" of "improving" the race through selective breeding that was widely discredited because of its association with Nazi ideology) and procreation by people of white colonial stock. It opposed the 1954 Brown v. Board of Education ruling that integrated American public schools. It has funded numerous academics seeking to prove a link between IQ and race. Last year, a new president was hired to head the fund -- Jean-Phillippe Rushton, a Canadian race scientist who postulates an inverse relationship between penis and brain size (blacks, Rushton argues, on average have larger genitals and smaller brains than whites). Like Tanton, Pioneer also typically lists its grants as going to universities. The reality, though, is that the money is going to race scientists working at these institutions. One other point: When FAIR's use of Pioneer grants was first exposed publicly, Tanton said he'd had no idea of the fund's history. But FAIR didn't stop taking Pioneer money for almost 10 more years.

Tanton parenthetically attacks us for writing that he "declined to be interviewed for this story," saying, "This would be damaging if it were true, but it is not true." In fact, a lengthy list of questions was faxed to Tanton at his request. After some days, he wrote back to say the Center's questions showed "little evidence of tolerance for differences of opinion." Only well after publication of our story, "The Puppeteer," did Tanton post the lengthy reply to the story reposted recently by Zuckerman.

One other minor point: Tanton attacks us for failing to criticize groups on what he considers the hard left, such as the Nation of Islam and the Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlan (MEChA). He is completely wrong on the first count. We have for years listed the Nation of Islam, along with other racist black groups like



1999 SUSPS begins supporting candidates for the Club board. The first two — Alan Kuper and Paul Watson, Sea Shepherd Conservation Society founder — are defeated.

2001 A SUSPS-backed ballot proposition opposing urban sprawl, which SUSPS blames largely on immigration, is defeated.

April 2002 Zuckerman is elected to the board.

April 2003 SUSPS-supported candidates Watson and Doug LaFollette join Zuckerman on the board.

Oct. 21, 2003 *Intelligence Report* editor Mark Potok writes to Club President Larry Fahn warning of a “hostile takeover attempt” by anti-immigration forces.

Fall 2003 Tanton’s hate group, The Social Contract Press, asks backers to join the Club to vote for board candidates concerned with “endless U.S. population growth.”

Fall 2003 SUSPS announces support for five candidates in the 2004 board elections: Robert van de Hoek, Richard Lamm, Kim McCoy, Frank Morris and David Pimentel.

Jan. 14, 2004 Groundswell Sierra, a group within the Club opposing anti-immigration candidates, goes public.

the New Black Panther Party, as hate groups. Similarly, we have listed the anti-Semitic Hispanic hate group Voz de Aztlan. We have not listed MEChA because, despite Tanton's characterization of it as "a small hard-left Hispanic group," we have found no evidence to support charges that the organization is racist or anti-Semitic.

John Tanton -- and, by extension, Ben Zuckerman -- completely glosses over the scandal that erupted when his secret 1986 internal memos were leaked. The memos, written to Tanton's colleagues in FAIR and another group he founded, U.S. English, were filled with bigoted comments that enraged both friends and foes. In addition to mentioning the Sierra Club as a future target in the memos, Tanton raised the alarm about falling white birth rates as compared to high Hispanic rates in crude terms: "[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," he wrote. He also suggested that Hispanics weren't too bright, asking his colleagues, "What are the differences in educability between Hispanics (with their 50% dropout rate) and Asiatics (with their excellent school records and long tradition of scholarship)?" And he worried that Mexican immigrants would bring in corruption. When the [Arizona Republic](#) published details of the memos in 1988, Linda Chavez, the conservative Republican columnist, quit as executive director of U.S. English, saying she was particularly disgusted by Tanton's remarks about Hispanics' "educability." Walter Cronkite, the famous CBS reporter and news anchor, also quit the group's advisory board over of the memos.

Tanton made one other key point in his secret memos. He argued that it was necessary that only groups appearing to be "liberal" - groups, presumably, like the Sierra Club -- carry the anti-immigration message: "[T]he issues we're touching on here must be broached by liberals," Tanton wrote. "The conservatives simply cannot do it without tainting the whole subject" by attracting charges of racism.

That doesn't mean that Tanton's colleagues are liberals. Take John Vinson. It was to Vinson that Tanton turned in 1998, when he was looking for someone to guest edit a special issue of his journal [The Social Contract](#). The journal's special focus that edition? "Europhobia: The Hostility Toward European-Descended Americans." Vinson has spoken often at conferences of the white supremacist CCC and is a founding member of the League of the South, a neo-Confederate hate group. More to the point, he has since 1990 led the American Immigration Control Foundation, a group that both Tanton and the Pioneer Fund have helped finance, and that is listed by the SPLC as a racist hate group. A glance at Vinson's grotesque anti-immigration videotape "Immigration: Making America Less Beautiful?" may help explain why. The tape goes from scenes of colonial houses and quiet streets (seen to the strains of "America the Beautiful") to scary shots of menacing-looking soldiers in Mexico, then back to blonde-haired kids playing on slides in an idyllic setting, followed by a blurry nightscope shot of Mexican illegals sneaking across the border. Others who wrote for Tanton's special edition included Sam Francis, a "white nationalist" who later would join the CCC hate group as editor of its [Citizens Informer](#); Lawrence Auster, who also has spoken at conferences of [American Renaissance](#) magazine, a hate group that pushes eugenicist ideas similar to those favored by the Pioneer Fund; and Joseph Fallon, a columnist who has written for [American Renaissance](#).

Through his organization U.S. Inc., Tanton has helped fund the California Coalition for Immigration Reform (CCIR), another organization we list as a hate group. CCIR is headed by Barbara Coe, a woman who routinely refers to Mexicans as "savages," and whose organization, according to [The Progressive](#) magazine, faxed this 1993 note to the offices of a San Francisco immigrant rights organization: "It may take some time, but eventually you, the illegal, the devious, the underhanded who hold the laws of this great nation in contempt, will be purged from our midst as will the treacherous elected officials who have betrayed our trust!" Coe was a key player in getting Proposition 187 passed in 1994 -- and also a critical activist in the attempt to take over the Sierra Club in 1996. (She claimed that 6,500 of CCIR's members had joined the Club during that battle.) Just this fall, Coe called

on followers to join her in confronting undocumented workers demonstrating in favor of immigrant rights. "These people are criminals," she wrote. "As such, they have NO 'RIGHTS' other than emergency medical care and humane treatment as they are being DEPORTED! We can only wonder how many in this group of foreign invaders have robbed, raped and possibly murdered law-abiding American citizens and legal residents." Barbara Coe is one very angry woman. But one thing she is not, is an environmentalist. As she candidly explained to [New Times Los Angeles](#): "I'm not a tree-hugger."

There are a large number of other links between Tanton, his immediate colleagues and employees, and members of hate groups or bigoted anti-immigrant activists. I would urge you to examine two stories we have published in the [Intelligence Report](#) to further understand some of the details ("Blood on the Border," Spring 2001, and "The Puppeteer," Summer 2002), although I don't think I need to go on here. Suffice it to say, we do not see John Tanton as the liberal that he portrays himself as.

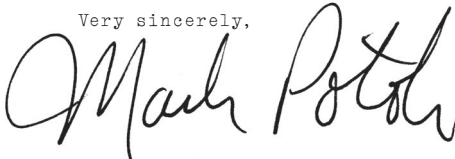
At this point, I should note that "The Puppeteer" does include two minor errors that were pointed out by Zuckerman in one of his postings. We erroneously reported that Tanton had once been executive director of the Sierra Club, and that Californians for Population Stabilization (CAPS) was started after the 1996 takeover attempt. In fact, Tanton was never executive director of the Club (although he did head its Population Committee in the early 1970s), and CAPS reportedly was started in the 1980s.

Although many immigration-reduction activists have portrayed us as favoring open borders, the Southern Poverty Law Center in fact has no policy on the correct level of immigration into the United States. However, we do not believe that the debate should be controlled or shaped by bigoted activists and hateful ideology; rather, it should be discussed and decided by citizens within our democratic forums. What we oppose is bigotry, hatred and violence (and it is for that reason that we recently sued a vigilante group whose members attacked border-crossers in Texas). In a similar way, we think that members of the Sierra Club should be fully alert to the methods and motives of some of those who are trying to shift it from its historic mission.

The SPLC is not contemplating listing the Sierra Club as a hate group, but we are concerned that a Club director and others would defend Tanton, whose ties to bigots and bigoted groups have been well documented. Without a doubt, the Sierra Club is the subject of a hostile takeover attempt by forces allied with Tanton and a variety of right-wing extremists. By taking advantage of the welcoming grassroots democratic structure of the Sierra Club, they hope to use the credibility of the Club as a cover to advance their own extremist views. We think members should be alert to this.

I thank you for taking the time to read this overlong letter. I do hope that it is useful to you as the Club faces this latest challenge. My colleagues and I are happy to try to answer any questions that you or others in the Club may have.

Very sincerely,



Mark Potok
Editor, [Intelligence Report](#)
Southern Poverty Law Center

Jan. 14, 2004 Southern Poverty Law Center co-founder Morris Dees announces he will run for the board, not to win but to urge Club voters to oppose an anti-immigration takeover.

Jan. 15, 2004 Ten former Club presidents write an open letter warning of an “organized effort” to take over the Club. Three other past presidents sign on later.

Late January 2004 Several more hate groups urge their members to join the Club by Jan. 31 to be eligible to vote for the 2004 board election.

Jan. 31, 2004 The period for new members to join in time to vote ends.

Feb. 9, 2004 Board candidates Lamm, Morris and Pimentel sue the Club, demanding “fake candidates” who do not really seek election be forced out.

Feb. 18, 2004 Lamm, Morris and Pimentel unexpectedly drop their lawsuit.

March 1, 2004 Mail-in board election ballots are sent out to all 700,000-plus Club members.

April 21, 2004 Results of the Club's board election are expected to be announced.



TALKING TOUGH

One of the largest ‘Patriot’ conferences in years is marked by heated calls for revolution and violent resistance BY HEIDI BEIRICH

GETTY IMAGES

CRYSTAL CITY, Va. — In an auditorium buried deep in the tunnels that run for miles underneath this Washington suburb, We The People’s first annual conference was one of the largest antigovernment gatherings in recent memory. In a scene reminiscent of the mid-1990s, when the antigovernment “Patriot” movement reached its apex, fiery orators spoke to some 350 people from a stage sporting an upside-down American flag with its gold fringe removed — meaning, in the bizarre parlance of the movement, that it is not an “admiralty” flag that could give the federal government jurisdiction over freedom-loving Patriots. Out front, vendors peddled everything from weeklong seminars on how to become “sovereign” citizens who owe nothing to the government, to programs for “Ending Patriot Poverty!”

Held in January to celebrate lawsuits filed by We the People to challenge the constitutionality of the IRS, the conference was hosted by group founder Bob Schulz, a 64-year-old tax protester from Queensbury, N.Y. Schulz is a celebrity in Patriot circles for his months-long hunger strike last year against the IRS.

The focus inside the auditorium was on the myriad evils wrought by the federal government, from gun control to taxes to judicial tyranny. The complaints came from a remarkable array of people, from anti-Semites to conspiracy mongers to white supremacists and even right-wing Republicans, some of whom ducked in from the Conservative Political Action Conference (CPAC) featuring Vice President Dick Cheney and held just around the corner in another hotel. They came from the likes of Holocaust denier Hutton Gibson, father of the actor Mel Gibson; Sam Francis, who edits the white supremacist Council of Conservative Citizens’ tabloid; Joseph Farah, who owns a far-right publishing empire including the World Net Daily Web news service; and more mainstream conservatives such as Angela “Bay” Buchanan, who ran her brother Pat’s presidential campaigns and now works for CNN.

The conference was a high-tech extravaganza, with the entire event simulcast on the Web and on a massive screen that also featured snippets of patriotic John Wayne speeches and emotional scenes from Gibson’s movie “Braveheart.” Screens simulcasting the conference were also found at two We the People booths at the nearby CPAC conference, which shared speakers including former U.N. ambassador Alan Keyes with the We the People program. (Others who participated in both conferences included Bernard von NotHaus, who had a booth at the CPAC conference where he sold his alternative “American Liberty Currency.”)

They Say They Want a Revolution

The We the People hall resounded with calls for revolution.

Peter Mancus, a Second Amendment attorney from California, spelled out just what would cause him to revolt. But before his speech, Mancus was overcome by emotion, weeping over the “Braveheart” scene where William Wallace, played by Mel Gibson, asks his fellow Scotsmen whether they wanted to live on their knees or die on their feet. After pleading for a moment to regain his composure, Mancus straightened up and launched into a heated antigovernment tirade.

“If they confiscate the guns, I think there will be war. And I hope there will be war instead of letting it happen,” bellowed Mancus. “I want to leave this world without killing someone, but I have a bottom line.” “Don’t forget,” he added darkly, “the government’s agents are afraid of dying, too.”

Many others speakers and participants at the We the People conference expressed support for revolution, including bloodletting if necessary. Even Bay Buchanan, who said she had earlier spoken to a group at the nearby CPAC conference, gave a fire-breathing talk nearly as heated as Mancus’. She described a dark future in which Americans will be “forced into a New World Order” and, to a standing ovation, attacked the Bush Administration’s immigration and economic policies. “They took the jobs and sent them overseas and now they’re bringing [immigrants] here to take our jobs. Who takes care of us?” Buchanan demanded. “I believe we must have a revolution. Hopefully, it will be a bloodless one. This is not about Democrats, Republicans, liberals, or conservatives. This is about America — or this is the end.”

Also seething with anger was Joseph Farah, who in addition to World Net Daily owns *Whistleblower* magazine and hosts a daily talk radio program. Farah, who was particularly enraged that *Publisher’s Weekly* had recently labeled him an “extremist,” told

Even Bay Buchanan, taking some time off from the nearby Conservative Political Action Conference, told We the People that “we must have a revolution.”



AP WIDE WORLD PHOTO

his audience that all Americans “live in some degree of fear of their government,” paying an illegal “slave tax” to the IRS only at “the end of a gun barrel.” “If government perpetuates evil, you must resist,” Farah said.

Another popular target at the conference was what was variously termed “evil bankers,” “banksters,” the “banking class” or “the Rothschilds” — bankers, it was angrily alleged, who are perpetrating a fraud against the American people. Special ire was directed at the Federal Reserve, which Schulz, in common with tens of thousands of other Patriots, believes is an illegal private cartel secretly owned by a small group of greedy bankers. “Jesus called those who own the money the money changers,”

Bernard von Nothaus sold his “American Liberty Currency” to radicals and conservatives alike.



explained Bill Still, producer of “The Money Masters,” a Federal Reserve-bashing video. “And Jesus’ only violent act was to throw out the money changers.”

The sheer repetition of “banksters” — a term made popular by the Jew-hating Posse Comitatus during the 1980s — made it hard not to be reminded of complaints about “Jewish bankers” so common in anti-Semitic circles. And it didn’t help that the hands-down star of the show was the elderly Hutton Gibson, an anti-Semite who a few weeks after the We the People conference would give a radio interview claiming that the Nazi death camps were work camps, Jews are seeking “one-world government,” “the Jew” is “anti-everyone else,” and that Holocaust remembrance is “a gimmick to collect money.” At the conference, Gibson wowed his audience with a fast-paced diatribe against “an alliance of the government and the banks” that is leading us to “the New World Order and one-world government.” Gibson suggested that Americans “secede and kick the feds out.” His talk was met with several minutes of “Hutton for President” chanting, after which Schulz invited Gibson to join We The People’s advisory board.

Protesters, Prison and Prospects

Schulz has long argued that the IRS is an illegal entity. For five years, We The People has been peddling various pseudo-legal arguments through its web site, givemeliberty.org, and in other venues. The group falsely claims that income taxes already have been ruled illegal by the Supreme Court. Schulz handed out various forms and manuals filled with inscrutable writings that supposedly decode the secrets that allow one not to pay taxes.

For Schulz, not paying taxes isn’t about the money: Patriots need to withhold their taxes because the government has failed to respect the people’s rights. Just before the conference, Schulz filed what he calls a “much-anticipated Right-to-Petition class-action lawsuit.” The suit aims to “secure redress in response to government infringement and abuse regarding firearms related Rights, due process Rights, judicial/prosecutorial abuse, the income tax fraud, abuses under the ‘USA Patriot Act’ and the monetary/banking fraud of the Federal Reserve.”

Schulz’ theory, which he detailed several times during the conference, is that if the government doesn’t respond to these petitions (he never said in what way), Americans need not pay their taxes. “If the servant is taking over the house,” Schulz explained, “then we must starve the servant government.”

We The People apparently has the financial means to pursue its legal theories. In the past, it has run several expensive full-page ads in *USA Today*, and at the conference, Schulz handed the group’s attorney Mark Lane (also known as a leading Kennedy assassination conspiracy theorist) a check for \$100,000. But finding clients may be harder. When Lane, formerly the attorney of the anti-Semitic Liberty Lobby, asked audience members to sign on to the suit, several said that they were afraid they would lose their “sovereign status” if they deigned to be represented by a lawyer.

Ultimately, even at this conference hosted by a leading tax protester, not everyone was convinced that they could really stop paying taxes without suffering repercussions. It didn’t help that Vernice Cooglin, a FedEx pilot who was charged with seven counts of tax evasion a few years ago, had been acquitted in her criminal case but was facing serious civil charges. In addition, the “tax honesty” movement’s hero, Dick Simkanin, a Dallas businessman who has refused for years to withhold taxes from his employees’ paychecks, pleaded guilty in October to a felony tax charge after a jury deadlocked during his first trial. (He is now awaiting sentencing.) In addition, the IRS initiated a crackdown in September on those following the type of advice peddled by We The People. Even Schulz pointed out that the odds for those who decide to fight are getting longer, in particular because “the ranks of attorneys representing the tax movement that have not been sanctioned is thin.”

This led several audience members to query Schulz about what to do in the event the IRS was to come after them. But Schulz was dismissive of their fears. “There are 125 cases that I brought *pro se* and I know how to defend myself. And I will not be spending any time in prison,” he boasted defiantly.

We The People plans return to Crystal City next year and evaluate the government’s response to its cases. And violence remains an option if We The People does not receive satisfaction from the government. “I agree that it may come to violence,” Schultz told the crowd, “but we hope that it won’t.” ▲

BOOKS ON THE FRINGE

Up In Arms
A call to revolution by the former spokesperson of the Earth Liberation Front

The Logic of Political Violence: Lessons in Reform and Revolution

By Craig Rosebraugh

PORTLAND: ARISSA MEDIA GROUP, 2004, 276 PP., \$17.95

It’s been easy to pooh-pooh the FBI’s insistence in recent years that the Earth Liberation Front is the nation’s No. 1 domestic terror threat. Sure, the underground “ELFs” have burned down a couple of major housing developments, laid waste to a handful of university labs and torched some SUVs. But millions in property damage hardly adds up to an Al Queda-style security threat. Besides, the ELF always insisted it would draw the line at physically harming humans — and, to date, it’s stayed true to that promise.

Now, with the publication of a revolutionary manifesto by Craig Rosebraugh, the ELF’s former spokesperson and public face, many skeptics will give the FBI’s domestic-terror rankings a second look. And some might even conclude that the agency was right all along. After all, Rosebraugh echoes a faction of his former group, which last year called on activists to “pick up the gun” and forget about nonviolence. “It is time for us all to stop being the *good citizens*,” Rosebraugh writes at the end of *The Logic of Political Violence*. “It is time to stop pretending that our own inactions are serving any purpose but to appease personal consciences. It is time to step out of the position of privilege into one of reality, taking responsibility for our obligation to stop the most

diseased and violent political system in history. It is time for a revolution in the United States of America.”

And what will this revolution entail? Bombs and guns, for one thing. In a chapter-by-chapter analysis of notable reform, resistance and revolutionary movements of the 20th century, Rosebraugh picks apart the strategies and philosophies underlying these efforts — all neatly supporting his thesis that a strict adherence to nonviolence dooms a movement just as surely as pursuing single-issue reforms. “[A] revolution in the United States must be comprised of a variety of strategies,” he writes, “but it cannot be successful without the implementation of violence.”

Rosebraugh is hardly an old-school revolutionary. He despises the excesses of capitalism, but not, apparently, the whole premise of it; in fact, he’s a small-business owner in Portland, Ore., where he recently opened a vegan restaurant. He’s also a white, nerdy, middle-class product of the American suburbs. The revolution he wants is democratic. And despite his long-winded, uninspiring rhetoric, Rosebraugh clearly has the potential to make compelling arguments for armed revolt.

But it’s all potential at this point. Arissa, the revolutionary group Rosebraugh co-founded after leaving the ELF

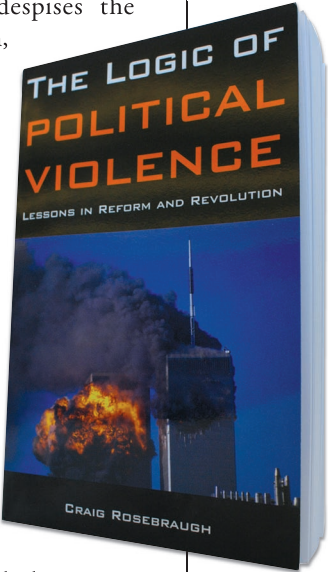
press office, is in the initial phase of a long-term plan to “spread revolutionary consciousness” in America. Any action seems likely to be years, if not decades, in the future. Rosebraugh’s book, along with an upcoming memoir of his ELF experiences, is part of Arissa’s initial effort to raise money — and consciousness — for the eventual revolution.

Even if *The Logic of Political Violence* is highly unlikely to motivate a mob, it does seem likely to stir serious thought among at least one of Rosebraugh’s intended audiences: progressives who’ve been brought up in the post-civil rights era, believing in Gandhi and King’s nonviolent strategies for change. It helps that Rosebraugh is one of them; he even used to teach workshops on nonviolent activism. But like some others on the left, he has gotten increasingly fed up with the pace of progress toward justice for all.

Rosebraugh’s stiffest task is convincing progressives that their cherished tactics of nonviolent protest won’t work anymore — if they ever did. He

argues that the civil rights movement, for all its legislative achievements, followed a “doomed road of reformism” that has plagued the American left ever since. “Reformist pursuits,” he writes, are “able to bite off, at most, an occasional piece of the oppression pie.”

But these days, in a country that was born of revolution, even “the most radical elements of the struggle, including economic sabotage groups such as the Earth Liberation Front, have been seeking single issue changes under the existing power structure,” Rosebraugh complains. It’s a state of affairs the government sanctions and benefits from,



“It is time for us all to stop being the good citizens. It is time to stop pretending that our own inactions are serving any purpose but to appease personal consciences.”

he writes, because handing out protest permits to those opposing the invasion of Iraq (to give one recent example) allows dissenters to feel that they have a “voice,” even if their voice will not be heeded.

Before the civil rights movement, Rosebraugh points out, successful U.S. reform efforts like the early labor and abolitionist movements blended violence — and the threat of violence — into their strategies. Rosebraugh also surveys the “crucial role political violence has played in progressing struggles for justice” elsewhere in the world, including Cuba, Ireland, Algeria and North Vietnam. But his argument for the necessity of violence ultimately rests on his conviction that the militaristic nature of the U.S. government makes it incapable of being “threatened by anything but the barrel of a gun — particularly one it cannot see.”

Such an explicit embrace of political violence will surely set the FBI’s alarm bells ringing. Which will be fine and dandy with Rosebraugh. After all, one time-honored strategy for fomenting revolution is provoking a government into cracking down hard on dissent — to the point where “neutral” citizens are forced to take sides, and where many find themselves sympathizing with the rebels. The post-9/11 crackdown on suspected terrorists, including the ELF, has already planted some seeds of a revolutionary mindset in the U.S. A growing sense that the country is increasingly controlled by corporations — and not by a well-meaning democracy — will also help Rosebraugh make his case.

But the U.S. government need not tremble in its collective boots just yet. Rosebraugh won’t make much headway until he can convince progressives, most of whom still worship the gospel of Martin Luther King, that “nonviolent means of social and political change have been exhausted” in America. This book will clinch that point for very few. And even those few will be left with a series of vexing questions that Rosebraugh never really addresses: What would happen after the revolution? What kind of system would we put in place? And how do we know it would work better than Cuba’s, Ireland’s or Algeria’s — not to mention the one we’ve already got? ▲

— Bob Moser



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

Eco-arsonists burned two luxury homes under construction in Washington Township, Mich., last summer. They left graffiti indicating the Earth Liberation Front was behind the attack.



LEGAL BRIEF

Disorder in the Courts

A year of irresolution in cases involving hate crimes and extremism

BY BRIAN LEVIN

Last April, the Supreme Court decided a question that had ignited legal debate for decades: Can cross-burners be punished without violating their rights to free expression? In *Virginia v. Black*, the Court said yes. But it didn’t take long for lower courts to move on to another quandary: How much time should a cross-burner serve?

In December, a panel of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit in Chicago upheld — just barely — a stiff 22-year sentence given to first-time offender James Colvin, who burned a cross at the home of a Puerto Rican man in Indiana. Colvin had been charged under a federal statute, 42 USC 3631, that punishes anyone who interferes with housing rights on the basis of race. The statute includes an enhancement that makes it a felony, punishable up to 10 years in prison, to use fire to commit such a housing violation. On top of that 10-year enhancement, Colvin was convicted under a separate statute that adds another 10 years for using fire in a federal felony. The appeals court upheld Colvin’s sentence by the narrowest of margins, 6-5, after debating whether it violated the Constitution’s protection against double jeopardy. *United States v. Colvin*, 353F.3D569 (7TH CIR. 2003).

Meanwhile, the U.S. Justice Department was appealing a starkly different sentence given to a cross-burner in Gastonia, N.C. Convicted in 1999 of a cross-burning near the house of an interracial couple, Robert Nelson May was sentenced to just one month in jail, with probation and house arrest, rather than the expected 12 to 18 months. Because he’d already served his month in jail while awaiting trial, May was set free after sentencing. Among the reasons for his unusual lenience, the judge cited provocation by a victim. The government appears to be especially concerned with the idea that a hate-crime victim’s provocation can be the basis for such leniency, and it appealed May’s sentence in January to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit. *United States v. May*, No. 03-4589 (4th Cir. 2004). This March, the appeals court rejected the district court’s sentence and the notion that a victim could provoke a cross-burning. May is awaiting resentencing.

The disagreements over how to punish cross-burning were typical of a year in which a number of significant cases involving hate crimes and extremist activity bounced around the courts — often with murky results.

Tattoos In, Hoods Out

In February, New York state’s highest court ruled that tattoos are admissible evidence in a hate-crime trial. The inked body in question was that of Long Island resident Christopher Slavin, who teamed with a buddy in September 2000 to lure two Mexican day-laborers to an abandoned warehouse. Slavin and his friend had promised the immigrants work; instead, they beat them nearly to death.

Over Slavin’s objections, photographs of his tattoos were admitted into evidence at trial, along with an expert’s analysis of their meaning. The tattoos bore an array of damning images: swastikas, Celtic crosses, lightning bolts, skulls, the motto “ACAB” (All Cops Are Bastards), and a skinhead kicking a kneeling man wearing a Jewish skullcap, among others. Slavin was sentenced to 25 years to life for attempted murder, assault and a hate crime. The state Supreme Court upheld the sentence, rejecting arguments that the tattoo evidence violated Slavin’s Fourth Amendment privacy rights and his Fifth Amendment privilege against compelled self-incrimination. *People v. Slavin*, NY Ct. of Appeals (2004 N.Y. LEXIS 180)

A month before the tattoo ruling, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit reversed a lower court and upheld New York’s anti-masking law. The statute, which dates back to 1845, outlaws non-theatrical uses of masks to disguise a person’s identity in public, with only limited exceptions. In 1999, the American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan discovered that a rally they were planning in New York City would not be considered one of those “limited exceptions.” Though the Knights won a preliminary injunction allowing them to wear their hoods, they ended up demonstrating without them after authorities appealed.

After the rally, the Knights prevailed in federal district court, which ruled that the law impermissibly punished viewpoint and anonymous expression in violation of the First Amendment. The Court of Appeals reversed that decision in January, finding there was no viewpoint discrimination because the restrictions covered all kinds of protesters. *American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan v. Kerick* (2004 U.S. APP. LEXIS 769)

The Twisted Case of Lemrick Nelson

After more than a decade of legal wrangling, one of New York City’s most controversial hate-crime cases sputtered to a confusing end in 2003. It all began with a riot that erupted on Aug. 19, 1991, after a black child was killed by a rabbi’s motorcade. Sixteen-year-old Lemrick Nelson, who is black, joined a Crown Heights mob that fell on Yankel Rosenbaum,

CONTINUED ON PAGE 72

Incidents of apparent hate crimes and hate group activities listed in *For The Record* are drawn primarily from media sources. These incidents include only a fraction of the approximately 10,000 hate crimes reported to the FBI each year and an even smaller proportion of the 50,000 reported and unreported hate crimes that are estimated to actually occur annually. This listing carries a selection of incidents from the fourth quarter of 2003 (additional listings may be found on the Southern Poverty Law Center’s Web site, www.intelligenceproject.org.)

ALABAMA

Montgomery • Oct. 14, 2003

Fliers from the neo-Nazi National Alliance were distributed in several neighborhoods.

ARIZONA

Mesa • Oct. 9, 2003

Frank Roque, 44, was sentenced to death for murdering a Sikh gasoline station owner in retaliation for the 9/11 terrorist attacks.

Phoenix • Nov. 3, 2003

Thaddeus R. Carroll was sentenced to 18 months in prison for burning a cross in a black woman’s yard in April 1999.

Phoenix • Nov. 11, 2003

About 20 members of the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations rallied.

Yuma • Oct. 27, 2003

Fliers from the white supremacist American Revolutionary Nationalist Nuclei were left in a neighborhood.

ARKANSAS

Little Rock • Oct. 31, 2003

Fliers from the neo-Nazi White Revolution were distributed throughout a neighborhood.

CALIFORNIA

Mountain View • Oct. 8, 2003

Jerrod Cohn, 36; Brian Walter, 26; and Michael Daugherty, 30, were charged with assault with a hate crime enhancement for allegedly beating a 22-year-old man because they believed he was gay.

Westlake Village • Dec. 14, 2003

A flag that read “Happy Hanukkah” was burned at the home of a Holocaust survivor.

COLORADO

Alamosa • Nov. 1, 2003

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

Boulder • Oct. 1, 2003

Fliers from the National Alliance were left in several yards.

Greenwood Village • Oct. 28, 2003

The letters “KKK”, the phrase “All Muslims will die” and two swastikas were painted near a mosque.

Westminster • Oct. 25, 2003

Fliers from the National Alliance were distributed throughout a neighborhood.

FLORIDA

Cape Canaveral • Dec. 2, 2003

Jeremy Felix, 19, was charged with criminal mischief for allegedly spray-painting swastikas and the letters “KKK” on an apartment from which he was evicted.

Deland • Oct. 4, 2003

The letters “KKK” and “SUR13” were spray-painted on a vacant house owned by an African-American man.

Jacksonville • Nov. 30, 2003

Clinton Hughes was charged with battery for allegedly attacking a black man who was walking with his white girlfriend.

Palm Beach • Dec. 28, 2003

Five black swastikas were spray-painted on the walls of a Jewish residence and furniture was slashed.

St. Petersburg • Dec. 13, 2003

Racial epithets were spray-painted on a Holocaust Museum exhibit.

Tarpon Springs • Nov. 22, 2003

Stamatios Kannis, 22, and John Himonetos and Michael Kitsos, both 21, allegedly attacked a group of people outside a restaurant they believed were gay. The trio also allegedly made anti-gay remarks and warned the group not to return to the area.

GEORGIA

Atlanta • Oct. 22, 2003

Profanity and anti-gay slurs were spray-painted on the garage doors of a gay man’s residence twice in one week.

Atlanta • Oct. 24, 2003

Christopher Botts, 26, was sentenced to eight years in prison and four years’ probation and ordered to pay a \$10,000 fine for attacking two black brothers in April 2002. Ulysses Andrade, 28, was sentenced to four years in prison and one year of probation plus a \$5,000 fine for his role in the incident.

Atlanta • Oct. 27, 2003

Angela Pisciotta, 21, was sentenced to six years for aggravated assault plus two years to be served consecutively for beating two black men in April 2002. Pisciotta was also ordered to pay a \$10,000 fine, undergo anger management therapy and spend two years on probation.

Trenton • Nov. 13, 2003

Eric Sullivan, 25; Jerrell Garner Jr., 29; Stacy Jones, 30; Steven Jones, 41; Jeremy Sims, 28; and Billy Wells, 31, were each charged with one count of

terroristic threats and acts for allegedly burning a cross in a person’s yard.

IDAHO

Coeur d’Alene • Nov. 2, 2003

Zachary Loren Beck, a 24-year-old Aryan Nations member, was charged with felony malicious harassment as a hate crime for allegedly punching a Hispanic man.

ILLINOIS

Belleville • Nov. 14, 2003

Dennis L. Hayes and Donald S. Davinroy, both 23, and Lary E. Tyler Jr. were each charged with a hate crime, aggravated battery and mob action for allegedly attacking a black man.

Chicago • Nov. 12, 2003

Harley Hermes, 21, a self-proclaimed racist Skinhead, was sentenced to 20 months in prison for conspiring to violate the civil rights of four black children in August 2002.

Chicago • Nov. 19, 2003

Shaun Derfield, 23, was ordered to serve 37 months in prison and pay a \$6,000 fine for yelling racist taunts at black teens and holding a knife to a girl’s throat in August 2002.

Collinsville • Oct. 22, 2003

James R. Buskirk, 17, was charged with a hate crime for allegedly writing racial slurs on a piece of paper he then gave to a black student.

INDIANA

Elkhart • Dec. 23, 2003

Alex Witmer, 22, received the maximum, 65-year prison sentence for the racially motivated killing of a black man in 1999.

Terre Haute • Nov. 18, 2003

A Holocaust museum was set afire and the words “Remember Timothy McVeigh” were written on a wall.

IOWA

Council Bluffs • Oct. 14, 2003

A black man allegedly attacked a white woman while yelling racial slurs.

Iowa City • Oct. 28, 2003

Anti-gay and hate messages were written on the dormitory door of an openly gay black student.

LOUISIANA

New Orleans • Oct. 2, 2003

Frank Palermo, 37, was sentenced to seven years in prison for dousing the cars of three black motorists with gasoline in 1998 while a 3-year-old boy was in one of the cars.

MARYLAND

Frederick • Oct. 9, 2003

Fliers from the neo-Nazi National Alliance were placed on cars throughout a neighborhood.

MASSACHUSETTS

Attleboro • Oct. 22, 2003

The words “White Power” and other racist graffiti were scrawled across an Asian woman’s van.

Framingham • Nov. 26, 2003

Anthony Picciolo, 17, was charged with destruction or threats to a place of worship for allegedly spray-painting messages on a Hindu temple on Halloween.

Randolph • Oct. 25, 2003

Leaflets signed by the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan were scattered around a neighborhood.

Sharon • Oct. 5, 2003

Anti-Semitic and racist literature from the neo-Nazi National Alliance was found on lawns in two neighborhoods.

MICHIGAN

Detroit • Oct. 15, 2003

A flier from the neo-Nazi National Alliance was left in an interracial couple’s yard.

MINNESOTA

Anoka • Nov. 18, 2003

A 16-year-old teenage boy was ordered to do community work benefiting people of color as a part of his punishment for painting a Confederate flag and racist insults on a biracial family’s garage walls.

Minneapolis • Nov. 16, 2003

Fliers from the neo-Nazi National Socialist Movement were left at a residence.

MISSOURI

Chesterfield • Oct. 15, 2003

Fliers from the neo-Nazi National Alliance were distributed throughout a neighborhood.

NEBRASKA

Columbus • Dec. 3, 2003

Flyers from the neo-Nazi National Alliance were left on front lawns throughout a neighborhood.

Grand Island • Dec. 11, 2003

Fliers from the National Alliance were left on the front lawns of several residences.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Goffstown • Oct. 19, 2003

Racial slurs were scrawled on the dormitory room door of two black students at St. Anselm College.

NEW JERSEY

Marlboro • Dec. 27, 2003

Three teen boys were charged with bias intimidation for allegedly hurling rocks through the window of a Jewish resident.

Mount Holly • Nov. 14, 2003

Henry Baird, 36, was sentenced to 15 years in prison for his role in attacking a black couple in July 2001.

Princeton Borough • Oct. 6, 2003

Fliers from the neo-Nazi National Alliance were distributed throughout a neighborhood.

NEW MEXICO

Belen • Nov. 30, 2003

The doors of a Catholic church were set ablaze. The incident is being investigated as a hate crime.

NEW YORK

Astoria • Nov. 29, 2003

A swastika was carved into the front door of a synagogue.

Brockport • Oct. 8, 2003

Two swastikas and the letters “KKK” were scrawled on a Japanese student’s car.

Brocton • Nov. 1, 2003

Literature from the neo-Nazi National Socialist Movement was left throughout a neighborhood.

Bronx • Dec. 12, 2003

Two swastikas were drawn on the double doors of the Hebrew Center.

Brooklyn • Oct. 20, 2003

Ten to 12 swastikas were spray-painted on a wall in an apartment building where several Jewish families live.

Brooklyn • Oct. 27, 2003

Fourteen swastikas were spray-painted on a wall in an apartment building where several Jewish families live.

Corona • Nov. 14, 2003

Alex Batista, 16, and Ivan Pracido, 18, were charged with allegedly attacking two Pakistani teenage boys while yelling, “You’re Taliban.”

Forest Hills • Oct. 5, 2003

Swastikas were scrawled on the door of two temples.

Glenmont • Oct. 29, 2003

A swastika and the letters “KKK” were sketched on a residential road between the residences of a Jewish family and another of a mixed religion.

New York • Oct. 7, 2003

Scott Bain, a 41-year-old white man, was charged with aggravated harassment as a hate crime for allegedly sending anti-Semitic and anti-black E-mails to students at a college.

Oswego • Oct. 31, 2003

Michael D. Johnson, 20, was charged with disorderly conduct for allegedly bursting into a Native American studies class wearing a headdress and shooting a toy suction cup arrow at a teacher while making mock American Indian whooping noises and shouting, “Go back to your own country”.

Queens • Nov. 18, 2003

Three white teenagers allegedly attacked a black man.

Queens • Dec. 17, 2003

Kevin McKenna, 35, was charged with allegedly setting fire to a van bearing Korean lettering because he hated Asian immigrants.

Staten Island • Oct. 1, 2003

Pro-Hitler pamphlets from the neo-Nazi New Order were left in the yards of several neighborhoods for the second time in several days.

Valley Stream • Nov. 18, 2003

Swastikas and the letters “KKK” were spray-painted on a Jamaican family’s home.

Valley Stream • Dec. 3, 2003

Paul O’Reilly, 16, and Gary Evans, 17, were charged with criminal mischief and assault as a hate crime for allegedly hurling a rock with a note containing racial slurs through the window of a black family’s home.

West Hempstead • Oct. 26, 2003
Robert LaRosa, 70, was charged with one count of second-degree aggravated harassment for allegedly leaving a racist, slur-laced message on the answering machine of the Roosevelt/Freeport chapter of the NAACP.

Yonkers • Oct. 9, 2003
Swastikas were spray-painted on an Italian immigrant’s car.

White Plains • Nov. 4, 2003
Several swastikas were drawn on a woman’s doorway and the word

NORTH CAROLINA
Greensboro • Nov. 21, 2003
Fliers from the neo-Nazi White Revo-

Disorder in the Courts

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 69

an innocent 29-year-old Jewish scholar, shouting, “There’s a Jew, get the Jew.” Nelson was arrested for stabbing Rosenbaum, who died hours later after a misdiagnosis.

The evidence seemed solid: Nelson was caught fleeing the scene and was identified by the victim, and police found a bloody knife in his pocket that had DNA consistent with Rosenbaum’s. He also confessed twice to police. But a state court jury acquitted him of murder. Some observers speculated that the racial composition of the jury — six blacks, four Hispanics and two whites — may have played a role in the outcome. Fueling that speculation, 11 of the jurors went to dinner with the defendant and his lawyers after the verdict.

The outcome was different when Nelson was retried in federal court in 1997 on a criminal civil rights charge. New evidence was introduced, including photographs and a post-acquittal confession Nelson made to a girlfriend, and a jury consisting of three blacks, four Hispanics and five whites (including two Jews) sentenced him to almost 20 years in prison.

That wasn’t the end of it. In 2002, Nelson’s conviction was overturned by a federal appeals court because two jurors had been selected out of order — in a mutually agreed-upon effort to diversify the jury. Finally, in a retrial last year, Nelson admitted to the attack in court, but denied other elements necessary to sustain the civil-rights charge. The jury apparently deadlocked over whether the stabbing caused Rosenbaum’s death, even though the judge had blocked any evidence of intervening medical malpractice. Because of the deadlock, Nelson was sentenced to the maximum of 10 years — most of which he had already served. He could be released from prison later this year. In one final twist, the jury forewoman admitted in a post-trial newspaper interview that she had improperly considered out-of-court evidence relating to Rosenbaum’s medical treatment. ▲

Brian Levin is an associate professor of criminal justice at California State University San Bernardino, where he serves as director of the Center for the Study of Hate & Extremism.

lution were distributed throughout a neighborhood.

Morganton • Nov. 9, 2003
Members of the Cleveland Knights of the Ku Klux Klan held a rally.

Raleigh • Dec. 16, 2003
William Franklin Brown, 41, was charged with littering for allegedly dumping a barrage of white supremacist leaflets onto the lawns of a neighborhood.

OHIO
Cuyahoga Falls • Oct. 31, 2003
William Fowler, 43, was charged with ethnic intimidation and criminal damaging for allegedly using racial slurs toward a co-worker and burning a cross at the man’s workstation.

OREGON
Portland • Nov. 12, 2003
Dennis Lloyd Mothersbaugh, 23, was sentenced to slightly more than a year in prison and the maximum of five years for serving as a lookout in a racially motivated attack in September.

PENNSYLVANIA
Gloucester Township • Nov. 10, 2003
James R. McGee, Brad A. Carr and Francis J. Tinney, all 19, were charged with bias intimidation for allegedly verbally harassing a group because of the members’ sexual orientation.

Washington • Oct. 10, 2003
Robert C. Recalini Jr., 21, was sentenced to 18 months in the Intermediate Punishment Program, with the first two months on electronic home monitoring and the next three months undergoing intensive supervision, for spray-painting racial slurs on his black neighbor’s home. He was also ordered to complete 20 hours of community service.

RHODE ISLAND
South Kingstown • Oct. 15, 2003
A swastika and anti-Semitic slogans were scrawled across the dormitory

door of a freshman student at the University of Rhode Island.

SOUTH DAKOTA
Sioux Falls • Dec. 9, 2003
A swastika and a Celtic cross were spray-painted on the front door of a Jewish temple.

TENNESSEE
Johnson City • Nov. 22, 2003
Gregory Allen Freeman, 45, was charged with aggravated assault and felony reckless endangerment for allegedly firing a gun in the air during a Ku Klux Klan initiation ceremony.

Red Bank • Oct. 27, 2003
Literature from the neo-Nazi National Alliance was tossed into yards in a neighborhood.

TEXAS
Dallas • Oct. 9, 2003
The words “Die Jew Die” were scrawled on a Jewish man’s car.

Galveston • Dec. 18, 2003
Fliers from the White Camellia Knights of the Ku Klux Klan were distributed throughout the neighborhood.

Linden • Oct. 9, 2003
Dallas C. Stone, 18; Christopher C. Amox, 20; John W. Owens, 19; and James C. Hicks, 24, were each charged with aggravated assault for allegedly attacking a mentally disabled black man.

VIRGINIA
Springfield • Oct. 11, 2003
Anti-immigrant fliers from the neo-Nazi National Alliance were distributed throughout a neighborhood.

WASHINGTON
Vancouver • Nov. 5, 2003
Dennis J. Barker, 24, was sentenced to 366 days in prison for assaulting a transvestite in June 2003. Barker will receive credit for 132 days of time already served.

THE LAST WORD

Hitler and the Sea-Monkeys

It seemed like a good old all-American craze — until the nasty truth emerged about the man who concocted it

BY BOB MOSER

Nobody ever doubted that Harold von Braunhut was one twisted dude. What else can you say about a man who transformed a dinky, transparent species of crustacean into “Amazing Live Sea-Monkeys,” peddling billions of the creatures under fantastically false pretenses? A man whose 194 other patents included those other unforgettable staples of comic-book advertising, Invisible Goldfish and x-Ray Spex?

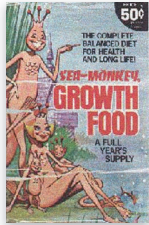
Twisted von Braunhut surely was, but if you asked the legions of baby boomers who mail-ordered his packages of amusing disappointments in the 1960s and ’70s, it definitely seemed like the *good* kind of twisted. So what if Sea-Monkeys did not actually spring to life sporting broad grins, spiky tiaras and perky hairdos? So what if the sperm-like creatures could not truly be hypnotized, play baseball, or rise from the dead? Everybody past the age of 6 knew Sea-Monkeys were little more than an elaborate hoax, but von Braunhut’s witty packaging ensured that everybody still loved them — enough to certify him as a beloved king of American kitsch.

But then von Braunhut, who died recently at age 77, cooked up a drastically different toy — the Kiyoga Agent M5. A pen-sized, coil-springed weapon that unfurled a metal whip at the flick of a wrist, the Kiyoga took off (well, sort of) after Burt Reynolds used it in his 1981 big-budget stinker, “Sharkey’s Machine.” With typically shameless panache, von Braunhut peddled the Kiyoga for \$59.95, calling it the ideal weapon “if you need a gun but can’t get a license.” But in the late 1980s, the Kiyoga snapped back at its inventor.

Richard Butler, head of the Aryan Nations — then the nation’s most dangerous white supremacist group — enclosed a Kiyoga brochure in a fundraising letter while, Butler, who was facing sedition charges in federal court, told his fellow Aryans the “manufacturer has made a pledge of \$25 to my defense fund for each one sold to Aryan Nations supporters.”



JEFF GREEN PHOTOS; THE SPOKESMAN REVIEW



than your average Sea Monkey aquarium. He’d helped buy firearms for a Ku Klux Klan faction in Ohio. He was a regular at the annual Aryan Nations World Congress, where he sometimes had the honor of lighting the cross. He even distributed his own anti-Zionist newsletter. A former business associate said that von Braunhut had once told him, “Hitler wasn’t a bad guy. He just received bad press.”

While thousands of Americans were taking a skeptical second look at their Sea-Monkeys, the *Post* also sent a jolt through the neo-Nazi world with its other big finding: “The 62-year-old supporter of neo-Nazi groups was born and raised in New York City as Harold Nathan Braunhut, a Jew.”

For the rest of his life, von Braunhut’s legendary cleverness deserted him whenever he was questioned about being a Jewish neo-Nazi. He typically lashed out and hung up on reporters who pestered him. But even with his “Aryan” pretensions hopelessly dashed, von Braunhut’s millions kept him in the Aryan Nations fold. In December 1995, von Braunhut — who called himself an ordained priest and often wore a clerical collar to Aryan Nations gatherings — presided over the funeral of Betty Butler, the chief’s wife.

When von Braunhut ascended to that great aquarium in the sky last November, he was said to be at work on a pet lobster and an instant frog. Meanwhile, the Aryan Nations, long since shrunk to a mere crustacean in the sea of organized hate, was said to be eagerly anticipating the reading of at least one Jew’s will. ▲

SOUTHERN POVERTY LAW CENTER: **Promoting Tolerance, Monitoring Hate, Seeking Justice.**



Promoting Tolerance

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. More than 300,000 of the program's video-and-text kits and anti-bias handbooks have been distributed free of charge to schools and community groups across the country.

Tolerance.org is a Web project that awakens people to the problems of hate and intolerance, prompts them to action and encourages them to dig deeper.



Monitoring Hate

The Intelligence Project monitors more than 700 hate groups and tracks extremist activity throughout the United States. It provides comprehensive updates to law enforcement, the media and the general public through its quarterly magazine, *Intelligence Report*. Staff members regularly conduct training for police, schools, and civil rights and community groups.

The Center, in partnership with a major university and the Federal Law Enforcement Training Center, offers an Internet hate crime training course for law enforcement officers throughout the nation.



Seeking Justice

Center attorneys handle innovative cases that few lawyers are willing to take. They fight all forms of discrimination and work to protect society's most vulnerable members. Several of the Center's cases have reached the U.S. Supreme Court, and many have resulted in landmark rulings.

The Center uses novel legal strategies to combat hate groups by suing them for the violent actions of their members. Its victories against several notorious Klan and neo-Nazi groups effectively shut down their operations.

The Center never accepts money from those it helps, and it receives no government funding. Its work is supported by thousands of committed individuals.

VISIT US ON THE WEB

www.splcenter.org • www.tolerance.org • www.teachingtolerance.org