

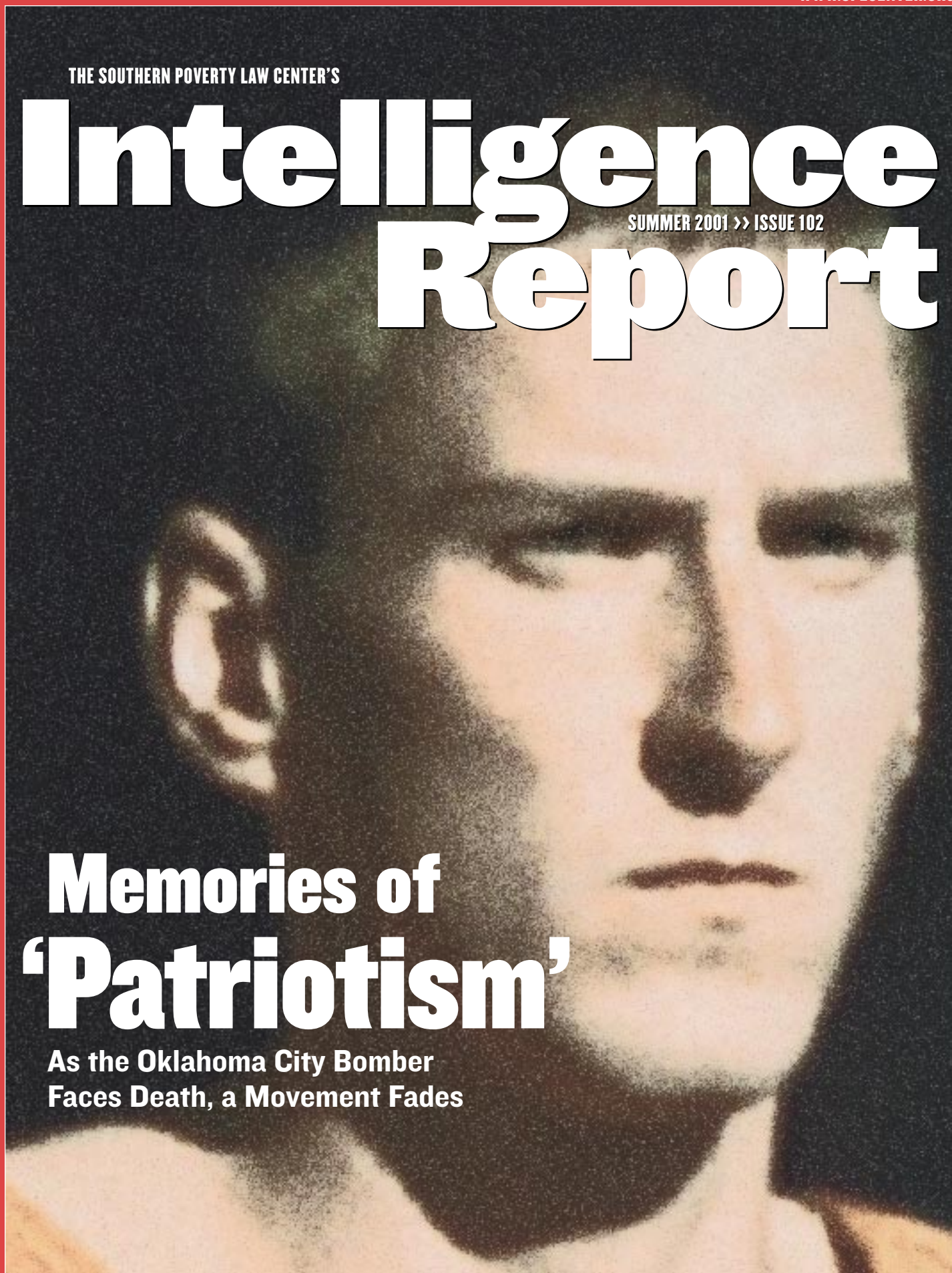
THE SOUTHERN POVERTY LAW CENTER'S

Intelligence Report

SUMMER 2001 >> ISSUE 102

Memories of 'Patriotism'

As the Oklahoma City Bomber
Faces Death, a Movement Fades



Into the Shadows



By Mark Potok, Editor

In the end, he confessed. Six years after carrying out the attack that left 168 Oklahomans dead and a nation forever changed, Timothy McVeigh has decided to let America know — indeed, to boast — that he built the 7,000-pound bomb that leveled the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in 1995. Just weeks away from death in a federal execution chamber, McVeigh has had his story — his version of his life and motivations — told in a brand new book.

It's not clear how much light *American Terrorist: Timothy McVeigh & the Oklahoma City Bombing*, written by two reporters from McVeigh's home town, will shed on the bombing. The book was attacked almost immediately as a naïve and even laudatory treatment of the deadliest domestic terrorist in American history, and it certainly seems to take McVeigh at his word on every important point. But even as it shrugs off the possibility of a larger conspiracy, the book does confirm one key point: Tim McVeigh was a product of the most virulent strain of the antigovernment "Patriot" movement.

His rage was fueled by the infamous standoffs at Ruby Ridge, Idaho, and Waco, Texas. He was deeply enmeshed in the Patriot-riddled gun culture, attending some 80 gun shows by his own estimation. He read the gamut of Patriot literature, taking in all kinds of conspiracy theories and identifying himself with the Founding Fathers. He had definite racist leanings, at one point briefly joining a Ku Klux Klan group. He once considered forming a militia, and even wrote, in early 1995, "I was preaching and 'passing out' before anyone had ever heard the words 'patriot' and 'militia.'"

As Patriots Fade, Others Arise

Now, on May 16, McVeigh faces death. His execution by lethal injection, along with possibly bringing some closure to thousands of Oklahoma City survivors, will mark the fading away of the particular milieu from which he sprang.

The latest annual count by the Southern Poverty Law Center's Intelligence Project finds that the number of Patriot groups declined in 2000 for the fourth straight year, bringing the total

to less than a quarter of its all-time high in 1996. Attendance at militia events is down. Many key players in the movement have quit or been sent to prison. Fury at the gun control laws passed in the 1990s, which did much to fuel the Patriots, has cooled.

McVeigh and his movement are entering the shadows. None of this is to suggest that the radical right in the United States is going away or even shrinking. On the contrary, there is strong evidence that the number of explicitly white supremacist and other hate groups has grown since the Oklahoma City bombing. Indeed, a recent Center count put the number of "hate groups" at more than 600. Ethnic nationalism is swelling, and the currents of hate seem more dangerous than ever.

'Who is the Traitor?'

But the Patriot movement — that particular expression of the radical antigovernment right that was characterized by citizen militias, vigilante "common-law" courts and strident paramilitarism — is fading. The bloody uprising that McVeigh hoped to inspire never occurred. As Ruby Ridge and Waco — the seminal events of the Patriot world — slip into history, the radical right in the United States is evolving into new forms. It is more Nazified, more taken with racist versions of neo-Pagan religions, more anti-capitalist and, in its most "mainstream" forms, more successful at getting a hearing from the citizenry. And it is also more open to large-scale violence.

That last may be the real legacy of Tim McVeigh. In *American Terrorist*, McVeigh speaks clinically of the 19 children he murdered as "collateral damage" that unfortunately distracted the public from his antigovernment message. He explains that one reason he chose the Murrah Building was that its location afforded photographers an unobscured photo opportunity. And he speaks unapologetically of the large "body count" that he needed in order to ensure sufficient publicity for his act.

"To these people in Oklahoma who lost a loved one, I'm sorry, but it happens every day," McVeigh tells the book's authors. "You're not the first mother to lose a kid, or the first grandparent to lose a grandson or granddaughter."

A better summation came from prosecutor Larry Mackey during closing arguments in McVeigh's 1997 trial. "Who are the patriots?" Mackey demanded, glancing angrily at McVeigh. "And who is the traitor?" ▲



AP WIDE WORLD PHOTO

On the Cover More than seven years after it began, the antigovernment "Patriot" movement is a shadow of its former self. The scheduled May 16 execution of Timothy McVeigh may well mark the fading of this particular form of the radical right. **Page 6**



AP WIDE WORLD PHOTO

False Patriots

Brief profiles of 40 men and women who played pivotal roles in the antigovernment "Patriot" movement, along with a timeline recapitulating the history of modern civilian militias, illustrate the changing shape of the radical right. **Page 9**



ELIZABETH ARMSTRONG/THE HERALD

Organizing Freedom

Like Patriot groups nationwide, the organizers of Washington state's separatist "Freedom County" are facing rejection from neighbors and failure in achieving any of their goals. Still, remaining true believers are potentially dangerous. **Page 44**



JENNIFER WARD/ABC

Church vs. State

After 17 years of refusing to pay taxes, the Patriot-linked Indianapolis Baptist Temple was seized by the federal government in February after a 92-day standoff. But the "unregistered churches" movement it has long led is still in business. **Page 49**

Intelligence Report

SUMMER 2001 >> ISSUE 102

Reevaluating the Net

A growing consensus of experts say Web hate sites are less important to recruiting than was once believed. But cyber-extremism is flourishing in discussion groups. **54**

Coming Out

For decades, Dan Gayman was a key ideologue of the racist Christian Identity religion. In an interview, his son and daughter-in law describe life in Gayman's Church of Israel, and how they came to leave it. **56**

Ruling Backs Gun Rights

American courts have never interpreted the Second Amendment as conferring a fundamental individual right to gun ownership. But a recent ruling could begin to change all that. **61**

'By Any Means Necessary'

Taking a page from the radical right, the eco-terrorist Earth Liberation Front says it is targeting the federal government and even "liberal democracy" itself. **65**

Departments

Intelligence Briefs	2
Patriot Group Map	32
Patriot Group List	34
Patriot Site List	36
For the Record	62



INTELLIGENCE PROJECT EDITOR Mark Potok >> SPLC PRESIDENT Joseph J. Levin, Jr. >> CHIEF TRIAL COUNSEL Morris Dees >> VICE PRESIDENT FOR PROGRAMS Richard Cohen
INTELLIGENCE PROJECT DIRECTOR Joseph Roy, Sr. >> STAFF WRITERS Heidi Beirich, John N. Tye >> DESIGN DIRECTOR Rodney Diaz >> DESIGNER Russell Estes
The *Intelligence Report* is compiled by the staff of the Intelligence Project of the Southern Poverty Law Center. It is published quarterly. ©2001 Southern Poverty Law Center. All rights reserved. Permission to reprint text (but not photographs) 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 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.

Aryan Brotherhood

Woman’s Death Exposes Seamy Prison Scam

The bizarre relationship between imprisoned white supremacist Paul “Cornfed” Schneider and his lawyers, Marjorie Knoller and Robert Noel, began unraveling Jan. 16. That’s when Bane and Hera, two dogs kept for Schneider by the married attorneys, attacked and killed lacrosse coach Diane Whipple, 33, in the San Francisco apartment building they all lived in.

Officials at Pelican Bay State Prison, where Schneider is serving a life sentence without possibility of parole, said the dogs were likely part of an illegal dog-fighting ring run from prison—or else bred to guard methamphetamine labs run by the Mexican Mafia. Knoller and Noel denied those allegations.

Within days of Whipple’s death, Knoller, 45, and Noel, 59, completed the legal adoption of Schneider, 38, a member of the much-feared Aryan Brotherhood prison gang, as their child — notwithstanding the fact that one of Schneider’s convictions is for attempting to murder another attorney. Then, while seeking evidence in the mauling, police found risqué photos of Knoller in Schneider’s cell. Police will not discuss other evidence, but their search warrant said they were after material “describing sexual acts by Noel or Knoller that involved dogs.”

In March, Knoller was charged with second-degree murder, and Noel and Knoller



In the latest twist of a bizarre case, attorneys Robert Noel and Marjorie Knoller have been charged with manslaughter in a vicious dog attack.

AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTO

both were charged with manslaughter and keeping a mischievous animal. Hours after their indictment, the two were arrested and held on unrelated charges of reckless driving.

For their part, the attorneys claim they had no idea that the dogs — one of whom was nicknamed “dog of death” by his neighbors long ago — posed a threat to others. But Bane, whose name means “cause of death and destruction,” and Hera, named after the cruel Greek goddess who bore Ares, the god of war, had reportedly

killed livestock and domestic pets while with a previous caretaker. That caretaker said she gave up the dogs to the lawyers because they frightened her.

Schneider is serving time for two attempted murders. He was reportedly linked to a \$3.4 million armored car heist by The Order, a terrorist white supremacist groups of the 1980s, although his alleged role remains unclear. Schneider apparently bought the dogs using settlement money from a medical malpractice lawsuit he filed against the prison system.

Neo-Nazis

German Extremist Loses Bid for U.S. Asylum

Hendrik Möbus, a German neo-Nazi murderer arrested last August in West Virginia, reportedly was denied political asylum in the United States on March 5. Without asylum, Möbus will likely be deported to Germany, where he faces a return to prison for parole violations.

Möbus, who once led a hard-edged band called Absurd, claims he faces political persecution at home. He was paroled in 1998 after serving five years in German prison for the murder, along with other band members, of a young boy. Courts soon sentenced him to

another 26 months in jail for giving a stiff-armed Nazi salute and for mocking and demeaning his murder victim — both crimes under German law. But Möbus eluded capture, and in December 1999 he fled to the U.S., where such activity would have been protected under the First Amendment.

At the time of his arrest, Möbus, a major figure on the “national socialist black metal” music scene, was staying with William Pierce, leader of the neo-Nazi National Alliance and owner of a white power music firm, Resistance Records. Pierce’s efforts to help Möbus

— setting up a legal defense fund, placing an ad in *The Washington Times*, and even organizing an April demonstration outside the German embassy in Washington, D.C. — are unprecedented for the Alliance leader.

The United States sometimes grants asylum to aliens facing political persecution in their native countries. But as a convicted murderer, Möbus was ruled ineligible for asylum, according to an Alliance-run Web site, HendrikMoebus.com, which also said Möbus would appeal. Citing privacy laws,

the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service declined comment.

In January, neo-Nazi Nathan Pett was critically injured after being attacked with a baseball bat in Spokane, Wash. In a dispute of unclear origin last year, Pett allegedly tied Möbus up and beat him systematically with a hammer — an incident that infuriated some other violent racists sympathetic to Möbus and Pierce. But investigators said the attack on Pett was part of a road rage incident and appeared unconnected to his white supremacist activities.

Radical Religion

Creationism Gets a Dash of Anti-Semitism

Do you think the theory of evolution is a Satanic plot to bring about the New World Order? Are you worried that Darwin’s idea produced “Communism, Socialism, Naziism, abortion, liberalism and the New Age Movement?” Then Dr. Kent Hovind is for you.

Hovind, who runs the Creation Science Evangelism ministry from Pensacola, Fla., says the whole Bible is literally true and that the Earth is only 6,000 years old. While that may seem par for the creationist

theories favored by the antigovernment “Patriot” movement. A recent Hovind speech at East Memorial Baptist Church, a relatively mainstream church in Prattville, Ala., drew 500 supporters. Hovind says he speaks each month at dozens of churches and even at public schools nationwide.

Creationism is a fundamentalist issue with wide appeal. By tying it to more radical antigovernment and conspiracy ideas — for instance, the “unregistered



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTO

course, Hovind also sells anti-Semitic books like *Fourth Reich of the Rich* and has recommended *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, a book blaming the world’s problems on a Jewish conspiracy.

Environmentalism and income taxes, Hovind says, are designed to destroy the United States and “bring it under Communism.” “Democracy,” he says, “is evil and contrary to God’s law.”

Every religion has fundamentalists bordering on extremism; Hovind is notable for his wide reception and for his promulgating of conspiracy

church” movement (see story, p. 49) — Hovind is attempting to draw conservatives into a world of far-right conspiracy-mongering and anti-Semitism.

Hovind does allow for loose interpretation of the Bible on at least one issue, though. His Web site, www.drino.com, suggests that “the mark of the beast” from Revelations 13:16 is actually the UPC bar code. “Four people have called me from Arkansas and Missouri,” writes Hovind, “to report seeing customers at the grocery store pay for purchases by scanning their hand.”



Aryan Family Values

Racist Preacher Gets 30 Years in Kidnapping

After abducting his own grandchildren and indoctrinating them for years with white supremacist ideology, anti-Semitic Christian Identity preacher Gordon Winrod was sentenced in March to 30 years in prison.

When police arrested Winrod and two of his children in May 2000 near his farm in Gainesville, Mo., six grandchildren barricaded themselves in his tiny basement, telling authorities to keep their “Jew hands” off them. The standoff lasted four days, until Winrod was convinced to coax them into surrendering.

One grandchild, Erika Leppert, 18, who escaped Winrod’s farm after three years in 1998, testified that Winrod had whipped them and put them in solitary confinement for misbehavior, and had preached racist sermons daily. The grandchildren have since undergone mental health therapy.

Winrod and several of his children kidnapped the grandchildren in 1994 and 1995 from brothers Tim and Joel Leppert in North Dakota, who divorced two of Winrod’s daughters in 1992 and were each awarded joint custody of their children.

The January trial was marked by Winrod’s stubborn demand to represent himself and his accusation that the prosecutor, police and judges ran a “Jewish child sex ring.” Winrod was found in contempt of court for repeatedly asserting, despite the judge’s warnings, that the Leppert brothers had sexually molested their children.

Two Winrod daughters, Quinta and Sharon, are already serving time in North Dakota on charges relating to the kidnappings. Daughter Carol awaits May sentencing after reaching a plea bargain on related charges, and son Steven’s trial on six kidnapping charges began in March.

AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTO

'Lone Wolves'

Despite Tough Talk, Curtis Tells All

White supremacist Alex Curtis, indicted last November on federal hate crime charges, promised never to cooperate with the government. The American Nazi Party, for one, hoped Curtis' legal battle would become the "FIRST time that the Racialists PRESENT A UNITED FRONT AGAINST THE SYSTEM."

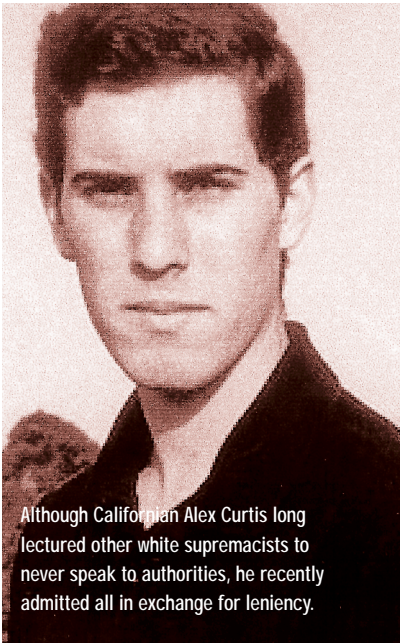
Curtis was famous, after all, for his essay on how to answer all law enforcement questions with just five words: "I have nothing to say."

But Curtis crumbled. In March, he pleaded guilty to three conspiracy charges, admitting that he had harassed U.S. Rep. Bob Filner with racist messages and put a snakeskin through his mailbox, defaced two San Diego County synagogues and the homes and offices of local civil rights activists with racist graffiti, and left a dummy grenade for La Mesa, Calif., Mayor Art Madrid.

In exchange for a sentencing recommendation of three years (he had faced 10 or more), Curtis agreed to apologize for the crimes and to refrain from promoting racism for three years after his release. He also promised during that period not to associate with any of a list of 138 "known"

white supremacists—including White Aryan Resistance founder Tom Metzger, a vigorous ally who had raised money for Curtis' legal defense.

Curtis, who used his *Nationalist Observer* on-line newsletter to promote "lone wolf" violence against the government, allegedly was part of



Although Californian Alex Curtis long lectured other white supremacists to never speak to authorities, he recently admitted all in exchange for leniency.

a small cell of racist activists in custody on related charges. One pleaded guilty and has been sentenced to a year in prison; two others await trial.

Metzger, while lamenting the "misplaced respect given to Mr. Curtis by his many supporters," seemed resigned to accept the plea bargain. "Nothing shocks me anymore," he wrote to readers of his own newsletter. "I never promised you a rose garden."



Aryan Nations chieftain Richard Butler recently gave one of his last sermons under a broken window in the Idaho compound he has been forced to sell.

JENNIFER WARBURG

Hate and the Law

Nazi Compound to be Reborn as Rights Center

Greg Carr thought about burning the Aryan Nations compound to the ground, along with all its swastikas and copies of *Mein Kampf*. Instead Carr, who made millions founding the Internet service Prodigy and who recently bought the neo-Nazi group's compound for \$250,000, will rededicate it as an education and conference center for human rights.

"There would be some visceral satisfaction" in burning it all down, admitted Carr. But he decided people should not "pretend it never happened. We're going to leave it there and acknowledge that this kind of hatred still exists and that we'll battle against it."

Carr bought the northern Idaho compound from Victoria and Jason Keenan, who won a \$6.3 million civil judgment last September against Aryan Nations leader Richard Butler and several followers. The Keenans secured the compound from Butler after the neo-Nazi leader declared bankruptcy as a result of the lawsuit.

Butler was found grossly negligent in the suit filed for the Keenans by the Southern Poverty Law Center. The suit alleged that several Aryan Nations security guards chased, shot at and assaulted the Keenans in 1998.

The guard who fired at the Keenans during the assault, John Yeager, was released in November after 14 months in prison. In the civil case, Yeager was found liable for \$500,000 in damages.

Anti-Abortion Extremism

Accused Assassin Arrested in France

An American fugitive sought for the assassination of a New York obstetrician was arrested in France in late March, just days after hard-line anti-abortion activists won a major court victory in California.

James Kopp, known to abortion protesters as "Atomic Dog," is accused of the October 1998 murder of Dr. Barnett Slepian, who provided abortions. Slepian had just returned from synagogue and was heating soup in his kitchen when he was gunned down in front of his wife and one son by a single sniper's bullet. A hair found in the sniper's nest very closely resembled Kopp's, and Kopp's vehicle had been seen in the neighborhood weeks earlier.

Kopp also was wanted for the 1995 wounding of an abortion doctor in Canada, and is suspected in two other non-



James "Atomic Dog" Kopp

AP WIDE WORLD PHOTO

fatal attacks there. When he was arrested, Kopp apparently had been in France for three weeks and in Ireland for about a year before that.

In New York, officials almost simultaneously arrested convicted clinic bomber Dennis Malvasi and his wife, Loretta Marra, for allegedly sending

money to Kopp and helping him evade an international dragnet.

Meanwhile, a federal appeals court in March overturned a \$107 million judgment against anti-abortion activists who had gathered and posted on an Internet site detailed information about abortion doctors — data widely seen as useful only to an assassin. The "Nuremburg Files" site, which carried photographs of doctors, the routes they took to work and more, crossed out the names of doctors — including Slepian's — as they were murdered.

In 1999, a jury found for Planned Parenthood and the other plaintiffs, ruling that the anti-abortion activists' activity amounted to illegal threats. But the appeals court found that "political speech may not be punished just because it

makes it more likely that someone will be harmed at some unknown time in the future by an unrelated third party."

Also this spring, a nationwide manhunt continued for Clayton Waagner, an escaped convict who officials fear plans to murder physicians. Waagner stalked abortion doctors in several cities in 1999 before he was arrested that September and convicted on federal weapons charges. Waagner explained then that he had been going to Seattle to kill an abortion doctor. "I would much rather be sitting on death row right now for having succeeded than sitting in some county jail for having failed."

Waagner escaped from an Illinois jail on Feb. 23. Officials say he was spotted in late March in Tennessee, apparently heading eastward.

Patriot Games

Florida 'Church' Leaders Guilty In Scam

Five leaders of Florida's Tampa-based Greater Ministries International Church were found guilty in March of running a massive Ponzi scheme that took close to half a billion dollars from over 18,000 victims — people who were promised that God would double their money in less than two years. The church leaders used the language of the "Patriot" movement and often victimized fellow antigovernment zealots.

In nationwide "road shows," Greater Ministries head Gerald Payne explained that his financial program was based on the Gospel of St. Luke. Although profits were up to God, he said, those who gave would make money until the Second Coming of Christ. Payne said he would invest the "donations" in gold and diamond mines in Liberia, among other places, where he said he was a friend of the president.

Once rich, Payne promised that the investors would con-

vert Greater Royal Island, north of the Bahamas, into a theocracy, complete with 1,000 Claymore mines, C-4 plastic explosive, grenade launchers, .50-caliber machine guns, shotguns, sniper rifles, flak vests, armor-piercing ammunition and imported Filipino laborers. Payne said he had cleared it with the United Nations, but that in the event of a showdown with the Bahamians, "I want us to win at any cost."

The Greater Ministries principals never got to face

down the Bahamians. In fact, they hardly even got around to investing. In a classic pyramid scheme, prosecutors showed that Payne and his fellow defendants used later investors to pay off earlier ones. The directors' secret 5% cut — "gas money," they called it — totaled \$22.4 million.

Payne's conviction on 19 charges included various counts of conspiracy, mail and wire fraud and money laundering. His wife, Betty, and two others were guilty on 16 charges; a fifth man was guilty on five. All are awaiting sentencing.

The Rise and Decline of the 'Patriot Riots'

With the planned execution of Timothy McVeigh, a movement that roiled the 1990s comes symbolically to a close

John Trochmann, a Militia of Montana leader who once claimed a following in the thousands, today leads a tiny organization that is derisively referred to as the “Mail Order Militia.” Donald Beauregard, a Florida militiaman who asserted in 1995 that a map on a Trix cereal box revealed secret government plans, is now serving a five-year sentence for trying to blow up power stations. Jeff Randall, co-founder of an Alabama militia group and the man who embarrassed federal agents by exposing a racist event they’d attended, has left the “Patriot” movement and apologized.

More than seven years after it began, the so-called Patriot movement, characterized by gun-toting militiamen angry at the federal government, is a shadow of its former self. The scheduled May 16 execution of Oklahoma City bomber Timothy McVeigh may well serve as a bookend to the militia phenomenon, marking the dying gasps of a movement that has dwindled away in favor of other groups.

In its latest annual count, the Southern Poverty Law Center’s Intelligence Project identified 194 antigovernment Patriot

groups that were active in 2000 — a drop of almost 9% from the year before, and the fourth consecutive decline since the Patriot movement peaked with 858 groups in 1996. The count marked the lowest ebb of a movement that throughout much of the 1990s captured the attention of the nation — and which was shoved into the international limelight with the 1995 attack that left 168 people dead in Oklahoma City.

People have left the militia movement for a variety of reasons. They have gone home, disillusioned and tired of waiting for the revolution that never seems to come. They have been scared off, frightened by the arrests of thousands of comrades for engaging in illegal “common-law” court tactics, weapons violations and even terrorist plots. And they have, in great numbers, left the relatively non-racist Patriot world for the harder-line groups that now make up most of the radical right.

“Although militia activity continues at a low level, the antigovernment Patriot movement is running out of steam,” said Joe Roy, director of the Intelligence Project. “But at the same time, racist and anti-Semitic hate groups have been growing, thanks to former militiamen and others who have joined up.”

Less Outreach from a Harder Core

Patriot outreach has shrunk, too. Although there have been recent efforts to expand Patriot short-wave radio programming, the number of Patriot sites on the Internet — the principal propaganda venue for most Patriot groups — has plummeted. The Intelligence Project identified just 155 Patriot sites on the World Wide Web in early 2001, a drop of 41% from the 263 Web sites counted a year earlier.

What remains of the Patriot scene today is generally harder core, with an increasing number of groups influenced by the racist and anti-Semitic Christian Identity theology favored by some American neo-Nazi groups. Many others have embraced another radical theology, Christian Reconstructionism. Typical of declining movements, the Patriot world is also increasingly dominated by profiteers — men and women who play on the conspiracy theories that characterize Patriot thinking to rip off their supposed brethren in the movement.

The life stories of many well-known Patriots help illustrate the changing shape of the radical right (see profiles, p. 9). Linda Thompson, a Patriot who once called for an armed march on Washington, D.C., and created a key propaganda film

about Waco, has disappeared into obscurity in North Carolina. J.J. Johnson, at one time the militias’ favorite African-American, now says he doesn’t want to be black any more; he’d rather be a rebel, and so has taken up with racist “pro-South” groups.

Behind the Fears

It would be easy to dismiss the Patriot movement, with its outlandish conspiracy theories and childish fascination with guns, as a collection of nuts, people lacking basic reasoning skills whose arguments were naïve at best. But that would be too easy. In fact, America’s militiamen embodied real grievances and fears.

In many ways, the movement represented an alienated and distrustful response to a rapidly changing world — a rejection of the vision of the post-Communist world that was summarized in then-President Bush’s “New World Order” speech in 1990. In the heartland, Americans were not so quick as their country’s elites to endorse the drawing together of economies, races and cultures that globalism represents. Instead, they saw globalism as robbing America of its independence and culture, and threatening farmers, industrial workers and others economically.

Their anger, aimed at the government and all international bodies, was seen both in the “Republican Revolution” of 1994 — when a large number of candidates were elected on explicitly antigovernment platforms — and in polls which showed that more than half of Americans saw the federal government as an imminent threat to their civil liberties. Governmental power in general was under attack.

In particular, many in the West and Midwest mightily resented attempts to impose gun control — few actions helped spur the militia movement more than the 1993 Brady Bill — and to regulate the environment. They were also deeply angered by international trade agreements that seemed to be facilitating the transfer of jobs from America to cheap Third World labor markets. And they were infuriated by two events that seemed to show how the federal government treated dissenters.

Government as Villain

The first was the 1992 federal siege of white supremacist Randy Weaver, whose wife and son were killed at their Ruby Ridge, Idaho, home. It was in response to this that extremists convened at a key meeting — the “Rocky Mountain Rendezvous,” held in Estes Park, Colo. —

and laid out the contours of the militia movement. But what really ignited the militia movement was the federal siege of the Branch Davidians in Waco, Texas, which ended in a conflagration that left some 80 Davidians dead.

Consider the Oklahoma bombers. McVeigh, as he told the authors of the just-released book *American Terrorist*, was animated by Waco, and in fact blew up the federal building on the second anniversary of the fiery end of that standoff. McVeigh also had a foot in the neo-Nazi world, using the racist novel *The Turner Diaries* as the blueprint for his attack. Co-conspirator Terry Nichols, too, had deep roots in the radical right, renouncing his U.S. citizenship in 1992 and endorsing an array of Patriot theories first popularized by the racist Posse Comitatus in the 1980s.

Today, the state of the Patriot movement can be discerned in many ways. Patriot periodicals have almost all lost circulation. Former colleagues are finding themselves on opposite sides as some militias adopt Identity theology and others try to maintain a “moderate” image. Virtually every week, more people involved in the movement are sent to prison for crimes ranging from illegal gun possession to such common-law tactics as filing

false property liens and passing fake checks. Official crackdowns have militiamen and other Patriots in constant fear of informers.

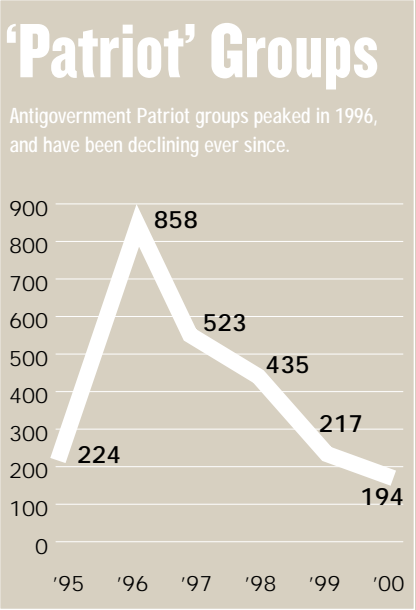
The Movement ‘Abandoned’

For years, Patriot heavyweights gathered twice a year in Shepherdsville, Ky., for the nearby Knob Creek Machine Gun Shoot. Members of militia coalitions like the Third Continental Congress and the Southeastern States Alliance set up tents there and filled meeting halls. But divisions persisted and worsened. In the end, even the best-laid plans for pulling together a national or even regional coalition of Patriot groups could not survive the pettiness and power plays of the would-be rebels.

Thousands still attend the Kentucky gun events. But at the most recent “shoot,” there was virtually no antigovernment sentiment on display other than a sticker on a backpack that proclaimed its owner a “Militia Sniper” — a sticker that may well have been meant as a rhetorical jab rather than a boast. In a similar way, what were once billed as Preparedness Expos

— events where survivalist goods were sold to Patriots fearful of “Y2K” disasters — are seeing far fewer Patriots. Reflecting the change in audience, the fairs were recently renamed Lifeline Expos.

To some, it all amounts to a sad state of affairs.



Norm Olson, a Michigan gun shop owner who began one of the earliest and largest militias, was spurned recently when he offered to bring armed Patriots to help defend Indianapolis Baptist Temple (IBT), which was about to be seized by officials for refusing to pay withholding taxes (see p. 49). “All day long I’ve heard reports that the IBT was seized,” Olson wrote bitterly after federal agents finally moved in last February. “This is not true. The IBT was not seized or taken, it was given away... . [I]t was abandoned by people who once swore that they would stand.”

Clearly, the Patriot movement is not what it once was; in fact, this particular expression of the American radical right is almost certainly fizzling. But that does not mean that radical antigovernment sentiment is going away. Antigovernment ideology has been with the United States since its founding, and it is certain to remain a permanent fixture in our culture. The only question is precisely what form the antigovernment extremist right will take in the decades to come. ▲

FALSE PATRIOTS

Reaching its peak in 1996, the antigovernment “Patriot” movement was a particular form of the American radical right that was characterized by paramilitary militias, opposition to gun control and the federal government, and belief in an array of conspiracy theories about the so-called “New World Order.” Patriots were drawn from all walks of life and though only some were explicitly racist, many of the key militants and ideologues of the movement had long histories of involvement in white supremacist groups. In the late 1990s, Patriot groups began to dwindle as members left the movement, joined other kinds of radical groups, were imprisoned or, in a few cases, died in confrontations with law enforcement authorities. Here, along with a timeline tracing the history of modern militias, are brief profiles of 40 people involved in the Patriot movement whose life stories over the last few years help illustrate the changing shape of the radical right. >>



‘Collateral Damage’

A new biography that purports to explain Oklahoma bomber Timothy McVeigh is interesting, but misses key points

Facing imminent death in an execution chamber, Timothy McVeigh is happy to take responsibility for the Oklahoma City bombing — in fact, he minimizes any role that co-conspirator Terry Nichols and others may have had. He talks about how he considered murdering the members of a federal agent’s family or going on an assassination spree instead of setting off the bomb. He discusses the media exposure the bombing was designed to attract, and frets that the deaths of 19 children — “collateral damage,” in McVeigh’s unforgettable phrase — may have distracted from his message.

But the subject of a new book, *American Terrorist: Timothy McVeigh & the Oklahoma City Bombing*, is at pains to insist that he did not know that the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building contained a day-care center filled with chil-

dren. “If I had known it was there,” he says, “I probably would have shifted the target.”

Well, maybe. And maybe not.

A week after the book was released amid great fanfare, a defense psychiatrist interviewed by its authors spoke to ABC’s “Good Morning America.” “Tim told me he was down looking over the building, there was light from somewhere,” Dr. John Smith told the program. “And that he saw the shadow of a crib on the wall.”

That’s the problem with *American Terrorist*. Again and again, it seems to tell McVeigh’s story as he would want it told. Details that McVeigh finds inconvenient, like the children in the federal building, are explained away.

McVeigh, who at one point says that he enjoys a “good nigger joke,” con-

cedes that he briefly joined a Klan group in North Carolina — but adds he had no idea what the Klan was about. He says he told many people that the government had secretly implanted a microchip in his buttocks — but then claims that he told that story merely to put on gullible people. He writes his sister, Jennifer, that he was asked to help “the CIA fly drugs into the U.S.” — but then, in the words of the book’s authors, calls that the letter “his way of introducing Jennifer to his mind-set at the time.”

Ultimately, McVeigh is not interested in discussing anything other than his heroic motivations. “Death and loss are an integral part of life everywhere,” is his view of the destruction he caused. “We have to accept it and move on.”

Commander Zero

RICK AINSWORTH, 50 Working days as a Florida Department of Revenue investigator, Richard “Rick” Ainsworth has spent the rest of his time in recent years trying to make himself into a major militia leader — a goal that his abrasive personality derails every time. Starting out as the “Republic of Florida” delegate to the Patriot government-in-waiting known as the Third Continental Congress, Ainsworth wound up heading that group before going on to lead another coalition called the Southeastern States Alliance. In both cases, he ended up angering colleagues and ultimately quitting over what he perceived as personal slights. On the way out, he made a habit of accusing his many detractors of being government informants — invective frequently hurled back at him by his erstwhile friends. Kentucky militia leader Charlie Puckett, for instance, reacted to an attack by describing Ainsworth as an “IDIOT” and relating how Ainsworth once told him he “wanted control of all the Militia’s [sic] in the United States!” After alienating most of his former pals, Ainsworth recently began looking for new underlings in the burgeoning neo-Confederate movement, helping to start a group called the Confederate States of America (CSA) with another militia veteran, Bill Cox. But Ainsworth had a falling-out with Cox last fall, accusing him and another CSA official of being informants.

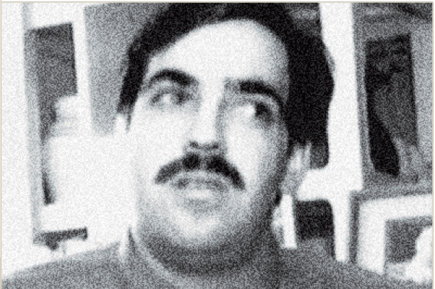


The Hawaiian Ambassador

ELIZABETH BRODERICK, 58 A remarkable aspect of the antigovernment Patriot movement of the 1990s was the way so many “constitutionalists” engaged in ideologically dressed-up scams that boiled down to plain, old-fashioned rip-offs. Mary Elizabeth Broderick, who already had been convicted of running a pyramid scheme in Colorado, became a Patriot in a big way after learning how to create fake financial instruments from the Montana Freemen. Court records show that Broderick, who had a well-developed taste for expensive jewelry and other luxuries, offered her own workshops to dupes who were charged \$200 apiece to learn how to create fake checks — checks that cost another \$200 each. Ultimately, Broderick and her three accomplices issued about 8,000 phony checks totaling millions of dollars; her personal take was \$1.2 million. Broderick, who gave herself the title of the “Lien Queen,” told people taking her classes that the checks were backed by \$1 billion in liens against the federal government. In federal court, Broderick told the judge that he had no jurisdiction because she was “an ambassador of the Kingdom of Hawaii” — a remark that drew snickers. In the end, the judge sentenced her to 16 years in federal prison, but not before telling her, “You’re not a patriot. You defrauded thousands of people ... who were desperate.”

Worst Nightmare

DONALD BEAUREGARD, 33 Like many people in the militia movement, Donald Beauregard embarked on an ideological voyage that took him from the ridiculous to the truly dangerous. Even as he worked at a discount store and later managed a Hickory Farms shop at a St. Petersburg, Fla., mall, Beauregard built a second career as one of the most active militiamen in the



Southeast. He was the leader of the 77th Regiment Militia, a group that in 1995 raised the alarm over a “secret map” displaying how the United Nations planned to take over America — a map, the group explained, that mistakenly had been printed on the back of a Trix cereal box (where, presumably, a breakfasting militiaman discovered it). The next year, an associate of Beauregard’s distributed a 77th Regiment document entitled “Project Worst Nightmare” to other militias that suggested kidnapping “key federal leaders” if the FBI siege of the Montana Freemen ended violently. In 1998, the FBI said later, Beauregard decided to follow through by blowing up Florida power stations — a fact exposed by Beauregard’s “security chief,” Rich Ganey, who turned out to be an informant. Ultimately, in July 2000, Beauregard was sentenced to five years in a federal plea agreement. His lawyer in the case was Nancy Lord Johnson, who is married to J.J. Johnson — a militia sympathizer listed as an unindicted co-conspirator in Beauregard’s indictment and the same Beauregard associate who passed out “Project Worst Nightmare” copies back in 1996.



Conduct Unbecoming

STEVEN BARRY, 45 A fervent Catholic given to unfiltered Camel cigarettes, Bushmill’s Irish whiskey, and spending time in his North Carolina home wearing nothing but a kilt, Steven Barry is a former Special Forces sniper who once described himself as a “defector in place.” Animated by the standoffs at Ruby Ridge, Idaho, and Waco, Texas, Barry began editing an extremist publication, *The Resister*, and distributing it secretly at Fort Bragg. He also created a secret group called the Special Forces Underground. Although the Army was less than forthcoming with Congressional investigators of extremism in the military, it ultimately took a close look at Barry and issued him a career-wrecking reprimand in 1996, a year after Oklahoma bomber Timothy McVeigh was arrested with a copy of *The Resister* in his car. Today, Barry is out of the Army and has become an open neo-Nazi. From a house decorated with old military signs like “Colored Officers’ Showers,” he publishes his journal and attends gatherings of a variety of extremist groups ranging from the League of the South to the Council of Conservative Citizens to the neo-Nazi National Alliance. Although the Alliance has described him as its “military coordinator,” Barry says he let his membership lapse some time ago. “Hitler,” Barry opined recently, “was good for Germany.”



TIMELINE

9/11/90 President Bush, describing the post-Cold War world, outlines his vision of a “New World Order.” Conspiracy-minded Patriots take this as a slip of the tongue revealing secret plans to create a one-world government.



FEBRUARY '92 White supremacist theorist Louis Beam calls for “leaderless resistance,” or cells of fighters who report to no one. In coming years, the concept will be picked up by many in the Patriot movement.

4/2/92 Terry Nichols, who will one day be convicted of conspiracy in the Oklahoma City bombing, renounces his U.S. citizenship, saying he “follow[s] the common law,” indicating his early participation in the Patriot movement.

AUGUST '92 James “Bo” Gritz, a Vietnam war hero admired by many Americans, calls for civilian militias during his “populist” campaign for the presidency.

8/31/92 White supremacist Randy Weaver surrenders after an 11-day stand-off at his cabin on Ruby Ridge, Idaho, that left his wife, son and a U.S. marshal dead. The incident galvanizes many on the radical right.



10/23/92 Anti-Semitic Christian Identity pastor Pete Peters hosts the “Rocky Mountain Rendezvous” in Estes Park, Colo., where 160 extremists, reacting to Ruby Ridge, lay out strategies for what will become the militia movement.

2/28/93 Four federal agents and several cultists are killed in a gunfight when the

The Eighth Angel

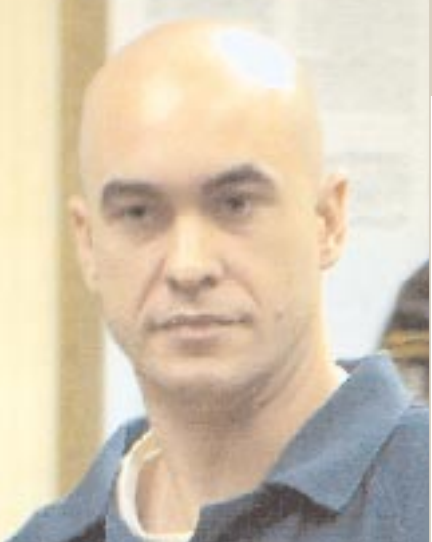


RON COLE, 31 Most everyone on the radical right professed great sympathy toward the Branch Davidians led by David Koresh in Waco, Texas, but there was only one person who actually took up the faith of the beleaguered denizens of Ranch Apocalypse. Ronald David Cole came to Waco to cover the 51-day standoff for *The Jubilee*, a tabloid of the racist and anti-Semitic Christian Identity movement. Within months of the fiery end of the standoff, Cole had produced a self-published book on the episode, *Sinister Twilight: A Tragedy Near Waco, and a Sinister Twilight in America*. Cole and a surviving Davidian also fruit-

lessly invited other survivors to join them in restarting the Waco group at their home in Colorado. And soon after that, Cole, describing Koresh as the seventh in a succession of angels marking the end-times, declared himself the eighth. “God sent a message to me, and I suspect I am that heir,” Cole told a reporter. “God has given me a gift.” Cole also said he was “wing commander” of the Colorado First Light Infantry, a Patriot group with a membership of three. In 1997, Cole moved to a Denver suburb, apparently in order to attend the trial of Oklahoma bomber Timothy McVeigh, who Cole claimed to have once met. Two months into the trial, Cole was arrested at his home with a large illegal arms cache — allegedly including a grenade hooked up to his front door — and was sent to federal prison for more than two years.

Star Trekker

WILLIAM COOPER, 56 While many militiamen were concerned about illegal aliens, Vietnam veteran William Cooper fretted about aliens of another kind. In a 1991 book that became a movement classic, sold in mainstream bookstores as well as from militia fair booths, Cooper described how his research proved that President Dwight Eisenhower signed a secret treaty with beings from outer space allowing them to abduct humans in return for advanced technology. *Behold a Pale Horse* also spoke of the scheming cabals and global elites, familiar to all Patriots, whose final aim was the institution of the much-feared “New World Order.” “A grand game of chess is being played on a level that we can barely imagine,” Cooper wrote. Cooper also ran a short wave radio show called “Hour of Time” and produced a periodical. Today, Cooper says he was wrong about aliens. The truth, he explains, is global elites are using fears of aliens to control Americans, in particular through the “Star Trek” TV series, which he says is “an indoctrination into the concepts of socialism through subliminal initiation of the youth of the nation.” Currently, Cooper is wanted for tax evasion and bank fraud and has been holed up in his hilltop home in Eagar, Ariz., for three years. He recently E-mailed militia friends saying he’d learned an arrest was imminent, but that he’d “kill as many [agents] as I can before they kill me. You can all count on me.”



HARREAL LONGTOLEDO BLADE

Eating Their Young

PAUL DARLAND, 29 Late one night in September 1994, police in Fowlerville, Mich., pulled over three combat fatigued militiamen who, it turned out, had been surveiling police and carrying a major arsenal in their car. Rather than show up at their arraignment, the men — who said they were bodyguards for a hard-line militia propagandist, Mark Koernke — hid out at the farm of a fellow militia sympathizer and waited for promised help from Koernke. But as they waited, two of the group — farm owner John Maurice Stephenson and Paul David Darland — grew increasingly agitated and angry at Koernke for failing to deliver. As they talked, they decided that 26-year-old comrade William Gleason, who faced weapons charges along with Darland, had been secretly informing on them to Koernke. Telling Gleason that they needed to dig a grave for Koernke, they got Gleason to help. When Gleason took his turn, Darland stood behind him and murdered him with a single shot to the head. Stephenson was arrested in 1996 and eventually pleaded guilty to being an accessory. Darland got away to Indiana, where he took a fake name and married a woman who had no idea who he really was. But police, knowing Darland’s taste for topless bars, finally caught up with him in a Fort Wayne club, and in early 2001 he was convicted of murder.



AP WIDE WORLD PHOTO

Glass Houses

HELEN CHENOWETH, 62 Remarkably, the militia movement of the 1990s found many defenders in public office around the country, especially county officials and sheriffs in the western states. But none were so high-ranking as Republican Helen Chenoweth, the three-term Idaho congresswoman who became famous as the “poster girl for the militia movement.” Elected during the “Republican Revolution” of 1994, Chenoweth wasted little time before outraging many. She defended Samuel Sherwood, a key militia leader, after he was quoted saying, “Go up and look your legislators in the face, because one day you may be forced to blow it off.” She proposed a bill to strip federal agents of their arrest powers without prior consent by local officials. A bitter opponent of environmentalists, she said it was “the white, Anglo-Saxon male” who was truly endangered. She explained that the reason that Idaho has few minority residents is “the warm-climate community just hasn’t found the colder climate that attractive.” And she angrily attacked President Clinton during the Monica Lewinsky scandal, saying, “Personal conduct *does* count.” Then came a revelation: Chenoweth had herself carried on an affair with a married man for six years. It was a relationship, she conceded, that she “came to regret” — but she insisted that it was different from Clinton’s affair, as it had predated her election.

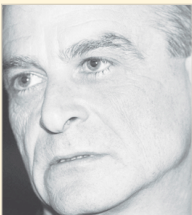
Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms raids the Branch Davidian compound in Waco, Texas. The 51-day standoff that follows rivets the nation.



AP WIDE WORLD PHOTO

4/19/93 The FBI tries to end the Waco standoff by injecting tear gas into a building that subsequently bursts into flames, leaving some 80 Davidians dead. More than any other event, the debacle ignites the militia movement.

7/8/93 In a stinging rebuke to federal law enforcement, a jury acquits Randy Weaver and another man



AP WIDE WORLD PHOTO

of murdering a U.S. marshal during the Ruby Ridge standoff. Evidence emerges that the FBI loosened its normal rules of engagement and covered up that fact later.

10/4/93 A Florida couple with ties to the Patriot movement guns down an Opelika, Ala., police sergeant investigating a disturbance involving the woman’s 9-year-old son. They will later be convicted of capital murder.



AP WIDE WORLD PHOTO

enthusiasts. Anger at the bill, along with a 1994 ban on some assault weapons, helps fuel the militia movement.

NOVEMBER '93 The Brady Bill, imposing a waiting period for handgun purchasers, is signed into law, infuriating many gun



Stormy Weather

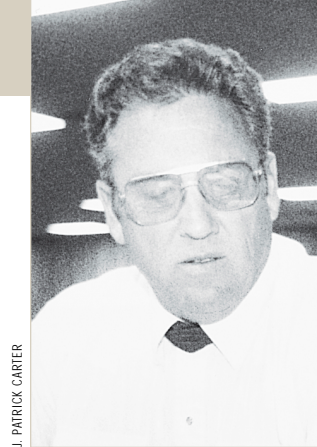
BOB FLETCHER, 57 One of just five militiamen to testify before the Senate Judiciary Committee in the aftermath of the Oklahoma City bombing, Bob Fletcher served up some of the more amazing Patriot theories to his audience. As Fletcher described a secret United Nations weather machine hidden in Brussels that he said switches charges in the ionosphere, Sen. Herbert Kohl (D-Wisc.) appeared slightly befuddled. “You’re saying the gov-



ernment has created weather-tampering techniques so the ‘New World Order’ will be able to starve millions of Americans and control the rest?” the senator asked. “I know that seems kind of like Space Rangers kind of talk,” Fletcher replied. “Unfortunately, we’ve got all the proof.” Fletcher, then spokesman for the Militia of Montana, also offered up a chilling prediction elsewhere after the Oklahoma attack: “Expect more bombs.” Later, Fletcher purchased a West Coast radio station and ran his own talk show, also rich with conspiracy theory. He produced hot-selling videos with titles like “Exotic Weapons of Mass Control,” “Bombs of Oklahoma,” “Drugs, Government Officials & the CIA” and, relatively recently, “Government Secrecy & UFOs.” “We’ve permitted a secret government to develop,” Fletcher told one Idaho audience. “If any of you think this is not happening, you’re damned naïve.”

God, Guns and Guts

CHARLES DUKE, 58 A Colorado electrician turned politician, Charles Duke was truly the militiaman’s representative. Serving six years in the state House and almost four in the state Senate, the Republican from Monument was also honorary chairman of the National State Sovereignty Coalition, a Patriot outfit. He wrote a weekly column for a key Patriot publication, *The Free American*. Duke once outraged constituents by asking a crowd how many thought the federal government was behind the Oklahoma City bombing. He told *The Wall Street Journal* that “an executive order is being prepared by President Clinton to suspend the Bill of Rights.” He suggested that GOP House Speaker Newt Gingrich was involved in bugging his home. And he tried to broker an end to the Montana Freeman standoff. Then came an epiphany. After a summer in a cabin hidden deep in the woods, Duke emerged to say “the Lord God almighty” had suggested that he drop out of politics and instead learn “how to survive in a country devoid of freedom.” For a time, he did. But last year, he was spotted at “America’s Tea Party 2000,” a kind of conspiracy theorists’ convention. And he never did give up his fondness for guns. In November, he was arrested as he tried to enter a Denver public building and charged with illegally carrying a concealed 9mm pistol.



J. PATRICK CARTER

Posse to Prison

DARRELL FRECH, 57 Although many of those who joined the militia movement were not racist or anti-Semitic, the ideology that they embraced derived directly from groups that were. Few people illustrate this connection better than Darrell Frech, who had been deeply involved with the anti-Semitic and often violent Posse Comitatus in the 1970s and 1980s. When the antigovernment Patriot movement picked up steam in the mid-1990s, Frech was quick to jump on board, and he brought with him from his Posse days the ideology of “common-law courts” — courts that have no legal standing but nevertheless were set up to reach “judgments” against Patriot enemies. Waving a copy of the anti-Semitic *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, Frech presided over a common-law court in Alfalfa County, Okla., explaining that Washington, D.C., was a “Satanic principality” that is encircled by a highway 66.6 miles long (as in the Biblical “mark of the beast”). Between 1993 and 1997, Frech and his wife Sally engaged in a scheme, originated by a group called We the People, that involved convincing some 1,500 Patriot sympathizers to give them \$300 apiece in order to qualify for millions of dollars worth of “damages” from the government. Their take: \$400,000 in profits. Although Frech told the judge in his case that America had been “controlled since 1860 by the Crown of England,” the court did not hesitate to send him to prison to serve a nine-year sentence. His wife got nearly five.

‘Ninja Wannabes’

BRAD GLOVER, 60 In the conspiratorial world of the Patriots, one key myth was that foreign troops were secretly being trained on U.S. bases to join in an invasion of America led by the United Nations. While some Patriots were skeptical, Bradley Playford Glover, who claims to be a former naval intelligence officer, was not one of them. Glover first took up with the 7th Division Constitutional Militia of Kansas as its “brigadier general,” telling one reporter in 1995 that he had an improbable 1,000 followers who would surely “whip” the U.S. military during the coming invasion. “We can take out the so-called ninja wannabes,” he boasted. “We’ll beat ’em quick.” When his group disbanded over bad publicity following the Oklahoma bombing, Glover moved on to a Patriot umbrella group called the Third Continental Congress, where he finagled a promotion to “Minister of War.” But he and a few cohorts found the Congress too tame, and decided the time for battle had arrived. Armed to the teeth, Glover and another man headed for the Army’s Fort Hood base in Texas, determined to attack and wipe out the scheming foreigners. But being late sleepers, they were roused by FBI agents on the morning of the planned Independence Day 1997 attack as they slept in tents at a nearby campsite. Arrested with a cache of weaponry, Glover would finally be sent to federal prison in 1999 to serve a five-year sentence for firearms violations.



MIKE HUMMACH/WICHITA (KS) EAGLE

1/1/94 The first modern militia, the Militia of Montana, is officially inaugurated. It is led by John Trochmann, a white supremacist supporter of Randy Weaver.

JANUARY '94 The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) is implemented, angering many over the prospect of a loss of U.S. jobs to Mexico. Patriots see this as reflecting the growing power of a global elite, or New World Order.

1/30/94 A California official who angered Patriot “common-law” adherents by refusing to vacate an IRS lien is beaten, stabbed and sodomized with a gun. The attack exemplifies the growing violence of common-law adherents.



AP WIDE WORLD PHOTO

MARCH '94 More than 800 people gather in Kalispell, Mont., to hear Militia of Montana leader John Trochmann, reflecting the growing strength of the militia movement.

APRIL '94 The Michigan Militia, soon to grow into the nation’s largest militia group with up to 6,000 members, is formed by gun shop owner Norm Olson (top) and Ray Southwell.



AP WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

MAY '94 In a speech to the antigovernment U.S. Taxpayers Party, a militant abortion opponent calls on churches to form their own militias, showing the increasing convergence of Patriot and anti-abortion activists.

Aryan Microbiologist

LARRY WAYNE HARRIS, 48 A bearded microbiologist from Dublin, Ohio, Larry Wayne Harris once spent his days testing food and water for contaminants — and cooking up some of the more paranoid fantasies to engage the minds of the Patriot movement. In 1995, Harris ordered three vials of freeze-dried *Yersinia Pestis*, better known as bubonic plague. After federal agents raided his home — finding the plague vials, many weapons and a certificate identifying Harris as a lieutenant in the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations — he insisted he was no terrorist. On the contrary, Harris said, he was deeply concerned about an “invasion from Iraq of super-germ-carrying rats.” Elsewhere, he said Iraqi terrorist women planned to smuggle deadly toxins into the United States in their vaginas. Harris wrote *Bacteriological Warfare: A Major Threat to North America*, a book that he said gave Americans the weapons to fight back — but which also could be read as a bio-terrorist’s how-to manual. On probation for lying in order to get the plague vials, Harris got into trouble again in 1998 when an informant told the FBI Harris boasted of having enough anthrax to “wipe out” a city. But it turned out he merely had legal anthrax vaccine. In the end, Harris’ doings convinced the Congress to pass laws making it harder to obtain deadly pathogens like bubonic plague.



Desperately Seeking Satan

TED GUNDERSON, 73 After 27 years in the FBI including stints running the Memphis, Dallas and Los Angeles offices, Ted L. Gunderson embarked on a tour of the weird. Retiring in 1979, Gunderson started a security and investigations firm and eventually wound up as an investigator in the ill-starred McMartin Preschool sexual molestation case, where he became fixated on the idea that children are regularly subjected to Satanic ritual abuse. (In the end, seven years of trials produced no convictions, and the case was widely



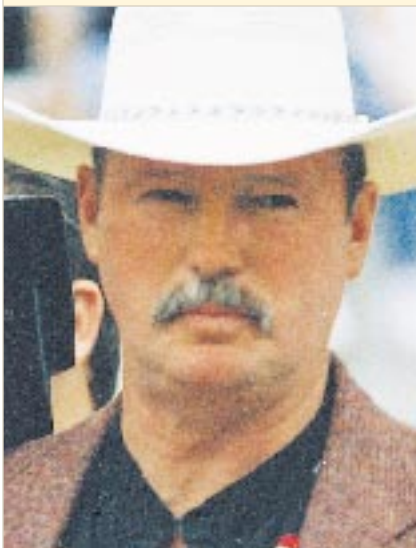
denounced as a destructive witch hunt.) From there, it got truly strange. Entering the Patriot world as a leading conspiracy-monger, Gunderson made videos alleging an invisible cabal called the Illuminati had plans to run the world. He sold his services shielding people from “Electrostatic Sensory Manipulation” and testing for “brain implants, tracking chips and resonant cavities.” He claimed a government official told him that he did the Oklahoma bombing, saying, “That’s my bomb.” He said a cure for Down’s syndrome is being kept from the public, that the government practices mind control, and that his children had DNA extracted by aliens in the infamous Area 51 of UFO fame. And Gunderson accused a well-known, UFO-oriented talk show host of molesting children, an accusation that recently brought him a libel suit.



Rambo for Christ

BO GRITZ, 61 While many Patriots avoided contact with the mainstream press, James “Bo” Gritz had no such compunctions. Various describing himself as the most decorated Green Beret to fight in Vietnam and the inspiration for the movie character Rambo, Gritz has done his best to put himself at the center of almost every major Patriot drama. He was successful just once, talking white supremacist Randy Weaver out of his Ruby Ridge cabin after the 1992 deaths of his wife and son during a standoff with federal agents. Gritz boasted often of his forays looking for missing Vietnam era POWs, but four trips to Southeast Asia did not produce a single prisoner. In the Patriot world, he became famous for his paramilitary training courses and for failed attempts to negotiate an end to the Montana Freeman standoff and a surrender from accused clinic bomber Eric Rudolph. Seen by many as a huckster, Gritz hyped up “Y2KHAOS” paranoia and then sold his survivalist wares — along with land plots in Idaho — to survive the feared hard times. In 1998, he shot himself days after his wife of 24 years left him. Gritz has long denied being a racist, but has made a number of anti-Semitic remarks. In 1999, after moving to Sandy Valley, Nevada, he married Judy Kirsch. Since then, Gritz seems increasingly to have taken up a relatively soft-line version of the Christian Identity religion that his new bride was raised in.

Of Bombs and Beaches



JOHN HASSEY, 50 As more and more Patriots went to jail on a wide variety of charges, many of even the most committed left the movement in fear for their futures. John Hassey, a key leader of Alabama militia groups, appears to be a case in point. For several years, Hassey headed up the Central Alabama Militia, a group that changed its name in 1995 to the Alabama Constitutional Militia, reflecting what Hassey described as a group more focused on politics than guns. Two years later, Hassey was one of about 15 militiamen to travel to Memphis to support a couple who was fighting government eviction as part of an airport expansion project — one of many such “government vs. the people” scenarios favored by Patriots. The

same year, Hassey was a key player in the formation of the Southeastern States Alliance, a coalition of Southern militia groups. He was so well known in the movement that his Elmore County home came to be referred to as “Camp Hassey.” But in late 1999, the Southeastern States Alliance leader, Donald Beauregard, was arrested in an alleged plot to attack utilities in Florida — and Beauregard’s indictment noted an unindicted “co-conspirator’s farm in Alabama” where explosives were to be stored. Assuming the farm was his, a worried Hassey said he would not fight police who might come for him, and departed for a cooling-off period on a boat off the Florida beaches.

6/18/94 Common-law ideologue Brian Knoff is surreptitiously recorded discussing a planned marijuana-smuggling operation through Cuba that he hopes will help to fund other Patriot activists.

8/4/94 Two members of the Minnesota Patriots Council are arrested for making the deadly toxin ricin, and are later convicted of plotting to poison federal agents. In the next six years, nearly 30 major terrorist attacks (see summaries, p. 39) will be plotted.

9/19/94 Self-appointed militia “general” Linda Thompson calls for an armed march on Washington, D.C., prompting other Patriots to renounce her as foolhardy and suicidal.

9/28/94 In one of the first acts of the Oklahoma conspiracy, Terry Nichols helps steal explosives from a Kansas quarry. He will help acquire many other materials before leaving co-conspirator Tim McVeigh a letter urging him to “go for it.”



OCTOBER '94 More than 1,500 people attend “Operation Freedom” in Lakeland, Fla., listening to speeches and collecting information about starting militias.

11/14/94 A militiaman threatens an Audubon Society official with a noose after the official testifies for an environmental measure. The incident is one of hundreds reflecting Patriot hatred of government regulation of the environment.

FEBRUARY '95 Some 2,000 people gather in Meadville, Penn., to hear militia figure Mark “Mark from Michigan” Koernke discuss the steps Americans should take to defend themselves against the “New World Order.”

The Nazi Debutante

CAROL HOWE, 31 Many of those who entered the radical right during the 1990s were accused of being mentally unstable, but very few went on to have major motion pictures made about them. Carol Elizabeth Howe, debutante daughter of a wealthy Oklahoma City businessman, took up with veteran white supremacist organizer Dennis Mahon after supposedly being attacked by two black men. It was not long before she acquired a swastika tattoo on one arm and moved to the white supremacist Elohim City compound. But after quarreling with Mahon, Howe seemed to change her allegiances, signing up as a paid informant for the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF) while still at Elohim City. Soon, however, the ATF fired her because of her “instability.” But after the Oklahoma bombing, Howe was temporarily brought back as a government informant and proceeded to spin a confused story about ex-boyfriend Mahon’s and other Elohim City denizens’ alleged involvement in the attack. Even though she testified at McVeigh accomplice Terry Nichols’ trial, she was contradicted by much evidence. By 1997, she had taken up with another white supremacist, James Veifhaus. She and Viefhaus were charged with conspiracy over an apparent bomb threat left on their answering machine, but she was acquitted (he was not). Today, Howe has changed her name to Amanda Bryn Collins, talks of law school, and is the subject, incredibly, of a Columbia Pictures movie project.



A Well-Armed Martyr



THE TIMES RECORDER

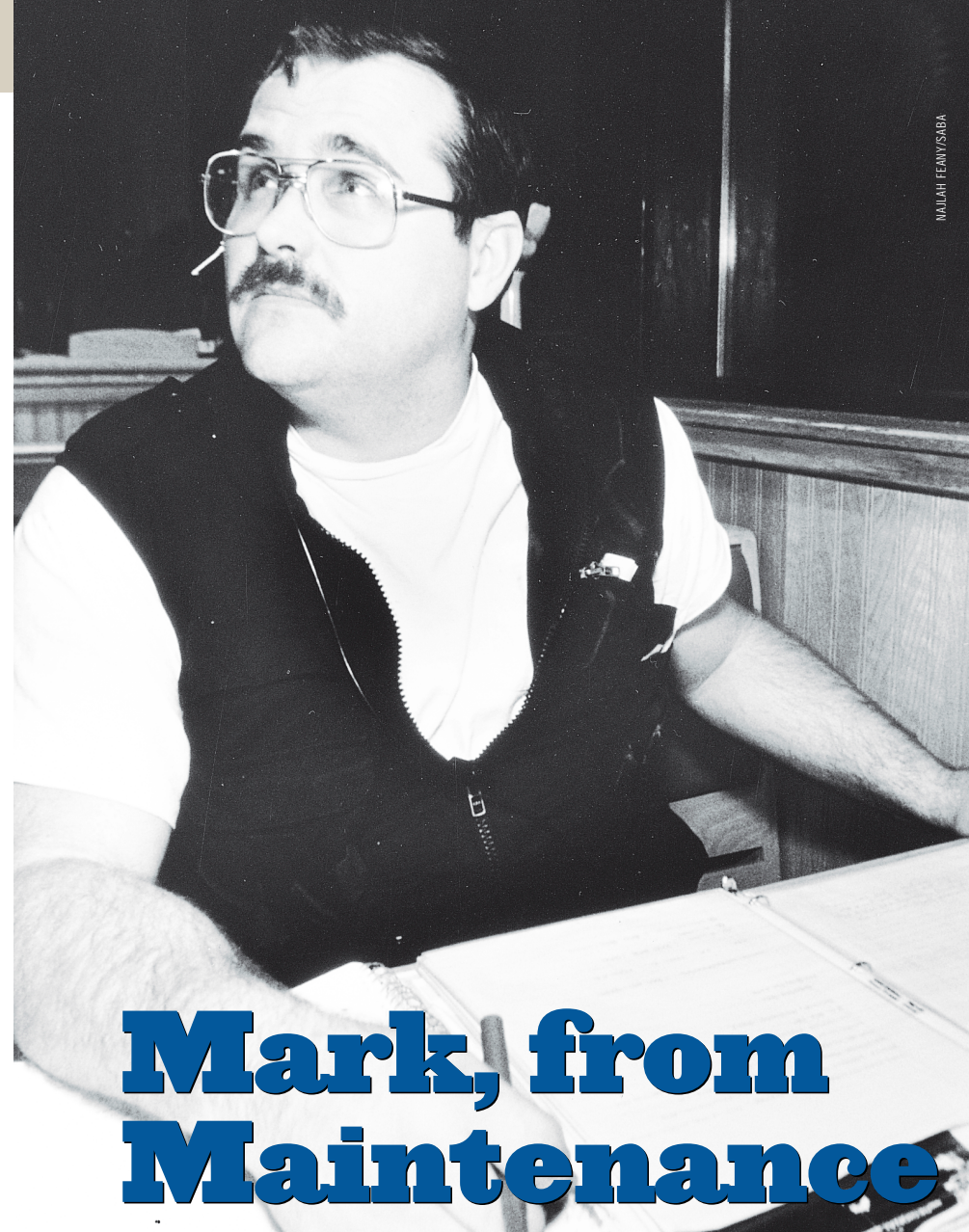
MICHAEL HILL, DECEASED The American radical right has long had a penchant for martyrs, and on June 28, 1995, former Canton, Ohio, police officer Michael Hill entered the pantheon of those who supposedly have died for the movement. At the age of 25, Hill had been a National Guardsman who was called up during antiwar demonstrations at Kent State, where four students were shot to death; he later co-authored a book about his experience entitled *I Was There: What Really Happened at Kent State*. By the 1980s, Hill was ensconced in the thriving far-right scene in Ohio. In 1987, he and his wife barricaded themselves in their house outside Canton when city officials came to evict them because it was so filthy that the city considered it uninhabitable. Hill later became the chaplain of the Ohio Unorganized Militia. In 1995, he was stopped by a Fazeysburg police officer for driving without a license plate, having only a homemade card reading “MILITIA 3-13 CHAPLAIN.” Hill drove off and was stopped again, exiting the car this time with both hands on a .45-caliber pistol. He was shot three times in a killing later ruled justified. In the aftermath of his death, Hill was memorialized by some of the hardest right figures in America. Nord Davis, an anti-Semitic ideologue, hauled a 7,200-pound granite memorial from North Carolina to a spot near the site where Hill died, and militiamen still gather there on “Mike Hill Memorial Day.”

Riches to Rags

EMILIO IPPOLITO, 75 The Patriot movement played heavily on Americans’ antigovernment sentiments — feelings that often stemmed from some purely personal dispute but were enlarged in certain minds into major political struggles. In Tampa, Fla., Emilio Ippolito and his family were once the largest landholders in Hillsborough County. But starting in the 1970s, Ippolito, a domineering and stubborn man by all



accounts, became embroiled in litigation over code violations — battles that he fought with such single-mindedness that the family wound up losing the bulk of its property. In the early 1990s, Ippolito took up with the “common-law” court movement, starting his own panel called the Constitutional Court of We the People. Over the years, Ippolito or his followers sent letters to judges accusing them of treason, threatened a jury foreman with death, and discussed abducting federal judges. Ippolito dragged his daughter, Susan Mokdad, through it all, first bringing her into court at 5 years old and having her make her first presentation to a judge at age 14. Finally, in 1997, Ippolito was convicted of sending threats, conspiracy and owning a weapon with the serial number removed. He was sentenced to 11 years in federal prison, while his weeping daughter, who was then 41, got 10. Ippolito’s final words: “I don’t ever want to see another legal document again.”

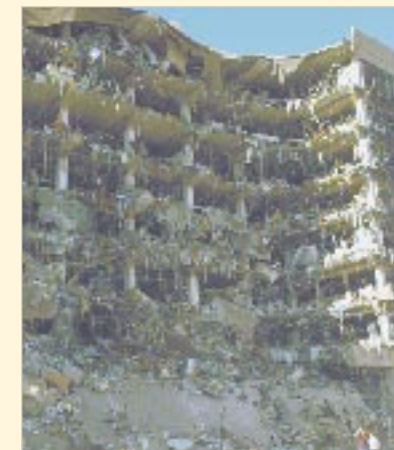


NALAH FEANY/SABA

Mark, from Maintenance

MARK KOERNKE, 42 In the days after the Oklahoma bomb exploded, reports from Florida militiamen pegged bomber Timothy McVeigh as the bodyguard of a virtually unknown janitor in Michigan. Although the reports were almost certainly false, they helped bring the nation’s media to the door of Mark Koernke, who, when he wasn’t working in the University of Michigan’s maintenance department, broadcast a daily dose of short-wave conspiracy theory as “Mark from Michigan.” Koernke, who claimed a background in military intelligence, also produced videos alleging Hong Kong police had been secreted in America for a United Nations takeover. Koernke got into his first real scrape with the law in 1997, when he allegedly attacked a man coming to serve him with a subpoena in a murder case involving several Koernke associates. After being charged with assault, Koernke jumped bond and was only arrested months later as he tried to swim across an icy lake to freedom. After being convicted of bail jumping, Koernke got into trouble again in 2000, when he sped off as police tried to question him as he sat in front of a bank that had just been robbed. Although the paranoid Koernke was uninvolved in the robbery, he ended a 50-mile chase by crashing into a tree and jumping, again, into a pond. In March of this year, he was convicted of fleeing police and resisting arrest and faces up to five years in prison.

MARCH '95 Former Klansman Don Black puts up the first hate site on the World Wide Web, starting a trend that will be followed by hundreds of militia groups.



AP WIDE WORLD PHOTO

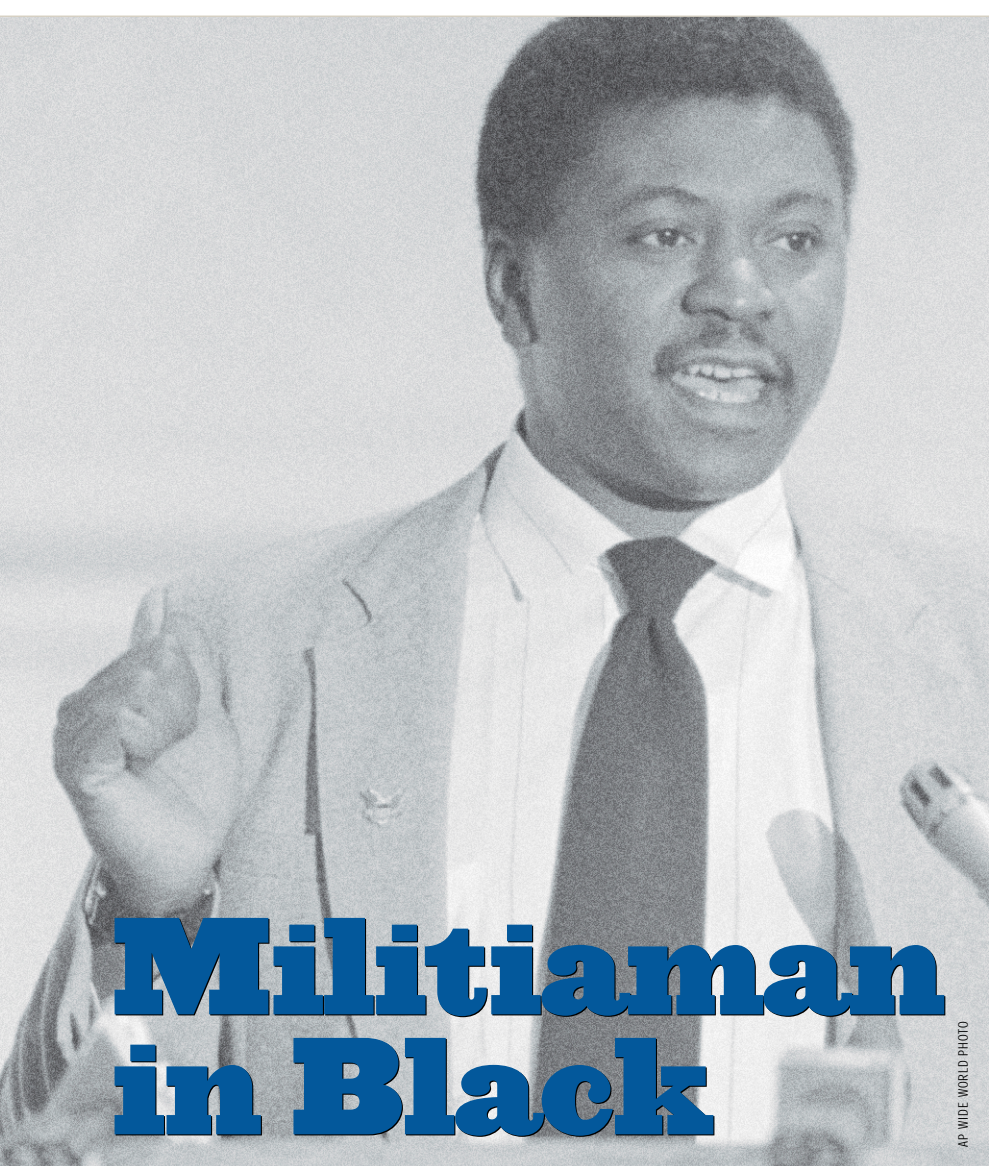
4/19/95 A truck bomb brings down the Oklahoma City federal building, killing 168 people in America’s worst domestic terrorist attack. Timothy McVeigh, later convicted in the bombing, had ideological roots both in the Patriot world and among neo-Nazis like William Pierce, whose novel, *The Turner Diaries*, served as a blueprint for the attack.

LATE APRIL '95 Echoing Patriot rhetoric, the National Rifle Association says “jack-booted government thugs” have “the government’s go-ahead to ... murder law abiding citizens.” Former President George Bush quits the NRA in protest.

6/3/95 A major gathering of common-law activists is held in the Wichita, Kansas, convention center on the anniversary of the 1984 death of Gordon Kahl, a militant tax protester killed some four months after murdering two federal agents.



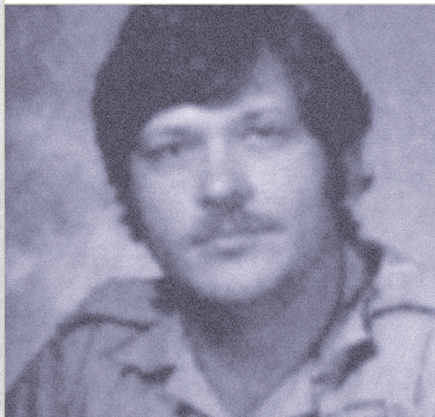
6/15/95 In the wake of the Oklahoma bombing, militia leaders and others testify before the U.S. Senate Judiciary Committee. Many experts see the hearings as something of a militia victory



AP WIDE WORLD PHOTO

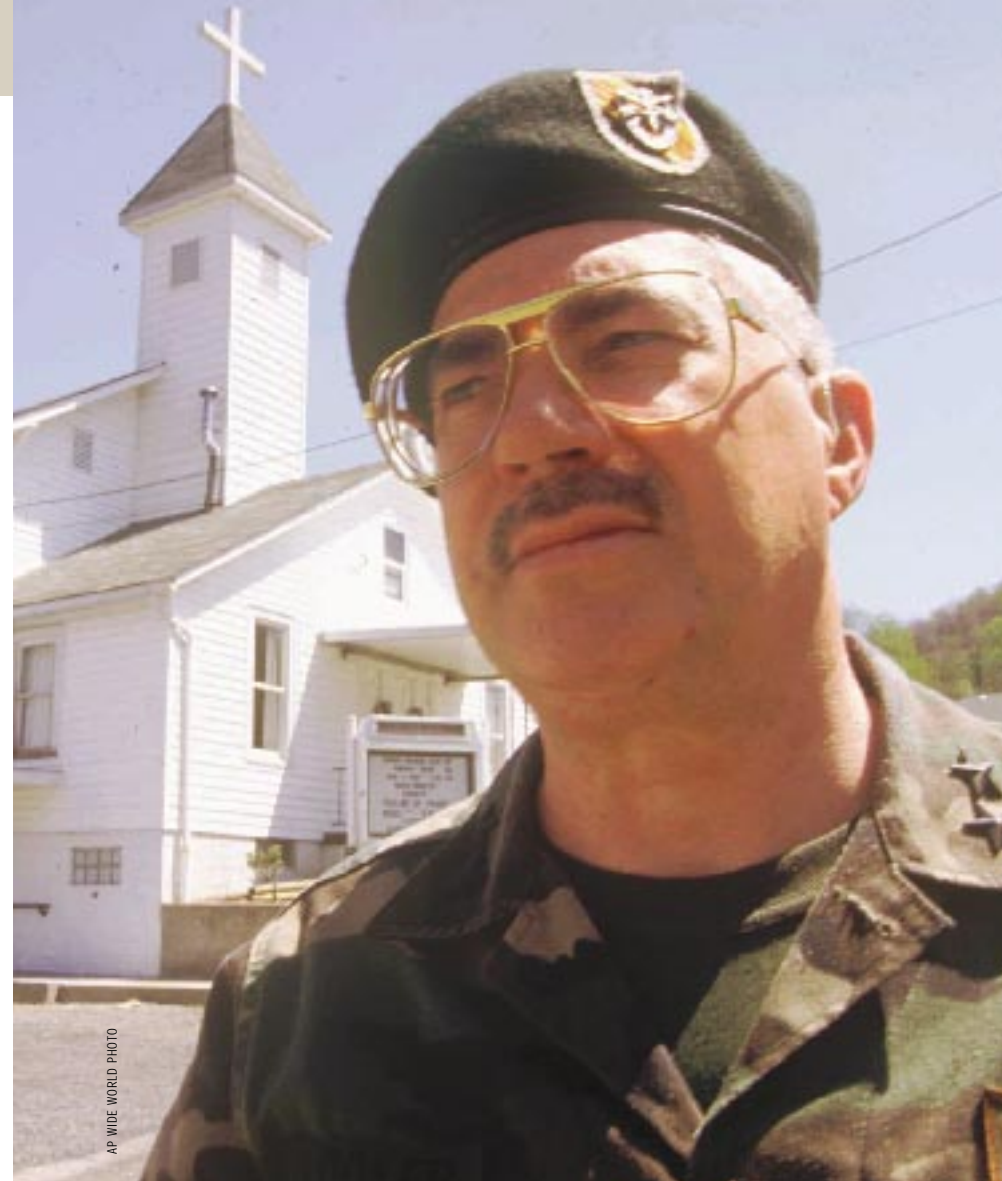
The Extermination Act

MARTIN LINSTEDT, 43 Hailing from Granby, Mo., professional truck driver and perennial candidate Martin Linstedt typifies the mix of racism and antigovernment attitudes that characterized much of the Patriot movement. Linstedt, who



while with the U.S. Army helped run a tactical nuclear missile system in Germany, has been for many years the leader of the 7th Missouri Militia. But at the same time, he ran for a variety of posts, including state representative, governor and U.S. senator, on the Libertarian ticket — until the Libertarians finally booted him out of their party over his homophobia. During his 1998 Senate run, he listed his top priority as a bill he called The Extermination of Regime Criminals Act, prescribing death for corrupt politicians and lawyers, along with the elimination of public schools. In 2000, like many other racist radicals, Linstedt came into the Reform Party, running for U.S. senator a second time under presidential candidate Pat Buchanan. “I want [white] Republicans where they either got the choice of joining the [neo-Nazi] Aryan Nations or becoming some black boy’s bitch,” Linstedt, a Christian Identity adherent, told a reporter at the time. “A few people in the Reform Party told me, ‘Martin, you gotta tone down the racism,’ but I said, ‘You guys are trying to go after the moderates, who... [will not] vote for you. At least I got a strategy.’”

J.J. JOHNSON, 39 The militia movement was widely seen as overwhelmingly dominated by angry, white men — and it was. James “J.J.” Johnson, who offered a black militia face to the TV cameras during a 1995 Senate hearing into the movement, was a rare exception. Johnson co-founded the first well-known militia in Ohio, the Ohio Unorganized Militia, and described militias as “the civil rights movement of the nineties.” As journalists increasingly pictured the movement as almost all-white, Johnson became an ever more popular speaker, appearing at more than 200 militia gatherings. During the Montana Freeman standoff, he was one of several men signing a declaration warning that militia leaders in 10 states would consider it an “act of war” should any of the Freeman be hurt. Johnson also circulated a document, “Project Worst Nightmare,” that proposed violence if the standoff ended badly. But in 1997, after divorcing his wife Helen and marrying Nancy Lord — the 1992 Libertarian vice-presidential candidate — Johnson left the militia movement, saying it was “ineffective.” Moving to Nevada, he ran for local sheriff and lost. By last year, Johnson had become a favorite speaker on the circuit of neo-Confederates — another milieu dominated by whites. He pleased many new friends with his essay, “I Don’t Want to be Black Anymore.”



AP WIDE WORLD PHOTO

Looking Bad

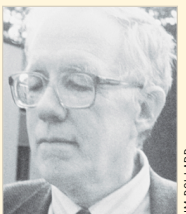
RAY LOOKER, 59 A real estate appraiser and former missionary who used Prozac to control his anxiety, Floyd “Ray” Looker led one of the more radical militia groups of the 1990s. His West Virginia Mountaineer Militia used a manual outlining how to attack trains, highways and power plants. Two months after the 1995 Oklahoma bombing, 26 “county commanders” of Looker’s militia and another from Pennsylvania met at a farm where Looker identified a massive FBI fingerprint facility near Clarksburg as one of three potential bombing targets. A deputy who was a volunteer in the local fire department photographed blueprints of the facility kept in a locked room and gave them to Looker, who began with other militia members to stockpile plastic explosives, grenades and homemade bombs. But all the while, an FBI informant who Looker selected as his group’s “security officer” was collecting tapes of 430 conversations. In the end, an undercover agent posing as a broker for a fictitious Middle Eastern terrorist group bought the facility blueprints from Looker, prompting Looker’s prosecution under a new federal anti-terrorism statute. Although it turned out that the blueprints were public documents, Looker pleaded guilty to “providing resources” to a terrorist group, and in 1997 was sentenced to 18 years in prison.

because of the uncritical nature of the questioning.

6/21/95 President Clinton signs a directive outlining emergency arrangements in the event of terrorist attacks. It is the first of many such actions, including a 1996 order to hire 500 new FBI agents, highlighting the new importance terrorism has to domestic police agencies.

JULY '95 Two militia groups and the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations launch simultaneous campaigns to gather information about and conduct covert surveillance on “opponents.”

SEPTEMBER '95 William Pierce, author of the *The Turner Diaries* and leader of the neo-Nazi National Alliance, launches a “militia project,” encouraging his members to develop contacts with militias in a bid to influence them.



TIM POLLARD



AP WIDE WORLD PHOTO

3/25/96 A common-law group called the Montana Freeman begins an 81-day standoff in Montana after its leaders are arrested and charged with a multimillion-dollar fraud. In the end, the standoff will end peacefully.

4/5/96 Patriot activists mix with neo-Nazis and Klansmen at Jubilation '96, a Lake Tahoe, Nev., gathering of more than 500 people that is hosted by adherents of the racist and anti-Semitic Christian Identity religion.



AP WIDE WORLD PHOTO

The Paper Terrorist

RICK McLAREN, 47 While thousands during the 1990s used the Patriot “common-law” tactics of filing fraudulent liens and spurious lawsuits against their enemies, few matched Richard “Rick” McLaren for volume and sheer audacity. The self-styled “chief ambassador” of the Republic of Texas (ROT) — a group that claimed that Texas is a sovereign nation that was never legally annexed by the United States — was fond of lawsuits, however, long before he hooked up with the separatist group. Looking like something of a mad scientist, McLaren harassed his neighbors with obnoxious lawsuits for years even before he became an ROT leader. He also amazed them with complaints that space rays — not lack of water — were destroying his nearby vineyard. McLaren and other Republic leaders claimed the government owed them \$93 trillion in “war reparations.” They tried to pass \$3 million in fake checks and placed bogus liens on people including Pope John Paul II. They “ordered” then-Gov. George W. Bush to vacate his Austin offices. In the end, McLaren’s handful of followers kidnapped a neighbor couple, injuring the man badly and precipitating a six-day standoff with hundreds of Texas Rangers. The militias that McLaren said would come from 22 states to help him never showed — other than a pot-smoking crew arrested in a van as they approached — and McLaren was sent to prison on state and federal charges.

Aiding and Abetting

JACK McLAMB, 56 Of the sprinkling of law enforcement professionals who supported the Patriot movement, retired Phoenix, Ariz., cop Jack McLamb became by far best known, speaking at Patriot events around the country. Describing himself as the most highly decorated officer in the history of his police department, McLamb ran an outfit called Police



MICHAEL MEISTER/THE ARIZONA REPUBLIC

Against the New World Order that he claimed had a highly unlikely 6,300 members. He produced a periodical called *Aid & Abet Police Newsletter* and, most famously, a 75-page conspiracist document entitled *Operation Vampire Killer 2000: American Police Action Plan for Stopping World Government Rule*. McLamb embraced a panoply of conspiracy theories. He told a 1996 rally that government officials were smuggling drugs into the country in a bid to incite racial hatred. In 1999, he asserted that Vice President Gore intended to reduce world population by 90% through some kind of end-of-the-millennium Y2K plot. He suggested that Communist-led Latinos planned to take over the Southwest. Along with his friend, Green Beret-turned-Patriot James “Bo” Gritz, he sold plots of land in Idaho as the perfect place to survive the coming troubles. But when the much ballyhooed “Y2K” collapse failed to materialize, McLamb began to peddle his ideas on the tax protest circuit, instructing students last fall that “Taxes are Voluntary!”



AP WIDE WORLD PHOTO

‘Itching for a Standoff’

NORM OLSON, 53 From the very beginning, Norman E. Olson was a radical among radicals. After starting the Michigan Militia in April 1994 as one of the first major militia groups, Olson helped make his home state one of the leading spots for Patriot activity. He drew widespread attention after reporting Oklahoma City conspirator Terry Nichols had attended one of the meetings of the Michigan Militia, which he claimed counted 12,000 members. But Olson, a Baptist preacher who spends time in his Alanson gun store wearing a camouflage military outfit, alienated his colleagues after Oklahoma by offering reporters an incredible theory: The Japanese government had bombed the federal building there as a return favor for the sarin gas subway attack that he said the U.S. government carried out in Tokyo. Unceremoniously booted out by his comrades-in-arms, Olson started another group, the Northern Michigan Regional Militia, while attacking his former friends as “too moderate.” In the run-up to the millennial date change, Olson predicted government collapse and worse as a result of the “Y2K” computer bug — a collapse he welcomed. “We’re itching for a standoff someplace,” he told *The Washington Post* in late 1999. “Any movement needs a good and noble rallying point, an Alamo or a ‘Remember the Maine,’ and this could be it.”

8/24/96 More than 500 supporters attend a major meeting of the separatist Republic of Texas’ “Provisional Government General Council.”

8/31/96 At the largest Patriot gathering ever held in Washington, D.C. — far from the rural areas of America where the movement is strong — more than 300 people join in a “Rally for the Bill of Rights.”

10/22/96 Michigan Militia leader Tom Wayne gives a presentation to over 500 students at a Michigan college, reflecting widespread interest in the movement.

4/18/97 A Patriot group files a notice with Maricopa County officials declaring a new “Country of Arizona,” separate from the United States, and supposedly recognized by the United Nations as “Indigenous Nation No. 215.”

MAY '97 A Southern Poverty Law Center count shows that the Patriot movement reached its peak in 1996 with 858 militia-type groups, up from 224 in 1995. Thereafter, the number of Patriot groups will decline steadily through 2000.

5/3/97 A six-day standoff between police and Republic of Texas common-law separatists ends. One man is killed in a gun battle with police.



AP WIDE WORLD PHOTO

6/2/97 Timothy McVeigh is convicted in the Oklahoma bombing and will later be sentenced to death. Co-conspirator Terry Nichols will be

tried later in the year and sentenced to life in prison.

DECEMBER '97 Nearly 100 New York City employees, including some corrections officials, are arrested for using common-law “untaxing” kits to evade taxes. The case underscores how far such ideology has spread.

The Price of Truth

JOHN PARSONS, 51 Many thousands of people left the Patriot movement in the late 1990s, tired of waiting for the revolution that never came, scared off by arrests or diverted into harder line groups. John Parsons left because he had to. As early as 1995, the head of the Tri-States Militia of South Dakota — a national umbrella group that grew to have affiliates in 32 states — told a reporter that his followers “despise terrorists.” In July of that year, he organized a summit of militias from 18 states, creating a free hotline number to quash “rumors about purple spaceships and U.N. vehicles on a freight train across the Atlantic.” Parsons believed in many militia articles of faith, in particular the threat of a coming New World Order, but he faced a moral dilemma when an Oklahoma militant approached his group for help in building bombs. After a long period of soul-searching, which included standing before the bombed-out federal building in Oklahoma, Parsons decided to tell authorities about Willie Ray Lampley’s plans to bomb the Southern Poverty Law Center and offices of the Anti-Defamation League. Even harder, he agreed to testify in court, where it came out he’d been on the FBI payroll. After Lampley was convicted, the FBI told Parsons his life might be in danger. In 1996, Parsons appears to have disappeared, quite likely, as is widely rumored in the militia world, into the witness protection program.

The ‘Two-Bomb’ General



BENTON PARTIN, 74 Patriot ideologues have long scoffed at the work of scholars and specialists, but like conspiracy theorists everywhere, they love a credentialed expert who is on their side. Such was the case with retired Brig. Gen. Benton Partin, a 31-year Air Force veteran who provided Patriots with their core theory about the Oklahoma bombing. In press conferences, at Patriot gatherings and in letters to politicians, Partin expounded on his idea that the truck bomb driven by Timothy McVeigh “could not possibly” have destroyed the Alfred P. Murrah Federal

Building by itself. Claiming long experience in weapons design, Partin — who retired in 1979 — said photographs of the damage convinced him there were other bombs inside the building. Although Partin didn’t say so, other Patriots expanded on this theory to accuse the government of bombing its own building to create an excuse for passing draconian anti-terrorism legislation. Ultimately, Partin became a proponent of a whole pantheon of conspiracy theories. He claimed that federal agents used explosives to breach the Davidian compound in Waco — a charge for which there is no evidence. He produced a hyper-conspiratorial video entitled, “Globalism: The Program.” And, never one to pass up a possible plot, he said TWA Flight 800 was hit by a surface-to-air missile. Partin did finally present his Oklahoma bomb theory to a grand jury, which roundly rejected the concept.



Church as State

HOWARD PHILLIPS, 60 Many who wound up in the strange world of Patriot ideology began their journey in more conventional right-wing politics. Howard Phillips, who ran for president in 1992, 1996 and 2000, cut his political teeth working for Sen. Barry Goldwater’s ill-fated 1964 run for the presidency after graduating from Harvard. Although he would later head the Office for Economic Opportunity under Richard Nixon, Phillips quit when Nixon declined to cut funding for certain social programs. Phillips went on to create the Conservative



Caucus, a group instrumental in encouraging the creation of Rev. Jerry Falwell’s Moral Majority. A British newspaper reported that during the early 1980s, Phillips visited South Africa annually on “promotional tours” meant to boost the morale of defenders of apartheid. In 1992, he created the U.S. Taxpayers Party (USTP) — which prescribed the death penalty for abortionists — as a vehicle for his presidential aspirations. Fundamentally, USTP — renamed the Constitution Party in late 1999 — is notable for its Christian Reconstructionism, an extremist theology that calls for the “reconstruction” of society under Old Testament law. Phillips was close to the late Rousas Rushdoony, who called for stoning incorrigible children to death and who spoke frequently to the USTP. Today, Phillips, who has proposed junking the Voting Rights Act, is involved in racist neo-Confederate groups that also have been pushing versions of his Reconstructionist theology.



Eight Lanes Out

LARRY PRATT, 58 Larry Pratt, a gun rights absolutist whose Gun Owners of America (GOA) has been described as “eight lanes to the right” of the National Rifle Association, may well be the person who brought the concept of citizen militias to the radical right. In 1990, Pratt wrote a book, *Armed People Victorious*, based on his study of “citizen defense patrols” used in Guatemala and the Philippines against Communist rebels — patrols that came to be known as death squads for their murderous brutality. Picturing these groups in rosy terms, Pratt advocated similar militias in the United States — an idea that finally caught on when he was invited for a meeting of 160 extremists, including many famous white supremacists, in 1992. It was at that meeting, hosted in Colorado by white supremacist minister Pete Peters, that the contours of the militia movement were laid out. Pratt, whose GOA has grown since its 1975 founding to some 150,000 members today, hit the headlines in a big way when his associations with Peters and other professional racists were revealed, convincing arch-conservative Pat Buchanan to eject him as a national co-chair of Buchanan’s 1996 presidential campaign. The same year, it emerged that Pratt was a contributing editor to a periodical of the anti-Semitic United Sovereigns of America, and that his GOA had donated money to a white supremacist attorney’s group. Pratt is today close to the extremist Constitution Party and its radical theology.



3/8/98 A Texas man with reported separatist views like those of the Republic of Texas, claiming to be armed and carrying explosives, attempts to take over a Veterans Affairs office in Waco. Jason Leigh eventually surrenders.

3/17/98 Two former New York City police officers become the last of 14 NYPD officers to be convicted in a tax evasion scheme. The two sold tax evasion kits from Patriot groups to other officers for up to \$2,000 each.

APRIL ‘98 At the annual Knob Creek (Ky.) Machine Gun Shoot, a popular event for militiamen and other gun enthusiasts, a militia unity meeting breaks up as hard-liners walk out angrily — one of many splits to weaken the Patriot movement.

JUNE ‘98 A study by the Southern Poverty Law Center shows that in the preceding three years, 19 states have passed new laws or strengthened existing ones to cope with bogus property liens and threats from “common-law” adherents. Another eight states are considering similar actions.

7/17/98 Optimistically labeled a “patriotic Woodstock,” the American Heritage Festival ‘98 in Carthage, Mo., draws as many as 3,000 people over two days.

12/30/98 A county grand jury orchestrated by conspiracy-minded former Oklahoma State Rep. Charles Key finds that there is no evidence of a larger conspiracy in the Oklahoma City





AP WIDE WORLD PHOTO

Grounded Eagle

DAVE RYDEL, 51 An early player in the particularly active Michigan militia scene, Dave Rydel was, at various times, a “lieutenant general” in the Michigan Militia, leader of the Michigan Militia Theater Command, head of the Eagles and, in the end, organizer and leader of something he called the United States Theater Command. Although he was very much a true believer, and even signed a document threatening the use of “necessary force”



should the Montana Freemen be injured, Rydel was clearly a moderate in the factional infighting that still typifies the Michigan Patriot scene. In 1995, he turned in a man who proposed attacking the Michigan National Guard’s Camp Grayling because foreign military equipment was supposedly being stockpiled there for the eventual subjugation of the American people. Rydel’s chief importance, however, was in creating one of the first and most famous movement E-mail lists, a popular forum for militia calendar items and discussions called “Eagleflight.” In 1998, after attempting to unify the movement with his U.S. Theater Command, Rydel was accused by other militia leaders of being a federal agent. Alabama militiaman Mike Kemp administered a “voice stress analysis” test and announced Rydel had passed “with flying colors,” but Rydel’s group nevertheless broke apart and vanished.

Amazing Adventures

JEFF RANDALL, 36 Like old soldiers, most of those who left the militia movement simply faded quietly away. But not Jeff Randall, a self-employed machinist and co-founder of Alabama’s Gadsden Minutemen. In May 1995, a year after the group was created, Randall and two other Minutemen infiltrated a gathering of agents of the U.S. Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF) — the bête noire of the militia movement — near the Ocoee River in Tennessee. They left the annual “Good Ol’ Boys Roundup” with a videotape showing what they later described as “an orgy of racism,” including shots of a “Nigger Check Point: Any Niggers in That Car?” sign. After ex-cop Randall released the video to the media, several ATF and other law enforcement officials were disciplined. Four months later, the Minutemen’s other co-founder, Mike Kemp, was arrested after 14 marijuana plants were found in his home. Randall quit after the bad publicity, rejoined a week later, and quit for good a year after that. “I got tired of people ... wanting me to assemble armies for them,” he told reporters. “The whole militia movement is either conspiracy kooks or criminals.” Randall even apologized for releasing the Roundup tape, which he said hurt many good officers. Randall now runs Randall’s Adventure and Training, which offers jungle tours in Latin America — and which was featured last year on the Travel Channel’s “Amazing Adventures.”



LINDA MCCONNELL/ROCKY MOUNTAIN (CO) NEWS

Licensed to Kill

ROY SCHWASINGER, 67 Perhaps more than any other figure of the 1990s, former Nebraska meatpacker Roy Schwasinger is responsible for the proliferation of get-rich-quick schemes that used the antigovernment rhetoric of the Patriot movement. After starting We the People in 1993, Schwasinger claimed that he had won a class action suit against the government alleging that the country had gone bankrupt in 1933 — a suit that meant most Americans were now eligible for tax-free settlements of more than \$20 million apiece (conveniently, he said, Delta Force commandos had brought back \$600 trillion from overseas banks). There was only one catch — Schwasinger needed a \$300 fee in order to file a claim. Along with others, Schwasinger victimized at least 6,832 people; Schwasinger’s personal take, officials said, was more than \$300,000. At a 1992 seminar, Schwasinger taught LeRoy Schweitzer of the Montana Freemen how to create fake financial instruments — a skill that Schweitzer then passed on to hundreds. Schwasinger was also a conspiracy fabulist. In one videotape, according to research on the Militia Watchdog Web site, he announced that he and We the People “have a license to kill,” and in fact had recently executed 170 judges and lawyers at a secret base. In another tape, the group said a gold molecule had been developed that could make steel beams levitate — a molecule used by Christ to heal the sick. Schwasinger today is serving lengthy federal and state prison terms in connection with his scams.

bombing. Key immediately denounces the findings.

6/11/99 Nearly 100 hard-line Patriots gather for advanced paramilitary training at the North Carolina property of former Special Forces member John Roberts, head of the Militia of East Tennessee.



8/7/99 U.S. marshals seize the Tampa, Fla., headquarters of Greater Ministries International Church to preserve evidence. The seizure follows by seven months the indictment of church principals in a massive, Patriot-influenced scam.

9/13/99 Tennessee common-law ideologue Peter Stern is charged with conspiring to defraud tax authorities with fake checks from the Montana Freemen. Around the nation, hundreds of common-law followers like Stern are going to jail.

10/13/99 Members of the Southern Indiana Regional Militia meet with FBI agents as part of a government effort to defuse tensions between Patriots and officialdom.

NOVEMBER '99 Nearly 10,000 people in Denver attend the last Preparedness Expo before the new year to prepare for the “Y2K” collapse that many Patriots fear.



AP WIDE WORLD PHOTO

1/1/00 Despite Patriot expectations that the millennial date change will bring martial law or massive social collapse, nothing of the kind occurs.

The Accidental Theorist

EUGENE SCHRODER, 52

Returning home to Campo, Colo., after finishing veterinary school in the 1970s, Eugene Schroder found local farmers losing their land in a devastating recession and decided to do something about it. With his father and friends, Schroder founded the American Agricultural Movement, which in 1978 organized a famous “Tractorcade” protest in Washington, D.C. Schroder soon grew more radical, however, allying himself with the anti-Semitic Posse Comitatus and adopting many of the Posse ideas that would later animate the “common-law” court movement. In 1992 and 1995, he outlined in two books a core Patriot theory: Using the 1917 Trading With the Enemy Act and the 1933 Emergency Banking Act, President Franklin Roosevelt imposed martial law that still remains in effect today, benefiting a secret cabal of Washington, D.C., plotters. Schroder heavily promoted common-law courts, helping to organize a 1995 Wichita, Kansas, meeting that helped spread the pseudo-legal bodies throughout the country. He also wrote articles for the anti-Semitic United Sovereigns of America. But in 2000, Schroder, the antigovernment theorist, changed course radically, suing the federal government for not protecting farmers. Where a few years ago Schroder argued angrily that the government should butt out, the Colorado veterinarian now insists that it should intervene to stop farm foreclosures and support farmers.



ESSOMAS W. SUAREZ/ROCKY MOUNTAIN (CO) NEWS

Herding Cats

JIM STRODE, 61

Almost since the inception of the militia movement, Jim Strobe has been trying to pull its often-warring factions together into one national organization — a task that has been compared to herding cats. A reserve deputy in New Mexico for more than 20 years, Strobe always portrayed militias in moderate terms, as groups “organized on the principle of people helping people” that were fundamentally concerned with helping to cope with disasters. Still, like Patriots nationwide, Strobe pushed popular Patriot conspiracy theories, including a particularly resilient one alleging that the Federal Emergency Management Agency is no mere disaster relief organization — rather, it is a New World Order front that will one day direct the internment of good Americans in concentration camps.

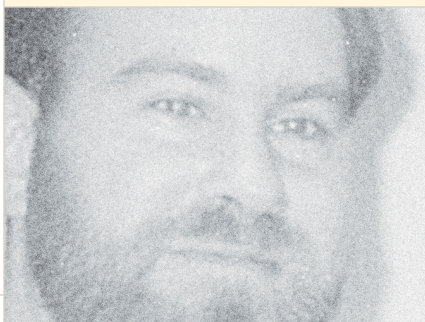
After starting the New Mexico Militia in 1995, Strobe hosted the first gathering of the American Constitutional Militia Network, which was created as a networking nexus, but after less than a year it faded away without achieving notable success. In the hysteria preceding the millennial date change, Strobe again attempted to bring unity to the movement, starting an outfit called the Coalition of Militias, which was stillborn. Finally, just this February, Strobe joined up with Republic of Texas separatist Mike Joffrion to start the United States Militia, but prospects for this, too, appear dim.



Writing the Right

CHRIS TEMPLE, 39

The world of radical right-wing journalism exploded in the 1990s, and few writers were more central to that maelstrom than Chris Temple. For more than a decade, Temple has played to virtually every sector of the extreme right, from neo-Nazis to militiamen to adherents of the anti-Semitic Christian Identity theology — adding, in most cases, a plug for the



financial advice he sells in his *National Investor* newsletter. As co-founder of United Citizens for Justice, formed to support Randy Weaver in the aftermath of his deadly standoff with federal officials in Idaho, Temple spoke at a seminal Colorado meeting of right-wing extremists planning a response. He spoke several times during the mid-1990s at Aryan World Congresses hosted by the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations. Temple was, for a time, the western correspondent for the anti-Semitic tabloid *The Spotlight*, and for many years was a key writer for *The Jubilee*, America’s leading Christian Identity publication. In 1997, Temple told an audience, “I am very much a national socialist,” according to the Coalition for Human Dignity. Formerly a Montanan, Temple now lives in Spooner, Wisc., and is managing editor for another hard-line racist group, the Council of Conservative Citizens. Like many on the extreme right, he has recently taken up with neo-Confederate hate groups.



The Racist Con Man

AP WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

LEROY SCHWEITZER, 62

Montana crop duster LeRoy Schweitzer, who learned at the feet of Colorado rip-off artist Roy Schwasinger, was the prolific con man behind the Montana Freeman. But unlike Schwasinger, Schweitzer added a specifically racist and anti-Semitic twist to his money scams. Schweitzer’s Freeman argued that the unalienable rights referred to in the Preamble to the Constitution in fact specifically excluded “the colored races and Jews.” Even as he pushed this and other aspects of the anti-Semitic Christian Identity religion, Schweitzer taught an estimated 800 people from around the nation — at a cost of \$100 each — how to defraud others. Essentially, this boiled down to a lesson in creating fake financial instruments,

often signed by Schweitzer, that were supposedly backed up by liens against government officials. And Schweitzer talked tough about resistance to government agents, telling one of his classes, “We *are* the authorities... Anyone obstructing justice, the order is shoot to kill.” In 1996, FBI agents arrested Schweitzer for felony criminal syndicalism, precipitating an 81-day standoff between agents and the Montana Freeman holed up in “Justus Township” (above) that finally ended peacefully. Most of the Freeman drew long prison terms after the siege ended, with Schweitzer being sent to federal prison for 22 years.



3/21/00

Federal agents and state police raid the Louisiana home of Verdiacee Goston, the “empress” of

Washitaw Nation, a predominantly black separatist group that sold fake passports and driver’s licenses. Goston is not arrested.

MAY '00

Texas Constitutional Militia member John Joe Gray holes up with heavily armed family members, refusing to face charges of assaulting two highway patrolmen. Actor Chuck Norris, a Gray hero, fails to broker a settlement.

6/2/00

Having survived “Y2K” without incident, the first Preparedness Expo of the new millennium has a new focus on health and freedom, along with a new name, “Lifeline Expo.”



AP WIDE WORLD PHOTO

7/15/00

In a lawsuit by surviving Davidians, a judicial panel says the government was not responsible for starting the gun battle that began the Waco standoff. The next week, a special counsel will rule that U.S. officials committed “no bad acts” in Waco.



2/13/01

Federal agents seize Indianapolis Baptist Temple, ending a low-key, 92-day standoff and 17 years of the

church’s refusal to pay withholding taxes. The church is part of the Patriot-influenced “unregistered churches” movement.

AP WIDE WORLD PHOTO



Mail Order Militiaman

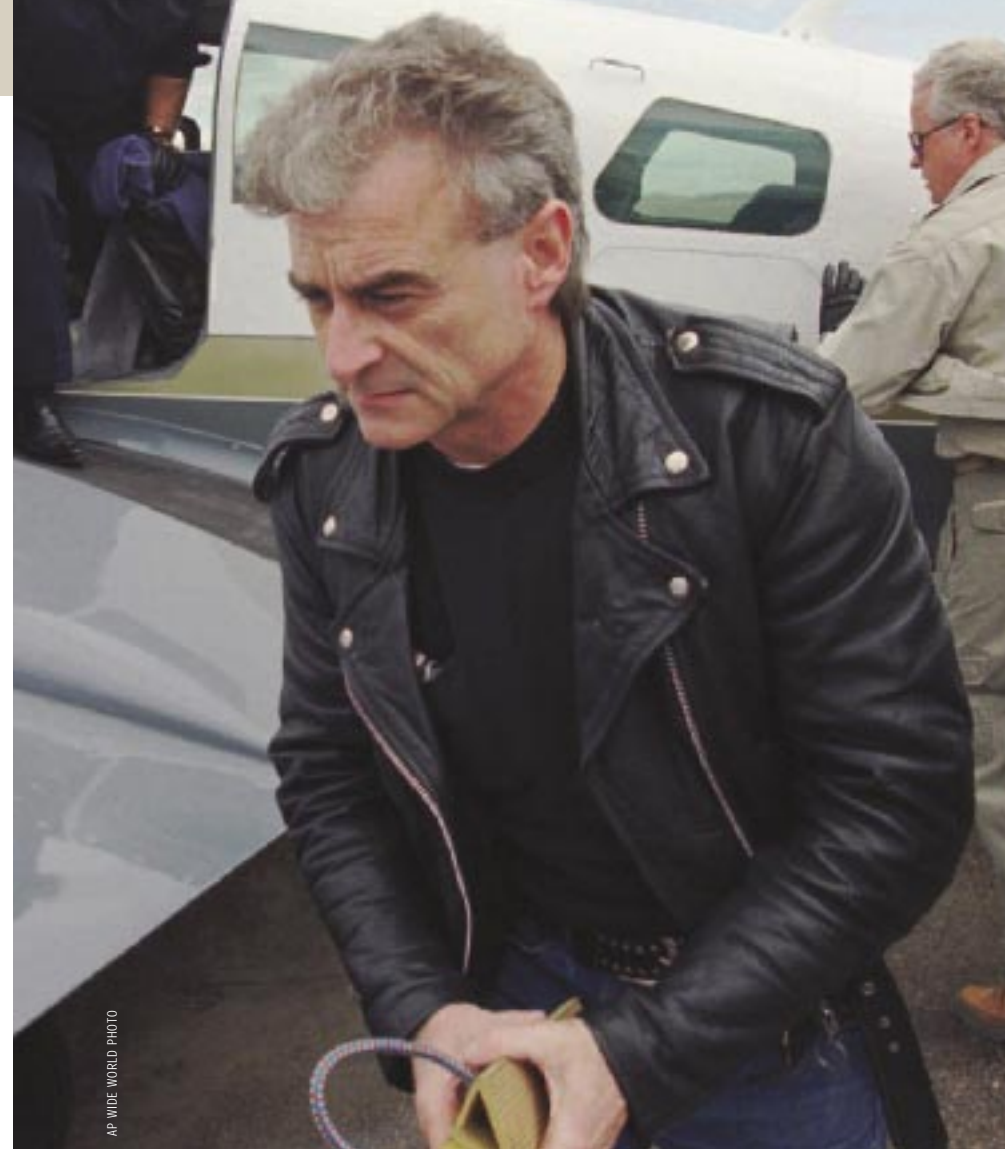
JOHN TROCHMANN, 57 On Jan. 1, 1994, John Trochmann, along with his brother David and nephew Randy, officially inaugurated the Militia of Montana (MOM), although it probably had been active for several months already. It was the first major militia to come to public attention, a fact reflected when John Trochmann was called to testify to a Senate committee in the aftermath of the Oklahoma bombing. Known for his hot temper, Trochmann sold survivalist goods, military manuals and the like, telling his potential customers that these supplies would be vital when the forces of the New World Order came calling. So it wasn't much of a surprise when his wife Carolyn told *Esquire* magazine that her spouse had huge .50-caliber guns stashed in the woods along with enough ammo to hold off a battalion. In 1995, Trochmann was in Montana offering to help officials talk Montana Freeman LeRoy Schweitzer into surrendering on outstanding charges. While there, he and six others were arrested with assault rifles, \$80,000 in cash, gold and silver, and a trove of other supplies. But within days, officials dropped their charges, saying they were mistaken in their suspicions of a plot. Today, after he spent much of the 1990s speaking on the Patriot circuit, Trochmann's Noxon-based MOM is little more than a warehouse, known to many former admirers as the "mail order militia."



STEVEN REECE/WACO TRIBUNE / SYGMA

The Big Lie

LINDA THOMPSON, 48 From a strip mall office next to a Domino's Pizza in suburban Indianapolis, attorney Linda Thompson became one of the Patriot movement's wildest conspiracy theorists — so much so, that her embarrassed allies ultimately repudiated her. Thompson made the videotape, "Waco: The Big Lie," that claimed government "flame-shooting tanks" were used to destroy the Davidian compound and that became, in the words of one professor, a "foundational text" of the Patriot movement. She called for an armed march on Washington, D.C., where militiamen would "take U.S. senators and congressmen into custody, hold them for trial, and, if necessary, execute them." It wasn't too long before Thompson was attacked by her own. Several Patriot writers debunked her film as a crude — and false — propaganda job (from which she allegedly made more than \$300,000). She was pilloried for calling for the suicidal attack on Washington. Thompson told one reporter how her dog had been killed by secret government ray guns, and how she was shadowed and shot at by enemies in black helicopters. In her résumé, Thompson boasted that she had been "Assistant to U.S. Army Commanding General NATO" — but reporters found she was basically an enlisted secretary. After suing the *National Enquirer* for labeling her the "Queen of Hate," Thompson faded from view when she moved to Alabama and, more recently, to Durham, N.C.



AP WIDE WORLD PHOTO

Reluctant Hero

RANDY WEAVER, 53 A quiet man once given to wearing T-shirts reading "Just Say No to ZOG [for Zionist Occupation Government]," Randy Weaver may be more responsible than any other person for the phenomenon known as the militia movement. Hailing from the Midwest, Weaver and his wife Vicki moved to Idaho as their religious beliefs grew more extreme, seeking "to remove our children from the trash being taught in public schools," as Vicki Weaver once put it. Eventually, the couple and their four children moved into a poorly built plywood home atop a mountain known as Ruby Ridge, from where Randy Weaver occasionally visited the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations compound. In 1991, after an unsuccessful run for sheriff, Weaver failed to appear on charges of illegally sawing off a shotgun, ultimately prompting federal agents to surround the Weavers' home. In a confrontation in the woods whose details are still disputed, his 14-year-old son Samuel and a U.S. marshal were killed. The next day, an FBI sniper killed an unarmed Vicki Weaver as she cradled a baby. In the end, Weaver's case became a *cause celebre* on the radical right, prompting a Colorado meeting that engendered the militia movement. Weaver was acquitted of murdering the marshal, and later received, with his three surviving children, a \$3.1 million settlement after suing the government over the deaths of his wife and son. The relatively apolitical Weaver is today a fixture on the Patriot circuit, a reluctant icon of resistance. ▲



MIGUEL SALGUEIRO

2/28/01 Separatist Republic of Texas members join an anti-immigration group, Ranch Rescue, in trying to halt illegal aliens from entering the country.



THE TAMPA TRIBUNE

3/12/01 A federal court in Florida finds Gerald Payne, head of the Patriot-influenced scam known as Greater Ministries International Church, guilty in a \$448 million Ponzi scheme that victimized thousands.

4/19/01 On the anniversaries of the Waco conflagration and the Oklahoma City bombing, and in advance of the scheduled execution of Timothy McVeigh, security around federal installations and elsewhere is extraordinarily tight.



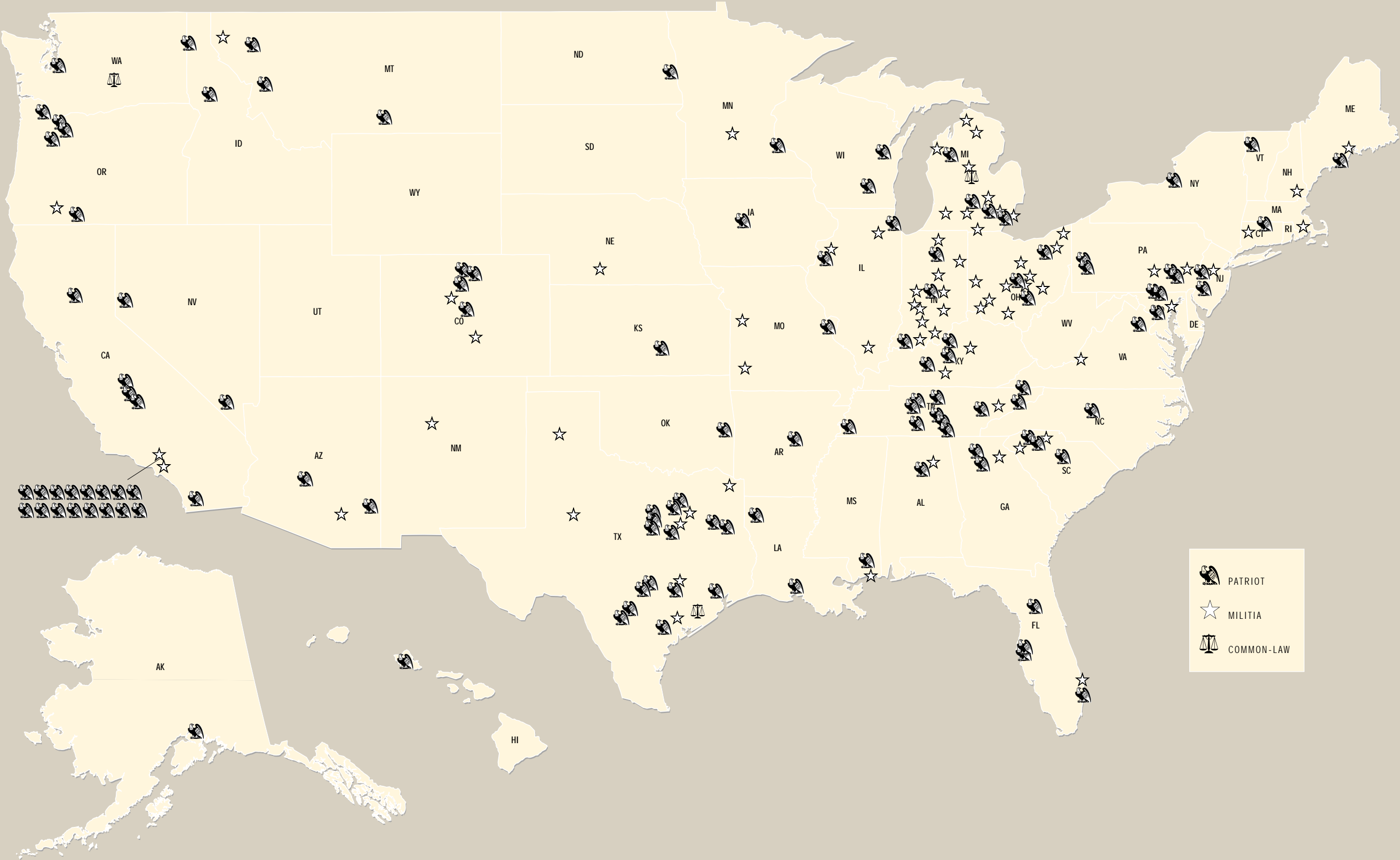
AP WIDE WORLD PHOTO

5/16/01 Timothy McVeigh, convicted in connection with the murder of 168 people including 19 small children, is scheduled to be put to death, the first federal execution in more than three decades.

Active ‘Patriot’ Groups in the U. S. in 2000

Alabama	2
Alaska	1
Arizona	3
Arkansas	1
California	23
Colorado	6
Connecticut	2
Dist. of Columbia	1
Florida	5
Georgia	3
Hawaii	1
Idaho	2
Illinois	5
Indiana	14
Iowa	1
Kansas	1
Kentucky	5
Louisiana	2
Maine	2
Maryland	3
Massachusetts	1
Michigan	15
Minnesota	2
Mississippi	2
Missouri	3
Montana	4
Nebraska	1
Nevada	2
New Hampshire	1
New Jersey	2
New Mexico	1
New York	1
North Dakota	1
Ohio	14
Oklahoma	1
Oregon	6
Pennsylvania	7
South Carolina	5
Tennessee	12
Texas	23
Vermont	1
Virginia	2
Washington	2
Wisconsin	2

Patriot	119
Militia	72
Common-Law	3
Total	194



Active ‘Patriot’ Groups in the United States — in 2000

The Intelligence Project identified 194 “Patriot” groups that were active in 2000. Of these groups, 72 were militias, three were “common-law courts” and the remainder fit into a variety of categories such as publishers, ministries, citizens’ groups and others. Generally, Patriot groups define themselves as opposed to the “New World Order” or advocate or adhere to extreme antigovernment doctrines. Listing here does not imply that the groups themselves advocate or engage in violence or other criminal activities, or are racist. The list was compiled from field reports, Patriot publications, the Internet, law enforcement sources and news reports. Groups are identified by the city, county or region where they are located. Within states, groups are listed alphabetically by place of origin.

ALABAMA Gadsden Minutemen Attalla Alabama Committee to Get US Out of the United Nations Birmingham	ARKANSAS Constitution Party North Little Rock	John Birch Society Irvine American Opinion Bookstore La Mesa John Birch Society Laguna Hills John Birch Society Mission Viejo John Birch Society Newport Beach John Birch Society Oceanside Southern California High Desert Militia Oceanside John Birch Society Orange American Opinion Bookstore Orange County John Birch Society Riverside	Constitution Society Sacramento Constitution Party San Bernardino John Birch Society Santa Ana Truth In Taxation Studio City We the People Sunset Beach Freedom Law School Tustin
ALASKA Jefferson Party Anchorage	CALIFORNIA California Militia Brea John Birch Society Brea State Citizens Service Center Research Headquarters Canoga Park Free Enterprise Society Clovis Truth Radio Delano John Birch Society Fountain Valley Second Amendment Committee Hanford		COLORADO Constitution Party Arvada Southern Colorado Unorganized Militia Colorado Springs Sons of Liberty Fort Collins Colorado State Defense Force Reserve Golden
ARIZONA American Patriot Friends Network Glendale Sovereign Citizen Resource Center Thatcher Arizona Free Citizen’s Militia Tucson			

AMERICAN FREEDOM NETWORK Johnstown Gospel Plow Sedalia	INDIANA Southern Indiana Regional Militia Bloomfield Indiana Citizens Volunteer Militia, 4th Brigade East Central Indiana NORFED Evansville Indiana Citizens Volunteer Militia, 8th Brigade Harrison County Indiana Citizens Volunteer Militia, 3rd Brigade Howard County Indianapolis Baptist Temple Indianapolis Indiana Citizens Volunteer Militia, 2nd Brigade Northeast Indiana Indiana Citizens Volunteer Militia, 7th Brigade Perry County Indiana Citizens Volunteer Militia, 5th Brigade Putnam County Patriots for Liberty Rochester Constitution Party Shoals Indiana Citizens Volunteer Militia, 6th Brigade Southeast Central Indiana Indiana Citizens Volunteer Militia, 1st Brigade St. Joseph County Greene County Militia Worthington	IDAHO Police Against the New World Order Kamiah Constitution Party Post Falls	ILLINOIS Illinois State Militia Addison Southern Illinois Patriots League Benton Liberty House Chicago Western Illinois Militia Monmouth Midwest Patriots Smithshire
CONNECTICUT John Birch Society Enfield Connecticut 51st Militia Terryville			
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA Liberty Lobby Washington			
FLORIDA Constitutional Guardians of America Boca Raton Citizens for Better Government Gainesville Constitution Party Tampa Greater Ministries International Tampa Militia of Florida West Palm Beach			
GEORGIA Militia of Georgia Lawrenceville Sons of Liberty Peachtree City Constitution Party Woodstock			
HAWAII Constitution Party Honolulu			
IOWA Constitution Party Randall			
			KANSAS Constitution Party Wichita
			KENTUCKY Take Back Kentucky Clarkson United States Citizens’ Militia Edmonton

FREE KENTUCKY Lebanon Constitution Party Louisville Kentucky State Militia Nicholasville	LOUISIANA Common Law Defense Fund Lafayette Constitution Party Shreveport	MAINE Maine Militia Belfast Constitution Party Spruce Head	MARYLAND Citizens Militia of Maryland Baltimore Constitution Party Taneytown Save A Patriot Fellowship Westminster
			MASSACHUSETTS Southeastern Massachusetts Constitutional Militia Southeastern Massachusetts Constitutional Militia Southeastern Massachusetts
			MICHIGAN Northern Michigan Regional Militia Alanson Michigan Militia Corps Wolverines, 6th Division Bancroft Michigan Militia Corps Wolverines, 3rd Division Benzonia Michigan Militia Corps Wolverines, 7th Division Calhoun County Justice Pro Se Dearborn Michigan Militia Corps Wolverines 9th Division Detroit Patriot Broadcasting Network Dexter
			MISSISSIPPI Mississippi Militia Ocean Springs Patrick Henry Foundation for Common Law Studies Perkinston
			MISSOURI Missouri 51st Militia Grain Valley 7th Missouri Militia Granby Constitution Party St Louis
			MONTANA John Birch Society Billings Independent Americans Corvallis Constitution Party Elmo Militia of Montana Noxon
			NEBRASKA Army of the Union of States Minden
			NEVADA Center for Action Sandy Valley Constitution Party Sparks
			NEW HAMPSHIRE First Granite State Irregulars East Hampstead
			NEW JERSEY New Jersey Committee of Safety Shamong New Jersey Militia Trenton
			NEW MEXICO New Mexico Liberty Corps Albuquerque
			NEW YORK Constitution Party Central Square
			NORTH DAKOTA Constitution Party Casselton
			OHIO Right Way L.A.W. Akron Ohio Unorganized Militia Assistance and Advisory Committee Ashtabula County True Blue Patriots Cincinnati Central Ohio Unorganized Militia Columbus Ohio Unorganized Militia Assistance and Advisory Committee Darke County Ohio Unorganized Militia Assistance and Advisory Committee Delaware County Central Ohio Unorganized Militia Franklin County E Pluribus Unum Grove City Ohio Unorganized Militia Assistance and Advisory Committee Highland County
			OHIO UNORGANIZED MILITIA ASSISTANCE AND ADVISORY COMMITTEE Lebanon Central Ohio Unorganized Militia Madison County Ohio Unorganized Militia Assistance and Advisory Committee Portage County Ohio Unorganized Militia Assistance and Advisory Committee Westerville Southeastern Ohio Defense Force Zanesville
			OKLAHOMA Present Truth Ministry Panama
			OREGON Christian Patriot Association Boring 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 Pennsylvania 1st Unorganized Militia Harrisburg Constitution Party Lancaster Constitution Party, National Office Lancaster Pennsylvania Crier Levittown Sons of Liberty Militia Shillington Northern Voice Bookstore Wildwood
			SOUTH CAROLINA John Birch Society Columbia AWARE Group Greenville Constitution Party Greenville Palmetto State Guard Liberty South Carolina Militia Taylors
			TENNESSEE Constitution Party Brentwood Constitution Party Franklin County Militia of East Tennessee Jefferson County Constitution Party Knoxville Constitution Party Lynnville Constitution Party Memphis Constitution Party Mt. Juliet Constitution Party Murfreesboro Constitution Party Nashville Constitution Party Sullivan County Constitution Party Wartrace Constitution Party Washington County
			TEXAS Texas Unified Field Forces Militia, Northeast Brigade Amarillo John Birch Society Austin Living Truth Ministries Austin East Texas Militia Bowie County Constitution Party Brenham 13th Texas Infantry Regiment Bryan Constitution Party Burleson Buffalo Creek Press Cleburne Republic of Texas Dallas
			TEXAS CONSTITUTIONAL MILITIA Dallas Texas Guardians Dallas/Fort Worth People’s Court of Common Law (Gulf Coast Districts) El Campo Republic of Texas Fort Worth Republic of Texas Houston Republic of Texas Defense Forces, District 4 Longview United States Militia Mesquite American Opinion Bookstore San Antonio Constitution Society San Antonio Texas Unified Field Forces Militia, Southeast Brigade Southeastern Texas Texas Unified Field Forces Militia, South Brigade Southern Texas Republic of Texas Victoria Church of God Evangelistic Association Waxahachie Republic of Texas White Oak
			VERMONT Constitution Party South Burlington
			VIRGINIA Constitution Party Gainesville Virginia Citizens Militia Roanoke
			WASHINGTON Jural Society Ellensburg Constitution Party Tacoma
			WISCONSIN John Birch Society Appleton Constitution Party Watertown ▲

Active ‘Patriot’ Groups on the Internet in 2000

This list of 155 sites on the World Wide Web includes pages linked to the so-called “Patriot” movement, which generally defines itself as opposed to the “New World Order” or advocates or adheres to extreme antigovernment doctrines. Pages were current in the spring of 2001, but sites tend to move from server to server or shut down without notice, so they may be hard to locate. Of the sites, 20 were linked to “common-law” or related doctrine; 33 were connected to militias or militia ideology; and the others fit into a variety of other categories. Listing here does not imply that the individuals or groups with Web sites advocate or engage in violence or other criminal activity. The 85 sites indicated with an asterisk — more than half of the total — are linked to actual groups that actively promote Patriot doctrine beyond the mere publishing of Internet material.

MILITIA (33)
13th Texas Infantry Regiment*
freeweb.pdq.net/metalryder/13thTIR
 Bryan, TX

Arizona Free Citizen's Militia*
www.azfcmilitia.homestead.com
 AZFCM.html
 Tucson, AZ

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

Central Ohio Unorganized Militia
www.pandar.com/coum
 Columbus, OH

Citizens Militia of Maryland*
www.expage.com/page/citizensmilitiaofmaryland
 Baltimore, MD

Connecticut 51st Militia*
ctmilitia.homestead.com/home.html
 Terryville, CT



Freedom Fighter Militia
homestead.juno.com/vikingwarrior2/FreedomFighters.html

Illinois State Militia*
illinoisstatemilitia.homestead.com/ILLINOISSTATEMILITIA.html
 Addison, IL

Indiana Citizens Volunteer Militia-I.C.V.M.
www.icvmmilitia.homestead.com
 Indiana

Indiana Citizens Volunteer Militia, 7th Brigade*
www15.brinkster.com/icvm/
 icvm.htm
 Perry County, IN

Maine Militia*
mainemilitia.homestead.com
 Belfast, ME

Michigan Militia*
www.michiganmilitia.com
 Redford, MI

Michigan Militia Corps Wolverines*
www.michiganmilitia.org
 Detroit, MI
www.mmcw.homestead.com
 Kalamazoo, MI

Midsouth Liberty Alliance
members.nbci.com/nm_militia

Militia Alliance
www.geocities.com/militiaalliance

Militia of East Tennessee*
www.geocities.com/met3rdbrigade
 Jefferson County, TN

Militia of Georgia*
www.angelfire.com/ga3/militiaofgeorgia
 Lawrenceville, GA

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

Missouri 51st Militia*
www.mo51st.org
 Grain Valley, MO

New Mexico Liberty Corps*
www.users.uswest.net/~toad419
 Albuquerque, NM

Ohio Unorganized Militia Assistance and Advisory Committee*
www.oumaac.com
 Columbus, OH

Pennsylvania 1st Unorganized Militia*
www.1stPA-Militia.org
 Harrisburg, PA

S.O.D.F. an Ohio state militia*
hometown.aol.com/RMORGAN762
 Zanesville, OH

Southeastern Massachusetts Constitutional Militia*
www.SMCM.homestead.com
 Massachusetts

Southern California High Desert Militia*
highdesertmilitia.freeyellow.com/Index.htm
 Oceanside, CA

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

Texas Unified Field Forces Militia*
www.tuffmilitia.com
 Amarillo, TX

United States Citizens' Militia
www.unitedstatesmilitia.org

US Militia
us-militia.org

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

Virginia Citizens Militia*
vcm.freesevers.com
 Roanoke, VA

SOVEREIGN/Common Law (20) AMERIKA?
www.prostar.com/web/amerika

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

Michigan Jural Society*
users.netonecom.net/~gwood/MJS
 Mount Pleasant, MI

Patrick Henry Foundation for Common Law Studies*
www.angelfire.com/la/lawgiver/14th2.html
 Perkinston, MS

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

Republic of Texas-District Four*
www.flash.net/~rtsrv/rtdf4d.main.html
 Longview, TX



Common Law Court of the United States*
www.civil-liberties.com/commonlaw/common.html
 Lafayette, LA

Dixieland Law Journal
fly.hiwaay.net/~becraft

Dr. Tavel's Self-Help Legal Clinic and Sovereign Library
www.dravel.com

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

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

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

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

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

Team Law
www.teamlaw.org

Texas Guardians*
web2.airmail.net/reptex1
 Dallas/Fort Worth, TX

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

PATRIOT MEDIA (6)
American Freedom Network*
www.americannewsnet.com
www.americanfreedomnetwork.com
 Johnstown, CO

Citizen's Forum
www.westworld.com/~jahred/forum.html

Jeff Davis Show
members.aol.com/TFIJDSHOW

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

Truth Radio Home Page*
www.truthradio.com
 Delano, CA

PATRIOT MINISTRIES (8)
Church of God Evangelistic Association* (Newswatch Magazine)
www.newswatchmagazine.org
 Waxahachie, TX

Dog House
www.iei.net/~doghouse

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

Gospel Plow*
www.frii.com/~gosplov
 Sedalia, CO

Greater Ministries*
www.greater-ministries.com
 Tampa, FL

Iahushua
www.iahushua.com

Indianapolis Baptist Temple*
home.inreach.com/dov/dixon.htm
 Indianapolis, IN

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

PATRIOT PUBLISHING (8)
American Opinion Bookstore*
xld.com/public/alamo/home.htm
 San Antonio, TX

Big Sky Patriot
www.imt.net/~mtpatriot

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

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

Free American Magazine Online
www.FreeAmerican.com

Idaho Observer
www.proliberty.com/observer

The Sierra Times
www.sierratimes.com

The Spotlight *
www.spotlight.org
 Washington, DC

PATRIOT SUPPORT (60)
America in Distress
www.freeyellow.com/members/sweetpolli/page4.html

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

American Patriot Network
www.civil-liberties.com

AssaultWeb.Net
www.Assaultweb.net

AWARE Group*
www.theawaregroup.com
 Greenville, SC

Barefoot's World
www.nidlink.com/~bobhard/bftw.html

Boston Tea Party — Next Generation
www.slip.net/~boston

Caged Patriots
www.involved.com/ewolfe/caged

Captain Nemo's Freedom Lovers Site
home.rica.net/CaptainNemo/free/free.htm

Carl Klang
www.klang.com

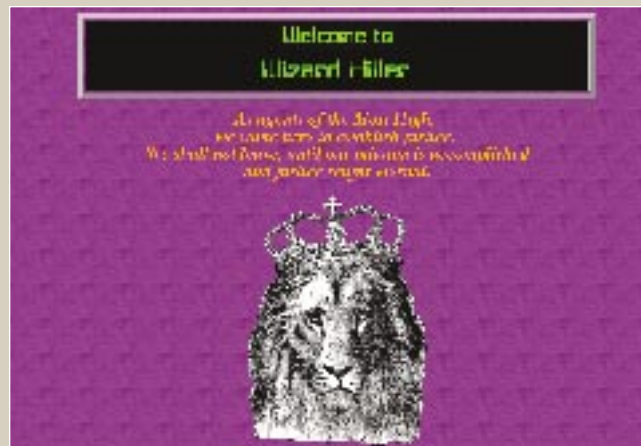
Citizens for Legal Reform*
www.constitution.org/mil/tx/crl_meet.htm
 Dallas, TX

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

Common Man
www.thecommonman.com

Constitution Society*
www.constitution.org
 Sacramento, CA

Downsizing Government
www.texasbestseminars.org



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

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

Free Kentucky*
www.freekentucky.com
Lebanon, KY

Free Republic
www.freerepublic.com

Freedom Page
freedompage.home.mindspring.com

Guardians of Liberty
www.guardians.org

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

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

Lessons of the Past
www.aracnet.com/~thomasam/
welcome.htm

Mark Smith's Home Page
www.flash.net/~msmith01

Minuteman Press
www.afn.org/~mpress

Nation in Distress
www.involved.com/ewolfe/distress

New Jersey Committee of Safety*
www.committee.org/NJcos
Trenton, NJ

**New World Order
Intelligence Update**
www.inforamp.net/~jwhitley

**NORFED — National
Organization for the Repeal of
the Federal Reserve Act***
www.norfed.org
Evansville, IN

Outpost of Freedom
www.illusions.com/opf

Patrick Henry On-Line
www.mo-net.com/~mlindste

Patriot
www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/6627

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

Patriot's Alliance
web.localink.net/~bubba/
index.html#1

Patriot's WWW Research Base
www.relaypoint.net/~patriot

Patriots of Washington State
www.freespeech.org/pows

Pennsylvania Crier*
www.penncrier.com/penncrier
Levittown, PA

**Playhavoc.com
— The Internet Militia**
www.playhavoc.com

Prophecy Club
www.prophecyclub.com

Save A Patriot Fellowship*
www.save-a-patriot.org
Westminster, MD

**Second Amendment
Committee Home Page***
www.libertygunrights.com
Hanford, CA

SN2112's Home Page
members.aol.com/SN2112

Sons of Liberty*
community-2.webtv.net/
We_The_People_
SonsofLibertyMilitia/index.html
Shillington, PA
www.coloradosonsofliberty.
webprovider.com
Fort Collins, CO
www.sons-of-liberty.org
Peachtree City, GA
www.sonsofliberty.org
Boise, ID

Survival Enterprises
www.survival.simplenet.com

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

Texas Militia Directory*
www.constitution.org/mil/tx/
ustx_nea.htm
San Antonio, TX

True Blue Patriots*
www.true-blue.org
Cincinnati, OH

**U.S.A Patriotic/Militia/
Anti-NWO Links**
www.theofficenet.com/~redorman/
pagepm.htm

U.S.A. The Republic
www.polarnet.com/~swampy

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

War.Net
www.war.net

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

We the People*
www.givemeliberty.org
www.cashflow.com/
wethepeople.htm
Huntington Beach, CA

**Wizard Killer's
Home in Cyberspace**
www.geocities.com/Heartland/7006/
home.html

Wolfe's Lodge
www.curleywolfe.net/cw/Lodge.html

PATRIOT VENDOR (3)
Freedom Coalition
home.earthlink.net/~jdenham

**Frugal Squirrel's Homepage for
Patriots, Survivalists,
and Gun Owners**
www.netside.com/~lcoble

Lawful Path*
www.netonecom.net/~gwood/TLP
Tustin, MI

POLITICAL/CITIZEN GROUPS (17)
**Alabama Committee to Get Us
Out of the United Nations***
themustardseed.home.
mindspring.com
www.mindspring.com/~doncasey
Birmingham, AL

**American Constitution
Party of Texas***
www.acp-tx.org
Brenham, TX

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

Citizens for Better Government*
www.afn.org/~govern
Gainesville, FL

Constitution Party*
www.ustaxpayers.org
www.constitutionparty.com
Lancaster, PA

iResist.com
www.iresist.com

Jefferson Party*
www.jusbelli.com
Anchorage, AK

John Birch Society*
www.jbs.org
Appleton, WI
home.earthlink.net/~bircher
Newport Beach, CA
members.nbci.com/jbsirvine
Irvine, CA
www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/
Lobby/6707
Orange County, CA
www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/
Lobby/8855
Riverside, CA
xld.com/public/jbs/austin.htm
Austin, TX
www.hwave.com/ctjbs
Enfield, CT

Sam Francis Online
www.samfrancis.net ▲

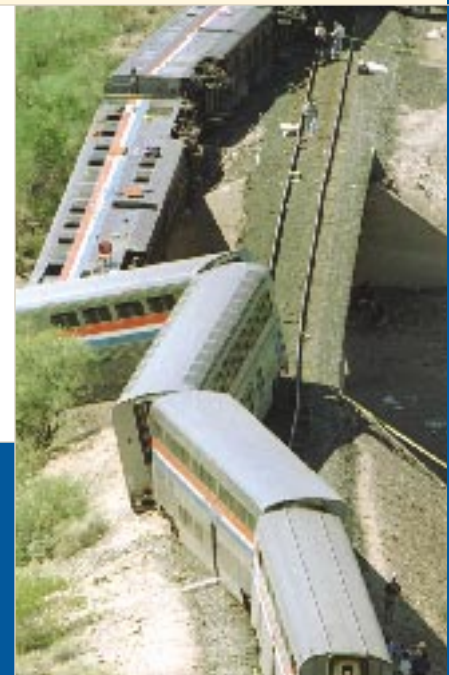
*The April 19, 1995,
Oklahoma City bombing
proved to be the opening
shot in a new and deadly
phase of right-wing
terrorism in this country. In
the six years since that
attack left 168 people dead,
the domestic radical right
has spawned a frightening
number of other terrorist
plots. Conspiracies hatched
since the Oklahoma City
attack have included plans
to bomb buildings, banks,
refineries, utilities, clinics
and bridges; to assassinate
politicians, judges, civil
rights figures and others; to
attack Army bases,
National Guard armories
and a train; to rob banks,
armored cars and other
criminals; and to amass
illegal machine guns,
missiles and explosives. The
FBI, which shortly before
Oklahoma was working
about 100 domestic
terrorism cases, has since
the late 1990s been carrying
at any one time close to
1,000. Almost every major
U.S. law enforcement
agency has developed a task
force or other unit aimed
at combating the threat.
Here is an overview of six
years of terror >>*

Terror from the Right

Since the Oklahoma City bombing, almost 30 right-wing terrorist plots — most of them foiled — have been uncovered in the United States

9/12/95 Antigovernment extremist Charles Ray Polk is indicted by a federal grand jury for plotting to blow up the Internal Revenue Service building in Austin, Tex. At the time of his arrest, Polk is trying to purchase plastic explosives to add to a huge illegal arsenal he's already amassed. He will be sentenced the following year to almost 21 years in federal prison, although an appeals court eventually reduces that term by five years.

10/9/95 Saboteurs derail an Amtrak passenger train (right) near Hyder, Ariz., killing one person and injuring many others. An antigovernment message, signed by the "Sons of Gestapo," is left behind. The perpetrators will remain at large.





11/9/95 Oklahoma Constitutional Militia leader Willie Ray Lampley (center), his wife and another man are arrested as they prepare explosives to bomb numerous targets, including the Southern Poverty Law Center. The three, and another suspect arrested later, will be sentenced to terms of up to 11 years in 1996. An appeals court will uphold Lampley's sentence the following year.

1/19/96 Peter Langan and Richard Guthrie, members of the underground Aryan Republican Army, are charged as the main suspects in a string of 22 bank robberies in seven Midwestern states. After pleading guilty and agreeing to testify, Guthrie commits suicide in his cell. Langan is ultimately sentenced to a life term in one case, plus a term of 55 years in another. Eventually, Mark Thomas, a leading neo-Nazi in Pennsylvania, pleads guilty for his role in helping to organize the robberies and agrees to testify against Langan and other gang members. In the end, Thomas is sentenced to eight years in prison. Another man, Kevin McCarthy, also pleads guilty to conspiracy charges in Pennsylvania and agrees to testify against his co-conspirators, ultimately drawing a five-year sentence.

4/11/96 Antigovernment activist Ray Hamblin is charged with illegal possession of explosives after authorities find 460 pounds of the high explosive Tovex, 746 pounds of ANFO blasting agent and 15 homemade hand grenades on his property in Hood River, Ore. Hamblin will be sentenced to almost four years in federal prison.



4/26/96 Two leaders of the Militia-at-Large of the Republic of Georgia, Robert Edward Starr III (above) and William James McCranie Jr., are charged with manufacturing shrapnel bombs for distribution to militia members. Later in the year, they will be sentenced on explosive charges to terms of up to eight years. Another Militia-at-Large member, accused of training a team to assassinate politicians, will be convicted of conspiracy.

6/11/96 Tax protester Joseph Martin Bailie is arrested for trying to blow up the Internal Revenue Service building in Reno, Nev. He will be sentenced to 36 years.

7/1/96 Twelve members of an Arizona militia group called the Viper Team are arrested on federal conspiracy, weapons and explosive charges after allegedly surveilling government buildings as potential targets. Ten members will plead guilty to various charges, drawing sentences of up to nine years in prison. One is ultimately acquitted of explosives charges while a mistrial will be declared on conspiracy charges against him. The last defendant will be convicted for conspiracy and sentenced to almost six years.



7/27/96 A nail-packed bomb goes off at the Atlanta Olympics, seen by many extremists as part of a Satanic New World Order, killing one person and injuring more than 100 others. Investigators will later conclude the attack is linked to the 1997-98 bombings of an Atlanta area abortion clinic, an Atlanta lesbian bar and a Birmingham, Ala., abortion facility. Eventually, fugitive Eric Robert Rudolph — a reclusive North Carolina man with ties to deceased anti-Semitic Christian Identity figure Nord Davis — will be charged in all the attacks.

7/29/96 Washington State Militia leader John Pitner and seven others are arrested on weapons and explosives charges in connection with a plot to build pipe bombs for a confrontation with the federal government. Pitner and four others will be convicted on weapons charges, while conspiracy charges against all eight will end in a mistrial. Pitner will later be retried on that charge, convicted and sentenced to four years in prison.

10/8/96 Three "Phineas Priests" — racist Christian Identity terrorists who feel they've been called by God to undertake violent attacks — are charged in connection with two bank robberies and bombings at the banks, a Spokane newspaper and a Planned Parenthood office. Charles Barbee, Robert Berry and Jay Merrell are eventually convicted and sentenced to life terms. Brian Ratigan, a fourth member of the group arrested separately, will draw a 55-year term.

10/11/96 Seven members of the Mountaineer Militia are arrested in a plot to blow up the FBI's national fingerprint records center in West Virginia. In 1998, leader Floyd "Ray" Looker, will be sentenced to 18 years in prison. Two other defendants are later sentenced on explosives charges and a third will draw a year in prison for providing blueprints of the FBI facility to Looker, who sold them to a government informant.



1/16/97 Two anti-personnel bombs explode outside an abortion clinic in Sandy Springs, Ga., a suburb of Atlanta. Seven people are injured. Letters sent by the "Army of God" will claim responsibility for this attack and another, a month later, at an Atlanta lesbian bar. Authorities later say that these attacks, the 1998 bombing of a Birmingham, Ala., abortion clinic and the 1996 Atlanta Olympics bombing, were all carried out by Eric Robert Rudolph, who eludes capture.

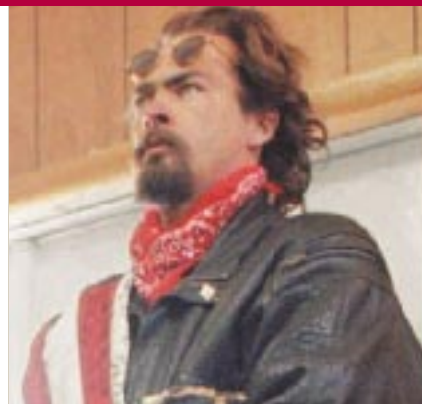
1/22/97 Authorities raid the Martinton, Ill., home of former Marine Ricky Salyers, an alleged white supremacist and Ku Klux Klan member, discovering 35,000 rounds of heavy ammunition, armor piercing shells, smoke and tear gas grenades, live shells for grenade launchers, artillery shells and other military gear. Salyers, an alleged member of the underground Black Dawn group of extremists in the military, will be sentenced later in the year to serve three years for weapons violations.

3/26/97 Militia activist Brendon Blas is arrested in Kalamazoo, Mich., and charged with making pipe bombs and other illegal explosives. Blas allegedly plotted to bomb the federal building in Battle Creek, the IRS building in Portage, a Kalamazoo television station and federal armories. Prosecutors will recommend leniency on his explosives conviction after Blas renounces his antigovernment beliefs and cooperates with them. In the end, he is sentenced to more than three years in federal prison.

4/22/97 Three Ku Klux Klan members are arrested in a plot to blow up a natural gas refinery outside Fort Worth, Texas. The three, along with a fourth arrested later, planned to blow up the refinery, killing hundreds of people including children at a nearby school, as a diversion for a simultaneous armored car robbery. All four will plead guilty to conspiracy charges and be sentenced to terms of up to 20 years.



4/23/97 Florida police arrest Todd Vanbiber (above), an alleged member of the neo-Nazi National Alliance and the shadowy League of the Silent Soldier, after he accidentally sets off pipe bombs he was building. Officials find a League terrorism manual and extremist literature in Vanbiber's possession. He is accused of plotting to use the bombs as part of a string of bank robberies. Vanbiber later pleads guilty to weapons and explosives charges and is sentenced to more than six years in federal prison.



4/27/97 After a cache of explosives stored in a tree blows up near Yuba City, Calif., police arrest Montana Freeman supporter William Robert Goehler (above). Investigators looking into the blast arrest two Goehler associates, one of them a militia leader, after finding 500 pounds of petro-gel explosives — enough to level three city blocks — in a motor home parked outside their residence. Six others are arrested on related charges. Goehler, who had previously been convicted of rape, burglary and assault, will be sentenced to 25 years to life in prison. An associate will be sentenced to three years.

7/4/97 Militiaman Bradley Glover and another heavily armed antigovernment activist are arrested before dawn near Fort Hood, in central Texas, hours before they allegedly planned to invade the Army base and slaughter foreign troops they mistakenly believed were housed there. In the next few days, five other people will be arrested as part of the alleged plot to invade a series of military bases where the group thought United Nations forces were massing for an assault on Americans. All seven are part of a splinter group of the Third Continental Congress, a kind of militia government-in-waiting. In the end, Glover is sentenced to two years on Kansas weapons charges, to be followed by a five-year federal term in connection with the Fort Hood plot. The others will draw lesser terms.

AUGUST '97 Packages containing fake bombs, carrying return addresses of Southwest Indian Nations and All Nations Militia, are mailed to prosecutors and federal judges in Colorado and New Mexico. The perpetrators are not caught.



12/12/97 A federal grand jury in Arkansas indicts three men on racketeering charges for allegedly plotting to overthrow the government and create a whites-only Aryan People's Republic, which they intended to boost through polygamy. Chevie Kehoe (above), Daniel Lee and Faron Lovelace are accused of crimes in six states, including murder, kidnapping, robbery and conspiracy. Kehoe and Lee also face state charges of murdering an Arkansas family, including an 8-year-old girl. Kehoe will ultimately receive life on that charge, while Lee will be sentenced to death. Separately, Kehoe's brother, Cheyne, will be convicted of attempted murder in a shootout with police and sentenced to 11 years in prison, despite his role in helping authorities arrest his brother.



AP WIDE WORLD PHOTO

1/29/98 An off-duty police officer is killed and a nurse is critically injured when a nail-packed bomb explodes outside a Birmingham, Ala., abortion facility, the New Woman All Women clinic. Letters to media outlets and officials claim responsibility in the name of the "Army of God," the same group that took credit for the bombing of a clinic and a lesbian bar in the Atlanta area. The attack also is linked by authorities to the 1996 bombing at the Atlanta Olympics. Eric Robert Rudolph, who will be charged in all four attacks, will remain at large, although some officials suggest that he has very likely died.

2/23/98 Three men with links to a Ku Klux Klan group are arrested near East St. Louis, Ill., on weapons charges. The three, along with three other men arrested later, allegedly plotted to assassinate a federal judge and civil rights lawyer Morris Dees, blow up the Southern Poverty Law Center that Dees co-founded and other buildings, poison water supplies and rob banks. In the end, all six plead guilty or are convicted of weapons charges, drawing terms of up to seven years in prison.

4/18/98 Three members of the North American Militia of Southwestern

Michigan are arrested on firearms and other charges. The men conspired to bomb federal buildings, a Kalamazoo television station and an interstate highway interchange, kill federal agents and a black radio talk show host, and attack aircraft at a National Guard base. The group's leader, Ken Carter, has described himself as a member of the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations. Carter will later plead guilty, cooperate with the government and be sentenced to five years, but the two others will be convicted and handed sentences of 40 and 55 years in federal prison.

AP WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

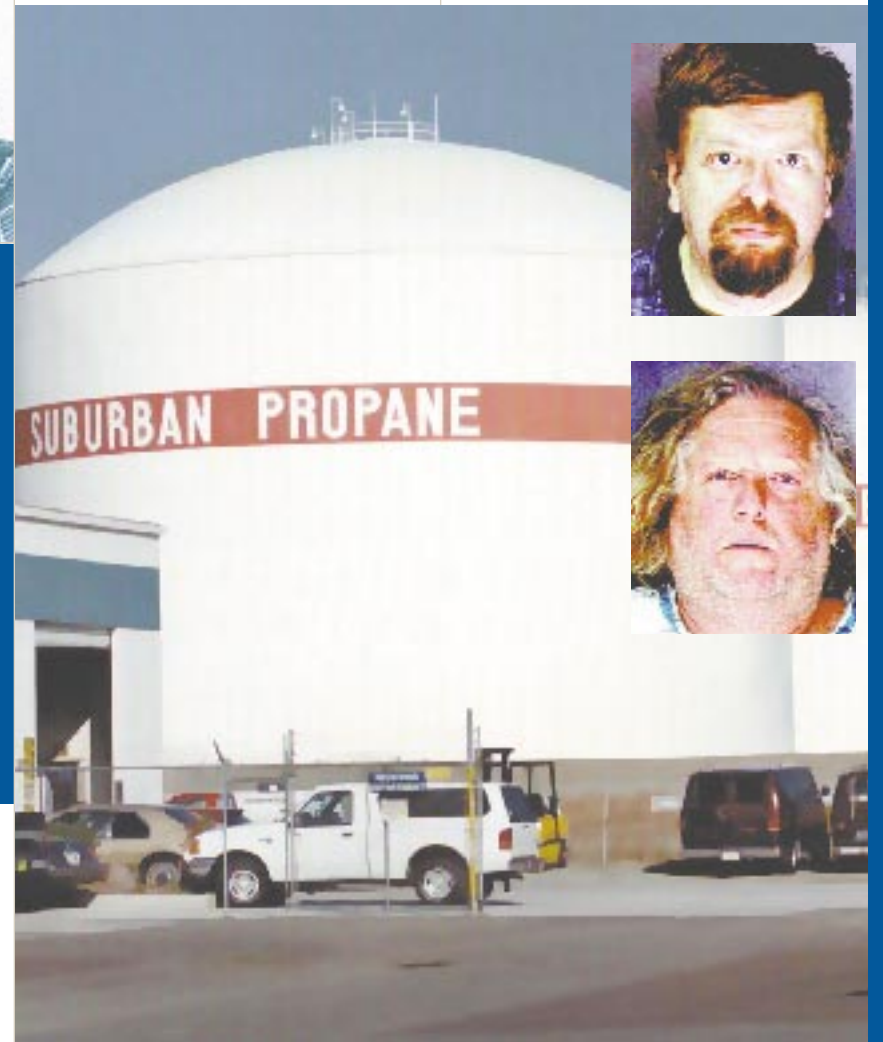


5/29/98 A day after stealing a water truck, three men allegedly shoot and kill a Cortez, Colo., police officer and wound two other officers as they try to stop the suspects. After the gun battle, the three — Alan Monty Pilon (top), Robert Mason and Jason McVean (bottom) — disappear into the canyons of the high desert. Mason will be found a week later, dead of an apparently self-inflicted gunshot. In October 1999, the skeletal remains of Pilon will also be found and show that he, too, died of a gunshot to the head. McVean will remain at large, although some suspect he may have died as well.

7/1/98 Three men are charged with conspiracy to use weapons of mass destruction after threatening President Clinton and other federal officials with biological weapons. Officials say the men planned to use a cactus thorn coated with a toxin like anthrax, fired by a modified butane lighter, to carry out the murders. One man will be acquitted of the charges, but Jack Abbot Grebe, Jr., and Johnnie Wise — a 72-year-old man who had attended meetings of the separatist Republic of Texas group — eventually will be sentenced to more than 24 years in prison.

7/30/98 South Carolina militia member Paul T. Chastain is charged with weapons, explosives and drug violations after he allegedly tried to trade drugs for a machine gun and enough c-4 plastic explosive to demolish a five-room house. The next year, Chastain will plead guilty to an array of charges, including threatening to kill Attorney General Janet Reno and FBI Director Louis Freeh, and be sentenced to 15 years in prison.

12/8/99 Donald Beauregard, the head of a militia coalition known as the Southeastern States Alliance, is charged with conspiracy, providing materials for a terrorist act and gun violations in connection with a plot to bomb energy facilities and cause power outages in Florida and Georgia. After pleading guilty to several charges, Beauregard will be sentenced to five years in federal prison. ▲



12/5/99 Two California men are charged with conspiracy in connection with an alleged plot to blow up two 12-million-gallon propane tanks, a television tower and an electrical substation in hopes of provoking an insurrection. In early 2001, Kevin Ray Patterson (above top) and Charles Dennis Kiles (above bottom) — both members of the San Joaquin Militia — will be still awaiting trial. In January 2001, the former head of their group, Donald Rudolph, will plead guilty to plotting to kill a judge and blow up the propane tanks.

AP WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

By David Neiwert

SNOHOMISH COUNTY, Wash. — Fnu Lnu, the proclaimed sheriff of Freedom County, is not your average kind of lawman. But then, Freedom County is not your average county, either.

Despite the claims of Lnu and his Patriot-movement cohorts, the county — composed of about 1,000 square miles carved out of the northern half of Washington state's Snohomish County — does not really exist, at least not according to state and federal courts. So perhaps it is appropriate that the name its sheriff goes by is an acronym for "First name unknown, last name unknown."

Lnu's real name is Robert Victor Bender. He's a 57-year-old former FBI agent from the Seattle area who was hired last October by organizers to provide law enforcement for the would-be county, such as it is. So far, those duties seem to have been comprised largely of trying to chase off Snohomish County code-enforcement officials.

A few days after Bender was appointed sheriff of Freedom County, he paid a visit to the bona fide sheriff of Snohomish County, Rick Bart, to let him know that there was a new lawman in town.

Bart listened politely, then threw him out of his office.

Such rejections have hardly slowed the county's organizers. In most respects, the slights have made them even more defiant. "The people of Freedom have replaced Snohomish County and they are now starting to rise up," said Thom Satterlee, the architect of Freedom County and one of its "commissioners."

Despite organizers' claims that the county has existed since 1995, very few people in the area take them seriously at all. Their supporters appear to number less than a hundred, and to date all their years of activity and organizing have produced no real-world results to speak of.

David Neiwert, a journalist who has written extensively about the radical right, is the author of *In God's Country: The Patriot Movement and the Pacific Northwest*.

DAVID NEIWERT

Organizing Freedom

**Like Patriot groups nationwide,
the organizers of Washington state's
'Freedom County' aren't doing too well**



“Fnu Lnu” (left) is sworn in as “sheriff” by Freedom County creator Thom Satterlee.

“Without a doubt, most of the people in this county think Mr. Satterlee and his group are a bunch of wackos,” says Sheriff Bart. “They have no credibility.”

A Movement in Decline

Freedom County is representative of much of the so-called “Patriot” movement today: declining in energy and enrollment, disdained and disliked by their mainstream neighbors, and singularly impotent in achieving any of their goals. But at the same time, those same traits may combine to make the remaining followers more radical and potentially more dangerous.

Nationwide, antigovernment Patriot/militia organizations like Freedom County are in a steady tailspin. Where such groups nationally numbered 858 in 1996, the most recent survey conducted by the Southern Poverty Law Center found only 194 of them active in 2000. And within those

groups, enrollment is either stagnant or declining.

The saga of Freedom County traces the arc of the movement nationally. Its origins date to the 1993-95 period, when organizers around the nation began cobbling together militias and “common-law” courts as acts of defiance against what they saw as government oppression.

Satterlee and his colleagues participated in those kinds of activities in Snohomish County, many of them revolving around “Wise Use” issues that portrayed government environmental and land-use policies as part of the conspiracy to oppress Americans. Satterlee at one point tried to pay his taxes with checks backed by pseudo-legal “liens” filed against a federal judge in Seattle over his handling of a conspiracy and weapons case against a group of western Washington militiamen.

But they also went a step further, circulating petitions calling for the creation of a new county comprised almost solely of rural precincts where resentment ran high against a county government domi-

nated by urban and suburban precincts around the city of Everett.

The Freedom County organizers presented the Washington legislature with their petitions in 1995, with over 12,000 signatures on them. Those petitions became the foundation of the Patriots’ claims that they had in fact obtained a mandate to secede from Snohomish County and form a new entity.

But the petitions were ignored by state legislators, and subsequent efforts by Satterlee and his cohorts to get the courts to support them have failed. In 1997, the state Supreme Court upheld a Snohomish County judge’s ruling that the alleged county had no legal basis for existence, and in January 2000 the court dismissed a second case brought by Freedom County organizers.

‘People are Fearful’

Satterlee has remained undeterred, declaring the courts fraudulent — “If you are dealing with a corrupt system, are you surprised when you get a corrupt ruling?”

With signs like these, Freedom County activists warn away agents of the real government.

— and referring to judges as “Satans in black robes.” He and his fellow unelected “commissioners” have continued to hold meetings — most of them “executive sessions” — and proceeded with plans to establish their own government, culminating in Bender’s selection as their “sheriff” last October.

Freedom County even has an official seal, encircling a grinning Minuteman with one foot on a plow, a musket in one hand and a laptop computer on his knee.

This year, Freedom County partisans managed to persuade some legislators to sign on as sponsors of a resolution that called for recognizing the new county, warning that Sheriff Bart was planning “a violent confrontation to thwart the will of the people.” After actually reading the text of the resolution, however, all seven of the lawmakers backed out.

Bart has tried to remain above the fray, but the rising nastiness of the Patriots’ rhetoric has him worried. “I have a lot of people that live up in his area who send



me e-mails every time Satterlee’s in the paper. They’re afraid of him because of what he says,” Bart says. “And most of them are elderly, and they’re very concerned over what he says: ‘Is that really going to happen?’ and ‘What if Mr. Lnu tries to pull me over?’ A lot of people are fearful of these guys up there. It’s typical schoolyard bully tactics, and that’s what Mr. Satterlee’s trying to do.”

Bart says that despite Satterlee’s claims, Freedom County’s constituency is slight at best: “All I can say is, I do not believe Thom Satterlee when he says he has 16,000 followers because those are the people that signed the petition that he claims gives him a right to govern. I think the numbers are way, way below that.

“Everybody that I’ve talked to that says they signed that petition ... says, ‘No, we signed it because [Satterlee] was standing outside the Kmart or whatever, and they said they wanted to look at forming a new county, so we signed it. We didn’t sign it saying we wanted a new county.’ And Satterlee uses that document like a hammer.”

Battling Code Enforcement

For his part, Satterlee is sorting his options as he looks for some glimmer of recognition from state or local officials. He says he’s considering taking an appeal to the international courts or the U.S. Supreme Court. “And the third alternative is just to move ahead, assert our jurisdiction and be

Unfortunately, the “Patriots” of Freedom County may force Bart’s hand soon. Already they have taken up the cause of a trucking-firm operator who was ignoring county zoning laws, and a handful of property owners may be headed for a showdown with Snohomish County officials over code violations on their lands.

county doesn’t have a right to come on their land. And that’s one reason, I think, why they hired Fnu Lnu — he’s supposedly going to stop these people from coming on people’s property and enforcing the code and growth management and all that kind of stuff.”

Bomb Threats and the Law

So for all their real-world impotence, the Freedom County organizers present the kind of unstated threat of violence that has been a thread running throughout the Patriot movement nationally, where a few radicalized actors refuse to accept the law and engage law enforcement in armed standoffs and shootouts.

Bart has tried not to let himself get caught up in the Patriots’ attempts to draw him into that kind of showdown, as evidenced by Bender’s visit to his office last fall. “He says I won’t enforce the laws — I will, but I’m not going to let him use me to get a forum. And if he breaks the law, or one of his people gets violent and breaks the law, we will pursue that like any other lawbreaker. But I’m not going to fall into some trap where he’s going to get this big forum. It isn’t going to happen.”

Despite the ostensibly reasonable image for Freedom County presented by Satterlee and Bender, their movement has attracted followers who may not be so calm. “Well, you know, it’s a free country, you can say anything, but these people around the edges listen to that stuff and take it to heart,” Bart says. “And I’m afraid of that. I’m very fearful that with some of these people that he has who support him who we don’t know about are going to try to take some kind of action, and someone’s going to get hurt.”

Sheriff Bart says he has received threats to blow up the courthouse, and he’s taking those seriously. He also is closely monitoring the work of county code-enforcement officials in the area in case a violent confrontation breaks out.

“I think we’re getting real close,” he says. “They’re getting so frustrated, they’re going to do something stupid. That’s what I’m worried about. I don’t want anybody to get hurt.” ▲

Church vs. State

The seizure of Indianapolis Baptist Temple ends a standoff, but the “unregistered churches” movement is still in business

As the minutes ticked away to the deadline to vacate the Indianapolis Baptist Temple (IBT) at noon last Nov. 14, a crowd of 400 inside the sanctuary held its figurative breath. They had tried to keep the most volatile elements outside; supporters from the Ku Klux Klan, for instance, were not allowed in. Still, would the arrival of federal marshals, seizing the church for unpaid taxes, trigger violence?

But the marshals didn’t show—that day, or the next, or even that week. As the church’s congregants anxiously waited, their worst fears were summed up by Charlie Puckett, commander of the Kentucky State Militia. Probably, he

thought, some “idiot programmed by the CIA mind control” would “mistakenly, accidentally, on purpose” fire a weapon at someone and “cause an outbreak.”

Ominously, he predicted “if that happens, it starts. . . . [P]lans go into effect and you know what that is. . . . I have no other choice.” Cryptic, but understood by all. In the name of religious freedom, some were preparing for a showdown with the government as fatal and tragic as the conflagration at Waco, Texas.

It was not to be. On Feb. 13, 17 years of unpaid taxes, three years of litigation and a 92-day standoff all ended with a whimper, not a bang. When hundreds of federal and local officers finally raided the

Pastor Gregory Dixon, Jr., tested a judge’s order for 92 days before his church was seized for tax violations.

church, only eight hardy supporters were found and carried out on stretchers. There was no violence. For Gregory J. Dixon, Sr., whose public career started when he tried to ban the musical “Hair” from Indianapolis in the 1960s and has extended to suggesting that slavery saved blacks from going to hell, this was the culmination of 17 years of promoting so-called “unregistered” churches.

‘Christian Resistance’

Dixon, who once advocated repealing all civil rights laws, is best known as pas-



a country whether or not the corporate state of Washington recognizes us,” he says. “At some point, as the problems that are created by doing that come to a head, the state of Washington will seek to bring us into court. And when they seek to bring us into court, we’ll beat ‘em hands down. Which is why they haven’t brought us into court, because they know we will.” Sheriff Bart chuckles at that notion. “That’s not true,” he says. “When I enforce the law, I’m going to win, because I have the law on my side. And I have no qualms about enforcing the law. Mr. Satterlee isn’t taking any actions that I know of right now that would force me to do that, because he knows I’ll enforce the law.”

Despite warnings like these, the real sheriff warns that he’s not afraid to enforce the law.

“Most of the people out here are terrified,” says Satterlee. “They’re terrified of the oppression of Snohomish County, and they are cautious.”

The same friction point concerns Bart as well. “When county code-enforcement people go out to these people’s property, that’s where we’ll have the confrontations,” he says. “They’ve already tried to sell ‘No Trespassing’ signs on the Internet — and made money, of course, got ten bucks or something — to put up on these people’s property which says that basically the

tor emeritus of IBT and a man who has had numerous flirtations with the antigovernment “Patriot” movement. (His more politically moderate son, Gregory A. Dixon, Jr., is the current IBT pastor.) Yet since 1984, the elder Dixon has also headed a little-noticed, but nationwide radical church movement based on the notion that religion should have nothing whatsoever to do with the state. Churches like IBT refuse to “register” as charities under section 501(c)3 of the Internal Revenue Code, even though that means forsaking the tax and other advantages that that legal status brings.

The movement, grouped into a confederation of almost 100 congregations that has met at IBT each October for 16 years, has been organized since 1994 as the Unregistered Baptist Fellowship (UBF); earlier, its predecessor organization operated under a different name. By promoting a “theology of Christian resistance” to earthly government, the UBF also has attracted extremists of many stripes, from those advocating hatred of the government, homosexuals and abortion providers, to a number of hard-core racists and anti-Semites.

“The unregistered church movement,” says Leonard Zeskind, a leading analyst of the extreme right, “is halfway between the Moral Majority and the Posse Comitatus,” a racist and anti-Semitic tax protest group of the 1980s.

Zip Codes as Sin

The term “unregistered” was originally used to describe underground churches in the Soviet Union that evaded regulation by the bureaucracy of a state opposed to religion. America’s “unregistered” churches, many of which sent Bibles to unregistered Soviet churches in the 1970s, adopted the term to show they thought the United States matched the USSR in its smothering of religious liberty.

The principal goal of unregistered churches is to avoid 501(c)3 incorporation, which is the normal status for charities and religious groups, because they see accepting that status as caving in to secular demands that interfere with religion. Most organizations crave 501(c)3 status

because it exempts them from corporate income taxes and allows donors to deduct gifts from their taxable incomes. But 501(c)3 organizations, like all organizations with employees, must make FICA (Federal Insurance Contributions Act) contributions, including Medicare and Social Security, and must withhold federal

should not use nonprofit mailing permits or even zip codes.

IBT claimed that the people who were paid to work in the office and sweep the floors were not employees, but rather “ministers” who were paid “cash love gifts only.” (Ministers, who are considered self-employed, are exempt from FICA taxes.) IBT



JENNIFER WARBURG

Gregory Dixon, Sr., father of the current pastor, has led the “unregistered church” movement for 17 years.

also alleged that it was not a legal corporation or entity. The last such corporation supposedly ended in 1989 with the dissolution of Not A Church, Incorporated, which had been established to handle IBT’s legal affairs. Finally, the church argued, section 501(c)3 is unconstitutional, a violation of the First Amendment guarantee that Congress will make no law abridging the free exercise of religion.

IBT’s arguments, the federal judge in IBT’s tax case ruled in the end, were “sadly mistaken.” But Dixon still doesn’t think so. “Right now, the purge is on to bring

churches under government control,” he told the *Intelligence Report* recently. Government agents, Dixon added, “consider me one of the most dangerous enemies in America.”

In Nebraska, the Movement Begins

The ideology and structure of today’s unregistered churches movement can be traced to a remarkable conflict in the early 1980s between the state of Nebraska and the Faith Baptist Church (FBC) in Louisville. FBC, headed by Rev. Everett Sileven, opened an uncertified school in its basement for 17 students in August 1977. Nebraska law then required even private school teachers to be certified by the state, and a judge issued an injunction to close the school.

Maintaining that “this school represents our right to exercise our religion,” and that “the state is in violation of God’s law,” Sileven, who as a high school student opposed the senior prom because dancing

supposedly inspires lustful thoughts, began a long legal battle. While the church appealed the injunction all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court (which in 1981 refused to hear the case), a local judge ordered the Nebraska church’s doors padlocked shut and opened only Sundays and Wednesday evenings for prayer services. Twice the locks

were removed, twice Sileven began classes again, and twice he was jailed for contempt of court. The second time he surrendered only after locking himself and his congregation in the church and conducting a several-day standoff with authorities.

With Sileven in jail in October 1982, 85 supporters from around the nation



AP WIDE WORLD PHOTO



JENNIFER WARBURG

To some, the battle over Indianapolis Baptist Temple amounts to a struggle between good and evil.

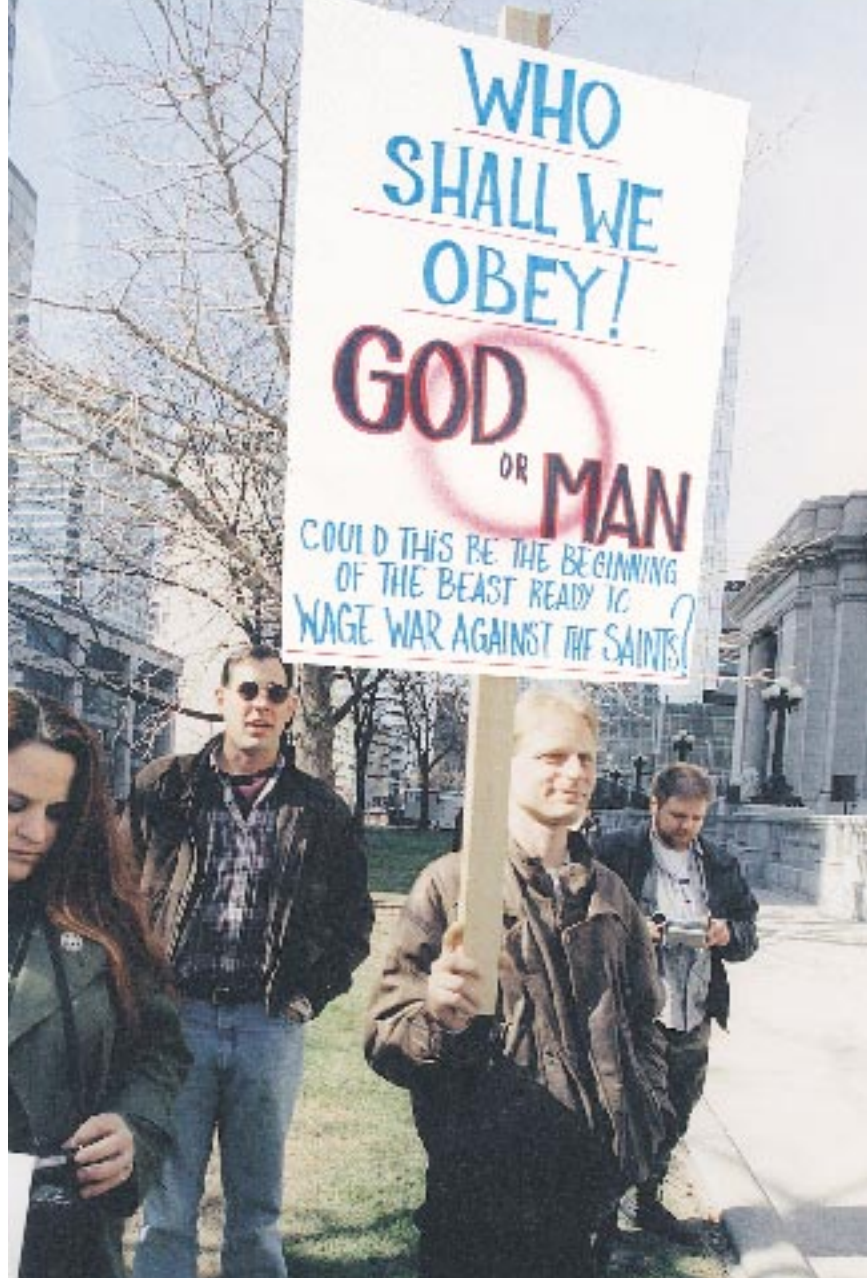
arrived for prayer services and refused to leave. Among them was the national secretary of Jerry Falwell's Moral Majority — Gregory J. Dixon, Sr. Along with many others, Dixon was arrested the next day when the sheriff raided the church. A few days later, 450 pastors from around the country occupied the church, and the padlocking order was rescinded for fear of violence. When Sileven was released from jail, Dixon walked with him down the courthouse steps.

The case dragged on. Classes began again, school parents were jailed for contempt of court and, in November 1983, a warrant was issued for Sileven's arrest. He fled the state, giving speeches nationwide, but returned dramatically, in a helicopter, to hole up in the church for another standoff with the sheriff. Back in court, he was again found in contempt. This time, he got an eight-month sentence.

But Sileven eventually won. In 1984, a governor's panel decided that the Nebraska statute was probably unconstitutional, and the legislature exempted church schools from the certification requirements. Sileven's eight-month sentence was overturned on appeal, and a panel of federal judges ruled that the sheriff had acted unconstitutionally by arresting dozens of people in the October 1982 raid on the church.

The White Race, Enslaved

For unregistered churches, the Sileven affair was seminal. Fundamentalists had come together to fight what they saw as an overreaching government, and they had won. At the same time, Dixon's place in the Moral Majority was less and less secure. According to Edgar Towne, professor emeritus at Christian Theological Seminary in Indianapolis, the Moral Majority at the time was trying to "slough off the militants like Greg Dixon," who were hurting the group's mainstream appeal. Dixon quit the Moral Majority in 1983, and for several months directed the Coalition for Religious Freedom (CRF) and its protests against the prosecution of the Rev. Sun Myung Moon of the Unification Church for tax fraud.



JENNIFER WARBURG

But soon Dixon left CRF and threw himself into his new organization, the American Coalition of Unregistered Churches (ACUC). IBT quit paying taxes in 1984, the same year Sileven won his Nebraska battle. In 1985, under the aegis of Dixon, the ACUC held its first national conference in Indianapolis. (The ACUC now exists only as a Dixon Web site. In 1994, the Unregistered Baptist Fellowship was created as a successor organization and took over ACUC's conferences, which have stayed in Indianapolis, and became the main organization for unregistered churches.)

During the mid-1980s, as the radical right spread through the Midwest, Dixon's position hardened. He held a "Court of

Divine Justice" which, according to an article in the *Jerusalem Post*, prayed for the death of public officials on a "prayer hit list." He began to read the infamous anti-Semitic publication *The Spotlight*, saying in a 1990 letter to the editor that he considered it "an excellent publication."

"The Welfare State has enslaved the white race for generations to come," Dixon wrote in a 1993 issue of his newsletter, *The Trumpet*. "[We should] repeal all Civil Rights Laws. . . . If it were not for the white man, the black man would have starved to death long ago. He would also have gone to Hell long ago. . . . In spite of the wickedness of slavery as an institution, more blacks will probably be in heaven

because of slavery than [because of] mission activity."

'Strange Bedfellows'

Dixon and his unregistered church movement have also embraced a litany of hard-liners.

■ Pete Peters, a leading figure in racist Christian Identity theology, convened a key 1992 meeting of right-wing extremists in Estes Park, Colo., which established the contours of the soon-to-explode militia movement. Dixon was a featured speaker at this "Gathering of Christian Men," which also included former Klansman Louis Beam, neo-Nazi Aryan Nations leader Richard Butler and many other white supremacists. Dixon, who said Peters "restores [his] faith in preachers," was very clear that day: "Every church in America should have its own militia."

■ W.N. Otwell, pastor of God Said Ministries in Mt. Enterprise, Texas, has attended UBF conferences and, according to Dixon, is deeply involved in the movement. Otwell believes that "God uses the white race as leaders," and "the black race . . . is a servitude people." Explaining the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing as "God's payback" for the deaths of Branch Davidians after a standoff with federal agents in Waco, Texas, Otwell once said: "God did not mind killing a bunch of women and kids. God talks about slaughter! 'Don't leave one suckling! Don't leave no babies! Don't leave nothing! Kill them! Destroy them!'"

■ Rev. Robert McCurry of Heritage Baptist Church in Georgia, who stood with Dixon in Sileven's church in 1983, has been central to ACUC and UBF since the beginning, often leading seminars with Dixon at the national conferences. McCurry has stayed close to Sileven (who has changed his name to Everett Sileven Ramsey), even as Sileven moved further to the right, adopting the anti-Semitic Christian Identity theology. McCurry has spoken at Sileven's Identity conferences and has published at least one article in Sileven's newsletter, *America Today*.

■ Rev. Fred Phelps, the infamous gay-basher and vitriolic founder of the www.god-hatesfags.com Web site, was invited by Dixon to speak at the 1995 UBF conference.

Dixon, who has frequently complained of being portrayed as an extremist, also wrote a 1999 article defending Phelps in the *Citizens Informer*, the publication of the white supremacist Council of Conservative Citizens.

■ During the recent standoff at IBT, current pastor Greg Dixon, Jr., renounced violence and asked some of IBT's more extremist supporters to leave, calling them "blowhards." But allowed to stay was long-time Patriot figure James "Bo" Gritz, who broadcast his radio show from the sanctuary and who has been moving toward Christian Identity beliefs himself. Also permitted to remain was Neal Horsley, whose violently anti-abortion "Nuremberg Files" Web site long carried information about doctor's families and other details that many saw as useful only to an assassin. Horsley's site was shut down after a court levied a multimillion civil judgment against the individuals and groups that had given Horsley his information. (In late March, however, a federal appeals court overturned the civil judgment; see related story, p. 5.) Recently, Horsley decided to take up the cause of unregistered churches in earnest and began developing a new Web site, www.freechurchmovement.com.

"Liberty has strange bedfellows," the younger Dixon told a reporter about these connections. "If your only friends are those that you agree 100% with, you're not going to have many friends."

And the Beat Goes On

Over the last 10 years, UBF conferences (and ACUC conferences before them) have been well organized, with attendance in the hundreds and sometimes even approach-

ing a thousand. Seminar topics have included "What To Do When the Authorities Come for Your Children" and "Preparing Global Children for the New World Order." Other activities have included communal burnings of the United Nations flag and the presentation of such skits as "Our Lost Culture," performed "in full antebellum and Confederate dress."

The first Sunday after the seizure, hundreds showed up for IBT services in the auditorium of a local (tax-supported) high school. Afterwards, Greg Dixon, Jr., gushed about the enthusiasm of the "tremendous crowd."

Yet today there is a real uneasiness about what will happen, for IBT in particular and for unregistered churches in general. Talking to the *Intelligence Report*, Dixon, Sr., was candid. "I don't know [where we'll go from here]. Frankly, I'm so stunned right now over this decision. . . . I think we're at a place where everybody's on their own, so to speak, and it's a prepare-to-meet-thy-God situation."

Despite the clear isolation of Indianapolis Baptist Church from the political mainstream and the loss of the church itself, the unregistered church movement today does not seem to be collapsing. About 200 people, including 50 to 100 ministers, came from 15 states for the UBF conference in October 2000, with the seizure imminent. This spring, there are UBF regional meetings slated for Paducah, Ky., Columbus, Ohio, and Houston. And, once the organization decides on a suitable replacement for IBT as host, UBF intends to hold its 17th national conference this fall. ▲



JENNIFER WARBURG

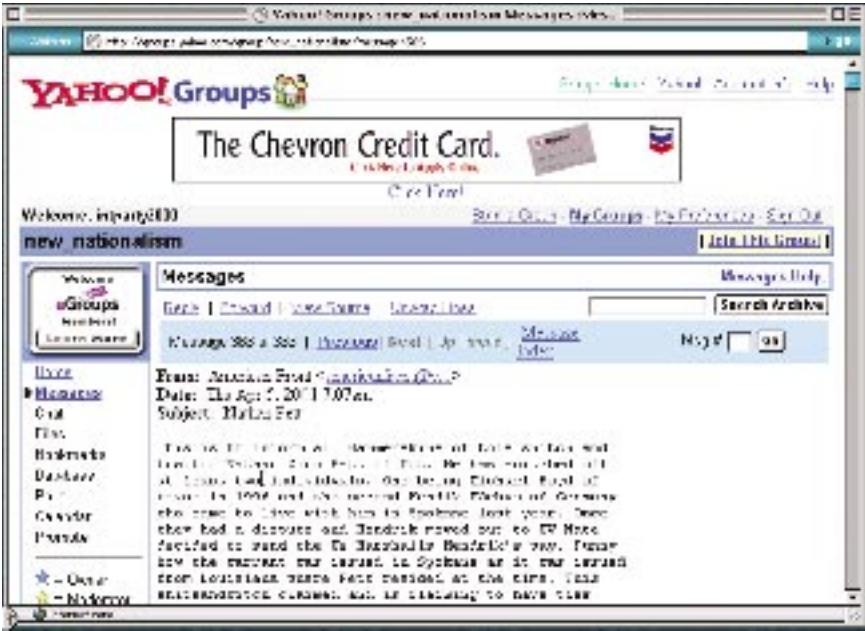
Reevaluating the Net

A growing consensus of experts finds that discussion groups, not Web sites, are where cyber-extremism really flourishes

For more than five years now, Internet sites promoting racial and ethnic hatred have been in the news. Throughout the Western hemisphere, government officials, parents, educators, human rights groups and many others have loudly warned of the noxious effect of these sites, and many have sought to make them illegal.

And it is true that these sites have had the effect of providing ideology — a kind of moral support — to angry and alienated people looking for an excuse to hate or hurt other human beings. They have brought many who would never have been exposed to neo-Nazism, Klan philosophy or Holocaust denial into a world that has turned out to be attractive to at least some of them. They may have influenced at least some young people to seek out hate groups in the real world. And they have helped hate groups to sell racist music, propaganda and survivalist hardware.

But in many ways, the real action for extremists on the Internet lies elsewhere. There is a growing consensus of experts who study hate on the Web that the presence of such sites is not nearly as important as another aspect of the Internet — the more private, text-based venues such as E-mail, discussion groups, chat rooms and the like. While many people will visit



a hate site once or twice, even the committed typically want to move on to venues where real discussion takes place.

“Has the Internet been very successful for hate groups for recruitment of card-carrying members into established organizations? The answer is no,” says Chip Berlet of Political Research Associates. “But has the Internet helped more alienated young white men focus their anger on scapegoats like Jews or blacks? Yes.”

‘Community’ is the Key

As dot.commers the world over have discovered of late, having a flashy site on the World Wide Web is no guarantee that

people will continue to visit your site to buy products — or ideology. Students of the Net have found that in order to flourish, Web sites must create a sense of community, a feeling that you will find new ideas and people who will engage your mind and interests. Otherwise, visitors may view a site on one or two occasions, but find little reason for returning regularly.

But while a sense of community is very difficult to engender on static Web sites, it is natural to the lively exchanges that typify Net discussion groups. Chatters engage in direct, unmediated discussions that flesh out their pre-existing views. For those who are not members of hate groups,

these venues allow a safe exploration of extremist ideology — one in which no physical commitment is made. For people who are members, discussion groups have been likened to a virtual cross-burning — a kind of hatefest in which participants reinforce one another’s racist views.

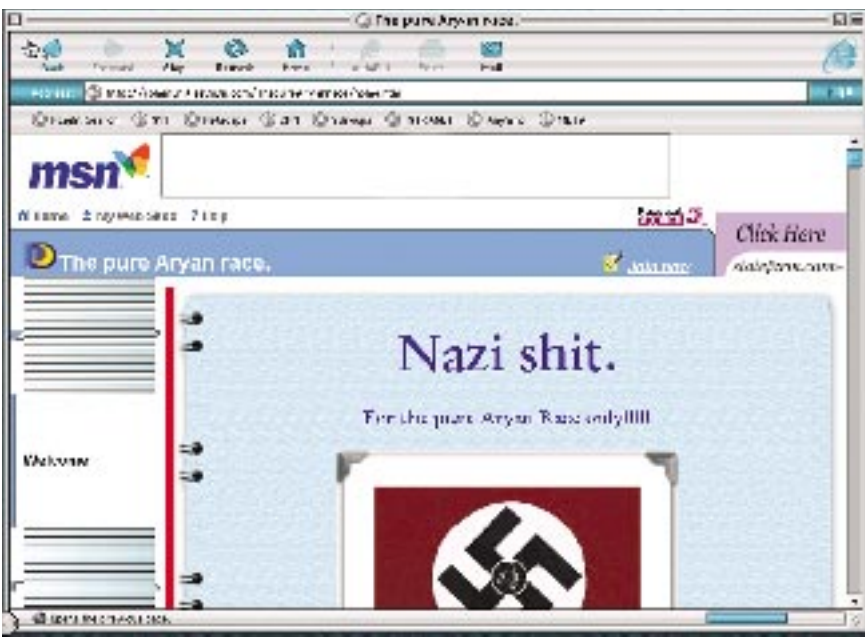
“Extremists need to be told that what they do is good and right and true,” says David Goldman, an expert who ran the HateWatch.org site until it shut down early this year. “These interactive [discussion] groups, even more than the Web, let them feel hope, like they’re participating in a community bigger than themselves.”

Expert opinion on these topics is not unanimous. Some believe that Web sites do significantly aid recruiting, and they point to the handful of cases where there is some evidence of this. Others say the sites have virtually no impact, except perhaps to take people out of active life in the movement and park them at a computer. The reality is probably somewhere in between, with the sites acting as kinds of brochures to hate groups, but the real energy of the movement found in discussion groups. In fact, some hate sites act as portals, with links to an array of discussion groups.

Behind Closed Doors

Discussion groups are important for a number of reasons, including:

- **Privacy.** Although many lists are open, an increasing number are not, requiring passwords and prior approval by the larger group. For a racist group like the neo-Confederate League of the South (LOS), which poses as a mainstream conservative outfit, this is important. It allows members and even leaders to speak candidly. “Let us not flinch,” LOS President Michael Hill wrote last year on a private list, “when our enemies call us ‘racists’; rather, just reply with, ‘So, what’s your point?’” Hill has not made such remarks publicly.
- **Persuasion.** Discussion groups allow activists to talk personally to potential members who are alienated but not yet convinced racists. “Think about how you convince somebody of a proposition, any proposition,” says Goldman. “You have to say, ‘Hey, I understand your problems



and your concerns. In fact, I have the same ones. Do you understand that these problems come from the blacks, the Jews, et cetera? Why don’t you come to a meeting?”

- **Anonymity for sympathizers.** “It reduces the perceived risk of contacting these groups,” says Todd Schroer, a professor at the University of Southern Indiana who studies extremism on the Internet. “If you have to go to a Klan rally or actually write to [groups] to get involved in hate, that’s a big barrier to overcome.” Through public discussion groups, the person who may be interested in joining can discuss it thoroughly before committing.
- **Planning.** Groups like the Hammerskin Nation, which puts on several white power music concerts a year, have had consistent trouble with being shut down by antiracist activists. Closed discussion groups or e-mails allow such groups to plan events while minimizing the chances of disruption.
- **Support.** While it’s not safe to publicly brag about, say, beating up blacks or gays, there are some people who applaud these actions — even some women who flock to those who carry them out. Discussion groups provide a forum for racists to congratulate one another or urge each other on to violence. In many ways, these cyber-venues have become the virtual barrooms of the future.

‘A Devastating Effect’

These kinds of discussions, especially the ones in closed discussion groups, are important for all of these reasons and more. They also allow the ever more important individual and unconnected activist — the so-called “lone wolf” — to take part in movement debates and even planning without exposing himself.

“The radical right is decentralizing,” explains Goldman. “Organized groups are becoming less crucial to the movement, and the lone wolf model is coming forward.” Closed e-groups are of particular interest to such people.

Internet Web sites are not going away. On the contrary, they have been growing steadily since Don Black first put up Stormfront in March 1995. But as the movement develops and grows more sophisticated, it seems clear that hate groups and individual propagandists will concentrate on the more private Net venues.

“Having all this out there on the Internet is not the same thing as having people join the Ku Klux Klan or the [neo-Nazi] World Church of the Creator,” says Berlet. “But it has a devastating effect on the public debate, both in America and worldwide. ... The Internet has allowed the spreading of a conspiracist world view that looks for scapegoats to blame, and ultimately to eliminate.” ▲

Coming Out

A young couple describes life inside a Missouri Christian Identity church community, and how they came to leave it

For more than 30 years, Dan Gayman has been one of the leading ideologues of the racist and anti-Semitic Christian Identity religion, associating with nearly every major figure on the radical right. After a struggle over control of his church in Schell City, Mo., that culminated in 1976 with Gayman and another leader of The National Emancipation of the White Seed occupying the building, Gayman began publishing a journal called *Zion's Watchman* and a host of other stridently racist writings. Since that time, Gayman has built his Church of Israel into a rich collection of rural buildings and farmlands. It was during the 1980s, while growing up on the compound, that Tim, one of Dan Gayman's six children, met Sarah, his future wife. In 1991, after much agonizing, Tim, now 36, and Sarah, now 34, left the church and abandoned their Identity beliefs. The *Intelligence Report* interviewed Tim and Sarah about their experiences, including double-dating with accused serial bomber Eric Robert Rudolph and finally rejecting the Identity faith.



INTELLIGENCE REPORT Tim, what was it like growing up on what's come to be one of the more famous Identity compounds in America?

TIM GAYMAN I was very sheltered, living in a very rural area on a farm. There was not a lot of contact with the outside world. We were home-birthed and home-schooled. We didn't have a TV — AM radio was about all we had — and I didn't see a black person until I was 16 or 17, in Kansas City. I was like, what's that?

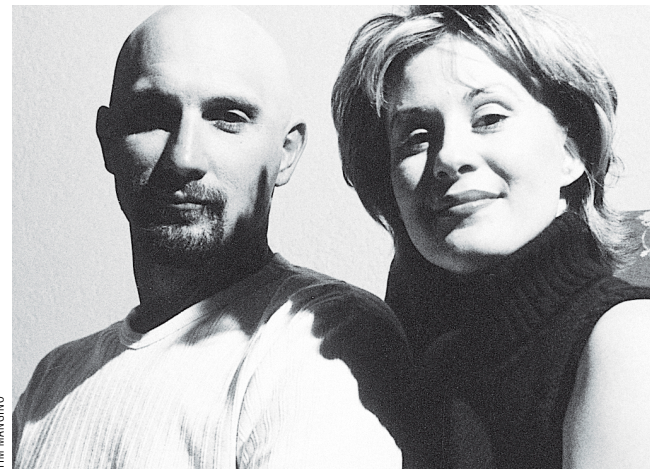
In the early days, when I was really young, there was a lot of activity there — the Klan and [anti-Semitic] Posse Comitatus people and tax protesters. And there have been some big names out there, like [neo-Nazi Aryan Nations leader] Richard Butler and [Identity hard-liners] Col. Jack Mohr and James Wickstrom. That was back in the 1970s and early 1980s. By the mid-'80s, my dad did a turnaround, because the government was cracking down on that kind of thing. He started preaching more like a fundamentalist, a Jerry Falwell type. Now he says he doesn't hate blacks or anything. But his writings say otherwise.

SARAH GAYMAN He's only telling the media that he doesn't hate blacks. But that's not what was said in his home, or in his writing. We have letters from him and some of the others that show that he doesn't really believe what he's saying.

IR Tell us a little more about life at the Church of Israel.

TIM The whole family lived around the church, but there were people scattered in a 30-mile radius who attended. Also on feast days, three times a year, people would come from all over the nation to attend.

Basically, we had a farm life — hard work from dawn to dusk. We had cattle and milked cows and put up hay. It was a really hardworking environment. Most people had day jobs, and many of them had other farms around here. When I was a kid it was 40 acres here and 80 acres there. Now, there's hundreds and hundreds of acres they have



“What they can’t control, they destroy. All women who disagree with them are insane or possessed by demons.”

bought over the years. And the technology has come so far that work now is probably not nearly as hard as it was then.

SARAH After I left and read about cults, I realized that that was the point — keep everybody busy so they don’t ask questions, so they’re too exhausted to cause trouble. All we did was eat and work and gossip. That was all. I got very depressed. What was this all for? It just seemed like drudgery to me.

IR And what was the rest of the family like?

TIM My dad has five brothers and he always had them under control. They would do whatever he wanted. I mean, there would be Hatfield-and-McCoy type of fights, but it was always stick up for each other in the end. So when I was growing up, there was this sense of security and a lot of pride. I was a Gayman. I felt secure, but at the same time I felt there were things that weren’t right.

But being my family and being as strong-minded as they were, I didn’t put up a fuss. When I finally did leave, I had a lot of guilt because I was leaving the family and my father had always drilled into me that this is the church, this is your heritage, don’t leave it. Don’t leave the faith. I carried this guilt for years.

It was all based on Christian Identity. White Caucasian people were the chosen people of God, and blacks and Jews were something else. My dad preached the separation of all the races. Everything we did was related to the theology.

SARAH It’s not like we sat around cleaning our guns all the time and talking about Jewish people and black people. It was more like there was this sense of pride. Still, Identity people don’t necessarily like one another. It was more like group evil. It gave them a sense of belonging and direction. They’re all living there together and talking about how great they are, these great white people.

IR Sarah, how did you come to the Church of Israel?

SARAH My parents had a friend who kept raving about the church. I don’t know what they were thinking, but they were seeking something. They were definitely very right politically, very, very conservative. I was probably 15 at the time, and they started listening to Dan Gayman’s tapes. The tapes he sent were not way out there in right-wing-fringe land — more like conservative Christian tapes, so they thought at first that Identity was like the PTL [fundamentalists Jim and Tammy Faye Bakker’s Praise the Lord] Club. Anyway, when I was 16, my parents took my two younger brothers and I up there from South Carolina, where we were living at the time. We were all so impressed with Tim’s dad. He was so charming — very, very charming. We were honeymooned. Dan had his children all in uniforms, navy pants and white shirts, and they got up and sang. My parents were thinking, “What a wonderful family!” That’s how I first got involved.

IR What happened then?

SARAH My parents returned to South Carolina, but I wanted to stay and they let me. I spent my last year of high school being home-schooled there. Then my parents moved out there at the end of the year and immediately saw it for what it was. They thought Dan was way too far out there. But by that time, I was completely under Dan’s control. There’s no other way to say it: I was brainwashed.

Tim and I had already started dating. Basically, what Dan did was started pulling me over to his family more and more. Finally, he said, “This is a fork in the road of your life, Sarah. You can marry Tim and be a part of this family and have us forever, or you can leave here and never see Tim again and not graduate from high school.” This was a big thing for me. It was my last year of school, it was April, and I thought if I left, I’d have to repeat my senior year — how humiliating!

I thought, “Well, my parents are real right-wing and so they must be thrilled about this budding relationship between Tim and me.” And, of course, they weren’t. They were upset when they found out. In the end, it worked out beautifully. Tim and I are very close and we have four children. But for years, it was really hard.

IR It was around this time that the two of you double-dated with Eric Rudolph [an Identity adherent and fugitive who has been charged with murdering a police

officer while bombing an Alabama abortion clinic, as well as bomb attacks on the Atlanta Olympics, a lesbian bar and a Georgia clinic]. What was that like?

SARAH Eric used to date Tim’s sister, Julie. Dan was just beside himself. He just thought Eric was great. Eric’s younger brother, Jamie, was also there at the time. We also met another brother, Dan, but he only came out there one time.

TIM Eric lived with us for a short time, maybe three or four months, when he was 18. Eric, his mother and his brother had come out from North Carolina. My dad thought he was going to mold Eric into whatever he wanted him to be, but Eric had a mind of his own. He saw through my dad, although he believed in that kind of stuff. Eric was really charming, a charismatic type. But he was also different, a loner who didn’t make a whole lot of friends.

IR Were the Rudolfs already firm Identity believers?

TIM Yes. Pat [Eric’s mother] had been a strong Catholic and at one time she had been a nun. Then she got into this. She met [North Carolina Identity ideologue] Nord Davis, who passed away several years ago. Davis and my dad had their differences, but she had seen some of my dad’s literature, so she came out.

SARAH Pat also had a neighbor in North Carolina who was into Identity, and he

was pretty violent. He had taken Eric under his wing.

TIM Eric’s real father had died, you see.

SARAH Eric was real witty, but very troubled. He dated a girl named Joy Keller, the daughter of an Identity minister out of Eureka Springs, Ark., who had actually known Gerald L.K. Smith [a famous but now deceased extremist]. She was about my age and a really beautiful girl. Eric fell head over heels in love with her — she was really into Identity — and they were engaged for a while. But they ended up not getting married. She eventually committed suicide after being married to somebody else. I think she was really screwed up by Identity and by Tim’s dad. Dan spent probably 50 or 60 hours counseling her. He kept laying the guilt on, telling her she had demons and all kinds of things. A lot of tragedy comes from Identity.

IR Are you the only ones in the family to break with your father?

SARAH Tim is the only one in his family who has left, other than Connie, Tim’s brother’s ex-wife. Dan has them pretty well under control. They live to gain his approval, which they will never do completely.

TIM My parents are so strong about what they believe that they have lost 11 of their grandchildren, two daughters-in-law and a son. They won’t get to see those grandchildren ever again, and yet they still believe this stuff.

SARAH It’s my way or the highway. It’s not like when we left they said, “We know you’re going and we respect that.” Instead, we have a stack of letters demanding that we bring him our children and castigating us for having a Christmas tree [apostasy, to many in Identity] and going to a denominational church.

IR Were there any peculiarities to Dan Gayman’s version of Identity?

SARAH When I first met him, he had met this Anglican bishop and decided that he should be ordained as an Anglican pastor. He was on his England kick. He would wear this collar and he had a sign on his door that said, “Bishop Dan Gayman.”

TIM They felt like the Anglican Church was the early church, and that the early church worshipped the way they do because it was made up of white, Anglo-Saxons.

SARAH He was in love with all that. He had big King Arthur and Stonehenge posters and he was into numerology for a long time. He’s always changing, always on one kick or another. In the late 1980s, he shifted into an evangelical mode. My brothers called it his “Anglo-evangelical racist pastor” mode.

IR Did the Church of Israel share other antigovernment beliefs of the radical right?

TIM At one time, they didn’t believe in social security numbers and driver’s licenses, but they would say they do now. Secretly, they probably don’t.



“They want for it all to look legitimate. But the reality is a little different: I’m a Christian and I know who I am and I hate everybody.”

SARAH There is this deep distrust for the government. When Tim and I got married, Tim's dad married us without a marriage license. Then my parents just insisted. I said, "Why do I have to get a marriage license?" And finally my mother said, "I will not recognize your child as my grandson unless you do." So we went behind Dan's back and got a marriage license to please my parents.

But most of those children who have been home-birthed up there don't have social security numbers. I know, because I had to go down to Springfield [Missouri] with [Sarah's sister-in-law] Connie [after she quit the church] because two of her children didn't have birth certificates or social security numbers. I had to witness that they were her children so she could get social security numbers.

IR What about the role of women? Did you work outside the home while you lived at the Church of Israel, Sarah?

SARAH I wasn't allowed to. One of Tim's sisters substitute teaches in a local town, and maybe some of the other women do part-time work, but it is definitely frowned upon. I was not allowed to do anything, and I was bored out of my mind. They just wanted me to get pregnant and have babies constantly.

They all live like 20 miles from the nearest town and they promote home birthing. Really, you're not allowed to have children in the hospital, or at least it's really looked down upon. At one point, they tried to force me to have a home birth. With Jared, our second child, [Dan's wife] Deloris refused to take me to the hospital. She said, "Get into the bathtub, you can have this baby at home. You can do it." Tim came home and I just looked at him. I probably gave him a desperate look, like, "Please help me!" She finally said okay after Tim said, "Let's get her to the hospital." I almost gave birth in the van — I had Jared within 30 minutes of getting to the hospital. And they were furious with me.

IR What about other medical emergencies?

TIM Well, the medical profession is looked down upon because...

SARAH ... it's Jewish.

TIM That, and they feel like doctors don't really heal, that they just write a prescription but are not really healing people.

IR Did these beliefs affect you directly?

SARAH I had sick children and they refused to take me to the doctor. I finally got one of Tim's aunts to take me with Jared, when he was a baby. It turned out he had a double ear infection and the doctor was ready to hospitalize him, he was so sick. Their idea was if you take him to the hospital then the doctor might do something bad. Like they don't believe in immunizations.

IR Both Dan Gayman and the Church of Israel generally seem very well financed. How did they find enough money to continue growing?

TIM My dad would roll out the red carpet for people with money. One guy named Gerry Gentry gave something like \$500,000 in a matter of six years, to the church, to different things. And there are countless others who have given. There is one man who was very faithful and would come every feast day and even between feast days. He would give about \$900 a month to the church.

SARAH There was this very elderly man from California named Harry Uridge. He'd been saving his money his whole life and getting the *Watchman* from Dan. He went out there right before he died. Dan does not value older people, and this man was almost completely deaf, but Dan realizes that this is a big tither. Dan sent his brother to buy earphones for this man right away, so he could hear the sermon. Next thing I know, Harry is living there with one of Tim's uncles. He's buying tools for them, buying farm equipment for him. Then he's buying farm equipment and tools for the church. Then he's buying land and he's putting it in some kind of trust. He's giving land to Tim's brother and Tim's parents and Tim's uncle.

Then Harry moves in with another couple, he dies and leaves all his money to the church. And so they build this big building and they call it "Harry's Ark" for about a year before they call it something else. This man was just used.

IR In the end, both of you decided to leave. How did that occur?

SARAH I left before Tim, and it was very, very tough. But there were things that had bothered me a lot. There was a family who came to the church who had two Native American kids who were dark-skinned. They were the most sweet, obedient, well-mannered kids. After a while, Deloris told them that they couldn't bring their children any more. And I just agonized over that. I could not believe it. I realized that's what these people are all about. I was really having a crisis, spiritually and emotionally. It made me really examine what I believed.

Dan was saying to Tim, "Do you think she has demons? Maybe she's having a nervous breakdown or is a schizophrenic." There was no basis for it, except that I was real unhappy. But that's the way they are. What they can't control, they destroy. All women who disagree with them are insane or possessed by demons.

It was a slower process for Tim because he'd been raised in it. But after I moved out, he joined me in Springfield, where we lived in a liberal neighborhood with Jewish families. They were nice normal people, and they weren't going to sacrifice our children. Tim got to be friends with a black guy and a Jewish guy he worked with. So we both changed. You are sometimes forced by your circumstances to realize that these other people are human beings.

IR And how did the church react?

TIM When somebody leaves, they just trash that person.

SARAH A lot of people who have left the church are real intimidated and scared. I know I was. I remember thinking Tim's dad was going to hire a hit man to take care of me.

IR Do you think now that any of those fears were realistic?

TIM They just want to scare and harass us. They might talk like that, but they have got too much to lose — too much land, too many assets, that they would lose if they had a bunch of people with guns storming around there and the authorities came out. They want for it all to look legitimate. But the reality is a little different. It's like, "I'm a Christian and I know who I am and I hate everybody." ▲

Surprise Ruling Backs Gun Rights

Departing from a long line of decisions, a federal judge finds the Second Amendment protects gun rights for individuals

By Brian Levin

The primary legal theories embraced by the declining "Patriot" movement are so bizarre that they were never taken seriously by the public or the legal community — except for one. While courts and average citizens alike have roundly rejected theories about pseudo-legal "common-law" courts, an impending takeover of American government by the United Nations and "sovereign citizen" exemptions from tax, vehicle and fraud statutes, the Patriot view of the Second Amendment is actually gaining currency.

A central tenet of Patriot philosophy is that the Second Amendment's "right to bear arms" clause provides a fundamental right of private gun ownership to individual citizens as a protection against government tyranny. (Many Patriot leaders go one step further by claiming that a federal law, 10 U.S.C. 311, gives them the right not only to own military weapons, but to organize their own private militias.) Gun rights advocacy organizations like the National Rifle Association (NRA) and Gun Owners of America also have promoted the view that the Second Amendment conveys a fundamental right to individual private gun ownership — and almost nine out of 10 Americans believe it.

Brian Levin *is a professor of criminal justice at California State University, San Bernardino, where he directs the Center for the Study of Hate & Extremism (www.fight-hate.org). He is co-author of* The Limits of Dissent: The Constitutional Status of Armed Civilian Militias.

But until recently, every federal court decision has dismissed that interpretation. Because the Second Amendment refers to the right to bear arms in the context of the importance of maintaining state militias — the full text of the Amendment reads, "A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms,

"[THE] SECOND AMENDMENT IS THE TEETH OF THE BILL OF RIGHTS, AND ASSAULT RIFLES ARE THE TEETH OF THE SECOND AMENDMENT. ... AT A MINIMUM, YOU SHOULD PURCHASE AND LEARN HOW TO EFFECTIVELY USE A FIREARM, PREFERABLY A SO-CALLED ASSAULT RIFLE. THE MORE CITIZENS THAT OWN GUNS, THE LESS WILLING THE GOVERNMENT WILL BE TO THREATEN US."

— MILITIA OF MONTANA, *Field Operations Manual*

shall not be infringed" — the courts have not traditionally interpreted the Amendment to support a right to individual gun ownership. But precedent may be changing.

The story goes back to November 1998, when Dr. Timothy Joe Emerson, a 40-year-old San Angelo, Texas, physician, was accused of menacing his wife and daughter with a handgun at his clinic in violation of a judge's restraining order. Although he was subsequently acquitted in state court on charges connected to that incident, Dr. Emerson was brought up on federal criminal charges under 18 U.S.C. § 922(g)(8). This criminal provision, enacted in 1994 as part of the Violence Against Women Act, makes it a crime for someone subject to a domestic restraining order to possess or purchase a firearm. Authorities maintained that Dr. Emerson had signed a document in 1997 that spelled out those restrictions when he purchased a Beretta handgun, even though the state judge issuing the restraining order

a year later never informed Emerson of that particular federal restriction. On Dec. 8, 1998, Dr. Emerson was indicted by a federal grand jury on five counts of illegal firearms possession relating to his ownership of guns, including an M-1 rifle, an M-14 rifle and an SKS assault weapon.

Despite an unbroken line of contrary prior case law, Emerson's attorney, David Guinn, decided to try to do something that neither Patriot zealots nor the NRA had pulled off before — mount a successful court challenge to existing Second Amendment jurisprudence by claiming that his client had a fundamental right to private gun ownership.

The Supreme Court has only directly addressed the Second Amendment three times, and only once this century, when it upheld the federal conviction of a man who possessed a sawed-off shotgun in 1939. See *United States v. Miller*, 307 U.S. 174 (1939). The high court found that the defendant's sawed-off shotgun had no legitimate connection to the maintenance of a state-sponsored militia, like the National Guard. The decision rested on the long-established view that the Second Amendment guarantees gun rights to state-regulated militias, such as the National Guard, not to private, individual citizens.

The specific defense planned by Guinn — that gun ownership is a protected and fundamental individual right — did not appear to be a promising one. Although certain constitutional rights such as freedom of speech, freedom of religion and the guarantee of a speedy and public criminal trial have been deemed fundamental rights

continued on page 64

Incidents of hate crimes and hate group activities listed in *For The Record* are drawn primarily from media sources and initial police reports, not all of which have been verified by the Intelligence Project. This listing carries incidents from the first quarter of 2001 (listings for earlier periods may be found on the Southern Poverty Law Center's Web site, www.splcenter.org). Because hate crimes often are not reported, this listing understates the true level of bias incidents.

ARKANSAS

Pine Bluff • Jan. 5, 2001

An eighth-grade student was arrested for allegedly sending a racist letter threatening black students and teachers.

CALIFORNIA

Hayward • Jan. 18, 2001

A swastika was drawn in crayon on the wall of a local NAACP office.

Irvine • Feb. 2, 2001

Three synagogues received threatening E-mails that allegedly originated at Irvine Valley College.

Los Angeles • Feb. 17, 2001

Three teens were arrested for allegedly spray-painting swastikas, other Nazi-related statements and racial epithets on the walls of a local intermediate school.

Oakland • Jan. 31, 2001

Gerald Green, 33, was sentenced to 180 days in jail and three years of probation after pleading guilty to three misdemeanor charges, including vandalizing his own apartment door with a spray-painted racist message.

Riverside • March 5, 2001

Kenny James Vierra, 21, was sentenced to six years in prison for an October 2000 attack on a man he believed to be Mexican.

San Bernardino • Feb. 5, 2001

Catzrina Tatum, a 25-year-old black woman, was charged with suspicion of a hate crime for allegedly assaulting a white woman because of the woman's ethnicity.

San Diego • Jan. 10, 2001

A swastika was scrawled on the win-

dow of a synagogue, eggs were thrown at the doors and the windows of a car parked outside the building were shattered.

San Diego • Feb. 12, 2001

Kevin Christopher Holland, 22, was sentenced to a year in prison for vandalizing a Jewish synagogue in 1997.

Santa Ana • Jan. 22, 2001

Jeffrey Stuart Martin, 25, was sentenced to nearly five years in federal prison for stabbing a black teenager in 1996.

Santa Ynez • Jan. 23, 2001

Brett Davis, 21, was sentenced to 360 days in jail for spray-painting swastikas and the words "die Jew" on a Jewish family's property.

Scotts Valley • Jan. 25, 2001

Aaron David Bertsch, 20, was charged with suspicion of possessing hate literature, a violation of his probation.

Woodland Hills • Jan. 23, 2001

A 15-year-old was sentenced to three years and eight months of probation and 200 hours of community service and ordered to complete a ten-week tolerance training course and stay in a group home for the September 2000 vandalism of a Hebrew school.

CONNECTICUT

Berlin • Jan. 30, 2001

A swastika and the letters "KKK" were scrawled in a bathroom at a local elementary school.

New Britain • Jan. 11, 2001

A swastika was drawn in the library at a local school.

Woodstock • Feb. 20, 2001

Brad Herlihy, 19, was charged with a hate crime, intimidation based on bigotry or bias and disorderly conduct for allegedly yelling racial epithets at a high school basketball game.

FLORIDA

Delray Beach • Feb. 27, 2001

An 8-foot wide swastika was burned at a country club.

Deltona • Jan. 30, 2001

Jessy G. Taylor, 15, allegedly painted a satanic symbol on a local church.

Okahumpka • Jan. 8, 2001

David Troutman, a 65-year-old white man, allegedly fatally shot a black man and then shot and killed himself.

Orlando • Feb. 10, 2001

A 6-foot cross was burned in front of a white woman's residence.

GEORGIA

Lawrenceville • Jan. 16, 2001

Micheal Keith Barger, 17, was charged with aggravated assault for allegedly striking a black girl with his car.

IDAHO

Lewiston • Feb. 1, 2001

Trevor D. Cheff, 33, was charged with aggravated battery for allegedly stabbing a black man during a traffic altercation.

Pocatello • Feb. 25, 2001

Fliers from the neo-Nazi group the National Alliance were left on the car of a black woman.

ILLINOIS

Bloomington • Feb. 5, 2001

Literature from the neo-Nazi group the

World Church of the Creator was left in the mailboxes of local residents.

INDIANA

Bloomington • Jan. 7, 2001

The words "Die fag. Die homo" and other anti-gay epithets were spray-painted outside an Indiana University dorm.

Gary • March 10, 2001

Members of the Church of the American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan held a rally at a local football stadium.

IOWA

Fort Madison • Jan. 5, 2001

Patricia Hall, 18, was charged with unauthorized computer access after she allegedly changed the start-up page of a library computer to a white supremacist Web site.

LOUISIANA

Baton Rouge • Jan. 3, 2001

Spencer Wong, 20, was fined \$6,000, placed on probation and ordered to seek counseling and complete a black studies class for sending a racially motivated E-mail to a black classmate and threatening to blow up her car.

Bossier City • Jan. 8, 2001

Timothy D. Addison, 27, was charged with simple arson and a hate crime for writing a racial epithet with gasoline on a black man's lawn.

MAINE

Standish • Feb. 28, 2001

Jason Leblanc, 21, was charged with aggravated assault for allegedly attacking a Latino man.

FOR THE RECORD

MASSACHUSETTS

Sudbury • Jan. 27, 2001

Swastikas were scrawled twice over church signs welcoming gays and lesbians.

MICHIGAN

Traverse City • Feb. 5, 2001

Literature from the neo-Nazi group the National Alliance was left at a local synagogue.

MINNESOTA

Austin • March 10, 2001

Two crosses bearing racial epithets were left on a man's car and lawn.

MISSISSIPPI

Ocean Springs • Jan. 25, 2001

Racial slurs were spray-painted on an interracial couple's car.

St. Martin • Jan. 20, 2001

Howard Goss was charged with malicious mischief and disturbing the peace for allegedly spray-painting racial slurs on the car of a white tenant who is married to a black man.

MISSOURI

Columbia • Jan. 14, 2001

Ku Klux Klan fliers denouncing the Martin Luther King Jr. holiday were inserted inside local newspapers.

Springfield • Feb. 7, 2001

Fifty gravestones in a Jewish cemetery were spray-painted with Nazi symbols.

Springfield • Feb. 27, 2001

Literature from the neo-Nazi group the National Alliance was left in the driveway of a black woman.

St. Louis • Feb. 6, 2001

Brian K. Cook, 29, was sentenced to 18 months in prison for burning a cross on a neighbor's lawn.

NEVADA

Las Vegas • Jan. 10, 2001

Alleged racist Skinhead John Edward

Butler, 28, was sentenced to death for the murders of two anti-racist Skinheads in 1998.

Reno • Jan. 1, 2001

A Jewish synagogue firebombed 13 months ago was attacked again just 48 minutes into the New Year.

NEW YORK

College Point • Feb. 1, 2001

The words "I Will Kill You," allegedly written by the Ku Klux Klan, were scrawled on an Asian man's garage door.

Huntington • March 12, 2001

Michael Taffinder was charged with murder for allegedly shooting a black cab driver.

Long Island • Feb. 11, 2001

Fliers from the neo-Nazi White Aryan Resistance and the racist group Women for Aryan Unity were distributed throughout the neighborhood.

Mattydale • Jan. 25, 2001

A racial slur and an anti-Semitic symbol were scrawled on several homes and stop signs in a local neighborhood.

New York • Jan. 15, 2001

A man was stabbed in Prospect Park allegedly because his attacker thought he was gay.

Queens • Feb. 25, 2001

Giuseppe Gigliotti, 20, and Angelo Gigliotti, 18, were charged with a hate crime for allegedly pistol-whipping and robbing a black man.

Southampton • Feb. 1, 2001

A hate letter was delivered to a Latino resident.

Washingtonville • Jan. 13, 2001

A white-supremacist newspaper, *The Truth At Last*, was left at a local hall.

White Plains • Feb. 3, 2001

Literature from the neo-Nazi group the

World Church of the Creator was placed in the driveways of local residences.

NORTH CAROLINA

Albemarle • Feb. 2, 2001

Joey Davis, 16, Franklin Moore, 17, and William Gray, 18, were charged with injury to real property for allegedly spray-painting racial slurs directed at blacks on school property.

Asheville • Jan. 25, 2001

Three employees of Mission-St. Joseph's Health System received racist letters on hospital letterhead.

Cary • Jan. 28, 2001

Andre James Reaume, 22, was charged with a hate crime for allegedly taking an 8-year-old's scooter because he was black.

OREGON

Gresham • Jan. 20, 2001

Anti-gay slurs were scrawled on the front door of a gay man's residence.

PENNSYLVANIA

Allentown • Jan. 19, 2001

A racial epithet was painted on a garage door behind a Hispanic-owned business that was also damaged by fire.

Allentown • Jan. 23, 2001

Literature from the International Keystone Knights of the Ku Klux Klan was left on a car.

Indiana • Jan. 23, 2001

Swastikas, the letters "KKK," and other graffiti were spray-painted on several businesses and two cars. Lisa Streams, 19, and Jeremy Urso, 21, were charged in the incident.

Johnstown • Feb. 23, 2001

Literature from the International Keystone Knights of the Ku Klux Klan was distributed throughout the neighborhood.

RHODE ISLAND

Newport • March 10, 2001

Joseph Nixon, 23, was charged with threatening the congregation of a Jewish synagogue after allegedly sending a letter including a swastika to a synagogue employee.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Columbia • Jan. 10, 2001

Bryan Alan Carraway, 19, was sentenced to 37 months in prison for attacks against two black churches and a local NAACP building.

TENNESSEE

Knoxville • Jan. 8, 2001

Christopher David Kuykendall, 22, was sentenced to three years and four months in federal prison and ordered to serve three years of supervised release and pay \$100 in restitution for drawing swastikas and racial epithets on the doors of a predominantly black church.

Nashville • Feb. 1, 2001

Copies of a racist book called *Race, Behavior and Evolution: A Life History in Perspective* were mailed to professors at a local university.

TEXAS

Dallas • Jan. 30, 2001

Fliers filled with racial slurs were distributed at an all-girls Catholic high school.

Garland • Jan. 3, 2001

A cross was burned in a black family's yard.

Houston • Feb. 5, 2001

Matthew Marshall, 21, was sentenced to 10 years in prison for burning a cross in front of a black family's home.

Katy • Jan. 22, 2001

Corydon William Parsons, 20, was sentenced to three years and one month in federal prison for participating in a cross burning outside a black family's residence in June.

UTAH

Midvale • Feb. 18, 2001

Sean Adrian Simmons, 28, was charged with a hate crime after he allegedly wrote racial epithets and slashed the tires of an interracial couple's car in March.

Salt Lake • Feb. 16, 2001

Five threatening letters were sent to an interracial couple living on the campus of the University of Utah.

VERMONT

Milton • March 3, 2001

The word "dyke" was carved into a lesbian couple's car door.

VIRGINIA

Fort Valley • Feb. 8, 2001

A flier from the Keystone Knights of the Ku Klux Klan was left at a white family's residence.

Woodstock • Jan. 22, 2001

Fliers from the International Keystone Knights of the Ku Klux Klan were left in driveways.

York • March 11, 2001

The words "White Power" and "High Hitler," the letters "KKK" and other racial remarks were spray-painted on eight vehicles in a local neighborhood.

WASHINGTON

Vancouver • Feb. 3, 2001

Four white men allegedly assaulted a 34-year-old black man.

WEST VIRGINIA

Charleston • Feb. 26, 2001

Daniel A. Berry was charged with a civil rights violation in connection with an April 1999 cross burning.

Salem • Feb. 20, 2001

A Japanese student at Salem International was beaten on campus in an allegedly racially motivated attack. William Joseph Shumate, 23, was charged with one count of malicious wounding and one count of violating an individual's civil

rights in connection with the incident.

WISCONSIN

Lake Geneva • Nov. 21, 2000

Douglas R. Zimmerman, 18, was sen-

tenced to 100 days in jail and five years of probation for being a party to a crime of substantial battery in connection with an attack on a Hispanic man.

Madison • Feb. 2, 2001

Ying Vang, 23, Kao Vue, 24, and John Yang, 20, were convicted of battery as a hate crime for beating a black student at a local university. ▲

Surprise Ruling

continued from page 61

by the Supreme Court, private firearms ownership has not been. When a particular right is designated as "fundamental," it is protected from governmental intrusion by the most rigorous standard of judicial review — strict scrutiny. Any governmental restriction on an individual's fundamental rights will be struck down under strict-scrutiny analysis unless authorities can demonstrate (1) that the restriction serves a compelling state interest; and (2) the restriction's application is narrowly tailored to achieve that compelling interest.

Although the Supreme Court has not definitively ruled on the exact nature of Second Amendment rights in all circumstances, it has never deemed them to be fundamental, individual rights subject to strict-scrutiny protection. To make matters worse for Dr. Emerson's defense, the lower federal courts have been consistent and explicit in their rejection of similar claims. In 1996, for example, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit held that "the Second Amendment is a right held by the states and does not protect the possession of a weapon by a private citizen." *Hickman v. Block*, 81 F3d 98, 100-1 (9th Cir. 1996); see also *United States v. Warin*, 530 F2d 103, 106-7 (6th Cir. 1976) ("It is clear that the Second Amendment guarantees a collective right rather than an individual right," and rejected the "erroneous supposition that the Second Amendment is concerned with the rights of individuals rather than those of states.").

While a long shot, the defense claim had several things going for it. First, though the Supreme Court's earlier decisions were not supportive of the defense position, the rulings could be potentially distinguished from Emerson's case because Miller, the 1939 case, involved a sawed-off shotgun — a weapon no legitimate militia member would use. Second,

while it was true that every federal appellate decision on the subject explicitly rejected the very claim that Emerson was relying on, the Fifth Circuit, covering the area where Dr. Emerson lived, was the only circuit not to have issued an appellate decision on the matter. So if Dr. Emerson could distinguish his situation from the earlier Supreme Court rulings, then the other, more restrictive federal appellate rulings would not be binding on the judge in his case. Last, while the federal courts had been unanimous in their holdings, a small but growing minority of respected legal scholars have adopted a view supporting an individual rights interpretation of the Second Amendment.

On April 7, 1999, Guinn's long shot paid off. U.S. District Court Judge Sam Cummings, a conservative appointee of President Reagan, granted Dr. Emerson's motion to dismiss the indictment against him, in large part on Second Amendment grounds. Judge Cummings, citing Miller, suggested that the Second Amendment's purported guarantee of "individual" gun rights may actually be more potent when the weapon is effective for militia use and protection of these rights "might turn on the usefulness of such guns in military settings." Contrary to every other federal decision on the matter, he further ruled that the Second Amendment should be seen as protecting a fundamental individual right. "The rights of the Second Amendment should be as zealously guarded as the other individual liberties enshrined in the Bill of Rights," Cummings wrote.

Federal prosecutors have appealed to the Fifth Circuit, which heard oral arguments in June 2000. Some observers believe that no matter who wins the appeal, the case will ultimately end up before the Supreme Court for a definitive ruling. Time will tell whether Dr. Emerson's victory represents an aberration or the dawning of a new era in the continuing legal battle over the precise meaning and coverage of the Second Amendment's "right to bear arms" clause. ▲

'By Any Means Necessary'

A left-wing enviromental group is targeting the federal government

There is an obvious ideological gulf separating the radical right, with its racist and fascist appeals, from the left-wing, environmentalist Earth Liberation Front (ELF), which advocates "equality, social justice and . . . compassion for all life." But when it comes to the current economic and political system, the two groups increasingly find themselves on the same side.

To begin with, the ELF's use of underground violence strongly resembles ex-Klansman Louis Beam's concept of "leaderless resistance." The ELF is composed of autonomous and secretive "cells" that initiate terrorist acts independently, and do not communicate with or even know one another. In fact, with dozens of terrorist attacks causing an estimated \$30 million in damages since 1997 — the ELF disavows harm to "any animal, human or non-human," and so far, apparently, has not caused any — the shadowy ELF makes much of the radical right look rather meek. But like most groups on the radical right today, the ELF sees global capitalism as an enemy.

Now, these similarities are even more marked.

A recent communiqué announced that the group, which espouses "militant direct action . . . by any means necessary," will now target "F.B.I. offices and U.S. federal buildings," "liberal democracy," and even "industrial civilization" itself. Until now, the group's nationwide bombings, arsons and vandalisms had been directed only at corporations "profiting from the destruction . . . of the natural environment."

In addition, the ELF recently set this year's "International Day of Action" for April 19 — a mythic date for the antigovernment right. It was that day in 1993 when about 80 Branch Davidian cult members died in a fire in Waco, Texas, as federal agents attempted to end a 51-day standoff. It is also the day that Timothy



AP WIDE WORLD PHOTO

Supporters of the Earth Liberation Front protested the questioning of an environmentalist by a federal grand jury in Portland, Ore., this February.

mony of Rosebraugh and other activists. In Indiana, Frank Ambrose was charged in January with crimes previously claimed by the ELF — spiking trees to discourage logging. And in New York, three teenagers pleaded guilty in February to burning down partially built luxury homes on Long Island in the name of the ELF.

Many on the radical right admire the ELF, although it seems clear that the ELF doesn't share their racist views or have other connections to their groups. "To suggest such a relationship is absurd," says spokesman Rosebraugh.

Still, right-wing extremists like the look of those involved in eco- and animal rights terrorism. "A typical group of animal rights activists looks whiter and blonder than a typical group of KKK members," enthused one recent Internet posting from a neo-fascist "Third Position" group, one which rejects the traditional left/right dichotomy. "The worst abuses of animals are almost always done by mud peoples. . . . Hitler and Wagner were both vegetarians."

Such ideas are repugnant to the vast majority of environmentalists. But a message posted to a "deep ecology" Internet group, presenting ideas for protecting the earth, shows how the thinking of some environmentalists verges quickly into violence.

The message suggests a training camp for "monkey-wrenching" eco-vandals and the establishment of a vigilante "Earth Police." From there, the proposals get scarier: "Ask the governments of Iraq, Iran and Libya for a million dollars or so to help harass the U.S." Or, in the spirit of educating the young, offer a prize "to the high school student who comes up with the best plan to bring about the destruction of civilization without seriously harming the biosphere." ▲

The Southern Poverty Law Center's Programs Have Far-Reaching Impact



JOHN WINTER



MICHAEL LLOYD



Teaching Tolerance

Teaching Tolerance is an education program dedicated to helping teachers across the nation foster respect and understanding among their students. The program was founded in 1991 in response to an alarming increase in hate crime among youths. Its award-winning *Teaching Tolerance* magazine provides classroom teachers with practical ideas for promoting an appreciation of diversity and the values of democracy. The magazine is distributed free twice a year to more than a half-million educators nationwide.

The project's teaching kits *America's Civil Rights Movement* and *The Shadow of Hate* chronicle the history of intolerance in America and the struggle to overcome prejudice. A third kit, *Starting Small*, is aimed at helping early childhood educators teach tolerance. Nearly 300,000 kits have been distributed free of charge to schools and community organizations.

Two special handbooks, *Responding to Hate at School* and *Ten Ways to Fight Hate*, help educators and community leaders address hate-related incidents. They are available at no charge to every school and community group in the nation.

Law Center Litigation

The Center handles innovative lawsuits, some taking years to complete. Several have reached the U.S. Supreme Court, and many have resulted in landmark rulings. Its 1972 case to integrate the all-white Alabama State Trooper force lasted 23 years; when it ended, Alabama employed the highest percentage of minority officers in the nation.

Center attorneys typically take high-impact, high-risk cases that few lawyers are willing to tackle. They have fought all forms of discrimination and worked to protect society's most vulnerable members.

Since the early 1980s, the Center has developed novel legal strategies to cripple hate groups by suing them for the violent actions of their members. In one ground-breaking Center case, an all-white jury awarded \$7 million to the mother of a young black man who was lynched by members of the United Klans of America. Although the United Klans did not have \$7 million, the verdict forced the group to deed its headquarters to the victim's mother. The case marked the end of the United Klans, once the nation's most notorious Klan group.

Intelligence Project

The Center's Intelligence Project oversees the investigative and publishing activities of Klanwatch and the Militia Task Force.

The Center created Klanwatch in 1981 in response to a resurgence of Ku Klux Klan activity. Today, it tracks the activities of hundreds of racist and neo-Nazi groups, many of which are increasingly recruiting from a new generation. In 1994, after uncovering links between white supremacist organizations and the emerging antigovernment "Patriot" movement, the Center established the Militia Task Force. It currently monitors more than 200 militia and other anti-government groups.

Using the information collected by both Klanwatch and the Militia Task Force, the Intelligence Project provides comprehensive updates to law enforcement agencies, the media and the general public through its quarterly publication, *Intelligence Report*. Staff members regularly conduct training sessions for police and community groups.



Southern Poverty Law Center
400 Washington Ave
Montgomery, AL 36104

Non Profit Org.
U.S. Postage
PAID
Southern Poverty
Law Center