

INTELLIGENCE

SUMMER 1998

ISSUE 91

REPORT

PUBLISHED
BY THE
INTELLIGENCE
PROJECT OF
THE SOUTHERN
POVERTY
LAW CENTER

WRATH OF 'ANGELS'

ANTI-ABORTION EXTREMISTS,
'PATRIOTS' AND RACISTS JOIN FORCES



An X-ray shows the heavy nails that tore into nurse Emily Lyons' knee when a bomb, allegedly planted by Eric Robert Rudolph, went off outside an Alabama women's clinic.

RECORD JUDGMENT CRIPPLES KLAN GROUP PAGE 6

As the massive North Carolina manhunt for alleged abortion clinic bomber Eric Robert Rudolph heated up again last July, a deeply troubling phenomenon became increasingly apparent. More and more Americans, from local anti-abortion clergymen to workaday citizens who live in the forested hills around Rudolph's home, were openly showing support, or at least sympathy, for the accused murderer.

"Run Rudolph Run" T-shirts sold briskly in the area, even as more than 200 federal agents, tugged by baying bloodhounds, trekked through the dense Nantahala National Forest without success. A man from whom Rudolph obtained food waited four days to report seeing him. One pastor, the Rev. Conrad Kimberough, told a reporter that Rudolph "may be right" and added that he doubted Rudolph was "an unprincipled killer." Several other locals described him as a "good" person and an "underdog" and said they wouldn't turn Rudolph in despite the \$1 million reward on his head. In Montgomery, Ala., a hairdresser told a customer, "I hate to say it, but I think they should give that man a medal."

The man they are talking about is accused of murder. The killer left a police officer's family without a father and husband, and grotesquely maimed a nurse. He also may have used antipersonnel bombs to kill a woman at the Atlanta Olympics and injure more than a dozen others at a lesbian bar and another abortion clinic.

Whether or not a person agrees with abortion, the fact remains that the United States is a nation of laws. Since 1973, the practice of abortion has been legal. It has never been legal to murder police officers, blind nurses or bomb public facilities.

A PRINCIPLED KILLER?

There is no exception in the law for those who oppose abortion.

"I don't believe in abortions, but ... I'm not going to kill someone because of that," says Felecia Sanderson, the widow of Robert "Sande" Sanderson, the police officer murdered in the Birmingham, Ala., clinic bombing. "Sande didn't believe in abortion, but Sande believed in the law, that all people should be protected under the law equally."

To many, Eric Rudolph appears as a classic type of American anti-hero, a handsome Butch Cassidy eluding the police, bloodhounds, helicopters, motion detectors and heat sensors of the state. In fact, he is merely an accused assassin.

"There's a natural inclination to root for one man against all the odds," *The Asheville (N.C.) Citizen-Times* editorialized recently. But such an inclination "should dismay anyone who wants to continue living in a country governed by law rather than anarchy." Likewise, *The Birmingham News* wrote, "Eric Rudolph, a principled killer? It's insulting to the bomb victims and their families to suggest such a thing."

The Rudolph case also points up another worrisome trend.

As the numbers of nonviolent clinic blockaders and other anti-abortion activists have shrunk, the violent wing of the anti-abortion movement has become more willing to kill. And these anti-abortion terrorists have increasingly drawn succor from the ranks of white supremacist groups and the so-called "Patriot" movement. Today, these once-distinct movements increasingly share an enemies list that includes the federal government, homosexuals, abortion facilities and non-"Christian" religions.

"Eric Rudolph is symbolic of this new merger," says Dallas Blanchard, a Florida expert on anti-abortion extremism. "Militia types have shown more and more interest in the abortion issue, while anti-abortionists are becoming more and more militant and allying themselves with the militia movement."

SEEDS OF SAVAGERY

The savagery associated with this "merger" is symbolized in the body of Emily Lyons, the nurse maimed in the Birmingham bombing. The bomb tore away her shins and one eye, and left her mutilated from head to foot. She's gone through nine surgeries and faces many more. An X-ray of one knee, clearly showing the nails the Birmingham killer packed into his bomb, reflects a bloodthirsty desire to destroy people, not mere buildings.

The list of horrors doesn't end there.

August Kreis and James Wickstrom, racists whose Posse Comitatus group helped plant the seeds of the modern Patriot movement, recently hailed Rudolph as "a true warrior" of God. And Fr. David Trosch, a Mobile, Ala., anti-abortion militant, has put up a cartoon on his Web page which sarcastically contrasts the weight of aborted fetuses with that of murdered clinic workers. The late officer Sanderson, stepfather of two boys, is depicted as adding merely "about 200 pounds" to the clinic workers' side.

Lyons' husband, Jeff, speaks eloquently of such men. "Eventually, they'll catch Rudolph," he says. "But no one is going after the people who planted this seed. ... Rudolph may have been the only person at the clinic that day. But they should be paying attention to the people who turned Rudolph from whatever he was into what he is now."

4 Intelligence Briefs

6 'Day of Reckoning'
Klan group faces huge judgment

8 Anti-Abortion Extremism
'Merger' heightens the threat

13 Anti-Abortion Violence
Two decades of terror

17 Radical Radio Redux
The boxes are booming

22 Elder Statesman
Richard Butler: A life of hate

26 Q&A: 'Lake of Fire'
Bombing victims speak out

30 Legal Briefs
A debate on the merits
of hate crime laws

32 For the Record

ON THE COVER



An anti-personnel bomb left five nails in nurse Emily Lyons' knee. Another piece of shrapnel destroyed her left eye.

Cover photograph of Emily Lyons: The Birmingham News

INTELLIGENCE REPORT

ISSUE 91, SUMMER 1998

Published by
The Southern Poverty Law Center
www.splcenter.org

INTELLIGENCE REPORT
EDITOR
Mark Potok

SOUTHERN POVERTY LAW CENTER

PRESIDENT &
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD
Joseph J. Levin, Jr.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS
Patricia Clark
Frances M. Green
Judge Rufus Huffman
Howard Mandell
James McElroy

CHAIRMAN,
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
Morris Dees

DIRECTOR OF OPERATIONS
& TREASURER
Edward Ashworth

LEGAL DIRECTOR
J. Richard Cohen

INTELLIGENCE PROJECT
DIRECTOR
Joseph Roy, Sr.

TEACHING TOLERANCE
DIRECTOR
Jim Carnes

MAIL OPERATIONS DIRECTOR
Mamie Jackson

PLANNED GIVING DIRECTOR
Alison Collman

FUNDRAISING DIRECTOR
David Watson

ADMINISTRATOR & SECRETARY
JoAnn Chancellor

The Intelligence Report is compiled by the staff of the
Intelligence Project of the Southern Poverty Law Center.
It is published quarterly.

©1998 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

IN THE NEWS THE QUARTER IN REVIEW

Three men face possible terms of life in prison after being arrested for allegedly planning to assassinate President Clinton and other government officials using a cactus thorn coated with a deadly toxin. Johnnie Wise, 72, Jack Abbott Grebe Jr., 43, and Oliver Dean Emigh, 63, were charged with conspiracy to use "weapons of mass destruction" after their July 1 arrests in Olmito, Texas, near the Mexican border. The men allegedly told informants that they were members of the Republic of Texas, an anti-government group that believes Texas is an independent nation. (Republic leader Richard McLaren was sentenced to 111 years in prison after ordering the kidnapping of a neighbor couple and then engaging in a seven-day standoff with law enforcement officials in the spring of 1997.) According to an affidavit, Wise and Grebe told an FBI informant that they planned to modify a cigarette lighter so it would expel air instead of propane in order to fire a cactus needle tipped with anthrax, botulism or the AIDS virus. All three men had allegedly sent threatening e-mail to Clinton, Attorney General Janet Reno, FBI Director Louis Freeh and others.

Two months after three antigovernment extremists allegedly murdered a police officer near Cortez, Colo., the search continued for two of them in the red rock canyon country of the Four Corners region. On May 29, the three, described by officials as survivalists, allegedly stole a water truck for purposes that are still unclear. When officer Dale Claxton tried to stop them in the truck a short time later, he was gunned down, and two other lawmen were injured in the chase that ensued. Some 500 law enforcement officials joined the dragnet, making it one of the West's largest manhunts. On June 4, near Montezuma, Utah, a sheriff's deputy was shot and wounded during the search, allegedly by fugitive Robert Mason. Mason's camouflage-clad body was found nearby, dead of an apparently self-inflicted gunshot wound. He wore a ski mask, and three pipe bombs lay alongside him. Mason and Jason McVean, 26, and Alan "Monte" Pilon, 30, are believed to have earlier readied desert bunkers to prepare for "the end of the world." The Southern Poverty Law Center has learned that at least one of the three men had ties to an underground group, the Four Corners Patriot Militia, which has carried out secret paramilitary training.



Accused cop-killers Jason McVean (left), the late Robert Mason and Alan Pilon are on the run.

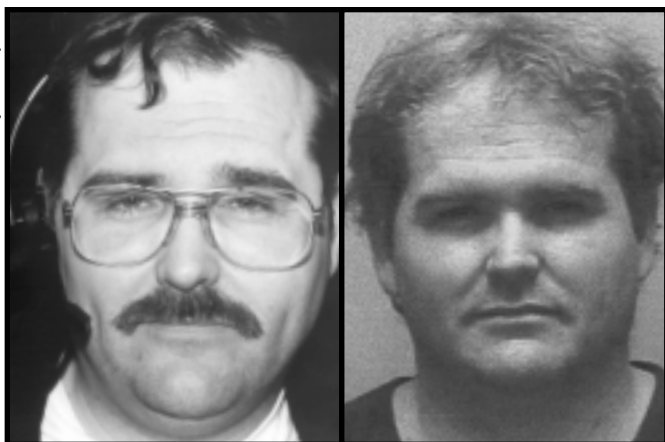
AP/Wide World Photos

Four central figures of the Montana Freeman — leader LeRoy Schweitzer, Dale Jacobi, Daniel E. Petersen Jr. and Russell D. Landers — were found guilty in July of the main charges in a federal conspiracy and bank fraud case. But the jury deadlocked on many of the charges against a dozen Freeman, leading to a mistrial on 63 counts of the 126 total charges. Only one defendant, Landers, was convicted of all the charges brought against him. Prosecutors had called the conspiracy a "fraud of epic proportions," involving 3,432 checks totaling \$15.5 billion. Of that amount, they said there were actual losses of \$1.8 billion. The conspiracy of the Freeman, who subscribe to white supremacist "common-law" ideology, allegedly dated to 1993 and only ended after an 81-day armed standoff with federal authorities in 1996. Before this summer's trial, three other Freeman had pleaded guilty to various crimes rather than face a jury. Prosecutors now say they plan to retry all 11 Freeman who were not convicted of all counts on at least some of the charges.

White supremacist Chevie Kehoe murdered a neo-Nazi Skinhead member of his gang because the man was about to reveal Kehoe's plans to engage in robberies of armored cars, according to a superseding indictment released by a federal grand jury in July. The new indictment, listing 57 separate crimes including five murders, also charges Kehoe's father, Kirby, for the first time. The indictment accuses the Kehoes and Daniel Lewis Lee of conspiring to build the whites-only Aryan People's Republic beginning in 1993. Among the gang's alleged crimes were the murders of an Arkansas family, including an 8-year-old girl. All three had plastic bags taped over their heads and were then shocked with a stun gun as they suffocated. The new indictment offers several other new details. Chevie Kehoe allegedly murdered Jon Cox, who was then being sought for a racially motivated assault in California, because Cox was writing to friends of Kehoe's plans. Another gang member was murdered after Kehoe persuaded the man's common-law wife to become Kehoe's polygamous second wife. In addition, Kehoe and Lee are newly charged with setting off a bomb at the entrance of the Spokane, Wash., City Hall building on April 29, 1996.

IN ANY COLOR, IT WAS STILL KOERNKE

Nejlah Feanny/SABA



AP/Wide World Photos

Mark Koernke's makeover (right) didn't fool police officers.

In the end, the helicopter was green.

Two months after failing to appear to face felony assault charges in Michigan, 40-year-old Mark Koernke — the infamous “Mark from Michigan” who made a name for himself in the antigovernment Patriot movement with fearsome tales of “black helicopters” and government conspiracies — was arrested as he bobbed in a shallow lake.

He wouldn't have been noticed, police say, if he hadn't scampered into the brush after spotting a green police helicopter and a squad car on routine marijuana eradication patrol. Suspicious police came to the edge of the lake into which Koernke had jumped, finally convincing him to emerge after 20 minutes of coaxing.

They quickly thereafter learned of his fugitive status.

It wasn't the same tough-talking Koernke those familiar with his “America in Peril” videotape and “Intelligence Report” shortwave broadcasts might have expected.

His trademark moustache had been shaven off.

His black hair was dyed orange.

And he was affecting a poor version of an Irish brogue, police say, and insisting his name was “Mike Kearns” even after papers were found in his truck with his real name. Still imitating an Irishman, Koernke went on to sign his real name on police forms.

Left untouched in the nearby pickup was a small arsenal: two AK-47 rifles, an AR-15 rifle, a loaded .25-caliber semi-automatic pistol, a .357-caliber pistol, ammunition and several inert grenades.

Last Oct. 13, Koernke allegedly bloodied a court official attempting to serve him with a subpoena. He had been ordered to testify in the trial of John Stephenson, a man accused in the 1994 murder of William Gleason. Stephenson and a man who is still a fugitive, Paul Darland, were accused of murdering Gleason because they feared the man was informing on them to Koernke. Stephenson and Darland, both

former followers of Koernke, had fallen out with the paunchy militiaman, while Gleason apparently remained loyal.

Now, Koernke's troubles are growing.

After his arrest in late July, he was held on \$500,000 bond on the original charges. He was facing potential state and federal fugitive charges. Because the weapons found in the pickup may have been illegal, he also could face federal gun charges.

And the FBI had launched a domestic terrorism investigation of him because of comments made on his radio show while he

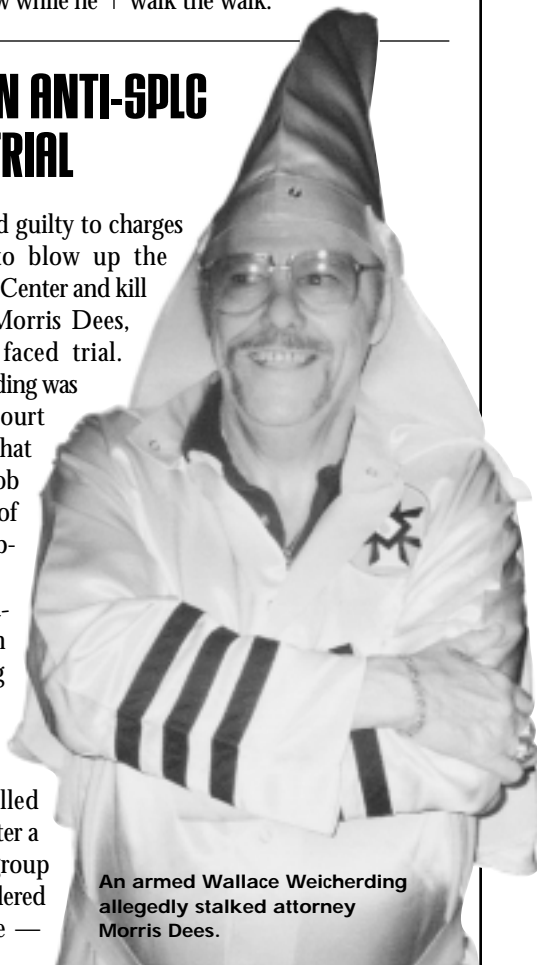
was on the lam. According to an affidavit, Koernke on June 2 told listeners they should “shoot the buggers ... because they are tyrants, they're criminals.” He was allegedly referring to Assistant U.S. Attorney Lloyd Meyer, who is prosecuting three Michigan men in a plot to blow up government buildings.

“It looks like his paranoia finally got to him,” said Fowlerville, Mich., Police Chief Gary Krause, still chuckling over Koernke's pell-mell flight from police officers who weren't looking for him. “He talked the talk, but he couldn't walk the walk.”

SIXTH MAN IN ANTI-SPLC PLOT FACES TRIAL

After five men pleaded guilty to charges in an alleged plot to blow up the Southern Poverty Law Center and kill Center co-founder Morris Dees, only one man still faced trial. Wallace Scott Weicherding was scheduled to go to court Aug. 24 on charges that he scouted a bank to rob and drew up a hit list of assassination and bombing targets.

Weicherding, a 64-year-old former prison guard fired for giving fellow employees Klan literature, also allegedly helped the leader of a group called The New Order — after a right-wing terrorist group that robbed and murdered in a 1980s crime spree —



An armed Wallace Weicherding allegedly stalked attorney Morris Dees.

acquire a machine gun. According to the indictment against him, Weicherding and the others planned to illegally convert other weapons to automatic and sell them to raise money.

Earlier, New Order leader and former Klansman Dennis Michael McGiffen, 35; Ralph P. Bock, 27; Glenn LeVelle Lowtharp, 50; Daniel Rick, 20; and Karl Schave, 31, pleaded guilty to various weapons charges. The men were from Illinois and Ohio.

Prosecutors say the group planned to bomb state capitol buildings, attack post offices and communications systems, and destroy the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles and the offices of the Anti-Defamation League in an unnamed city. Weicherding allegedly came with a gun to a speech given by Dees in southern Illinois with plans to murder him. But, officials say, he turned back when he spotted metal detectors at the door.

MCVEIGH ON 'BARBARIANS'

Timothy McVeigh, convicted of the murders of 19 children and 149 other people, accuses the government of "hypocrisy" because of the deaths of Iraqi children during the Gulf War. He claims that while U.S. officials knew of the presence of children in buildings they targeted, there is no proof that the Oklahoma City bomber had similar knowledge.

"Who," the convicted bomber asks, "are the true barbarians?"

In an article in the June issue of *Media Bypass*, a magazine popular in the antigovernment Patriot movement, McVeigh complains that the 1995 Oklahoma bombing

is "viciously condemned" while U.S. attacks on Iraq are seen as "a 'justified' response to a problem in a foreign land." The magazine's editors say they have confirmed the handwritten manuscript was by McVeigh.

"Whether you wish to admit it or not, when you approve,

morally, of the bombing of foreign targets by the U.S. military, you are approving of acts morally equivalent to the bombing in Oklahoma City," writes McVeigh, who has been sentenced to death.

In a related development, *The New York Times* reported in July that there is "tantalizing" evidence that McVeigh may have been linked to a militia group. According to summaries of FBI interviews the newspaper obtained, one witness, a corrections officer in Kingman, Ariz., saw McVeigh with 10 to 15 other people dressed in camouflage in the desert in 1994. The group had firearms spread over the hood of an old station wagon.

TEXAS GROUP PLANNED 'CAPITAL'

Leaders of the so-called Republic of Texas, an antigovernment separatist group whose leader has been sentenced to serve 111 years in prison, tried to purchase a four-story building and compound to serve as the group's "capital," officials say.

An IRS spokesman says Jacques Jaikaran, who faces up to three years in prison and \$75,000 in fines on a tax evasion conviction, tried to arrange the purchase of a building near Houston that features machine gun turrets, a bomb shelter and an operating room.

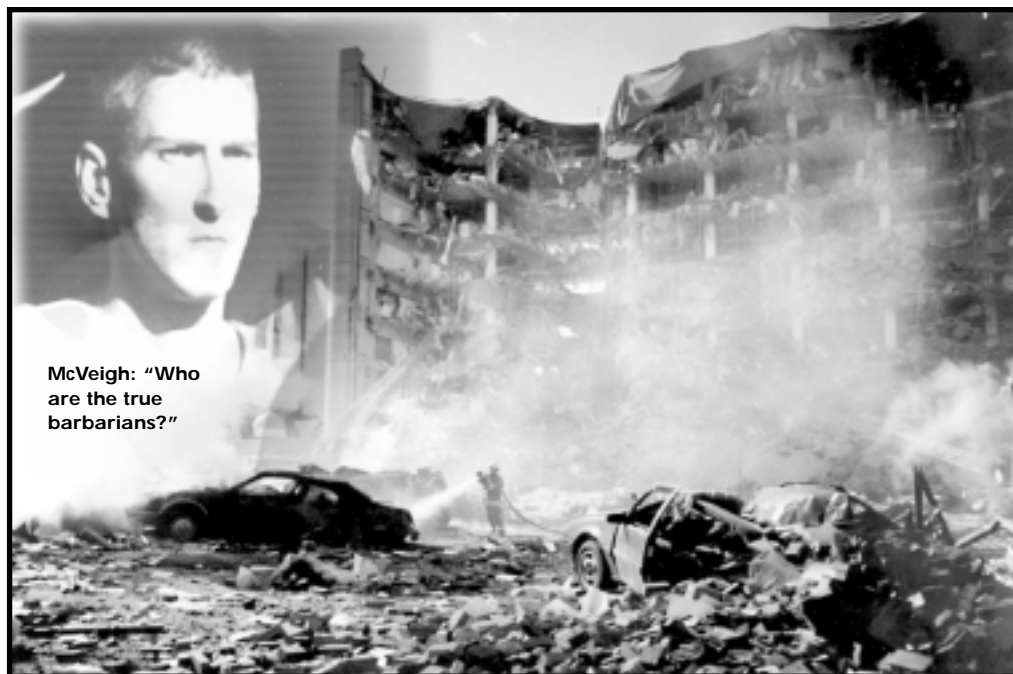
The official says that Jaikaran served as the Republic's financial adviser, although the Kingwood, Texas, plastic surgeon denies membership. Instead, Jaikaran claims he is affiliated with a group called Constitution Coalition of Texas.

Republic of Texas adherents believe that Texas was illegally annexed by the United States in 1845.

Although it has been reported that McVeigh and convicted co-conspirator Terry Nichols had some militia ties, that has never been definitively proven.

McVeigh's sister, Jennifer, told the FBI that her brother once told her he planned a bank robbery with others who carried it out, the *Times* said. He showed her a stack of \$100 bills that he said was his share. In a 1993 letter, McVeigh also told

his sister that he was bothered by not being able to confide in his family about his "lawless" behavior and anti-gov't attitude." Members of McVeigh's family, including his mother and father, told the FBI they suspected him of the bombing almost immediately, the *Times* said.



McVeigh: "Who are the true barbarians?"

Timothy McVeigh: John Gaps III/AP Photo. Murrah Building: Lester Bob Larue/SYGMA

'DAY OF RECKONING'

RECORD JUDGMENT CRIPPLES KLAN GROUP

In the largest judgment ever awarded against a hate group, a South Carolina jury in July ordered the Christian Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, its state leader and several other Klansmen to pay \$37.8 million for their roles in a conspiracy to burn a black church.

"That jury's decision was a day of reckoning for the Klan," said Morris Dees, the Southern Poverty Law Center's chief trial counsel and lead attorney for Macedonia Baptist Church, which was burned on June 21, 1995. "The verdict shows that there are still some things sacred in the country, still some lines that no one can cross."

After a five-day trial, the jury assessed punitive damages of \$15 million against the Klan's national organization, based in North Carolina; \$15 million against Horace King, the Grand Dragon of the group's South Carolina chapter; and \$7 million against the organization's South Carolina chapter. In addition, punitive damages were ordered against four Klansmen — \$100,000 against each of three men and \$200,000 against a fourth — who were earlier convicted of criminal charges in the case.

The jury also assessed \$300,000 in compensatory damages.

The verdict will likely put the Christian Knights out of business. Center attorneys plan to initiate legal procedures to attach bank accounts, property and other assets belonging to the Christian Knights and the five men. Any money collected will go to Macedonia Baptist, which was rebuilt after the attack in Clarendon County.

And it could spark criminal charges. Prosecutors who followed the civil trial told reporters there was a possibility that new evidence that was disclosed at the trial could bring additional indictments.

Defense attorney Gary White painted King as a feeble old man merely exercising his right to free speech,

H. P. Bozard



After claiming he never threatened blacks with arson, Klan leader Horace King was confronted with his own videotaped remarks.

saying King had not authorized the attack on the 125-year-old church. But witnesses told a different story, portraying King as a dynamic hatemonger who specifically spoke of burning churches and protecting his men from the law.

"This is a white man's country and if the niggers don't like it, put them on a rowboat and send them back to Africa to swing from coconut trees and eat one another," King shouted at a videotaped Klan rally two weeks before the Macedonia fire. Another tape showed King at a Klan march in Washington, D.C., yelling, "If we had this garbage in South Carolina, we would burn the bastards out. ..."

Testimony showed that King portrayed black churches as demonic. He told his followers that black

churches were plotting against white America. Witnesses said that King and his followers were particularly infuriated after members of Macedonia's congregation complained to police about the Klan's nearby rallies. Racial epithets blasted over Klan loudspeakers could be heard during Macedonia's church services. After the complaints, police ordered the Klan to turn its loudspeakers down.

Other evidence showed King authorized attacks on black churches:

- Marion Frieson, a man who attended a Klan rally near Macedonia, said he overheard a conversation involving King and Ed Garvin, the Clarendon County Klan leader serving under King. "I heard Ed Garvin say, 'Hell, let's burn a church. There's one right down the road,'" Frieson told the jury. In response, Frieson added, "Horace King said, 'There'll be protection for you fellows if you need it.'"

- Gary Christopher Cox and Timothy Adron Welch, the two Klansmen convicted of actually setting the fires at Macedonia and another black church, said they spoke



The Rev. Jonathan Mouzon, whose church won a \$37.8 million judgment in a Klan arson, stands before the rebuilt Macedonia Baptist Church.

with King and other Klan officials about burning churches at a Klan rally a few weeks before the Macedonia attack. Cox testified that he was ready to burn a church that night, but was told to wait because "it wouldn't look good at all." Both Welch and Cox testified that King promised them assistance should they be caught. The next month, both men burned Mount Zion A.M.E. and Macedonia Baptist on succeeding nights.

- After arrests in the two fires, local Klan official Arthur Haley said King told him, "Deny that you know them boys, and tear their [membership] cards up." Another witness said King called a special meeting to give similar instructions to other Klansmen.

- Thomas Smith, a former reporter for *The* (Columbia, S.C.) *Star Reporter*, said he infiltrated the Christian Knights after the fire. Smith testified that King told him that a "race war" was coming by the year 2000 and then spoke specifically of black churches, saying, "The only good nigger church is a burned nigger church."

- In a related matter, Clayton "Eddie" Spires, facing charges in the 1996 drive-by shooting of a black nightclub in Pelion, S.C., said King ordered that attack. He

said that King told him he had influence and could protect him from prosecution.

Things did not go smoothly for the defense. At one point, a defense witness, Dean Williams, identified himself as a State Law Enforcement Department employee and said that King was peaceful and cooperative with police. But on cross-examination, Williams admitted that he was merely a paid informant, and was a former member of the Klan group responsible for killing four girls in a 1963 Birmingham, Ala., church bombing.

Rufus Drury, King's bodyguard, slipped at another point in the trial when he started to describe a "nigger neighborhood" and then caught himself, amending his statement to "black neighborhood." Dees asked him about using the racial slur.

"It's in the Bible," Drury said.

"What version of the Bible is that?" Dees asked.

"King James," Drury replied.

The South Carolina verdict was the fifth major case of its kind brought by Center attorneys. In 1990, White Aryan Resistance and its members were ordered to pay \$12.5 million to the family of Mulugeta Seraw. In 1988, a jury assessed nearly \$1 million against a Klan group who attacked a group of interracial marchers in Forsyth County, Ga.

In 1987, the family of Michael Donald won a \$7 million judgment from the Klan group that lynched him in Mobile, Ala. And in 1990, a case brought against a Klan group that attacked peaceful marchers in Decatur, Ala., was resolved when Klansmen agreed to pay damages, perform community service and attend a race relations course taught by their victims. Nine Klansmen were later convicted of criminal charges. ▲

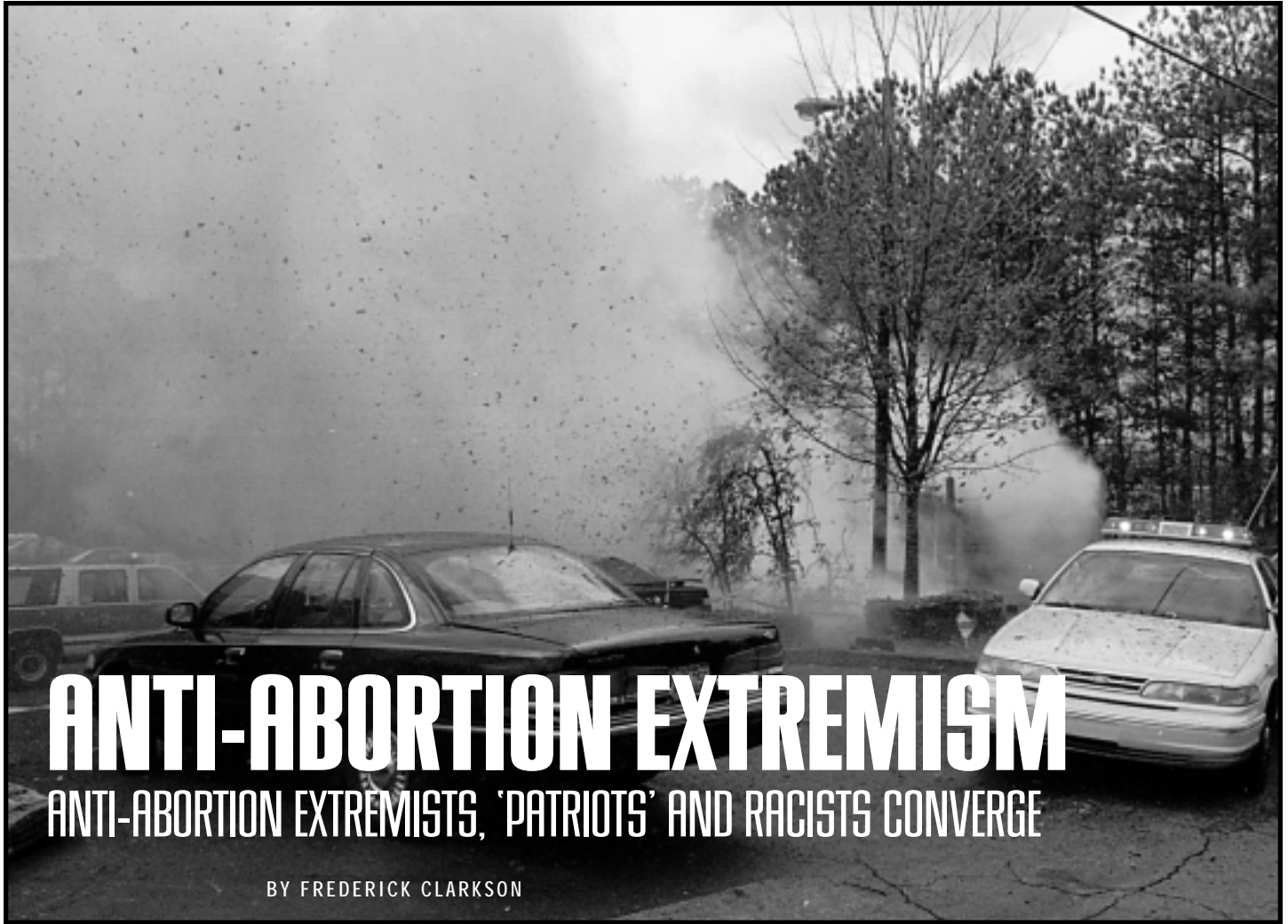
JUDGMENT AGAINST NEO-NAZI UPHOLD

A July 27 ruling by a federal appeals court upheld a judgment against William Pierce, author of the infamous race-war novel, *The Turner Diaries*, and leader of the National Alliance, one of the country's most notorious neo-Nazi organizations.

In May 1996, Southern Poverty Law Center attorneys won an \$85,000 judgment for the family of Harold Mansfield against Pierce. Pierce appealed that judgment, awarded by a North Carolina jury which found that Pierce was involved in a scheme to hide the assets of another hate group, the Church of the Creator (COTC).

In 1991 in Florida, a COTC member murdered Mansfield, a black sailor who served in the Gulf War. The Center sued and won a \$1 million default judgment for the Mansfield family against the COTC, but COTC leaders had transferred ownership of its property to Pierce to prevent it from going to Mansfield's heirs.

"The jury's verdict sent the message that the law will not allow hate groups to evade responsibility for the violent actions of their members," Center Legal Director Richard Cohen said after the 1996 trial. "Although Pierce was not involved in the Mansfield murder, he participated in the scheme to keep the COTC assets from the Mansfield family. The jurors told Pierce that he could not profit from the death of Harold Mansfield."



ANTI-ABORTION EXTREMISM

ANTI-ABORTION EXTREMISTS, 'PATRIOTS' AND RACISTS CONVERGE

BY FREDERICK CLARKSON

A secondary bomb, specifically aimed at rescue personnel and police, exploded last year outside a Sandy Springs, Ga., women's clinic after an initial blast.

Eric Robert Rudolph, the government says, bombed an abortion clinic in Birmingham, Ala., earlier this year, killing a police officer and partially blinding a nurse. Agents also want to question him about the bombings of an Atlanta area clinic and a lesbian bar, attacks which injured seven bystanders. And many suspect Rudolph of involvement in the 1996 Atlanta Olympics bombing which killed one person and injured 100 others.

To many, these targets seem unrelated. But they are not.

More and more, anti-abortion extremists, white supremacist groups and the conspiracy-minded "Patriot" movement have come to share the same enemies list. Many in these previously separate movements agree that everything smacking of "one-worldism" — the Olympics, the United Nations and any other global agency — is part of a massive plot to subject Americans to tyranny. Activists in all three movements describe homosexuals as "sodomites," people who deserve capital punishment. And in the latest development, many of those involved in these groups are bitterly attacking abortion.

"Eric Rudolph is symbolic of this new merger," says Dallas Blanchard, chairman of the University of West Florida's sociology department in Pensacola. "Militia types have shown more and more interest in the abor-

tion issue, while anti-abortionists are becoming more and more militant and allying themselves with the militia movement."

Since the early 1990s, Patriot and white supremacist groups have used mainstream issues like gun control and land and environmental regulation to draw people into their organizations. Now, they are taking up the banner of fighting abortion.

America's Invisible Empire, a Klan group, describes abortion as "America's greatest crime." White Aryan Resistance, another white supremacist group, calls for "future Aryan justice" for abortionists — except in the case of non-white abortions. Leaders of the U.S. Taxpayers Party, a Patriot-linked group, have called for the death penalty for abortion doctors and even their patients. Neal Horsley, who has called on militias to seize nuclear weapons, posts on his Web site the names of and other details about more than 300 people he considers pro-abortion, demanding "Nuremberg" trials. The Michigan Militia has long been bitterly opposed to abortion, and other Patriot groups now take similar stands.

TAXES, DRIVER'S LICENSES AND ABORTION

In many ways, the odyssey of Gordon Sellner epit-

omizes the evolution of militant anti-abortion ideology, its confluence with the Patriot movement and its growing confrontation with the federal government. When Sellner first heard about the Supreme Court's 1973 *Roe v. Wade* decision legalizing abortion, he stopped paying taxes to a government "on the wrong side of God's law." Two decades later, the Montanan, who by then described himself as a constitutionalist Patriot, was wounded in a shootout with police who had pursued him since he shot a deputy in an earlier arrest attempt.

He is now serving a prison term of life plus 10 years.

Like Sellner, other militants opposed to abortion have moved over the years from protests to violence. Increasingly, they share a revolutionary approach with the hard core of the Patriot and white supremacist movements, seeking to replace democracy with theocracy — a system in which one religion rules, and all other views are crushed.

This convergence of movements is evident nationwide.

Most recently, a Tennessee abortion activist repeatedly arrested in clinic invasions has begun converting a former Washington state lodge into a retreat for others who share his militant brand of religion. Allison Hall Grayson, who now calls himself a "Steward of the Church of Christ," is a friend of Paul Hill, convicted of killing an abortion doctor and his escort, *The* (Spokane, Wash.) *Spokesman-Review* reported.

Grayson doesn't believe in license plates, driver's licenses, Social Security or public schools, the newspaper said. He supports armed militias. The registered agent for his corporation is tied to "common-law courts" and militia activities. His wife, Catherine, is a cartoonist for *Life Advocate*, an anti-abortion magazine that supports "justifiable homicide" and shares a post office box with the American Coalition of Life Activists (ACLA). Many ACLA directors have been outspoken in their support for the murderers of doctors.

Grayson's project, officials and observers say, is the latest evidence of the melding of the militant anti-abortion and antigovernment movements. But similar cases, some of them documented by Planned Parenthood, have cropped up around the nation recently.

CONVERGENCE: THE CONNECTIONS

- August Kreis and James Wickstrom, longtime leaders of the violently racist and anti-Semitic Posse Comitatus, recently put up an article on their Web site hailing Rudolph as "a true warrior of YHVH [God]." Wickstrom, a Michigan militia enthusiast who organized paramilitary training for the Posse during the 1980s, has served prison time for impersonating public officials and counterfeiting. Kreis, Wickstrom's Posse deputy, headed The Messiah's Militia in Pennsylvania. In their article, the men complain about the "several hundred JOG agents (Jewish occupational government forces)" searching for Rudolph.

- The Rev. Matthew Trehwella, who founded the

militant Missionaries to the Preborn, was one of the first anti-abortion leaders to publicly call for militias. At a 1994 Wisconsin convention of the U.S. Taxpayers Party (USTP) — which mixes anti-abortion and antigovernment Patriot militants — he called on churches to form armed militias. After telling congregants to do "the most loving thing" by buying their children "an SKS rifle and 500 rounds of ammunition," he said he was teaching his own 16-month-old the location of his "trigger finger." The Wisconsin USTP ticket has included Ernest Brusubardis III, a "captain" of the Wisconsin Militia arrested in several Wisconsin clinic blockades.

- Willie Ray Lampley, head of the Oklahoma Constitutional Militia, is serving 11 years in federal prison for plotting to blow up abortion clinics, gay bars, the Southern Poverty Law Center, Anti-Defamation League offices and other targets. His wife and another man were also convicted in the ammonium nitrate bomb conspiracy.

- The Rev. W.N. Otwell, who reportedly has called America a "white man's country" and protested "race-mixing," has led his camouflage-clad followers in protests at an abortion clinic. In 1996, Otwell traveled from his Texas compound to support the white supremacist Montana Freemen in their 81-day armed standoff with federal agents. He also protested in behalf of Republic of Texas criminals during their 1997 standoff.

- Larry Pratt, executive director of Gun Owners of America, helped Operation Rescue at a time when it was facing a \$50,000 fine. Pratt's Committee to Protect the Family Foundation raised nearly \$150,000 to pay Operation Rescue's bills, without that organization ever holding the money. Pratt only halted his fundraising when a judge ruled that the foundation could be held liable for Operation Rescue's fines. Pratt has spoken at white supremacist gatherings and has long advocated formation of armed militias.

- Texas anti-abortion leader Jack DeVault, while on work release for illegally blocking clinic entrances, reported on the Branch Davidian trial for the American Patriot Fax Network and "Radio Free America," a program that has featured many extremists. He also reportedly proposed forming citizens' posses to run out "meddling federal agents."

- Joe Holland, one-time national director of the North American Volunteer Militia, has said government support for "murder clinics" and the "advancement of homosexuals" made him a rebel. Holland, who died in prison this spring, once threatened to send law enforcement officers "home in body bags." He was serving time for criminal syndicalism and jury tampering in Montana when he suffered a heart attack in March.

- Tim Drete, a leader of the militant American Coalition of Life Activists, also has been a captain and chaplain of a militia group, the 1st Missouri Volunteers. Drete led several 1988 invasions of abortion clinics in New York and Atlanta. After the 1993 murder of Dr. David Gunn, he carried a sign: "Dr. ... Are you feeling



Long before murdering a Florida doctor and his escort in 1994, Paul Hill made his feelings plain.

under the Gunn?”

- Dale Pultz, a member of the Missionaries to the Preborn who has been convicted of illegally blocking clinics, used Patriot “common-law” techniques to slap a \$700,000 lien on a judge who jailed him. This type of common-law “paper terrorism” is a Patriot tactic that is derived from the anti-Semitic Posse Comitatus group active in the 1980s.

These kinds of ties reflect a basic fact about all three movements: Patriots, white supremacists and anti-abortion militants are all fueled by interpretations of religion.

The militant anti-abortion movement is driven by three different but overlapping theologies that motivate violence: Christian Reconstructionism, Christian Identity and apocalyptic Catholicism. To understand this movement’s increased militancy and its goal of instituting a theocracy — a goal that by definition means ending democracy — it is necessary to examine these three ideological strands.

RECONSTRUCTIONISM AND ‘TOTAL CONFRONTATION’

Reconstructionism, which arose out of conservative splinters of mainstream Presbyterianism (Orthodox and Reformed), proposes contemporary use of the laws of Old Testament Israel, or “biblical Law,” as the basis for “reconstructing” society under an explicitly theocratic

government. High on the list of capital crimes, Reconstructionists say, is abortion, along with homosexuality and the “propagation of false doctrines.”

The defining text of Reconstructionism is *Institutes of Biblical Law*, published in 1973 by Rousas John Rushdoony. In the 800-page explanation of the Ten Commandments and the biblical “case law” deriving from them, Rushdoony declares: “All law is religious in nature, and every non-Biblical law-order represents an anti-Christian religion. Every law-order is a state of war against the enemies of that order, and all law is a form of warfare.”

Initially, Reconstructionism provided a theological argument for evangelical Christian involvement in politics. In subtle ways, it has undergirded the ideology of much of the broader Christian Right, influencing such leaders as televangelists Jerry Falwell and Pat Robertson. Reconstructionism is the dominant ideological strain of the far-right U.S. Taxpayers Party, headed by Rushdoony disciple Howard Phillips.

The late Francis Schaeffer, a Reformed Presbyterian, also was influenced by Reconstructionism. His widely distributed books and films of the 1970s and early 1980s are generally credited with providing an important catalyst for evangelical involvement in anti-abortion politics. Operation Rescue founder Randall Terry, a charismatic evangelical, was originally inspired by Schaeffer, although within a few years he went beyond him. In 1988, Terry was personally tutored by a leading Reconstructionist thinker, Gary North, according to the recent book *Wrath of Angels: The American Abortion War*, by James Risen and Judy L. Thomas.

‘A TIME TO KILL’

Also in 1988, North wrote a book urging anti-abortion organizations to move beyond Schaefferism and forge a theocratic movement that might eventually force “a political and military” confrontation. Operation Rescue’s “physical interposition” at clinics, he believed, was but the first step “in the philosophical war against political pluralism. ... Christian leaders can see where these protests may be headed, even if their followers cannot: to a total confrontation with the civilization of secular humanism.”

The influence on Terry was obvious. By 1995, he was telling an Operation Rescue gathering that America must be governed by biblical law and that Christians may need to “take up the sword” and “overthrow the tyrannical regime that oppresses them.”

Another Reconstructionist theorist is Rev. Michael Bray, the convicted mastermind behind a series of 1984 bombings in Maryland, Delaware and the District of Columbia. Bray’s targets included clinics, the American Civil Liberties Union and the National Abortion Federation, a trade association of abortion providers. Following a prison term, Bray published a 1990 paper entitled “Ethics of Operation Rescue,” in which he argued that “Christians who rescue innocents from the slaughter are simply extending mercy.”

Although Bray had not yet publicly endorsed vigilante murder of abortion providers, he did offer the Reconstructionist justification for revolution under “lesser magistrates” — a doctrine under which biblical rebels need only enlist lower-level government officials in order to win divine sanction for political insurrection against government. Some leaders within the U.S. Taxpayers Party have embraced this doctrine.

Similar ideas, consistent with rising up under the authority of lower-level government officials over the issue of abortion, have been proposed by, among others, the leader of the Houston Republican Party, Stephen Hotze. In 1994, speaking to the annual banquet of the Atlanta-based, Christian Reconstructionist think tank American Vision, Hotze declared that “what we need in America today is judges; we need mayors; we need governors who are willing to stand up to our Supreme Court, to our president and say ‘not in our city.’ I am convinced,” he added, “that if men of courage in positions of leadership ... would stand, they would bring about a significant constitutional crisis.”

The 1993 assassination of Dr. Gunn affected Bray, who described it approvingly as a “rational way of following the Operation Rescue dictum: ‘If you believe abortion is murder, then act like it.’” While most people involved in “rescue” activities stop far short of advocating murder, Bray by 1994 was arguing for the “principle of revolution” and establishing a “Christian government” in his seminal work, *A Time to Kill*.

Bray’s friend and fellow Reconstructionist, the former Orthodox Presbyterian minister Paul Hill, became known in this period for arguing that the killing of abortion providers was justifiable. In 1994, Hill moved from talk to action, murdering a doctor and his escort, and wounding the escort’s wife, in Pensacola, Fla. Hill, now awaiting execution, also called for armed theocratic revolution under the “lesser magistrate” doctrine.

CHRISTIAN IDENTITY AND ‘PHINEAS PRIESTS’

The Christian Identity movement also has emerged in recent years as a source of anti-abortion violence. Identity is best known for tenets holding that Jews are the literal descendants of Satan and blacks are soulless subhumans. But it also attacks abortion, which in most cases is seen as a capital crime. This theology is epitomized by the Rev. Richard Butler, head of the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations and an Identity pastor (see p. 22). But its virulent anti-abortionism may have been best expressed in the Birmingham bombing.

While Rudolph’s responsibility for the Jan. 29 attack has yet to be established by a jury, a Southern Poverty Law Center investigation shows that Rudolph is an Identity adherent. As a youngster, he spent time with his family at the Identity church of Dan Gayman, in Schell City, Mo. Later, in North Carolina, he had ties to the late Nord Davis Jr., an Identity leader whose compound lay close by the Rudolphs’ home.

In 1995, three Identity adherents — Verne Jay Merrell, Charles Barbee and Robert Berry — robbed a local bank and bombed the Spokane offices of Planned Parenthood and *The Spokesman-Review* newspaper. One of them, Merrell, has close ties to America’s Promise Ministries, an Identity church in Sandpoint, Idaho, headed by the Rev. Dave Barley. Merrell preached at Barley’s Bible camps, and Barley sold Merrell’s tapes.

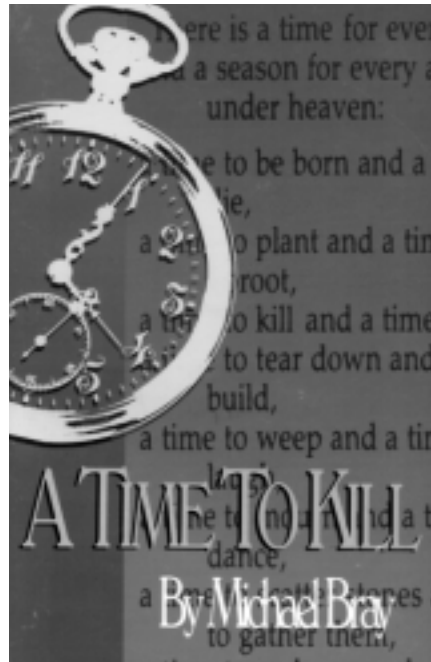
The Spokane gang, now all serving long prison sentences, were self-described “Phineas Priests.” The biblical story of Phineas, a priest who killed an Israelite man and a Midianite woman with one spear, has been used to justify the murder of interracial couples. It was also used by Paul Hill to justify his actions, although Hill told journalist Judy Thomas that he

rejects the racism of the Phineas Priesthood.

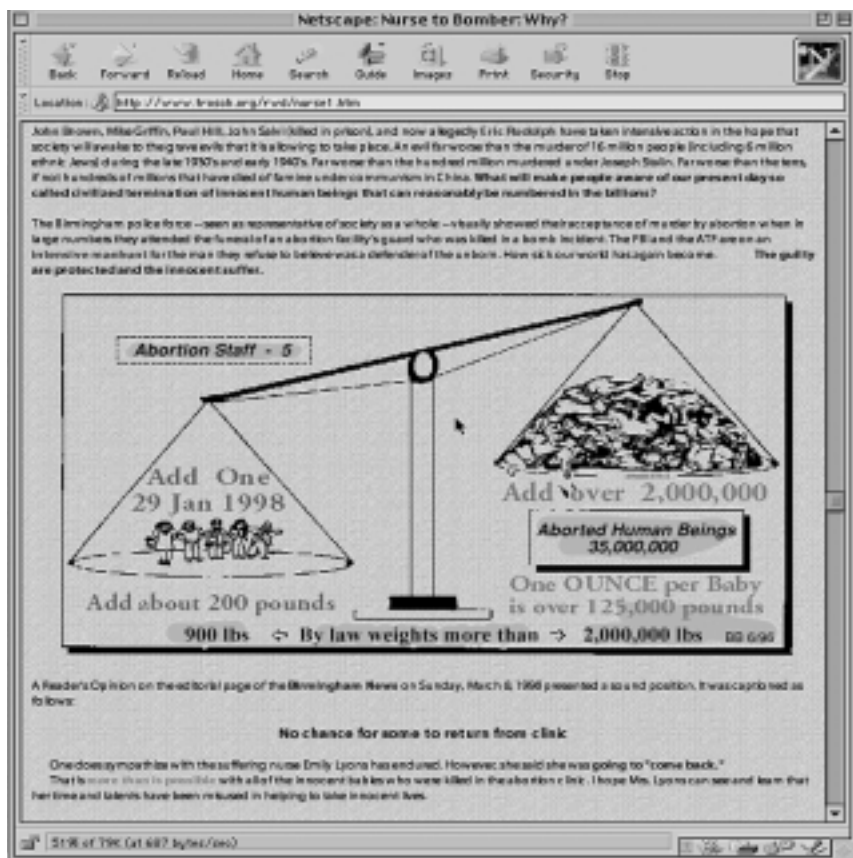
Identity adherents increasingly are influenced by Reconstructionism, which offers a coherent and in many ways philosophically compatible theology. As these two theologies have cross-pollinated, partly in response to events such as Waco, abortion facilities have become prime targets for revolutionary white supremacists and antigovernment Patriots.

The influence of the Patriot movement is in some ways personified by Matt Trehwella, whose Operation Rescue faction was renamed Missionaries to the Preborn in 1990. By 1994, Trehwella had emerged as a leader in the young U.S. Taxpayers Party, along with Randall Terry and others from Operation Rescue. Addressing USTP’s Wisconsin state convention, which included both Posse Comitatus and anti-abortion activists, Trehwella proposed disconnecting from the state on everything from Social Security to marriage licenses — a longtime Posse theme. A militia manual circulated at the convention called abortion a key reason “to spring immediately and effectively to arms.”

Another key broker between the Patriot and anti-abortion movements is Larry Pratt. Pratt spoke at a pivotal 1992 meeting in Estes Park, Colo., which assembled Identity leaders with Ku Klux Klan, neo-Nazi, Christian Right and anti-abortion activists. The so-called



Convicted clinic bomber Michael Bray, who co-hosts the annual “White Rose Banquet” gathering of anti-abortion extremists, popularized the “justifiable homicide” credo in his 1994 book.



To Alabama priest David Trosch, who weighs out lives in pounds and ounces, the murder of police officer Robert Sanderson adds “about 200 pounds” to the pro-choice death toll — even though Sanderson opposed abortion.

“Gathering of Christian Men” marked the birth of the militia movement and popularized the “leaderless resistance” strategy of forming small cells.

CATHOLIC APOCALYPTICISM

An apocalyptic version of Catholicism has been added to the mix as well. A blending of Catholic and Protestant versions of justification for anti-abortion violence is personified by Fr. David Trosch, of Mobile, Ala. Trosch, founder of Life Enterprises Unlimited, penned a cartoon depicting the murder of a surgeon under the caption “Justifiable Homicide?” Although he was removed from pastoral responsibilities after refusing his bishop’s order to stop advocating justifiable homicide ideas, he was not defrocked.

In 1994, Trosch authored a rambling missive to Congress and the media that announced that a time of “massive killing of abortionists and their staffs” was approaching. Members of abortion rights and women’s groups could be “sought out and terminated as vermin are terminated.” Trosch told a reporter that targets might include the president, the attorney general and justices of the Supreme Court. He also suggested that manufacturers of intra-uterine devices (IUDs) and the RU-468 abortion pill could be hit.

This summer, Trosch’s grotesque Web site featured attacks on Emily Lyons, the “murderous” nurse maimed in Birmingham. It depicts a scale with the bodies of fetuses on one side and slain abortion workers on the other. Being added to the murdered workers’ side is “about 200 pounds” — a reference to slain officer Robert Sanderson.

Another strain of Catholic apocalypticism derives from what the Catholic Church calls the miracle at Fatima. Some believers “consider abortion to be an affront to God’s laws and perhaps a sign the apocalypse is near,” says Chip Berlet, an expert on the radical right with Political Research Associates. There is evidence that John Salvi, a Catholic with militia ties who murdered two clinic personnel and wounded five others in the Boston area, may have been influenced by Fatimist literature of this sort.

Fr. Norm Weslin, leader of the itinerant, anti-abortion Lambs of Christ group, was asked what the biggest problem facing the “lambs” is. “Satan” was his reply. The notion that the constitutionally protected practice of abortion is considered a literal struggle with “Satan” suggests that Weslin foresees a religious war. Indeed, many anti-abortion activists see just such a jihad as already underway, with themselves playing a central role.

Like the Reconstructionists, the anti-abortion Fatimists see stopping abortion as a requirement if they are to stay the hand of God from punishing the entire society.

FROM IDEOLOGY TO ASSASSINATION

The proponents and practitioners of anti-abortion violence see themselves as engaged in a literal, and not merely rhetorical, war with the larger culture. Many of them engage in the activities of war, from the creation of military manuals to the stockpiling of supplies. They train in operations, reconnaissance and intelligence-gathering. The most notorious form of intelligence-gathering has been of the details of the lives and personal schedules of abortion providers. In one such project, activists identified the successor to the murdered Dr. David Gunn, creating “unwanted” posters with his photo, home address and details about his vehicle. It was this information that provided Paul Hill with the opportunity to assassinate the doctor and his escort. The details of how Dr. John Britton was identified were written up as a case study in *Life Advocate* magazine.

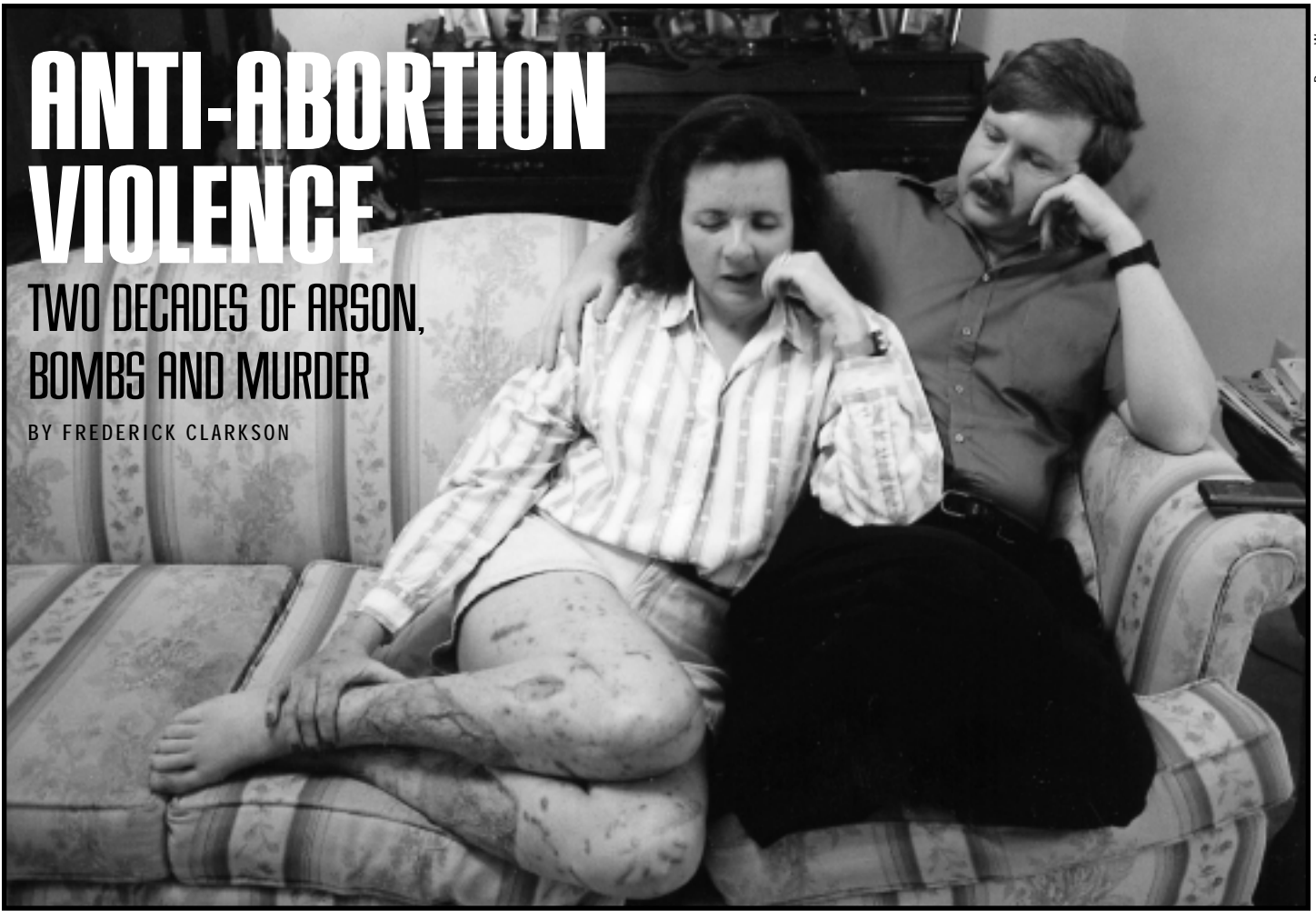
This kind of targeting of abortion providers has been routine for years, but it is growing, as evidenced by the Web site run by Georgia-based Neal Horsley. Recently, similar calls for information on Canadian doctors have generated enormous controversy in that country, where three abortion doctors have been the victims of assassination attempts over the past few years. In each case, the doctor was attacked at home by a sniper using a high-powered rifle equipped with a telescopic lens — yet another indication of the move of some extremists from low-level violence toward revolutionary assassination.

The ideology and operations of the militant anti-abortion movement have evolved considerably over the last quarter century. More and more, the theme of justifiable violence has entered the mainstream of related antigovernment movements. Activists in all of these movements, more openly and in a more unified fashion than ever before, seem bent on a theocratic revolution requiring murder, bombing and other violence. ▲

ANTI-ABORTION VIOLENCE

TWO DECADES OF ARSON, BOMBS AND MURDER

BY FREDERICK CLARKSON



It is, perhaps, the history of the future. In much the way that the neo-Nazi novel *The Turner Diaries* served as a blueprint for white supremacist revolution, a fictional account of the future of insurrectionary anti-abortion violence has already been written.

And it is a chilling tale.

Rescue Platoon, a story of a future, final war against abortion, was serialized this year on a Web site sponsored by David Leach, whose Iowa-based newsletter, *Prayer & Action Weekly News*, has supported the pro-violence anti-abortion network. Replete with bombs and murder, the mini-novel tells of a "righteous wrath" to come. In the end, the "Army of God," amid a bloodbath of epic proportions, gains the final victory.

Over the years, the race war fantasy detailed in *The Turner Diaries* has been used by a series of terrorists from The Order to Timothy McVeigh. Now, observers fear, these new, revolution-minded stories could prove to be a road map for anti-abortion terror.

In recent years, experts say, the ranks of nonviolent clinic blockaders have shrunk, largely as acts of terrorism have alienated many in the larger anti-abortion movement. But at the same time, those who have always advocated some violence have become increasingly revolutionary, seeing themselves as fighting a holy war to recreate society in a religious mold. Today, those in the

most militant wing of the anti-abortion movement are more and more willing to kill.

"As groups become smaller," says Dallas Blanchard, a sociologist who has studied anti-abortion extremism, "they encourage the violent to get more violent."

TWO DECADES OF TERROR

Although nonviolent forms of protest are the preferred methods for most who oppose abortion, violence and threats of violence have been part of the anti-abortion movement since the Supreme Court's *Roe v. Wade* decision legalized abortion.

Over the last 20 years, anti-abortion terrorists have been responsible for six murders and 15 attempted murders (see related interviews, p. 26), according to the National Abortion Federation. They have also been behind some 200 bombings and arsons, 72 attempted arsons, 750 death and bomb threats and hundreds of acts of vandalism, intimidation, stalking and burglary.

The first arson attack against a clinic took place in 1977, four years after *Roe v. Wade*. It was aimed at a Long Island, N.Y., clinic owned by abortion rights advocate Bill Baird. In the next six years, the pace picked up, with 29 bombings and arsons by 1983.

Soon, the attacks were against people. In 1982, a man claiming to represent the "Army of God" (AOG),

Holding one of her reconstructed shins, Emily Lyons is only the latest in a long line of victims of anti-abortion violence.



John Salvi terrorized two clinics in a Boston suburb, murdering two people and wounding five others.

kidnapped, but ultimately released, an abortion doctor and his wife. Don Benny Anderson, convicted of the kidnapping and three clinic bombings in Florida and Virginia, remains in prison, but still serves as a role model for many militants.

Dubbed "the Year of Fear and Pain" by militant activists of Joseph Scheidler's Pro-Life Action Network (PLAN), 1984 was marked by 25 clinic arsons and bombings, resulting in millions of dollars in damage. Among these were the so-called "Christmas bombings" of two clinics in Pensacola, Fla. At least seven attacks were planned and carried out by a group headed by Rev. Michael Bray, of Bowie, Md., who epitomizes the activist who engages in nonviolent protests by day but wages covert terrorism by night.

While most people involved in clinic protests are clearly not involved in or necessarily supportive of violence, these protests remain the common ground of expression for abortion opponents of both nonviolent and violent persuasions. From Michael Bray to Paul Hill in Florida to John Salvi in Boston, practitioners of violence have used the occasion of peaceful protest to blend in and to gather intelligence for their terrorist attacks.

THE 'ARMY OF GOD' EMERGES

At the site of a Norfolk, Va., bombing, Bray left a sign: "AOG." The same year, a caller claiming responsibility for several bombings said he was from the Army of God. Also in 1984, U.S. Supreme Court Justice Harry Blackmun, who wrote the Roe v. Wade decision, received a threatening letter from a group using that name.

Who, or what, is the Army of God?

That question has plagued investigators for years. Whether it is a concept — a handy moniker for whoever takes up the cause — or a permanent underground group is not yet clear. Most recently, it came up when letters claiming credit for the deadly Jan. 29 bombing of an abortion clinic in Birmingham, Ala., were signed "Army of God". Similar letters took credit for 1997 bombings of a clinic and a lesbian bar in the Atlanta area. The AOG also claimed the attempted assassinations of abortion physicians in Canada.

Aside from the occasional letter taking credit for violent actions, the primary document reaching the public has been the so-called Army of God manual, an underground handbook on how to commit clinic violence. It describes itself as "a manual for those who have come to understand that the battle against abortion is a battle not against flesh and blood, but against the devil and all of the evil he can muster among flesh and blood to fight at his side." It calls the United States "a nation ruled by a godless civil authority that is dominated by humanism, moral nihilism and new age perversion of the high standards upon which a Godly society must be founded, if it is to endure."

And it goes further. After offering detailed instructions on how to build ammonium nitrate bombs and "homemade c-4 plastic explosive," it suggests maiming abortion doctors "by removing their hands, or at least their thumbs below the second digit."

The Army of God of the 1980s was fairly careful not to harm people. But as the AOG's widely circulated manual suggests, those who now claim to be part of the Army of God, whoever they may be, are willing to kill and maim.



Rachelle Shannon detailed her criminal exploits in diaries found buried in her backyard.

MURDER AND THE THEOCRATIC REVOLUTION

By the early 1990s, Michael Bray had come to advocate the murder of abortion doctors and call for theocratic revolution with the aim of instituting biblical law. During the same period, professed AOG member Rachelle "Shelley" Shannon, who had earlier launched butyric acid and arson attacks on clinics throughout the western United States, attempted to murder Dr. George Tiller in Wichita, Kan., wounding him badly.

High-profile murders in the early 1990s marked a turning point in the violence, transforming the movement and riveting the attention of the nation. In 1993, Dr. David Gunn was shot to death by Rescue America activist Michael Griffin. Paul Hill then became the focus of attention through his efforts to promote the notion that the murder of Dr. Gunn and other abortion providers was "justifiable homicide." Hill received the

prominent support of Fr. David Trosch, Bray and 31 others (see p. 16).

Following Dr. Gunn's murder, Joseph Scheidler presided over a summit meeting of militant pro-life leaders in Chicago to discuss the movement's future. The conclave degenerated into a debate about violence, and led to the formation of the hard-line American Coalition of Life Activists (ACLA), many of whose leaders signed the "justifiable homicide" statement. Many ACLA members had previously been prominent in Operation Rescue, the group founded and long headed by Randall Terry.

In 1994, Hill murdered a doctor and his escort outside a Pensacola, Fla., clinic. He drew moral support from the likes of ACLA leader Andrew Burnett, who appeared in one photograph holding a sign reading "Free Paul Hill! JAIL Abortinists." Burnett's magazine, *Life Advocate*, has been the leading editorial voice of the pro-violence faction.

In 1995, a young, mentally unstable hairdresser named John Salvi shot up two clinics in Brookline, Mass., killing two people and wounding five.

THE VIOLENCE GROWS

By that year, the number of arsons and bombings had grown to 180 — evidence of the rising pace and ferocity of the violence. This trend is partly attributable to the evolution of the revolutionary theology of those originally associated with Operation Rescue and the emergence of Christian Identity-informed activists. (Identity is an anti-Semitic, racist theology that, among other things, is violently opposed to abortion.) In this period, the line between anti-abortion activists and Patriot and militia groups began to blur. The 1996 bombing of Planned Parenthood offices in Spokane, Wash., for instance, was carried out by Identity-believing white supremacists — so-called Phineas Priests — from Idaho.

In addition, the nature of those willing to kill changed. The first wave of those who attacked doctors and others saw themselves as public martyrs; the second, informed by a revolutionary hatred of the government that is shared by many Patriot groups, is composed of assassins with no desire to go public or be sentenced to prison.

"The first murderers stood around waiting to be caught," Blanchard explains. "More recently there is surreptitious violence, living to fight another day."

At the same time, other kinds of attacks have picked

AP/Wide World Photos



un WANTED

John Bayard Britton

ADDRESS - 2120 Beech St. Fernandina Beach Fla. 32034
 ADDRESS - 34 N 14th St. Fernandina Beach Fla. 32034

- (Home) 904-261-4950 , (Office) 904-261-3673

- May 6, 1925

C - Maroon & Silver , Chevy Scottsdale Pick-up
 With silver camper shell .
 - K W M 3 3 E , Nassau county .

DESCRIPTION

in.
 10 lbs.
 te , AGE - 68

EVENTS

om Fernandina's
 eing deemed

prescribing
 cat tablets
 ved two years

has charged
 o practice
 skill and

HUMANITY

(Prov. 6:16-19)
 USANDS of

babies.

ENT HOMICIDE- Britton is
 ly responsible for the death at
 one woman. Maureen Lyn Tyke, died
 ns Regional Medical Center on
 , 1983 from complications stemming
 SAFE, LEGAL Abortion performed
 tton at the Aware Womens Center
 borne Fla. She was a 28 year old
 e student.

*** WARNING ***

BYARD BRITTON IS CONSIDERED ARMED
 TREMELY DANGEROUS, ESPECIALLY TO
 AND CHILDREN.

Paul Hill (inset) used this "unwanted" poster to help identify, track and murder Dr. John Britton. A militant anti-abortion publication wrote up the details of how Britton was identified as a case study.

up a new head of steam. During June and July of this year, almost 20 abortion clinics in Florida, New Orleans and Houston were hit with butyric acid attacks, bringing the total over the years to more than 100. The chemical, which causes severe nausea and can result in hospitalization, usually requires bringing in hazardous materials teams for cleanup.

But it was this year's Birmingham clinic bombing that has given the nation a taste of the probable future of anti-abortion violence.

At around the same time as that attack, two tales of the future, *Rescue Platoon* and *ARISE!*, appeared on a Web site sponsored by David Leach. Earlier, in the early 1990s, Leach's newsletter had serialized the prison diaries of convicted clinic bomber John Brockhoeft, edited by Shelly Shannon. Leach has also shown Patriot leanings, coming out as an early advocate of militias, a point reflected in *Rescue Platoon*.

HISTORY OF THE FUTURE

Rescue Platoon is set in the near future. Early in the story is the execution of Paul Hill (in real life, awaiting execution in Florida). "Then from deep, deep down in the soul of America, a righteous wrath began to wind its way to the surface of the hearts of many. ... These were the conditions when the 'Rescue Platoon' came out of training and entered into active service in the Army

of God."

Ultimately, Hill's "martyrdom" ignites the war against abortion.

Most of the novel centers around the Army of God's campaign to blow up clinics and murder doctors and others. At the end, the former Confederate states plus Utah outlaw abortion. The federal government threatens to send in the National Guard to reopen the clinics, which causes the ideas of the real-life Republic of Texas (a Patriot group which argues that the U.S. illegally annexed the state in 1845) to gain currency to the point where Texas declares its independence. The "Rescue Platoon," along with other "disgruntled Patriots," side with Texas in the cause of "righteousness."

No reasonable commentator expects such a vision to be realized. But that does not mean that more doctors, police officers and uninvolved bystanders will not die. ▲

Frederick Clarkson, who has reported on the religious right for 15 years, is the author, most recently, of Eternal Hostility: The Struggle Between Theocracy and Democracy (Common Courage Press, 1997). He is currently at work on another book on the religious right. Clarkson was the founding editor of Front Lines Research, an investigative newsletter published by the Planned Parenthood Federation of America.

'JUSTIFIABLE HOMICIDE': THE SIGNERS

Shortly before the trial of Michael Griffin for the 1993 murder of Dr. David Gunn, former Rev. Paul Hill and 33 others signed what has become known as the "defensive action statement." The statement (text below) has become well known in the movement as one of the definitive lists of those who have seen murder of abortion doctors as "justifiable homicide." Some of the signers, whose names were compiled by the Feminist Majority Foundation, have since withdrawn their names, and some have changed locations.

"We, the undersigned, declare the justice of taking all godly action necessary to defend innocent human life including the use of force. We proclaim that whatever force is legitimate to defend the life of a born child is legitimate to defend the life of an unborn child. We assert that if Michael Griffin did in fact kill David Gunn, his use of lethal force was justifiable provided it was carried out for the purpose of defending the lives of unborn children. Therefore, he ought to be acquitted of the charges against him."

Kenneth Arndt, Windham, N.H.
Mary Beddingfield, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Dan Bray, Bowie, Md.
Donna Bray, Bowie, Md.
Michael Bray, Bowie, Md.
John Brockhoeft, prisoner,
Burlington, Ky.
Andrew Burnett, Portland, Ore.
Thomas Carleton, prisoner,
Billerica, Mass.
David Craig, Hope, Ind.
David Crane, Norfolk, Va.

Paul deParrie, Portland, Ore.
Regina Dinwiddie, Kansas City, Mo.
Michael Dodds, Kansas
Henry Felisone, Queens, N.Y.
Joseph Foreman, Bluejay, Calif.
Mary Friberg, New Brighton, Minn.
David Graham, Olathe, Kan.
Paul J. Hill, prisoner, Pensacola, Fla.
Michael Jarecki, Brushton, N.Y.
Bill Koehler, North Bergen, N.J.
Dave Leach, Des Moines, Iowa
C. Roy McMillan, Jackson, Miss.

Mike Meyer, Cincinnati, Ohio
Jacob Miller, Tampa, Fla.
Joseph F. O'Hara, Pennsylvania
Robert Pearson, West Long Branch, N.J.
Tony Piso, Forest Hill, N.Y.
Cathy Ramey, Portland, Ore.
Donald Spitz, Norfolk, Va.
Dawn Stover, Portland, Ore.
Matt Trehwella, Milwaukee, Wisc.
David Trosch, Mobile, Ala.
Mike Walker, Alabama
Valerie Zyskowski, Pittsburgh, Pa.

RADICAL RADIO REDUX

DESPITE INTERNET, FAR-RIGHT RADIO IS BOOMING

BY CARLA BROOKS JOHNSTON

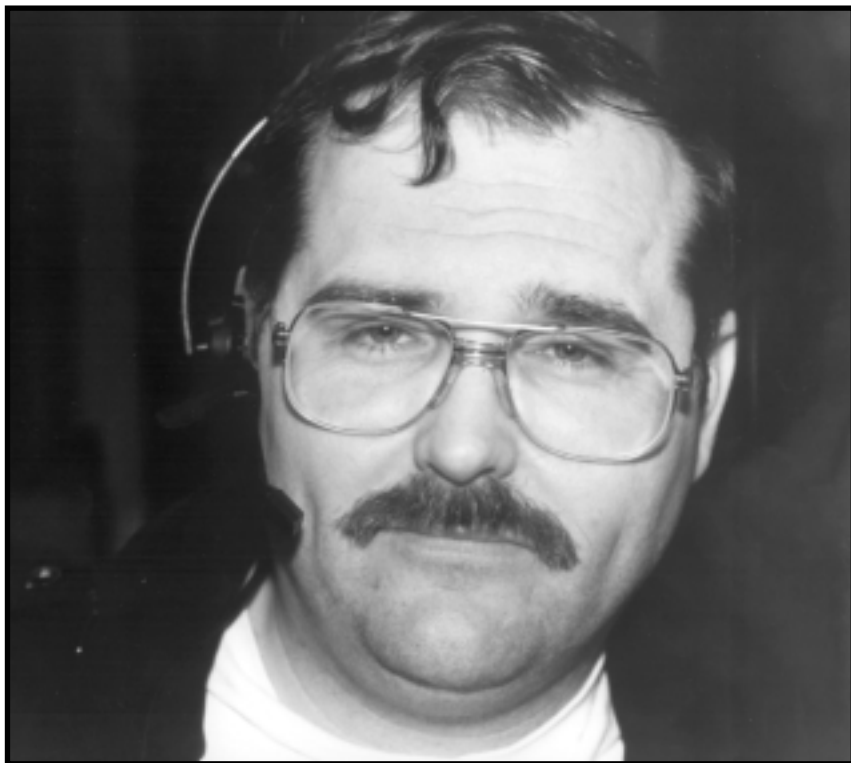
Ever since the anti-Semitic diatribes of Father Charles Coughlin in the 1930s, the radical American right has used radio as a powerful tool in its propaganda arsenal. But it has only been in the 1990s, with the mushrooming of the antigovernment "Patriot" movement, that extreme-right activists have come to fully utilize radio as a crucial medium.

In recent years, their programming — on AM, FM, shortwave and low-power "micro-radio" stations — has burgeoned. Since the mid-1990s, shows by both the Patriot movement and a wide array of hate groups have aired on at least 366 AM stations, 40 FM stations and seven shortwave stations. Almost anywhere in America, the message can be heard.

The hours of on-air, radical-right harangues are growing. On shortwave alone — programming that can be heard worldwide — monitors have seen an explosion, from five hours per week in 1990 to 238.5 hours per week this May. Even the advent of the Internet, a venue of choice for many extremists, has not slowed this dramatic growth. In fact, many radio shows can be downloaded from the Net and played back at listeners' convenience.

"In this age of television and the Internet, we tend to forget that radio, the older medium, continues to be the lifeline of the far right in disseminating, persuading and recruiting," says Robert Hilliard, co-author with Michael Keith of the forthcoming book, *Waves of Rancor: Tuning in the Radical Right*. "It continues to reach the largest number of people wherever they happen to be. ... It's big, it's important and it's cheap."

The programming ranges from paranoid conspiracy theorizing to the downright threatening. In June, for instance, Mark Koernke, the then-fugitive host of "The Intelligence Report" (see pp. 4 and 19), allegedly told as many as 2.7 million listeners to "shoot the buggers because these are tyrants, they're criminals," referring to federal prosecutor Lloyd Meyer. Meyer is prosecuting alleged terrorist Bradford Metcalf, a Koernke friend who appeared on Koernke's show in May via telephone



Najlah Feanny/SABA

from a federal prison. A domestic terrorism investigation of Koernke's remarks was opened in late July.

A recent e-mail to the Southern Poverty Law Center signed by Koernke's co-host, John Stadtmiller, said that once the country was retaken from "commies, socialist[s] and the pushers of multiculturalism [sic]," Center co-founder Morris Dees should stand trial. "YOU SEE MORRIS," the message said, "YOU ARE NOT THE ONLY ONE MAKING LIST[S]!!!" Stadtmiller couldn't be reached to confirm his authorship or explain his comments.

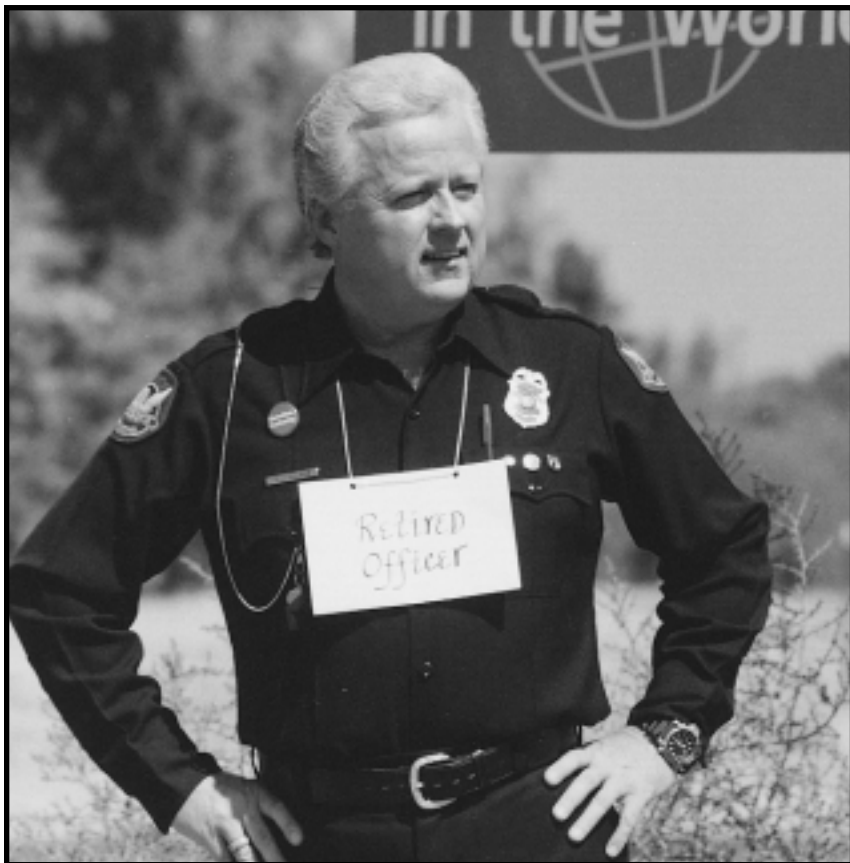
There are several reasons that radio remains a key medium.

"The more paranoid section of the far right won't trust the Internet," explains James Latham, host of "Far Right Radio Review," a shortwave program that critically examines and monitors extremist programming. "While they may have used it, they are concerned about government tracing them and the Web sites they have visited. Others whose views are far right may not have access to the Net or know how to use it."

There is no need to own expensive computer equipment to receive the radio message. For just a few dollars, those interested can buy regular or shortwave radio equipment. In addition, the call-in format of many extremist shows encourages audience participation and loyalty. Along with the Net, a few cable television shows and an array of publications, radio has helped the radical right create an impressive and powerful "alternative" media.

William Pierce, head of the neo-Nazi National Alliance and author of the infamous novel of race war, *The Turner Diaries*, saw this possibility clearly four years ago.

Until his arrest in July, Mark Koernke was the host of a leading Patriot radio show.



Retired Phoenix officer Jack McLamb warns listeners of a host of conspiracies.

Because there are so many government agents, “too many for us to assassinate, the only feasible strategy for us is to develop our own media of mass communication and then use these media to make everyone painfully aware of the true meaning of the New World Order ... [and to] fan that response into a revolutionary conflagration,” he wrote.

Radio also serves to help unify far-right factions — a goal that has clearly advanced significantly in recent years. Increasingly, racist ideology has been taken up by Patriot groups, even as hate groups have adopted Patriot “one-world” conspiracy theories.

As a result, the momentum of the movement has built.

“Their radio programs don’t have a shortage of callers,” Latham says, “and I don’t think you’ll come across a militia member or a member of the Klan that doesn’t know about these broadcasts. The result is that ideas and concepts start circulating in far right circles much faster than they had. ... [And that] motivates people to do something.”

While far-right programming is available in many formats, its backbone is on shortwave stations. The leading purveyors, Latham says, are New Orleans-based WRNO, which features neo-Nazi programming; WINB, “World In Need of the Bible,” based in Red Lion, Penn., and broadcasting Christian Identity preacher Pete Peters (see p. 19); and Nashville-based WWCR, “World Wide Christian Radio,” which carries shows from the anti-Semitic Liberty Lobby and Koernke, who is now in jail in Michigan (see p. 4).

These stations have global reach and importance. In the case of neo-Nazi programming, they are a special

delight to latter-day fascists in Europe and other countries where it has been illegal to broadcast pro-Nazi propaganda since World War II.

On a subtler level, hosts can simultaneously target different audiences.

“In many cases, the worldview of the listener determines who gets scapegoated,” says Chip Berlet, who studies right-wing extremist groups for Political Research Associates, based in Cambridge, Mass. “People hearing the same radio program might decide the bad guys are generic New World Order secret elites manipulating the government. Others will be convinced it is the demonic forces of the Antichrist signaling the apocalyptic end times. And some will blame it all on the Jews. A skillful hatemonger can speak to all three audiences at the same time by using coded rhetoric.”

To many, it’s surprising how often far-right programming is heard on relatively mainstream radio stations. For weeks after the Oklahoma City bombing, as the city mourned the mass murder of 168 men, women and children, Florida-based Patriot broadcaster Chuck Harder could be heard discussing his worldview on KTOK-AM, the city’s major news radio station. Harder’s show occupied several prime-time hours every weekday.

While that may have shocked some, insiders say the reason many radio stations carry extremist programming is simple. As one program director put it, “It’s finances.”

Around the country, smaller radio stations are struggling to survive, and many of them are operating in the red. This offers an opening for ideologically driven producers. Many simply pay for air time, at rates that typically range from \$150 to \$200 an hour. Others are able to sell ad time to support their shows, either to local businesses or to out-of-town firms that cater to the right — arms dealers, sellers of survivalist equipment, firms marketing silver and gold bullion and the like. Finally, some hosts simply prepare tapes of shows and send them to radio stations at no charge. Even without payment or the support of advertisers, stations can successfully use this free programming to build a loyal following and boost their ratings. For instance, Harder, one of the country’s most popular Patriot hosts, urges his listeners to contact stations suggesting they use his tapes.

These tactics have enjoyed remarkable success.

“The mainstream media are not reporting the extent to which these media are being used by the far right,” Hilliard says. “You can find these stations literally across the country, and there are tremendous numbers of listeners. Today, the Internet and the radio are the two most important areas for far-right and extremist viewpoints.”

Carla Brooks Johnston is the president of Boston-based New Century Policies, a public policy consulting firm. She has written six books on public policy, the media and social change, of which Global News Access: The Impact of the New Technologies (Praeger, 1998) is the most recent. A former deputy director of the Union of Concerned Scientists, Johnston has taught and worked in the public policy field for two decades. ▲

THE VOICES OF RADICAL RADIO

Scores of antigovernment extremists, racists and anti-Semites broadcast programs on AM, FM, shortwave and micro-radio stations. The material may include attacks on what hosts fear is an international conspiracy to take over the United States; diatribes against people of color and Jews, who are often described as the literal children of Satan; descriptions of elaborate schemes to monitor Americans with black helicopters, implanted microchips, bar codes on groceries and strips inserted into paper money; stark fears of what is seen as an overreaching federal government; and a plethora of other paranoid-sounding theories. Here are short descriptions of some of the leading players in radical radio, not all of whom deal with the themes specifically mentioned above:

William Pierce is the founder and leader of the neo-Nazi National Alliance, based in West Virginia but with a total of 22 chapters in 14 states. In addition to publishing books and a periodical, *The National Vanguard*, Pierce has long pushed the use of radio in the white supremacist movement. Pierce hosts "American Dissident Voices," a program that attacks the government, Jews, blacks, homosexuals and others.

Mark Koernke, a long-time University of Michigan maintenance man, made a name for himself as "Mark from Michigan," host of a show called "The Intelligence Report." Last spring, Koernke became a fugitive, calling in to broadcast his show from secret locations after allegedly assaulting a court official who was subpoenaing him in a murder case. After his arrest in late July, the FBI opened a domestic terrorism investigation on him because of a death threat he allegedly made on his show against a federal prosecutor.

Bo Gritz, a former Green Beret and leading Patriot activist, hosts a daily program, "Freedom Calls," that is aired on a combination of AM, FM and shortwave stations. He also has produced several videotapes. Based in Idaho, Gritz has conducted weapons and survival training under the acronym of SPIKE, for Specially Prepared Individuals for Key Events. In 1988, he ran for vice-president on the Populist Party ticket with former Klansman David Duke. He was selected as the party's presidential candidate in 1992, but later withdrew.

Kurt Saxon, an Arkansas racist who calls himself the "father of survivalism," uses his program to push survivalism, various conspiracy theories and denial of the Holocaust. A former member of the American Nazi Party, the John Birch Society and the Minutemen, Saxon also is the author of *The Poor Man's James Bond*, a book which details, among other things, how to build bombs and make napalm and tear gas.

Jeffrey Baker, a radical Florida abortion foe and militia sympathizer, long broadcast a show called "The Baker Report." He is also the author of a conspiracy-laden book. When a caller suggested an armed expedition to Washington, D.C., he replied, "Am I suggesting the overthrow of this government? I'm advocating the cleansing." Baker, who reportedly moved to Honduras last year, has served on the advisory board of the National Association of Radio Talk Show Hosts, a trade organization.

Norm Resnick, a Jewish former university professor, produces "The Voice of Liberty" from a studio in Colorado, airing it on his

"USA Patriot Network." Resnick, a relative moderate who nonetheless has hosted many radical rightists, warns of a pending economic collapse and advocates buying gold. He denies that he is an antigovernment extremist.

Pete Peters, pastor of the Laporte (Colo.) Church of Christ, directs Scriptures for America, a multimedia ministry that includes radio broadcasts. Peters preaches a version of Christian Identity, an anti-Semitic religion that says whites are God's real chosen people. Peters was the organizer of the 1992 Patriot meeting at Estes Park, Colo., where the modern militia movement was born. He maintains contacts with many other radical right leaders.

Tom Valentine hosts "Radio Free America," a call-in program sponsored by Liberty Lobby, the nation's leading anti-Semitic organization. Originating in Tampa, the show can be heard on AM, FM and shortwave stations. Every issue of *The Spotlight*, the conspiracy-minded publication of Liberty Lobby, reminds readers how to tune in to his show.

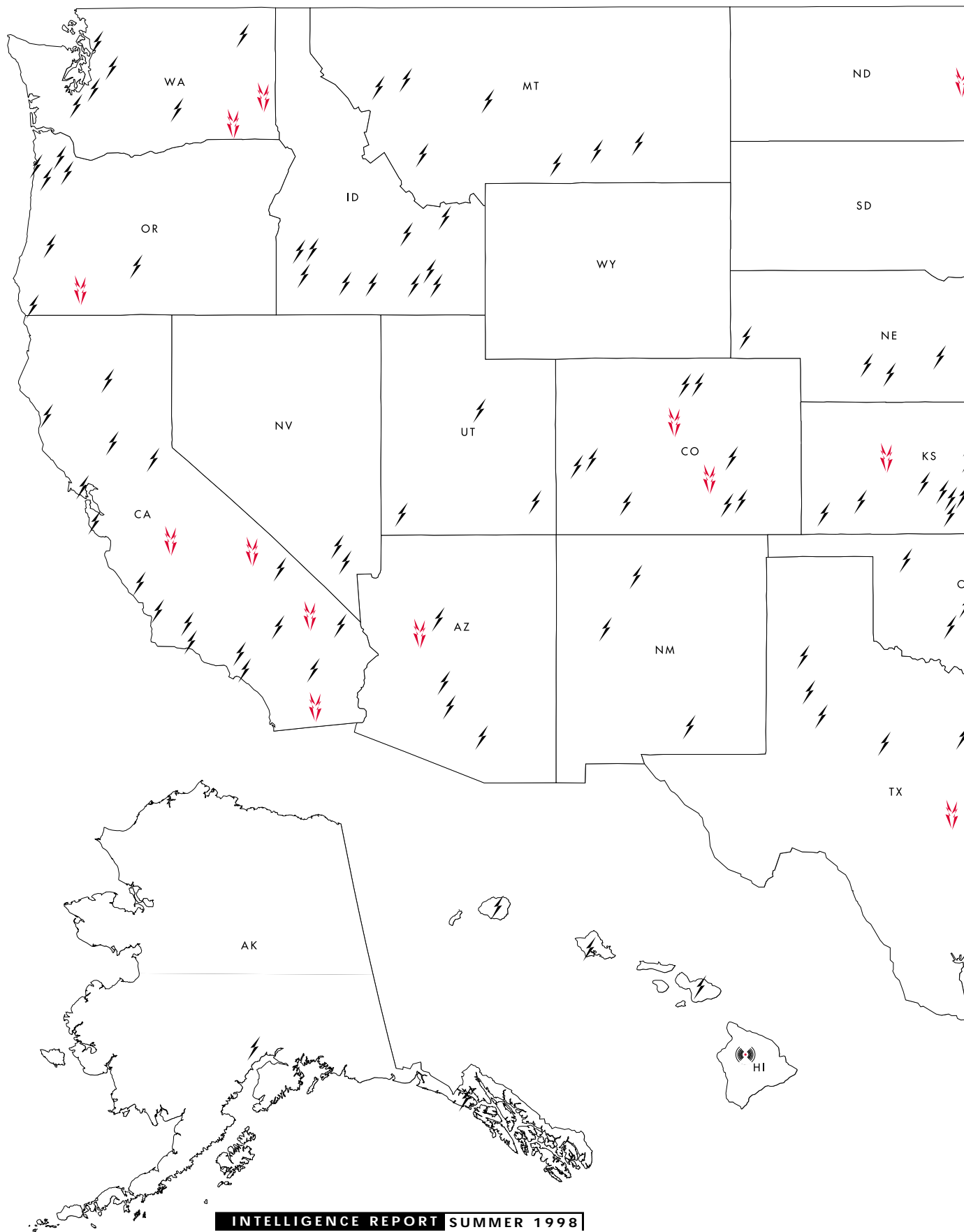
Ernst Zundel, a Canadian neo-Nazi and Holocaust denier, broadcasts "Voice of Freedom" on U.S.-based shortwave stations. By originating the program in the United States, Zundel avoids breaking Canadian hate crime laws, which limit the broadcast of neo-Nazi material, even though Canadians can pick up the program. His denial of the Holocaust is important, Zundel says, because "without the '6 million,' Nazism loses its image of diabolism. . . . The Zionists routinely use the 'gas chamber' hoax to attack white racial solidarity."

Jack McLamb, a retired Phoenix police officer, hosts a popular shortwave program that was once called "Aid and Abet" and is now known as "The Officer Jack McLamb Show." Warning that civil war in the United States is imminent, McLamb seeks to enlist law enforcement officers, members of the military and others in the Patriot movement.

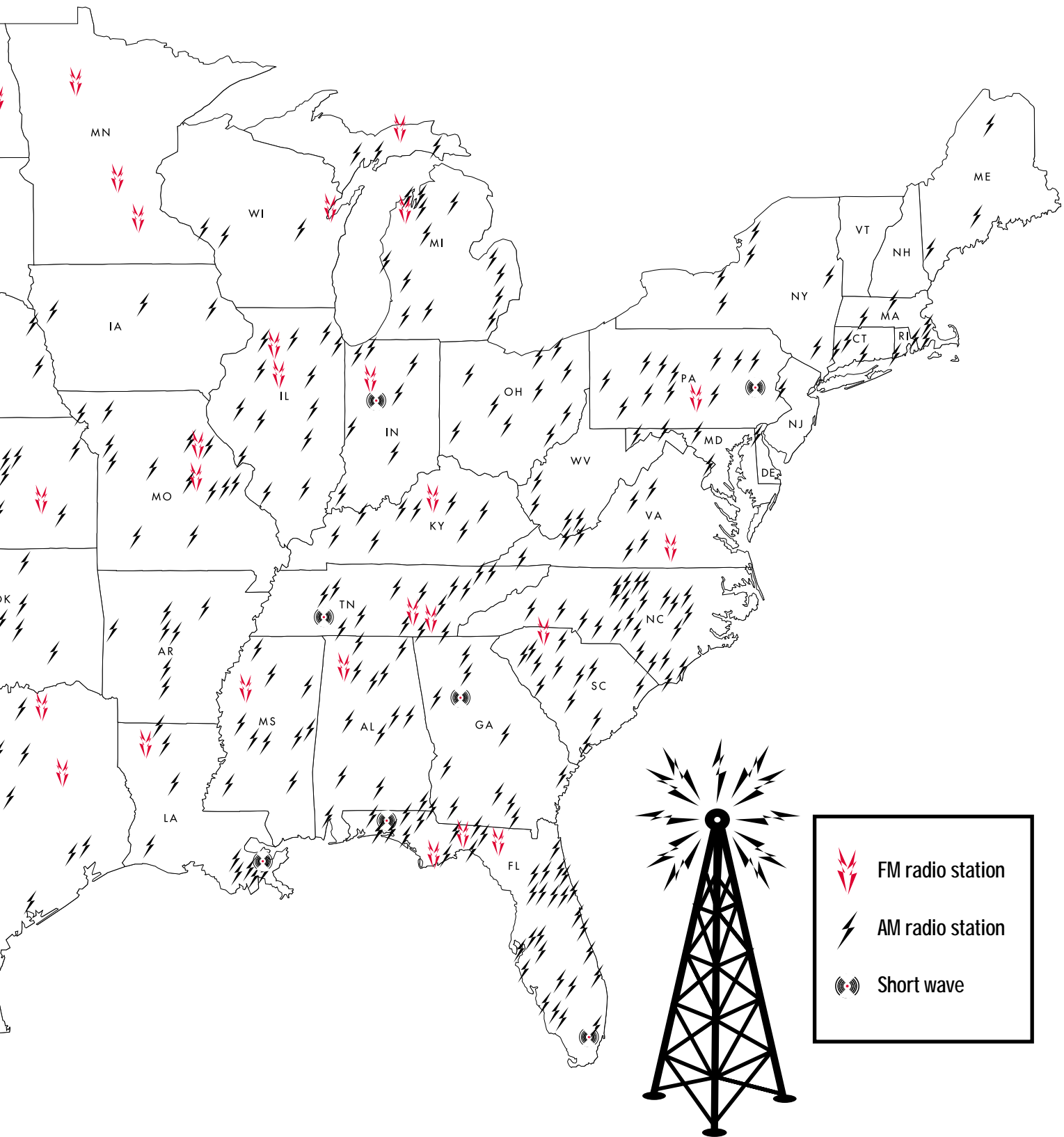
Robin Noel, host of "Protecting Your Wealth," brings the perspective of a supporter of African apartheid to the movement. Originally from Zimbabwe, which he still calls by its colonial name of Rhodesia, Noel has been quoted by James Latham's "Far Right Radio Review" as saying, "Fortunately, the [South African] government was kind enough to give us \$1.25 a day to shoot these people [members of the anti-apartheid African National Congress]." ▲

'Today, the Internet and the radio are the two most important areas for far-right and extremist viewpoints.'

RADICAL RADIO ACROSS THE UNITED



STATES



ELDER STATESMAN

A LIFE OF HATE, AND THE FUTURE IN THE BALANCE



Evan Hurd

Eighty-year-old Richard Butler has spawned generations of hate.

For a quarter of a century, he has preached the gospel of white supremacy, drawing together the oft-warring factions of the radical right in the United States. From his armed compound in the Idaho panhandle, would-be revolutionaries have sallied forth, raining death and destruction on those they oppose. His writings and his racist religion have formed the basis and the justification for insurrection.

Richard Girnt Butler, the founder and leader of both the Church of Jesus Christ Christian and Aryan Nations, is the hub of the wheel of racist revolution, the eye of the white supremacist storm — indeed, he is the elder statesman of American hate.

Now, at 80 years old, he is in the twilight of his days.

For decades, Butler's followers have engaged in criminal acts, ranging from assassination to armed robberies, bombings, counterfeiting and racial assaults. Today, as he nears the end of his life, the future of the organization that may have done more than any other to promote modern racism is in question. Whether or not Butler's Aryan Nations remains a central fixture on the neo-Nazi scene, whether or not a successor of Butler's measure takes over, may shape the future of the extremist right.

Of the past, however, there is little doubt.

While his late wife described him as a man who "wouldn't spank a puppy dog," few outsiders would agree with that summation. Up the road to his 20-acre compound, where a sign warns "Whites Only" and German Shepherds patrol, the principal leaders and terrorists of the radical right have made their pilgrimages. Racist, steel-toe-booted Skinheads have worshipped here at the feet of the father figure of American racism. Even racist leaders and organizers from Canada, Germany, Italy and elsewhere have trekked to the compound to try to pull the neo-Nazi movement together.

Adolf Hitler is Butler's idol; Christian Identity, his religion. He believes he and others of northern European ancestry are the true Israelites, God's real children. For Richard Butler, race is religion, and religion is nation.

A 'WHO'S WHO' OF HATE

That has proved to be a lethal formula.

- A leading group of domestic terrorists, a band called The Order, had its roots in Aryan Nations and drew its inspiration from Butler's preaching in the 1980s. Many members of the group, which conducted a campaign of terror culminating in the murder of Denver talk show host Alan Berg, had been Aryan Nations members.

- Two men recently re-indicted in Arkansas, Chevie Kehoe and Danny Lee, both have ties to Aryan Nations. They are facing federal racketeering charges, covering five murders, kidnappings, robberies and transportation of stolen goods.

- Members of the Aryan Republican Army, a group that carried out up to 22 bank robberies in the mid-1990s to fund a white supremacist revolution, had ties to Aryan Nations. One plotter, Mark Thomas, was Butler's Pennsylvania state leader.

- Members of another terrorist group, The New Order, also had frequented Aryan Nations. Four of five defendants pleaded guilty after their arrests this year to charges in connection with an alleged plot to blow up the Southern Poverty Law Center, kill its co-founder Morris Dees, poison cities' water supplies and bomb state capitol buildings.

- One of Butler's security chiefs, apparently incensed by Butler's tirades, offered \$2,000 for a hitman to kill an informant. Another security chief, who formed a group called The Order II, went to prison after the group bombed a federal building in Coeur d'Alene,

Idaho, and the home of civil rights activist Bill Wassmuth.

• Nathan Thill, a Skinhead who last November confessed on television to murdering a black man in Denver solely because the man “was wearing the enemy’s uniform” — his black skin — was Butler’s organizer in the Mile-High City.

Over the years, a virtual “who’s who” of the hate movement has shown up for Butler’s annual Aryan World Congress and other similar gatherings.

William Pierce, who approvingly describes a race war in his novel, *The Turner Diaries*, has been there. So have longtime hatemonger and former Texas Klan leader Louis Beam; Thom Robb of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan; Tom Metzger of the White Aryan Resistance; the late Michigan Klansman Bob Miles; and James Wickstrom and Jack Mohr, both of whom have ties to the violently racist Posse Comitatus.

Over the years, Aryan Nations also developed a sophisticated prison ministry, distributing racist Identity materials to inmates under the legal umbrella of religious freedom. In Texas alone, more than 600 prisoners are registered Identity adherents.

On July 18, Butler and some 90 followers paraded through the streets of Coeur d’Alene, near his Hayden Lake compound, in what may have been one of his last hurrahs. He was met by jeers from hundreds of counterdemonstrators.

But the story of Richard Butler begins long before.

‘THE RED NAPOLEON’ AND THE CASTE SYSTEM

Butler was born on Feb. 23, 1918, in Bennett, Colo., east of Denver, the son of a machinist of German-English ancestry and his wife. Clarence Butler moved his family to Denver in the early 1920s, and although he wasn’t active in the large Ku Klux Klan organization there, he didn’t hide his dislike for Jews from his son.

At 11, the younger Butler got a job delivering *Liberty Magazine*. In its pages, he read a serialized novel, *The Red Napoleon*, written by a *Chicago Tribune* war correspondent. The stories, which described an invasion and takeover of the United States by race-mixing Bolsheviks, mesmerized the boy.

After the Depression set in, the Butlers moved to East Los Angeles. Richard Butler studied aeronautical engineering and science at a city college there, beginning a 25-cents-an-hour, part-time job at Consolidated Vultee Aircraft Co. The company sent Butler to Bangalore, India, to overhaul airplanes for the Royal Indian Air Force.

In India, Butler was given the honorary rank of captain in the Indian Air Force — a title that brought with it a Hindu valet named Jeroum. The two became friends, and Jeroum explained to Butler India’s caste system and its concept of racial purity.

It was a message of race that Butler would never forget.

In 1941, Butler returned to Los Angeles and married the former Betty Litch in a Presbyterian church. The couple attended the church for some time, but soon, Butler



had decided the church’s pastor was preaching communist doctrine.

After Pearl Harbor, Butler enlisted in the Army Air Corps, although he never saw action. Instead, he taught aircraft hydraulics to military mechanics.

Butler never signed on to the war’s rationale.

“In the newsreels of the day, I was thrilled to see the movies of the marching Germans,” he recalled a half-century later. “In those days, all we knew was that Hitler hated communists, and so did my folks — as we did as teenagers.”

After the war, Butler’s views hardened further.

His childhood heroes — Charles Lindbergh, Davy Crockett, Patrick Henry and George Washington — soon were replaced. Now, Butler asserted, Hitler was the second greatest man, after Jesus Christ, who had ever lived.

America’s troubles, he said, were due to “Jewish communism.”

The couple moved to Montebello, Calif., after the war, raising two daughters. In later life, the girls would keep their distance from Butler’s racist beliefs. But his wife, until her death in 1995, shared his anti-Semitic, white supremacist credo.

Listening to broadcasts of Sen. Joe McCarthy’s anti-communist hearings, Butler was enchanted. He sent money to support McCarthy’s campaign, a movement that would ultimately help spawn the ultraconservative John Birch Society.

FROM HITLER TO THE AMERICAN NAZI PARTY

It was while helping organize a signature campaign to “expose” suspected communist teachers with the California Committee to Combat Communism that Butler met one of his most important influences: William Potter Gale, a retired Army colonel who was on the staff of Gen. Douglas MacArthur. Gale would later introduce Butler to the Posse Comitatus, an armed vigilante group begun in 1970.

Butler also met and admired George Lincoln Rockwell, the American Nazi Party founder who was

At a July 18 march in Coeur d’Alene, Idaho, Aryan Nations supporters got into shouting matches with police.

assassinated by one of his own followers in 1967.

But it was through Gale that Butler was introduced to Christian Identity. In 1961, Butler began attending the church of the Anglo-Saxon Christian Congregation in Lancaster, Calif., pastored by a Gale acolyte, Dr. Wesley Swift.

Swift preached that whites are the true Israelites, God's elect. Jews, he said, were descended directly from a mating of Eve and the devil. In long, private sessions during the 1960s, Butler studied with Swift and absorbed his racist theology. Their friendship, Butler would say, was the "most rewarding of all personal relationships."

Swift's message? "It was my race to whom I owed my allegiance, not to politicians who serve to enslave and destroy my people in behalf of anti-Christ, world Jewry." God demands racial separation, Butler later added, using the example of Noah's Ark: "The elephants are with the elephants; the lions are with the lions."

A former Klan organizer, Swift formed the bitterly anti-Semitic Christian Defense League in 1962, choosing Butler to be its national director until 1965. At around the same time, Butler took a correspondence course from the American Institute of Theology, based in Arkansas, and became an ordained Identity minister.

TUBELESS TIRES AND A 'WHITE HOMELAND'

In 1968, Butler was hired as a senior marketing engineer by Lockheed Aircraft Co., helping to set up assembly lines to build the L-1011 jumbo jet. He got a private pilot's license and began making trips to the Pacific Northwest — at the same time that he began to dream of creating a "white homeland" in that part of the country.

During this period, Butler became co-inventor of a rapid repair system for the tubeless tire. It's not known how much money this invention provided, but his financial status allowed him to retire at age 55 and move to Hayden Lake in 1974.

Purchasing an old farmhouse, Butler soon formed his own "Christian Posse Comitatus" group. On March 12, 1975, he and his followers attempted to "arrest" a police officer who was about to testify against a man arrested for assault. The incident generated the first of hundreds

of headlines about Butler in Idaho.

A short time later, after a squabble with other Posse leaders, Butler was charged with pointing a handgun outside the home of a Posse newspaper publisher.

By 1977, Butler had decided to form the Church of Jesus Christ Christian at his farmhouse (the political arm of the church would be called Aryan Nations). He applied for tax-exempt status for his compound but was denied by state officials.

In 1980, Butler and three followers were convicted of trespassing after creating a disturbance at a Boise motel. The motel manager had refused to allow the group a conference room for a meeting. Officers seized two handguns from the group.

AN ATTACK ON THE COMPOUND

The following year, Butler's church was bombed — an attack he immediately blamed on the Jewish Defense League. The bombing, which caused \$80,000 in damage but no injuries, was never solved. Butler responded by building a two-story guard tower at his church and posting armed guards around his property.

A month later, Butler hosted his first Aryan World Congress. The event, the first such annual gathering of many, drew nearly every significant racist leader around. It also became the chief venue for what was perhaps Butler's most important message: the idea that the Pacific Northwest should be a homeland for whites and whites only.

He told his followers that he had an ally for his "territorial imperative" — dividing up the United States into racial mini-states — in Louis Farrakhan, the leader of the black separatist group Nation of Islam. At the same time, Butler began building a national organization, appointing state leaders of Aryan Nations chapters.

In June 1983, Butler and his followers held a rally in Spokane's Riverfront Park — the same park that had hosted a 1974 world's fair dedicated to cultural diversity. At the rally was a man who would become one of Butler's most frightening followers: Robert J. Mathews, founder of the terrorist group The Order.

That fall, Mathews and others who met at Aryan Nations secretly formed their group. They initially funded their intended race war by printing counterfeit money on Aryan Nations' presses — something Butler claims he had no knowledge of. The group quickly graduated to armed robberies of adult bookstores and security guards moving money to Seattle. In July 1984, 14 members of the group pulled off the right's biggest heist ever: a \$3.8 million robbery of an armored car in Ukiah, Calif.

Later court testimony indicated some of that money went to Butler; more money, testimony revealed, went to other racist leaders around the country. But the FBI could never say how much Butler had received, and it could not prove he knew the money was stolen. Still, the FBI kept an open criminal investigation of Butler.

By early 1985, members of The Order were on the run after shootouts with the FBI in Sandpoint, Idaho; Portland, Ore.; and Whidbey Island, Wash., where Mathews was

The Aryan Nations compound has been the scene of many a cross-burning.



File/The Spokesman-Review

killed in a December 1984 gun battle. "I wish I had been with him when he died," Butler said a few days after Mathews' death, "but I don't have the guts anymore."

THE SEDITION TRIAL

In March 1985, Butler was subpoenaed and testified before a federal grand jury in Seattle. A month later, the grand jury returned racketeering indictments against 23 members of The Order. Butler was not indicted, and he later attacked as traitors those Order members who pleaded guilty and testified against their former comrades.

Hearing his boss' tirades, Butler's security chief, Eldon "Bud" Cutler, decided to seek revenge. Days later, he was caught on videotape offering \$2,000 to a hitman to kill the informant who put the FBI on the trail of The Order. But the "hitman" turned out to be an FBI agent, and Cutler went to prison in 1986 for conspiracy.

As Butler honored The Order at his 1986 Aryan World Congress, a newcomer from Iowa listened intently. Randy Weaver, who had just moved to Idaho to pursue his dream of white separatism, also attended congresses in 1987 and 1989.

Shortly after, Weaver became a fugitive on weapons charges. After a shootout at his Ruby Ridge, Idaho, mountaintop cabin, followed by an 11-day standoff, federal agents shot Weaver's wife and son, making him a martyr to the radical right.

Butler's next security chief, David Dorr, soon got into trouble of his own. After creating a sequel group, The Order II, he was convicted of charges related to the group's bombing of a federal building and the home of a human rights leader.

The government had long sought to bring major criminal charges against Butler. In 1987, a grand jury in Fort Smith, Ark., agreed, returning a seditious conspiracy charge against Butler, Beam, Miles and 11 others. The indictment said the men were "godfathers" of a conspiracy hatched at the 1983 Aryan World Congress.

Five days after his arrest, Butler had chest pains in his jail cell. At government expense, he underwent quadruple heart bypass surgery. A week later, a second surgery was performed to unblock his carotid artery, supplying blood to his head.

Ultimately, prosecutors failed to convince a jury that the defendants had conspired to start a race war using Order members as soldiers. All were acquitted.

'SEA MONKEYS' AND A LEGACY OF HATE

His health restored, Butler returned to the cause with a vengeance. In April 1989, to commemorate Hitler's 100th birthday, he invited racist Skinheads to Aryan

Nations — the beginning of a campaign to enlist younger whites in the movement. His annual Aryan Youth Conferences, drawing as many as 200 Skinheads, became an important organizing tool, even attracting some young men in the military.

One recently discharged soldier joined Butler's flock in 1990. With two others he met at the compound, he attempted to emulate The Order. But the FBI arrested the group in Seattle, where they'd traveled with plans to bomb a gay bar.

In 1993, two of Butler's staunchest supporters — associate pastor Carl Franklin and security chief Wayne Jones — left for Montana. Their departure apparently had to do with a behind-the-scenes struggle over the future of Aryan Nations. Earlier, Butler had publicly chosen Franklin as his successor, but then changed his mind.

When Butler's wife died on Dec. 1, 1995, her funeral service was conducted by Harold Von Braunhut, a millionaire who describes himself as an Aryan pastor. Von Braunhut is the eccentric Maryland inventor who marketed "sea monkeys" and "X-ray glasses" for years through advertisements placed in comic books.

Since that time, the increasingly frail Butler has remained active in the movement. He is unrepentant about the legacy of bloodshed and criminal activity that has flowed from his wooded compound off Rimrock Road. But attendance at his congresses and other functions has diminished steadily, and there is some evidence that the heart of the racist movement has moved elsewhere, to such neo-Nazi rivals as Pierce's West Virginia-based National Alliance. Aryan Nations lost more than half its state chapters in 1997, retaining just 13.

Before his recent march, Butler told reporters he had named a successor, fellow Identity minister Neumann Britton. Britton is married to the widow of Gordon Kahl, a Posse leader who killed two U.S. marshals in 1983 and was later killed himself in an Arkansas shootout. A Californian, Britton has frequented Aryan Nations for years, but it's unclear whether he would move to Idaho upon Butler's death or set up a new organization on the West Coast.

There are indications that Butler's daughters and heirs could sell the land from which he has preached racial hatred for the last 25 years. The many arrests of Butler's followers have cut deeply into his strength, leaving him increasingly isolated and irrelevant. But it is clearly too early to write off Aryan Nations, an organization that has survived despite decades of attacks.

That is certainly Richard Butler's view. "If I were to die tomorrow or anything else," Butler promised defiantly during the 1980s, "it will still go on." ▲



Heir apparent: Neumann Britton

'LAKE OF FIRE'

A TERRORIST'S BOMBING VICTIM SPEAKS OUT

On Jan. 29, a nail-packed bomb exploded outside the New Woman All Women Health Care Center in Birmingham, Ala., killing off-duty police officer Robert "Sande" Sanderson and maiming nurse Emily Lyons. Lyons, the 42-year-old mother of two daughters, had her shins blasted away, her left eye destroyed and her right eye severely damaged. Her entire body was riddled with nails and shrapnel. She has endured nine surgeries, lengthy rehabilitation to learn to walk again, and excruciating skin grafts and scrubbing of abscessed wounds. Her legs are still mutilated, her face and eyelids remain scarred, and shrapnel still works its way out of her body, requiring additional surgeries. Some will never be removed. With her damaged hands, she will never again play the piano; with what is left of her vision, she can barely read. Her hearing has been damaged. And she still faces a probable year of continuing medical procedures. The Intelligence Report interviewed Lyons and her husband, Jeff, about her injuries, their life since the attack and their feelings about accused bomber Eric Robert Rudolph, who was still a fugitive after a six-month manhunt.

INTELLIGENCE REPORT: Emily, could you describe what you've been through medically in the last six months?

EMILY LYONS: Does "hell" describe it? How many hours do we have? I spent eight weeks in the hospital. I've had nine surgeries, and I've got plastic surgery left to go. I still have one big piece of shrapnel in my chest that bothers me a lot and will have to come out.

The last surgery, about six weeks ago, was to put a lens implant in my eye. You wish that they could just put a pair of glasses on and clear up everything. But they can't, and my vision is still not clear. That's been the hardest so far. For a day or so after the surgery, you're completely blind again, just like I was at the beginning. [Looks at Jeff.] You were back to feeding me, walking me to the bathroom, "don't let me go or I'll fall."

Now, my eyes are real sensitive to light. You also get this response where if the eye gets hurt, you'll pass out. After that operation, the doctor was checking my eye out, doing this and that, and I just said bye-bye. It's a different kind of pain.

JEFF LYONS: Some of these surgeries, when they had an abscess open they would leave it open. Emily had a major incision on her chest, like open heart surgery. They sewed the underlying muscle together but they left the outside open, because with the swelling it would have burst. They never did sew it up. It finally healed, but she had an open wound for absolutely weeks.

After getting out of the hospital, she had two more surgeries to remove more shrapnel. There is still a lot of shrapnel in there, but they say it will do more damage to take it out than to leave it. She's had some areas that would abscess, or the shrapnel would move, so they would have to go back in and dig the nails out. The first surgery, they got five nails out of her right leg. Then they had to go back to get more metal fragments.

IR: How did the recovery process go once you were home?

JEFF: We would have to change the packing on some wounds once or twice a day. They have this stuff that's just like a cotton strip, but I guess it's soaked in iodine. You have to pack that in there. To give you an idea, the first time I pulled the packing out from this little scar here [indicates a half-inch scar on Emily's leg], it was three-and-a-half feet long. That was from one little incision, packed under one little muscle. It was horribly painful.

EMILY: It was just... The fire is tremendous.

JEFF: I felt so sorry for her when I would change it. I'd put the sterile gloves on and she would hand me Q-tips to pack it with. You could just see the look on her face when she did that, like when you were a kid and your dad makes you go get the switch.

EMILY: It wasn't fun. If the day started out bad and you had that dressing on top of that, there was no way to control yourself. I remember one day in particular. The day started off bad and it was a bad night, no sleep. Then they told me it was time to take me to change the dressing on my legs. I just couldn't handle the pain from the scrubbing.

Then there were the days when you think, "Oh, I can do without the pain pills today. Let's try it." Where was the bullet to bite?

[Brings out photographs of the surgeries.] We have bad pictures, and we have really bad pictures. I won't even let my youngest see the really bad pictures.

JEFF: All these black dots [indicating photo of Emily's face] are one-stitch closures. She had dozens of them, from rocks and metal shrapnel, all over her face. Her lip was burst, her tooth was broken and her eyelids both had to be reconstructed.

IR: What has been the hardest part?

JEFF: The worst for me was when I had to give the sur-



Emily Lyons and her husband, Jeff, recall the horrific wounds that nearly killed her.

geon permission to take her eye out. Vision is so incredibly important to us. Next to life itself, it's our most important gift.

EMILY: This is definitely a vision-oriented world.

JEFF: At first, they told me there was a 50-50 chance of her living. They didn't know if her liver was hit. Then they came down and said they might have to amputate her leg. When they said, "We need your permission to remove the left eye — and, by the way, her right eye is badly damaged and we can't tell if it will be functional again," that was unbearable. The thought that, even if she lived, she would always visualize her children as being 13 and 17...

IR: How has it been for your daughters?

EMILY: They've had to grow up a lot this year. They are having to take care of Mom, which I hate. But there's no option right now. It's matured them a lot, and that's good in a way. But it came earlier than it should have.

My oldest daughter is my driver, my cook, my housekeeper, my shopper, everything. I feel like I'm a child learning to walk again.

IR: And how have you changed?

EMILY: I used to be wallflower. I taught nursing for two years at a university and I hated it. I didn't like being up in front of a group of people.

JEFF: I remember in the first press conference [while Emily was still in the hospital], I said I would be happy to talk to the media, but I really didn't think that my wife would be up to ever doing a media event. She's certainly a different woman today.

The other interesting thing is that her hair was just about perfectly straight before this, and now it has come out really wavy. We call it her "perma-blast."

EMILY: Somebody asked me if anything could intimidate me any more. I don't think so. When you've been blown up, I don't think there's anything that can.

IR: You renewed your wedding vows three months after the bombing.

JEFF: Obviously, in the emergency room, Emily's ring was not the first thing on my mind. Her hand was grotesquely swollen, and I thought they

had probably cut the ring off and thrown it in the trash. She had never taken that band off since the day we got married.

About a week after it happened, a police officer called me at work and said, "I've got your wife's ring. I'm sorry, I shined it up as best I could." He was actually apologizing that it might be dirty or have some blood on it. That really hit me, that this officer would take the time to polish the ring up before giving it to us.

EMILY: That ring had never been off.

JEFF: She wanted a special ceremony to put it back on. I also gave her a locket with Jan. 29 [the date of the bombing] inscribed on the back. I wanted to give it to her with the ring. Exactly three months later, we got married again.

EMILY: On April 29, I put that ring back on.

IR: Emily, you recently testified in Washington before the House Subcommittee on Crime, which was consider-

"They told me that if I don't repent and mend my evil ways, I will burn in a lake of fire. ... I say to them, I've already done that. I have no intention of going back and doing it again."

ing whether or not RICO [the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act, a law originally aimed at organized crime] should apply to clinic violence. I understand that [U.S. Rep.] Henry Hyde [R-Ill., a long-time abortion opponent] tried to keep you from appearing. What happened?

EMILY: Between the press and Congressman [John] Conyers [D-Mich.], he just caved in. But there weren't many Republicans there, and [Hyde] didn't show up. It was, "I'm going to listen to what [witnesses] I want to hear and then I'm out of here."

IR: Despite that, how did you feel after the hearing?

EMILY: If that trip to D.C.

changed anything, it made me feel stronger about the system. If it hadn't, everything would just seem so futile.

IR: What has been the response to you from the broader public?

JEFF: We've heard from hundreds, if not thousands, of people. [Shows a box containing seven photo albums full of cards and letters.]

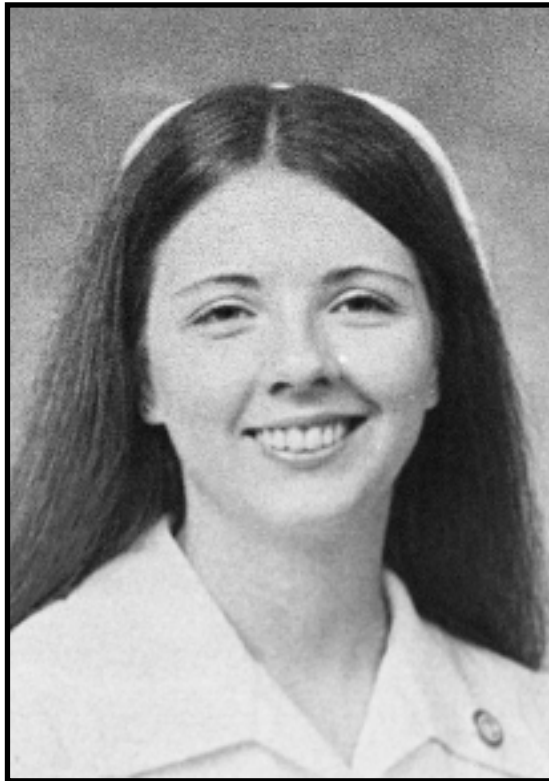
EMILY: For the most part, all have said that it shouldn't have happened. One even came from one of the [anti-abortion] protesters here in town. Then there are the ones that I call the "nasty-grams." They told me that if I don't repent and mend my evil ways, I will burn in a lake of fire, that it's better to lose an eye than burn in a lake of fire. I say to them, I've already done that. I have no intention of going back and doing it again.

IR: What is life like now that you're such a public figure?

EMILY: We went out to a restaurant the other day and there was a guy sitting by himself right next to us. He kept turning around and staring. I'm just looking, thinking, "Is he going to bring out a gun or what's the deal?" Did he just recognize me, or was this a bad guy?

The other week in Washington, we had a bodyguard and everything. Even with him lurking around, I caught myself doing the same thing. Some guy walks a little bit too close with his hands in his pockets and in your mind you're thinking, "Is this it?"

IR: I understand that both Robert Sanderson [the off-duty police officer who was killed in the bombing] and his wife were personally opposed to abortion. What is your relationship with Felecia Sanderson now?



Before the blast: Lyons' nursing graduation picture

EMILY: She keeps in contact fairly frequently. Her opinion is her opinion. She knows what I did for a living, and it doesn't bother her, that I know of.

We were watching the memorial [for Sanderson] on the news the other night and then they showed the date on his headstone. I lost it. It just really hit home.

IR: Eric Rudolph, the alleged bomber, has been on the run for six months now. What's your reaction when you see pictures of this man?

EMILY: There are not enough words to describe what you want done to him, or to describe what kind of person would do this. I would like to sit and watch him die. I don't think it would bother me a bit.

JEFF: His life is over, one way or the other. He could spend it in a cave hiding in the woods, which is solitary confinement. It's just a matter of what causes his heart to stop beating. I mean, does he die of natural causes, or does he die in a shootout or is he executed? I don't know if it matters so much.

EMILY: I don't think of him as a wonderful child, like his mother does. He should have had counseling years ago. I have other words for him, but they are not nice. He's evil. That recent picture of him, his face is dead, just as dead as they come.

IR: What do you think when you hear people telling reporters they support Rudolph?

JEFF: It makes your head spin around and around.

EMILY: A neighbor of his the other night was saying on television that they would not turn him in. Well, he's not one of them any more. He has killed somebody, so he's not one of the good ol' boys any more. I'm sure he would just as soon kill them as anybody else who gets in his way. They are not looking at the issue. He killed somebody. Are they really that far back in the woods? Are they that out of touch with reality?

IR: How does it feel to have terrorism hit you personally?

JEFF: It's no longer just a concept, something you hear about in Beirut or someplace. It's something most Americans cannot relate to at all. I know people who were in Vietnam and Desert Storm, but for most people, it's just a concept what it means to be on the bad end of a bomb.

Eventually, they'll catch Rudolph. But no one is going after the people who planted this seed. No one

is going after the people who did the Army of God handbook that shows you how to make these bombs. Rudolph may have been the only person at the clinic that day. But they should be paying attention to the people who turned Rudolph from whatever he was into what he is now.

IR: Is there a message that you have for America after this ordeal?

JEFF: That it didn't work. This is not the way. This did not accomplish anything, other than it made Felecia Sanderson a widow and drastically hurt Emily. It didn't further their cause. If anything, I think it set it back.

EMILY: Violence is not the way to do it. If you want to change something, go through the system. You don't take it upon yourself to decide what is right and wrong. ▲

'THAT'S GOD'S JOB'

When police officer Robert "Sande" Sanderson was felled by a terrorist's bomb in front of the Birmingham, Ala., abortion clinic where he moonlighted as a security guard, an entire family was permanently scarred. Felecia Sanderson, 36, and her two sons, aged 15 and 16, have endured much in the last six months, not the least of which has been a number of expressions of support for accused bomber Eric Robert Rudolph.

The Intelligence Report asked Mrs. Sanderson, whose father and grandfather were police officers, about her life in the last six months, her feelings toward Rudolph, for whose capture there is a \$1 million reward, and her relationship with Emily Lyons, the nurse maimed in the attack.

FELECIA SANDERSON: Sometimes, it feels like it's been a million years. It's hell on earth that I am living. I miss every little thing about him. I think about him all the time. Sande is what was meant for me.

Sande worked the 11 [P.M.] to 7 [A.M.] shift, so I was used to him coming home in the morning. We'd walk the dogs, and sometimes he'd be hungry and I'd fix him some breakfast. I was used to ironing his uniform and polishing his badge and name tag. I find myself looking at the clock and thinking that he should be on his way home right now. His birthday was real tough.

IR: How have your sons been through this ordeal?

SANDERSON: They are my children from previous marriages, but they loved him. My oldest son, whose father died in a car accident when he was seven months old, said, "I lost my father when I was a baby and never got to know him, and now some sick, twisted," excuse me, but he said, "son of a bitch murdered my daddy." He lost the only man he had.

My younger son's father, my ex-husband, was a buddy of Sande's. He cried like a baby at Sande's funeral. I don't know anybody that didn't like Sande.

IR: How have your feelings about abortion played into this?

SANDERSON: I don't believe in abortions, but that is a person's choice. I'm not going to kill someone because of that. Rudolph killed Sande in the name of Christianity. Where does it say in the Bible that you have the right to murder someone because you

don't agree with them? Eric Rudolph tried to hide behind religion. He's a sick, twisted, million-dollar piece of garbage. I want him captured. I don't want any more blood shed, not even his.

Sande didn't believe in abortion, but Sande believed in the law, that all people should be protected under the law equally. Well, he's in a lot better place than this sick, crazy world.

IR: You became friends with Emily Lyons despite your differing views on abortion. What is your friendship like?

SANDERSON: It's very hard for me to see Emily. I want so much to give her her life back. I want Sande back. She's a kind, sweet person. She has to live every day with what Eric Rudolph did to her. I have to live every day without Sande.

Our lives are forever changed. That's something we have in common. We may have different views on certain issues; we agree to disagree. It doesn't change the way I feel about her. It's hard for me. I can't turn back the clock and never let Jan. 29 happen. I want to make her whole again and I can't.

IR: Is there a lesson in this tragedy?

SANDERSON: Nobody has the right to take another human being's life. That's God's job. I don't want to judge anybody, and I don't want to be judged. That's for God to do. He can have that job all to himself. I don't want that job. ▲



AP/Wide World Photos

Felecia Sanderson mourns her slain husband.

"It's hell on earth that I am living. I miss every little thing about him. I think about him all the time. Sande is what was meant for me."

HATE CRIME LEGISLATION A Debate

Motive Matters

BY BRIAN LEVIN

Sadly, in 1998, news headlines and thousands of police reports provide continual reminders of the entrenchment of hate crimes in American society. Despite the claims of critics, hate crime laws properly respond to these uniquely dangerous crimes in a manner that is consistent with the basic aims of American law.

The concerns of naysayers would be more useful if they were presented not as a blunt axe to decimate hate crime laws, but rather as a tool to help refine them. Put simply, well-meaning critics such as James B. Jacobs and Kimberly Potter overreach in their conclusions by painting hate crime legislation as something it is not.

Hate crime laws are a constitutional and effective weapon in America's arsenal to combat criminal discrimination. Government has a special obligation to rid society of precisely the two volatile ingredients that combine to become hate crimes — a violent form of criminality on the one hand, and an act of discrimination on the other.

Hate crimes are those acts where a person or property is intentionally selected by an offender because of the actual or perceived group characteristic of another person. Hate crime laws generally protect on the basis of race, religion and ethnicity, and in some states, sexual orientation, gender and disability.

Hate crimes are a distinct category of offenses that are simply

more dangerous and risky to the stability of a civilized society than other offenses. Therefore, it is thoroughly appropriate to punish them more harshly.

One reason that hate crimes are more severe is that they disproportionately involve violent attacks. Nationally, according to FBI statistics, seven out of 10 hate crimes are directed against people. Non-hate crimes, by contrast, are directed against persons only 11 percent of the time. According to a landmark study by Northeastern University professors Jack McDevitt and Jack Levin, hate crime assaults are twice as likely to cause injury and four times as likely to result in hospitalization as assaults in general.

In addition, hate crimes are more likely than crimes not involving a discriminatory motive to involve groups of assailants, serial attacks and a heightened risk of retaliatory violence.

Hate crime laws punish not only violence but another significant evil: discrimination. Because of America's history of discrimination, government has a unique obligation to punish and deter such conduct. And it may do so without implicating free expression.

The Supreme Court has held that "[a]cts of invidious discrimination ... cause unique evils that government has a compelling

interest to prevent — wholly apart from the point of view such conduct may transmit. Accordingly, like violence or other types of potentially expressive activities that produce special harms distinct from their communicative impact, such practices are entitled to no constitutional protection." *Roberts v. United States Jaycees*, 468 U.S. 609, 628 (1984).

The discriminatory and terroristic effect of hate crime creates fear and distrust along already fragile intergroup lines in a way that other crimes do not. When a black man is dragged to his death in Jasper, Texas, it instills terror in the entire black community. As constitutional scholar James Weinstein explains, "The effect of Kristallnacht [a night of anti-Semitic attacks in November 1938] on German Jews was greater than the sum of the damage to buildings and assaults on individual victims."

Jacobs and Potter contend that the poison is preferable to the antidote. They point out first, that politics are involved in the promulgation of hate crime laws and second, that this pits groups against each other as they fight to get their own group protected.

With regard to the first point, my answer is a resounding "so what?" Politics have always played a role in the passage of criminal laws. Society is far better off for politics having played a role not only in the passage of hate crime legislation, but in the enactment of laws on domestic violence, environmental damage and drunk driving.

Jacobs and Potter are also dead wrong on the purported divisiveness of hate crime legislation. Rather than dividing groups, they have sparked new coalitions. Organizations representing blacks, Jews, Asians, Christians, Muslims,

continued on page 39



Milwaukee Journal Sentinel

on Punishment Enhancements

Legislation 'Unnecessary'

BY JAMES B. JACOBS AND KIMBERLY POTTER

In our recent book, *Hate Crimes: Criminal Law & Identity Politics*, we argue that the recent wave of hate crime legislation that enhances a criminal sentence if the perpetrator was motivated by certain prejudices, although well-intentioned, is unnecessary and perhaps even counterproductive. Here are a few of our main points.

One might argue that all or much violent crime and some property crime involves prejudices of one kind or another, against people based on looks, perceived wealth, vulnerability, age and so on. Choosing certain offender prejudices for more severe punishment inevitably elevates the plight and pain of some victims above others and creates a counterproductive competition among groups to have their victimization recognized in hate crime statutes.

Hate crime laws assume that the greater the harm to offenders, the greater the good to victims. But viewing the allotment of punishment as a confirmation of the social and political standing of the victim groups leads to a status competition between victim groups where the losers feel cheated by the lesser penalties their offenders receive. Moreover, the idea that groups chosen for inclusion in hate crime laws will benefit from the offenders' increased punishment is often not true.

Some hate crime laws, for instance, do not recognize crime motivated by gender or sexual orientation prejudice. Thus, the politics of hate crime legislation has touched off angry charges of hypocrisy and insensitivity. Instead of uniting us in the war against crime, they have provided one more thing to fight about.

Typically, hate crime laws are viewed as tools to protect minorities, but the model of white male discriminators and minority victims does not always fit. In fact, crime is predominantly intraracial, and the perpetrator of interracial crime is more likely to be a member of a minority group than a member of the racial majority. For example, the defendant in *Wisconsin v. Mitchell*, the Supreme Court case which upheld the constitutionality of hate crime enhancements, was a black youth who was sentenced three times more severely than a generic assault offender because his motivation was anti-white prejudice.

Any definition of hate crime requires a causal connection between the offender's prejudiced motivation and his conduct. How much of a connection? On the one hand, if laws includes only those

crimes wholly or predominantly motivated by prejudice, there will be very few hate crimes. On the other, if hate crime includes all crime that is motivated even partly by prejudice, practically every inter-group crime ought to be investigated as a potential hate crime.

Some hate crime statutes speak in terms of manifest prejudice — the prejudice motivation must be obvious, as with an epithet or a cross burning. Other states permit the prosecutor to prove prejudice by background evidence, perhaps the defendant's affiliations, friends, tattoos, jokes or conversations.

But the first kind of statute enables a hard-core racist to avoid the enhancement simply by committing his crime silently. Indeed, Tom Metzger, head of the white supremacist White Aryan Resistance, advises followers that hate crime charges can be avoided by remaining silent. The second type, using background evidence, opens the way for a wide-ranging

inquisition of the defendant's character. Are we confident that trials focusing on the defendant's prejudice will not serve to create First Amendment martyrs?

Because of the inherent subjectivity of the concept of hate crime, there is an enormous gap between the kinds of criminals who hate crime law proponents envision and those who are actually prosecuted. Backers of hate crime laws picture neo-Nazis committing vicious, ideologically driven acts of violence. But even in the absence of hate crime laws, such offenders face the severest possible punishments.

In reality, hate crime laws are most often enforced against Archie Bunker-type defendants whose prejudice has bubbled to the surface during an argument over a parking space or a campsite, or with a neighbor. The majority of persons arrested for hate crimes are juveniles who may well be confused, mentally

continued on page 39



Simon Wiesenthal Center

FOR THE RECORD

Incidents of apparent hate crimes and hate group activities listed here are drawn primarily from media sources and initial police reports, not all of which have been verified by the Intelligence Project. Because hate crimes often are not reported, this listing understates the true level of bias incidents.

ALABAMA

Cottonwood • May 2, 1998

Led by Imperial Wizard Ricky Draper, about 30 members of America's Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan held a rally and ceremonial cross lighting.

Summerdale • March 28, 1998

Members of the Alabama White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan held a rally.

Tensaw • May 30, 1998

The Alabama White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan held a rally.

ARIZONA

Phoenix • April 26, 1998

Swastikas and racial slurs were etched on a synagogue.

Tempe • May 1, 1998

Anti-Semitic fliers were distributed.

CALIFORNIA

Bakersfield • April 26, 1998

American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan literature was distributed.

Clovis • June 23, 1998

Bryan Von Smith, 22, and Gregory Lee Pearce, 19, were charged with assault for allegedly yelling racial epithets and attacking a group of Hispanic men and women.

El Cajon • May 15, 1998

A black man was allegedly called racial epithets and shot at by a white man. Gregory A. Kuhn, 33, was arrested in connection with the incident.

Glendale • June 8, 1998

A biracial couple was allegedly assaulted and called racial epithets by two white men. Philip M. Alexander, 21, and his brother

Steven E. Alexander, 19, were charged with interference of civil rights.

Hayward • May 6, 1998

Three black teens were allegedly called racial epithets and one was allegedly struck with a stick. Dolores Bayless, 38, was arrested on suspicion of assault with a deadly weapon and attacking a person because of his or her ethnicity.

Huntington Beach • May 19, 1998

A cross was burned at a Jewish family's residence. In June, two 16-year-olds pleaded guilty to arson and terrorism in connection with the incident and were each sentenced to four years in a youth detention facility.

Huntington Beach • June 18, 1998

Self-described Skinhead Erik Roy Anderson, 22, was found guilty of attempted murder, violation of civil rights and committing a hate crime for the stabbing of an American Indian man in February 1996.

Irvine • April 5, 1998

A group of Iranian men allegedly beat several white men in a racially motivated incident. Jihad Afridi, 26; his brother, Said, 23; Mohammed Abedi, 20; and two 16-year-olds pleaded not guilty to committing a hate crime and assault with a deadly weapon.

Lancaster • June 1998

Nazi Low Rider member Danny E. Williams, 24, was sentenced to five years in prison for assaulting two black men in separate attacks in 1996.

Lancaster • June 15, 1998

Seven Asian men and one youth allegedly attacked two Latino men while using racial slurs. Steve Nguyen, Philip Shores, Bryan Matsumoto, Paul Payabyab,

Michael Kim, Vincent Vongkavivathanakul, his brother Andrew Vongkavivathanakul and a juvenile were arrested in connection with the incident.

Lancaster • June 30, 1998

Eric Lance Dillard, 18, a reported member of the Nazi Low Riders, pleaded not guilty to civil rights charges that he assaulted two black men on two occasions in 1996.

Lodi • June 13, 1998

Gary L. Howard Jr., 22, and Shawn V. Lyman, 28, pleaded no contest to charges of burning a cross at a high school in January. Howard was sentenced to one year in jail, ordered to pay a fine and placed on five years' informal probation.

Los Angeles • April 16, 1998

A Latino man, Roel Lopez, 20, pleaded no contest to causing an injury or making a threat motivated by hate for attacking homeless black men in December. Lopez was sentenced to one year in jail and placed on three years' summary probation.

Los Angeles • April 22, 1998

Reported white supremacists Jeffrey A. Campbell, 28, and Justin N. Bertone, 19, pleaded no contest to drug charges and hate crimes involving bomb threats and a shooting in July. Campbell was sentenced to 15 years; Bertone drew seven years.

Los Angeles • April 27, 1998

Michael Bryant, 19, Jason Deal, 22, and Thomas Deal, 19, were sentenced to between five and 15 years in prison for shooting into a car occupied by several black people and shouting racial slurs at them in October.

North Hills • May 6, 1998

A 17-year-old was allegedly attacked

by three other girls because they believed she was a lesbian.

Novato • May 8, 1998

A swastika and neo-Nazi symbols were scrawled on a street.

Palmdale • April 9, 1998

Racial slurs were spray-painted on a black man's car.

Palmdale • May 22, 1998

Five white women were allegedly threatened and called racial epithets by a Latino woman and another woman.

Redlands • March 21, 1998

Two reported Skinheads allegedly kicked and stomped two men.

San Bernardino • April 7, 1998

Michael Jendrock, 24, was sentenced to 51 years to life in prison for his part in the racially motivated murder of a black man in August 1995.

San Francisco • March 27, 1998

Eltro Nelson, 29, and Randolph Rodrigues and Justo Soto Rivera, both 28, pleaded guilty to misdemeanor charges but were acquitted of hate crime charges in connection with the December 1996 beating of a gay man.

San Francisco • June 8, 1998

Two black couples and a baby were allegedly assaulted and called racial epithets by a group of white men. Charles McDavid, 24, was arrested and charged with assault and child endangerment with hate-crime penalty enhancement.

San Francisco • June 9, 1998

A group of Asian youths allegedly beat two parochial high school students.

Santa Ana • May 4, 1998

Richard Machado, 21, was sentenced to one year of supervised

probation, ordered to undergo racial tolerance counseling and fined \$1,000 for sending threatening e-mail messages to Asian students.

Santa Barbara • April 13, 1998

Two men using racial slurs allegedly assaulted two brothers. Marcos A. Ramos, 20, and Andrew Balderaz, 24, were arrested in the incident.

Santa Cruz • April 18, 1998

American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan literature was distributed.

Santa Rosa • April 17, 1998

American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan literature was found in newspapers at several residences.

Santa Rosa • May 20, 1998

Newspapers wrapped in American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan literature were distributed to residences.

Sylmar • May 1, 1998

A 17-year-old was sentenced to two years in a federal detention center for a racially motivated attack on a black teen in July 1996. Co-defendant Danny Williams, 22, pleaded guilty to charges of assault.

Ukiah • May 3, 1998

Louis Pearson, 44, was allegedly beaten to death allegedly by another man while attending a retreat for gay and bisexual men. Rick Fernandez, 24, was charged with first-degree murder.

Ukiah • June 5, 1998

Keith Pruitt, 25, and Christopher McCoy, 18, were charged with first-degree murder in connection with the beating death of a gay man in May.

Walnut Creek • May 15, 1998

Five young people were assaulted outside a nightclub for gays and lesbians. Two people were arrested in the incident, which was being investigated as a suspected hate crime.

Westminister • May 27, 1998

Daniel Patrick Carr, 18, and two 16-year-olds were charged with terrorism and arson for allegedly burning a cross at a Jewish family's residence earlier in the month.

COLORADO

Fort Collins • May 24, 1998

A black man was allegedly threatened and called racial epithets by a group of white men.

Victor • May 15, 1998

A white man, Mark Butts, 35, was beaten to death with a shovel in a cemetery, allegedly by two men and two teens, after racial epithets were exchanged at a bar. Andre J. Ingold, a 22-year-old black man; Jason Stapp, 20; a 17-year-old and a 16-year-old were arrested on suspicion of first-degree murder.

CONNECTICUT

Milford • April 28, 1998

Stanley Hicks, 24, was sentenced to five years in prison for scrawling the letters "KKK" in his own blood on a gay couple's residence.

DELAWARE

Dover • May 25, 1998

A swastika and a KKK symbol were spray-painted on a predominantly black church. A 15-year-old and a 17-year-old were arrested.

Milford • March 17, 1998

Three white men armed with baseball bats and pipes and shouting racial epithets allegedly chased a black couple. Shawn Cain, 25, was charged with rioting, participating in a hate crime, harassment, reckless endangerment and menacing. His brother Matthew, 23, was charged with rioting, harassment, resisting arrest, third-degree assault and escape from custody. Gregory Frantz, 18, was charged with rioting, harassment and underage drinking.

FLORIDA

Daytona Beach • May 26, 1998

Racist slogans were spray-painted on a predominantly black church. Edward S. Towner, 14, allegedly confessed to the vandalism. He was charged with criminal mischief.

Fort Lauderdale • May 27, 1998

A black farmers' association president was allegedly called a racial epithet during a telephone conference call by an agency lawyer.

Fort Myers • June 17, 1998

Lords of Chaos leader Kevin Foster, 20, was sentenced to death after being convicted of murdering a high school band director in June 1996. The Lords of Chaos, which calls itself an "anarchist militia," is a youth gang that allegedly planned to kill blacks at Disney World in 1996.

Gainesville • April 22, 1998

Three 21-year-old white men, Brian W. Turner, Brandon M. Moore, and Alphonso Watson, allegedly threatened to lynch a man and two women. Turner and Watson were charged with three counts of aggravated assault with a car and a count of assault.

Keystone Heights • June 11, 1998

Three crosses were burned at a black family's residence.

McIntosh • June 26, 1998

A cross was burned at a Jewish woman's residence.

Miami • April 17, 1998

Reported Skinhead Jules Fortunato Fettu, 25, was charged with aggravated and simple battery for allegedly beating a man and his son after a rock concert in August.

New Smyrna Beach • April 16, 1998

A black man, Kavens B. Hall, II, and a white man, Matthew Witchata, were beaten and stabbed to death and another person was seriously injured in an incident

that police believe was racially motivated.

New Smyrna Beach • June 3, 1998

Six white men — Jonathan E. Trull, 27, James H. Kirkland III, 22, Neil R. Kirkland and Daniel S. Osborne, 19, and Daniel M. Beard and Joshua Trull, both 17 — were arrested for allegedly making racial remarks and beating and stabbing a black man and a white man to death in April. Chris Trull, 25, is being sought for first-degree murder in the incident.

Orlando • May 9, 1998

Reported white supremacists Brian D. Pickett, 38, Christopher B. Norris, 25, and Deena Wanzie, 46, were charged with allegedly manufacturing pipe bombs and conspiring to commit bank robberies with the use of explosives.

Pompano Beach • May 25, 1998

A white man was beaten to death, allegedly by a black ex-convict who used a racial slogan. Douglas J. Dudley, 31, was charged with first-degree murder.

Sarasota • April 24, 1998

American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan literature was distributed.

Tallahassee • May 22, 1998

Racial epithets and a threatening message targeting a black teacher were printed in a high school yearbook.

West Palm Beach • April 27, 1998

Steven Goedereis, 30, was beaten to death, allegedly by two teens who claimed he made sexual advances to them. Bryan C. Donahue, 16, and William R. Dodge, 17, were charged with second-degree murder.

West Palm Beach • May 31, 1998

Three white men — Rafael Delgado, 25, and Michael Henzo and William Johnson, both 30 — were charged with aggravated assault for allegedly pushing a black man off his bicycle and beating him.

Weston • May 4, 1998

Literature from the World Church of the Creator, a neo-Nazi group, was distributed.

IDAHO

Coeur d'Alene • April 22, 1998

A white supremacist letter was left in the student government suggestion box and on several cars at North Idaho College.

Coeur d'Alene • May 18, 1998

Literature from the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations was left at residences.

Hayden Lake • May 31, 1998

Five Aryan Nations members — Gerald A. Gruidl, 65, Michael R. Teague, 30, Lotan G. Tanaach, 26, and Robert J. Gmeiner and John S. Yeager, both 19 — were arrested following a clash with law enforcement officers in front of the group's compound.

ILLINOIS

Belleville • June 14, 1998

A black teen was allegedly dragged by three white men in a car.

Chicago • March 25, 1998

The letters "KKK" and racial slurs were written on a black man's car.

Chicago • April 12, 1998

Five white youths who used racial epithets allegedly attacked a black youth.

Chicago • April 21, 1998

A black couple using anti-white slurs allegedly attacked a white woman.

Chicago • May 14, 1998

Self-described white supremacist Jonathan Brown, 17, was charged with two counts of aggravated battery, two counts of battery and perpetrating a hate crime for allegedly attacking a Hispanic youth and two other teens earlier in the month. Phillip Duignan, 18, was arrested in connection with the assault and charged with resisting a peace officer.

East St. Louis • March 17, 1998

Daniel Rick, 19, was charged with possessing and selling a fully automatic machine gun in connection with a plot by several white supremacists to assassinate a civil rights leader and a federal judge and bomb several civil rights organizations.

East St. Louis • April 11, 1998

David A. McGiffen, 29, a reported white supremacist, pleaded guilty to possession of an illegal sawed-off shotgun.

East St. Louis • April 27, 1998

White supremacist Dennis M. McGiffen, 35, pleaded guilty to one count of conspiracy to receive and possess unregistered firearms and destructive devices and to make illegal firearms, and one count of illegal possession of a machine gun. The charges were in connection with a plot to assassinate a civil rights leader and bomb buildings.

East St. Louis • May 1998

White supremacist Ralph Bock, 28, and Glenn Lavelle Lowtharp, 50, pleaded guilty to conspiracy to possess a machine gun and destructive devices as part of a plot by white supremacists to assassinate a civil rights leader and bomb buildings. White supremacist Wallace S. Weicherding, 64, was charged with unlawful possession of a machine gun in addition to charges of conspiring to obtain unregistered firearms and conspiring to rob a bank. Daniel Rick pleaded guilty to supplying a machine gun to the group.

Elmwood Park • June 10, 1998

A black man's car windows were smashed and a note with a racial slur was left on the vehicle.

Highland • May 24, 1998

Steven T. Burnett was charged with disorderly conduct after allegedly trying to intimidate a black woman while using a racial epithet.

Pekin • April 2, 1998

A white man, Daniel Crigger, 18,

received four years of probation for burglary and two and a half years of probation for a hate crime for assaulting a black youth in August and breaking into a country club.

Rock Island • April 20, 1998

Jeremy Slagel, 21, and Jason Slagel, 23, were convicted of multiple aggravated battery counts for their participation in the racially motivated beating of two men in July. Thomas E. Moyers, 22, was placed on 24 months' probation for his part in the incident.

Rock Island • May 19, 1998

White supremacist Karl C. Schave, 31, pleaded guilty to possession of an unregistered destructive device after selling a bomb to a government operative in connection with an alleged plot by several white supremacists to assassinate a civil rights leader and a federal judge and bomb several civil rights organizations.

Rolling Meadows • April 29, 1998

Todd M. Murphy, 30, was sentenced to one year in prison for his part in a racially motivated attack on a black man in November.

Woodstock • April 23, 1998

A black woman was allegedly threatened and called a racial epithet. Derald L. Weeks Jr., 20, was charged with a hate crime.

INDIANA

Bloomington • June 8, 1998

Literature from two racist groups, the World Church of the Creator and the White Nationalist Party, was distributed at Indiana University.

Elkhart • April 12, 1998

About 35 American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan members, led by National Imperial Wizard Jeff Berry, held a rally.

Gary • May 3, 1998

A cross was burned at the residence of a black family.

Goshen • May 27, 1998

About 15 American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan rallied at a high school.

Goshen • June 17, 1998

About ten American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan members marched and distributed literature.

Kokomo • April 28, 1998

Travis Funke, 20, was charged with conspiracy to interfere with the civil rights of black citizens and violating a federal housing statute for allegedly burning a cross in a trailer park and leaving a threatening note with the letters "KKK" on it.

KANSAS

Coffeyville • June 4, 1998

A black school board member received a racist letter and harassing phone calls.

Hutchinson • May 9, 1998

Literature from the neo-Nazi National Socialist German Workers Party was left at several residences.

Hutchinson • May 13, 1998

John C. Murphy, 20, pleaded guilty to using racial slurs and pointing a baseball bat at three black teenagers and their white friend in May 1997. He was placed on two years' probation.

Wichita • April 23, 1998

A swastika and the letters "KKK" were scrawled at an interracial couple's residence that was vandalized.

Wichita • June 6, 1998

Anti-Semitic graffiti was written on a synagogue.

KENTUCKY

Lexington • May 19, 1998

Reported White Aryan Legion members Charles E. Hall Jr., 28, and Daniel R. Koplitz, 41, were arrested and charged with discrimination in housing, mailing threatening communications and destruction of gov-

ernment property for allegedly sending threats to mixed-race couples and ordering two gunshots to be fired into a post office. Koplitz was also charged with possession of a firearm by a convicted felon.

Paducah • April 1998

Daniel Porter, 26, and Barry Dunn, 25, pleaded guilty to civil rights violations and aiding and abetting for distributing racist fliers at a black family's residence in September. Christopher Jason Mahan, 24, was convicted of civil rights violations in connection with the incident.

Vine Grove • April 24, 1998

Randall J. Pike, 37, and Raphael S. Pike, 44, were arrested for allegedly trying to burn a cross at a mobile home park in an attempt to intimidate residents.

LOUISIANA

Slidell • June 20, 1998

A black man who earlier claimed he was dragged by the arm and called racial slurs by three white men admitted he fabricated the incident.

Sterlington • May 21, 1998

A Ku Klux Klan calling card was left on a black man's vehicle.

MAINE

Bangor • Jan. 23, 1998

A student using anti-gay epithets allegedly accosted another student at the University of Maine. Kirk R. Daigle was charged with civil rights violations.

Biddeford • April 17, 1998

Two men allegedly threatened and called two Vietnamese men derogatory slurs. Omar Noguet, 18, and Christopher Noonan were charged with civil rights violations.

Biddeford • May 1, 1998

A white woman, Sherry Sweeney, 18, was sentenced to 90 days in jail for assaulting a black woman in January.

Dixmont • April 3, 1998

A teacher was allegedly accosted and threatened by a parent who used anti-gay epithets. Phillip Lear was charged with civil rights violations.

MARYLAND

Baltimore • Feb. 17, 1998

A Jewish man found an anti-Semitic epithet written on his door at a military base.

Gaithersburg • May 26, 1998

Daniel L. Rikon, 18, was sentenced to one year in jail for racial harassment and 60 days for destruction of property and placed on two years of probation for vandalizing the car of a Muslim family with racial slurs in January. All but five days of his sentence was suspended.

Silver Spring • May 2, 1998

Three swastikas and the letters "KKK" and "WPP" were spray-painted on a post office.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston • April 6, 1998

A black man who was with his white fiancée was allegedly beaten by two white men in a racially motivated incident. Chayne Williamson and Stephen Lunden, both 18, were charged with assault and battery and felony civil rights violations.

Boxford • May 21, 1998

Reported neo-Nazi William Beliveau, 32, was sentenced to nine-and-a-half years in prison and given three years' probation after he pleaded guilty to possessing an altered flare gun.

Fall River • April 5, 1998

Two white men who used racial slurs allegedly attacked a black man. Shane Williamson and Steven London, both 18, were charged in the incident.

Northampton • May 24, 1998

Five men allegedly harassed and assaulted a man while using anti-

gay slurs. Joshua Phelps, 21, was charged with civil rights violations, assault and battery, assault and intimidation.

MICHIGAN

Farmington Hills • June 2, 1998

Anti-Semitic symbols were spray-painted on a synagogue.

Ferndale • May 6, 1998

Christopher J. Piligian, 28, and Douglas M. Chastney, 29, were charged with allegedly placing hate literature on cars.

Hazel Park • May 6, 1998

A white man, Glen Ethington, 44, was charged with ethnic intimidation for allegedly threatening to shoot and kill a black man because of his race.

Madison Heights • March 23, 1998

A white delivery man allegedly used racial slurs and attempted to run down a black delivery woman.

Madison Heights • May 3, 1998

A black youth and a white youth were allegedly run down by a car occupied by a group of youths who used racial slurs.

Miami • March 31, 1998

Anti-gay epithets were written on a monument in a gay community.

Mount Pleasant • April 22, 1998

Anti-gay slurs were spray-painted on two cars and a third car was set afire at Central Michigan University.

Saginaw • April 9, 1998

Scott R. Severin, 29, pleaded guilty to ethnic intimidation, placing explosives or offensive substances with intent to harm and being a habitual offender for burning a cross at a black family's residence in August. He was sentenced in August to four to eight years in prison.

Traverse City • April 11, 1998

Marcus Allen Beck, 24, was sentenced to six to 24 months in prison for his part in the racially

motivated attack on a black man in January.

Traverse City • May 24, 1998

Literature from the neo-Nazi National Alliance was left at residences.

MINNESOTA

Minneapolis • April 20, 1998

A gay bookstore was vandalized.

Rochester • April 24, 1998

A white mother and her biracial child were allegedly called racial epithets while staying at a hospice.

St. Paul • April 18, 1998

Members of the National Socialist Movement held a rally.

MISSISSIPPI

Hattiesburg • May 28, 1998

Samuel Bowers, 73, former Imperial Wizard of the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, was charged with murder and arson for the 1966 firebombing and killing of a civil rights activist.

Laurel • May 29, 1998

Charles Noble, 55, was arrested on charges of arson and murder for allegedly taking part in the January 1966 fatal firebombing of a civil rights leader's residence. Deavours Nix, 72, was arrested on charges of arson for allegedly helping plot the firebombing.

MISSOURI

Kansas City • May 14, 1998

Dennis C. Pospisil, 31, was sentenced to 12 years in federal prison, and his brother Barney L. Pospisil, 37, was sentenced to three years and one month in prison for burning a cross at an interracial couple's residence in August.

Kansas City • June 9, 1998

Racial epithets were spray-painted on a black family's residence.

St. Louis • May 14, 1998

Kevin Miner, a 26-year-old white

man, was sentenced to life in prison without parole for killing a black man in a racially motivated murder in July 1996. His brother, Lucky Miner, 24, was sentenced to 15 years in prison for second-degree murder.

NEVADA

Las Vegas • May 31, 1998

Jeremy Strohmeyer, a 19-year-old white male, was charged with a hate crime, sexual assault and murder for his alleged involvement in the slaying of a 7-year-old black girl in a casino restroom in May 1997.

NEW JERSEY

Marlboro Township • May 30, 1998

Michael Graziano, 18, and a 17-year-old white male were charged with aggravated assault and bias-motivated aggravated assault for allegedly sideswiping a black female bicyclist with their truck in October. They allegedly then drove back and ran over her bicycle twice while shouting racial epithets.

Millville • April 18, 1998

A cross was burned at an interracial couple's residence.

Millville • June 3, 1998

Self-proclaimed Klan leader Joseph Bednarsky Jr., 29, was sentenced to one year in jail for using a sling-shot to assault a black woman in June 1996.

Princeton • June 8, 1998

Damon Moomjy, 40, was convicted of criminal harassment and making terroristic threats for harassing a black woman with racial epithets and spitting in her face in April 1993.

Teaneck • May 7, 1998

Swastikas were painted on two Jewish yeshivas.

Toms River • May 27, 1998

Three white youths, Brian Burkhart, Thomas Barnshaw and

William Barnshaw, all 23, were acquitted of racial intimidation charges for allegedly attacking a disabled black woman and a man and using a racial slur in July 1996. Brian Burkhart was convicted of malicious damage for throwing a toll gate arm on top of the victims' car.

Trenton • April 11, 1998

Racist fliers targeting a black police officer were left at a police station.

NEW YORK

Amityville • May 24, 1998

A cross was burned at a black family's residence.

Bayside • April 29, 1998

An Irish-American woman received a racist, threatening phone call and her residence was splashed with green paint.

Brooklyn • April 10, 1998

Three white men, Anthony Mascuzzio and Alfonso Russo, both 18, and Andrew Russo, 19, were convicted of second-degree assault and harassment, but found not guilty of attempted murder for beating a black man in September. A fourth man, Ralph Mazzatto, 26, was acquitted.

Brooklyn • April 25, 1998

A Chinese immigrant was allegedly beaten by a teenager who used racial slurs. Christopher Pinco, 18, was charged in the incident.

Elmira • May 24, 1998

Racist words were spray-painted on an arcade managed by a biracial teen.

Elmira • May 27, 1998

The letters "KKK" and swastikas were spray-painted on a Jewish community center.

Flushing • April 16, 1998

An anti-Semitic epithet was written on a Jewish center.

Greenwich • April 8, 1998

Two men were allegedly attacked

and one of them stabbed by a group of teens who made an anti-gay remark. A Jamaican teen, Robert Cockrel, 18, was arrested and charged with first-degree assault.

Hastings on Hudson • April 28, 1998

Craig Fitzgerald, 17, was arrested for allegedly scrawling anti-Semitic and white supremacist graffiti at several locations.

Huntington • May 30, 1998

A 12-year-old black youth allegedly attacked two 13-year-old white girls in a racially motivated incident. The youth was charged with assault and aggravated harassment.

Lewisboro • May 24, 1998

Racist graffiti was written at a firehouse. Volunteer firefighter Erik Moller, 20, was charged with making graffiti, aggravated harassment and criminal mischief.

Long Island • May 27, 1998

A 14-year-old was charged with harassment after he allegedly sent racist, anti-Semitic, sexist and homophobic e-mail messages that included threats to bomb his school.

Massapequa • May 29, 1998

A swastika was burned into a high school football field. Christopher Enkhaus, 16, was charged with criminal mischief and a 14-year-old was charged with juvenile delinquency in connection with the incident.

New York • April 14, 1998

Jennifer Morales, 15, was sentenced to six years in prison after she pleaded guilty to first-degree assault for her part in slashing a Jewish man in the face with a knife while using anti-Semitic epithets in August.

New York • April 18, 1998

A gay man was allegedly slashed in the face with a knife by a man who used anti-gay epithets. Eric Rodriguez, 22, was charged with attempted murder, assault and criminal possession of a weapon.

New York • June 20, 1998

Joseph Furchi, 30, and William Antioco and Lawrence Hyland, both 32, were charged with gang assault, assault and harassment for allegedly kicking and beating a gay man and yelling anti-gay epithets.

Queensbury • May 15, 1998

Two black women, Nyisha E. Dozier, 22, and Yoland R. Richardson, 21, were convicted of a hate crime for using racial slurs against white clerks during a dispute at a factory outlet store in October.

Rierhead • March 4, 1998

Philip Catanese, 19, was charged with second-degree aggravated harassment after a Jewish man received several anti-Semitic phone calls.

Staten Island • April 14, 1998

A black man, Mark Henderson, 31, allegedly threatened a white store owner whose business was set afire two days later. Henderson was charged with criminal possession of a weapon, aggravated harassment and menacing.

Syracuse • April 20, 1998

Central New York White Pride literature was sent to residences.

Troy • June 5, 1998

A black teen was allegedly attacked and forced to perform oral sex on a group of teens who yelled racial epithets.

Wantagh • May 23, 1998

Racial epithets and a swastika were scrawled on the residences of a black family and a Jewish family.

White Plains • April 3, 1998

Brian Kotash, 30, was acquitted of arson and criminal mischief charges for allegedly damaging his neighbor's vehicle because the man had sold his house to a black woman.

Yonkers • April 25, 1998

A swastika and profanities were written on a Jewish woman's residence.

NORTH CAROLINA**Graham • April 29, 1998**

Four black inmates allegedly beat a white inmate. Andrae Watkins, 20, Clifton Dunn, 22, Alfred Riley, 24, and Gerald Gibson, 29, were charged with attempted murder and assault with a deadly weapon with intent to kill, inflicting serious injury. The incident is being called a hate crime by authorities.

Hendersonville • April 26, 1998

Members of the American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan held a rally.

Lenoir • April 25, 1998

A white woman was allegedly threatened by a black woman who used racial slurs.

Lexington • March 19, 1998

Several shots were allegedly fired by Klan members into the residence of three black students involved in a racially motivated fight at a school one day earlier.

Lexington • May 16, 1998

Members of the American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, led by Rodney Hunt, rallied.

Rutherfordton • May 9, 1998

Reported white supremacist James W. Stull, 21, and James K. Pruitt Jr., 23, were charged with conspiracy to commit murder and discharging a firearm into an occupied dwelling after allegedly shooting into the home of a black family.

Stella • June 3, 1998

American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan literature was distributed at a high school.

NORTH DAKOTA**Wahpeton • May 14, 1998**

Two black males, Desmon Caldwell and Garland Gambrell, both 20, were arrested for allegedly beating a white man in November at North Dakota State College after racial epithets were reportedly hurled at the black students.

OHIO**Chagrin Falls • May 3, 1998**

Literature from the neo-Nazi National Alliance was left on cars at two churches.

Chillicothe • April 11, 1998

A cross was burned at a black man's residence.

Elyria • May 15, 1998

Alleged white supremacists Scott Smith, 21, John A. Luther, 20, and his brother, William C. Luther, 22, were arrested and charged with engaging in a pattern of corrupt activity for allegedly conspiring to rob banks between August and October.

Newtonsville • April 23, 1998

Two men, William S. Bonham II, 26, and Eugene M. Coogan Jr., 21, were charged in federal court for allegedly burning a cross in February at an apartment of a white woman who was dating a black man. In June, Bonham pleaded guilty to conspiracy to violate civil rights and intimidation.

Shelby • May 8, 1998

Gregory Morgan, 19, and his brother, Christopher Morgan, 23, were charged with ethnic intimidation for allegedly burning a cross in January in the yard of a white woman whose daughter has a child with a black man.

Stone Creek • June 20, 1998

The International Keystone Knights of the Ku Klux Klan held a rally. Speakers included International Keystone Knights Imperial Wizard Barry Black and Virgil Griffin, Imperial Wizard of the Christian Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

Warren • June 5, 1998

Raymond Sanders Jr., 23, and Eric Schweikart, 20, were arrested on charges of inciting violence after allegedly riding through a black heritage festival waving a Confederate flag.

OKLAHOMA**El Reno • April 15, 1998**

Racist graffiti was painted on the vehicle of a woman in an interracial relationship.

Muskogee • April 10, 1998

The letters "KKK" were spray-painted at the residence of a civil rights activist.

Tulsa • June 7, 1998

A white man, Johnny G. Self, 28, was beaten to death and his twin brother was assaulted, allegedly by a group of black men, after an exchange of racial epithets.

OREGON**Corvallis • May 8, 1998**

National Socialist Vanguard literature was mailed to several high school students.

Junction City • April 22, 1998

A 14-year-old carrying nine homemade posters displaying Nazi emblems, swastikas and racial epithets was stopped by police. A police search of his residence allegedly uncovered more Nazi symbols and a homemade pipe bomb.

PENNSYLVANIA**Boyetown • May 16, 1998**

Members of the International Keystone Knights of the Ku Klux Klan distributed literature.

Doylestown • June 23, 1998

Arabic and German language threats were spray-painted on three synagogues.

Hazleton • April 30, 1998

Swastikas were painted on a synagogue.

Limerick • May 3, 1998

An Asian man was allegedly chased by a group of motorcycle riders wearing hate group symbols. Phillippe D. Scheurer, 35, was arrested in the incident.

Lower Burrell • May 7, 1998

American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan literature was distributed.

Manheim • May 6, 1998

A white man, Gregory Flannery, 39, was charged with terroristic threats, ethnic intimidation, criminal trespass, simple assault, resisting arrest, disorderly conduct and aggravated assault against police after allegedly threatening five Russian men while using racial slurs.

Millville • April 21, 1998

Ronald Bixler, 23, was charged with bias harassment, conspiracy and placing persons in bodily fear for his alleged part in a cross burning at an interracial couple's residence in April. Kevin Olson, 26, Steve Heiselman, 20, and Nicole Roscoe, 18, were charged with bias harassment, threat of bodily violence and criminal conspiracy for their alleged part in the incident.

Philadelphia • April 2, 1998

Five white men allegedly attacked a black University of Pennsylvania student. Jordan Wolfson, 19, was charged with ethnic intimidation, simple assault, harassment, stalking and disorderly conduct.

Philadelphia • April 2, 1998

A black man was allegedly attacked by a group of white men, two of whom used racial epithets.

Philadelphia • April 10, 1998

Felix Demuro Sr., 56; his three sons, Dominic, 29, Michael, 27, and Felix Jr., 21; and Teresa Martin, 29, were convicted of civil rights conspiracy and housing intimidation for vandalizing a house in order to prevent a black family from moving into it in 1996. Martin also was convicted of perjury.

Pittsburgh • April 21, 1998

Christopher Baxter, 22, Christopher Phares, 24, and James M. Mazesky, 26, pleaded guilty to burning a cross at an elementary school in October. The men were ordered

to perform 30 hours of community service and pay \$334 each in restitution.

Scranton • June 18, 1998

Racist slogans were spray-painted on a black woman's door.

Sharon • April 8, 1998

American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan literature was left at several residences and in newspaper boxes.

Southampton • June 24, 1998

Shawn Colin Lichtfuss, 26, was charged with institutional vandalism, desecration of venerated objects and other crimes for allegedly vandalizing three synagogues with graffiti in June.

Springfield • May 7, 1998

A white man allegedly yelled racial slurs at two black youths and threatened them with a pistol. Steven Daly, 39, was charged with ethnic intimidation, simple assault, reckless endangerment, terroristic threats and harassment.

Stroudsburg • April 26, 1998

Racist graffiti was painted at a predominantly black church.

Tarentum • May 7, 1998

American Knights of the KKK literature was distributed.

Taylor • May 2, 1998

Members of the American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan rallied.

Wilkes Barre • May 7, 1998

Harry E. Gordon, 26, was charged with aggravated assault, simple assault, recklessly endangering another person, disorderly conduct and ethnic intimidation for allegedly stabbing a black man and yelling a racial epithet.

York • April 8, 1998

Invisible Empire, Pennsylvania Ku Klux Klan fliers were left at several residences.

York • April 21, 1998

Punxsutawney Patriots literature was distributed.

York • May 29, 1998

Literature from the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations was sent to a human rights organization.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Clover • May 21, 1998

Copies of a racist, threatening letter containing a Klan slogan were sent to six black high school students.

Lancaster • May 13, 1998

A gay woman was allegedly beaten and called anti-homosexual epithets by a man and another person.

TEXAS

College Station • May 9, 1998

About 20 members of the Knights of the White Kamellia, led by Imperial Wizard Darrell Flinn, held a rally.

Crowley • May 28, 1998

United Knights of the Ku Klux Klan fliers were posted at a high school.

Dallas • April 1998

American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan literature was distributed.

Dallas • May 5, 1998

Donald Ray Anderson, 48, a self-proclaimed neo-Nazi, was sentenced to 12 years and three months in prison for firing several shots at a synagogue in April 1997.

Denton • June 19, 1998

Reported white supremacist James W. Maraman, 43, was charged with driving while intoxicated, retaliation and three counts of aggravated assault for allegedly trying to run down three black children.

Fort Worth • May 15, 1998

Reported Klan leader Eric Brandon Lane, 27, was sentenced

to 10 years in prison for sexually assaulting two teenage runaways in October 1996.

Jasper • June 7, 1998

A black hitchhiker, James Byrd Jr., 49, was dragged to death behind a pickup truck in an alleged racially motivated attack by three white men, two of whom have racist tattoos. Shawn A. Berry, Lawrence R. Brewer and John W. King were charged with first-degree murder.

Jasper • June 27, 1998

About 20 members of the Knights of the White Kamellia rallied.

Odessa • June 20, 1998

Seven members of the United Confederate Knights of the Ku Klux Klan held a rally.

Rosenberg • April 20, 1998

A white man, Jeffrey Davis, 38, was shot to death, allegedly by a man in a pickup truck who also shouted racial epithets at him. The killer was apparently infuriated because Davis and another person were blocking traffic. Richard Rene Martinez, 21, was charged with murder.

Waskom • May 8, 1998

A predominantly black church was set afire. Timothy J. Wright, 20, Robby Todd, 29, and a 15-year-old were arrested in the incident.

VIRGINIA

Arlington • March 31, 1998

Michael McComber, a 24-year-old white man, pleaded guilty to hate crime assault charges for attacking a black youth in June 1997. He was sentenced this June to a year in jail.

Independence • May 29, 1998

Louis Ceparano, 43, pleaded guilty to murder and was sentenced to two life prison terms for burning and beheading a black man in July 1997.

Mount Jackson • June 5, 1998

Members of the Knights of the Ku

Klux Klan distributed literature.

Virginia Beach • May 27, 1998

A cross was burned at an interracial couple's residence. Richard J. Elliot and Jonathan S. O'Mara, both 19, and a 17-year old were charged with attempting to burn a cross to intimidate a person or group and conspiracy to attempt to burn a cross.

WASHINGTON

Auburn • June 19, 1998

A 16-year-old was arrested for arson and harassment after a car was burned and a note with racial slurs was found at the residence of an interracial couple.

Pullman • March 18, 1998

A racial epithet was spray-painted on a car owned by a man of Chinese descent. Christopher J. Bean, 15, was arrested.

WEST VIRGINIA

Berkeley Springs • May 22, 1998

Invincible Empire Knights of the Ku Klux Klan fliers were left at residences.

WISCONSIN

Appleton • May 7, 1998

The letters "KKK" and racist graffiti were spray-painted on a residence occupied by refugees.

Ripon • May 24, 1998

A black man was allegedly attacked and called racial epithets at a bar. David R. Kohnke, 50, was charged with battery with a hate crime enhancement and battery to a law enforcement officer in connection with the incident.

Waukesha • April 30, 1998

George Melcher, 19, was convicted of two counts of criminal damage to property and resisting arrest for spray-painting racist graffiti on a black church in October. He was sentenced in May to six months in jail and placed on three years' probation. ▲

Motive Matters

continued from page 30

victims, immigrants, gays, educators and police have come together to rally behind this legislation.

Each protected category is treated equally in the eyes of these laws. As Jacobs and Potter rightly point out, minorities who violently discriminate — blacks attacking whites for racial reasons, for instance — face sanctions just as whites do. That is a strength of these laws, not a weakness.

It is true that some worthy categories of people, such as those who are defined by their sexual orientation, gender or disability, often are excluded from statutory coverage. But these groups have sometimes been able to use initial versions of hate crime laws to successfully lobby for their own inclusion in subsequent legislative sessions.

Jacobs and Potter worry that

hate crime laws require authorities to establish an offender's motives — something they see as a dangerous inquisition. Again, my response is, "so what?" Motive is critical in many areas of the law. Breaking and entering only becomes burglary once it is shown that the offender intended to commit an additional crime while on someone else's property. Shooting someone who is mugging you is probably justifiable; shooting a person while you are doing the mugging is not.

Criminal law differentiates between seemingly similar conduct in other ways as well. Carrying a concealed gun on a plane and dealing drugs near schools, for instance, are punished more harshly than the same conduct elsewhere.

Jacobs and Potter worry that many hate offenders are youths

or people who are not hard-core hatemongers. In fact, my research indicates that half of hate offenders are under 22, and Levin and McDevitt have shown that the majority of youthful violators are mere thrillseekers. But it is better to specifically deter and possibly rehabilitate thrill-seeking youths with a clear message, before they graduate from breaking windows to breaking bones.

Over the last two decades, these arguments have convinced 45 states and the U.S. Congress to enact hate crime laws. In a series of cases culminating in *Wisconsin v. Mitchell*, 508 U.S. 476 (1993), the Supreme Court has upheld stronger punishment for discriminatory hate crimes. In *Mitchell*, the justices cited the ability of hate crime enhancements to punish both discrimination and motive, and to address the severity of hate crimes. In other cases, the Supreme Court has held that evidence of an offender's motive may be taken into

account without violating the First Amendment, so long as it is directly relevant to the offense.

Despite all these arguments, Jacobs' and Potter's scholarship has been important. They have furthered the debate by legitimately pointing to inadequacies in how legislation is crafted and applied. Their generally insightful arguments fail, however, when they are employed in an attempt to invalidate all hate crime initiatives, rather than to constructively refine them. ▲

Attorney Brian Levin is an associate professor of criminal justice at the Richard Stockton College of New Jersey, where he also serves as director of the Center on Hate & Extremism. He is co-author of The Limits of Dissent: The Constitutional Status of Armed Civilian Militias (Aletheia Press, 1996) and the author of a forthcoming book, Hate and Justice in America (Aspen Publications, 1998).

Legislation 'Unnecessary'

continued from page 31

unstable or sociopathic. But they are not ideologically driven racists.

Hate crime enhancements make a difference in the way we punish otherwise minor crimes like graffiti or vandalism, which are the most frequently counted hate crimes. Should hate crime graffiti or vandalism be punished more severely than ordinary graffiti or vandalism? If so, how much more severely? Which expressions transform ordinary graffiti into hate crime graffiti? Should a person who paints a swastika on a car be punished more severely than one who splashes paint on a car or who writes "f—k you," "down with Republicans" or "abortion is murder?" Do we want to generate

a sentencing system based upon a subjective hierarchy of the vilest of terms and symbols?

Imprisoning hate graffiti and vandalism offenders who would not otherwise be incarcerated may deter a certain amount of graffiti and vandalism, or at least make it less explicit. But ironically, it also may result in low-level and juvenile offenders becoming more prejudiced. Prisons and jails are probably the most virulently racist environments in U.S. society. Some of our most racist organizations originated in prison; others are nourished in prison and their ranks are swelled by ex-offenders. Are we confident that we

accomplish something positive by sending vandalism and graffiti offenders to prison or giving them longer terms explicitly on account of their prejudices?

Hate crime laws are a species of symbolic legislation. Politicians are glad to send a message that they condemn racists and bigots — unless, of course, the victim category is controversial, as in the case of sexual orientation.

It's easy to pass a law and hope it solves a problem, but the fact is once hate crime laws are passed, they are quickly forgotten and rarely used. It seems doubtful that the criminal law can solve the serious social problem of bigotry and prejudice. Prejudice criminals are a problem, but criminals are a problem by definition.

A criminal justice system tainted by prejudice and bias is destructive to the whole democracy project.

Elimination of racism and prejudice in policing, prosecuting and sentencing should be a top priority for our society. It would be a travesty if symbolic gestures like hate crime laws were to divert us from the hard work of institution-building in tolerance, and particularly the hard work of creating and sustaining even-handed, nonbiased criminal justice institutions. ▲

James B. Jacobs is director of New York University's Center for Research in Crime and Justice and a law professor at the NYU School of Law. Kimberly Potter, formerly a senior research fellow at NYU's Center for Research in Crime and Justice, is now in private law practice in Bronxville, N.Y. Jacobs and Potter are the authors of Hate Crimes: Criminal Law and Identity Politics (Oxford University Press, 1998).

'BRUTE FORCE'

MILITIAMAN ARRESTED IN DRUGS-FOR-WEAPONS DEAL

A South Carolina militiaman who apparently wrote earlier this year of the need to counter government tyranny with "brute force" has been arrested for allegedly trading drugs for a machine gun and C-4 plastic explosives.

Authorities in Greenville County arrested Paul T. Chastain, 40, in late July after he allegedly swapped 300 tablets of Dilaudid, a morphine substitute, to undercover police for C-4 plastic explosives and an M-16 automatic rifle. He was charged with possession of an illegal automatic weapon, possession of explosives and drug trafficking.

Officials said others also could be charged.

But they would not detail what they believe Chastain wanted the explosives for. "I think it

is safe to say Paul T. Chastain was not planning to go duck-hunting with C-4 explosives and an M-16 rifle," Robert Stewart, who heads the State Law Enforcement Division, told a reporter. "I truly believe lives were saved by this arrest."

"I think it is safe to say Paul T. Chastain was not planning to go duck-hunting with C-4 explosives and an M-16 rifle."

Authorities said Chastain is a member of the "South Carolina Minutemen Corps," which they described as a less-than-year-old group with fewer than 20 members. A Web site — which lists Chastain's address and phone number as its point of contact — is run by the "South Carolina Militia Corps." And an article in *Media Bypass*,

a magazine popular in the antigovernment Patriot movement, was signed by "Lt. Col. Paul T. Chastain Jr., South Carolina militia."

The article, published in February, says that demands for redress from a tyrannical government "will come to nought without a

credible threat of force to effect change if need be. Indeed, the only effective check to brute force is force in kind. ..."

Law enforcement officials say Chastain's

group operated from a 200-acre campground called Sky Ranch. Built as a fishing and boating retreat in the 1960s, Sky Ranch is now dilapidated and dotted with houses including Chastain's.

Chastain faces up to 60 years in prison if convicted. ▲

INTELLIGENCE
REPORT

SOUTHERN POVERTY LAW CENTER
400 WASHINGTON AVENUE
MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA 36104

NON-PROFIT
ORGANIZATION
US POSTAGE
PAID
SOUTHERN
POVERTY LAW
CENTER

A MESSAGE TO CENTER SUPPORTERS

Dear Center Supporter,

The Summer 1998 issue of the *Intelligence Report*, produced by the Center's Intelligence Project, is being distributed free to over 27,000 law enforcement officers and agencies nationwide. Your contributions help make this possible.

In it you will find stories about:

- ▲ The \$37.8 million court verdict against the Christian Knights of the Ku Klux Klan and several of its members that was won by the Macedonia Baptist Church, which was represented by Southern Poverty Law Center attorneys;
- ▲ The joining of anti-abortion extremists, the so-called "Patriot" movement and white supremacist hate groups, and the resulting danger to the public;
- ▲ The disturbing reach of extremist radio programming.

When you have finished reading this issue, please pass it on to other concerned citizens in your community.

Sincerely,



Joseph J. Levin, Jr.
President



SOUTHERN POVERTY LAW CENTER
400 WASHINGTON AVENUE
MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA 36104

