

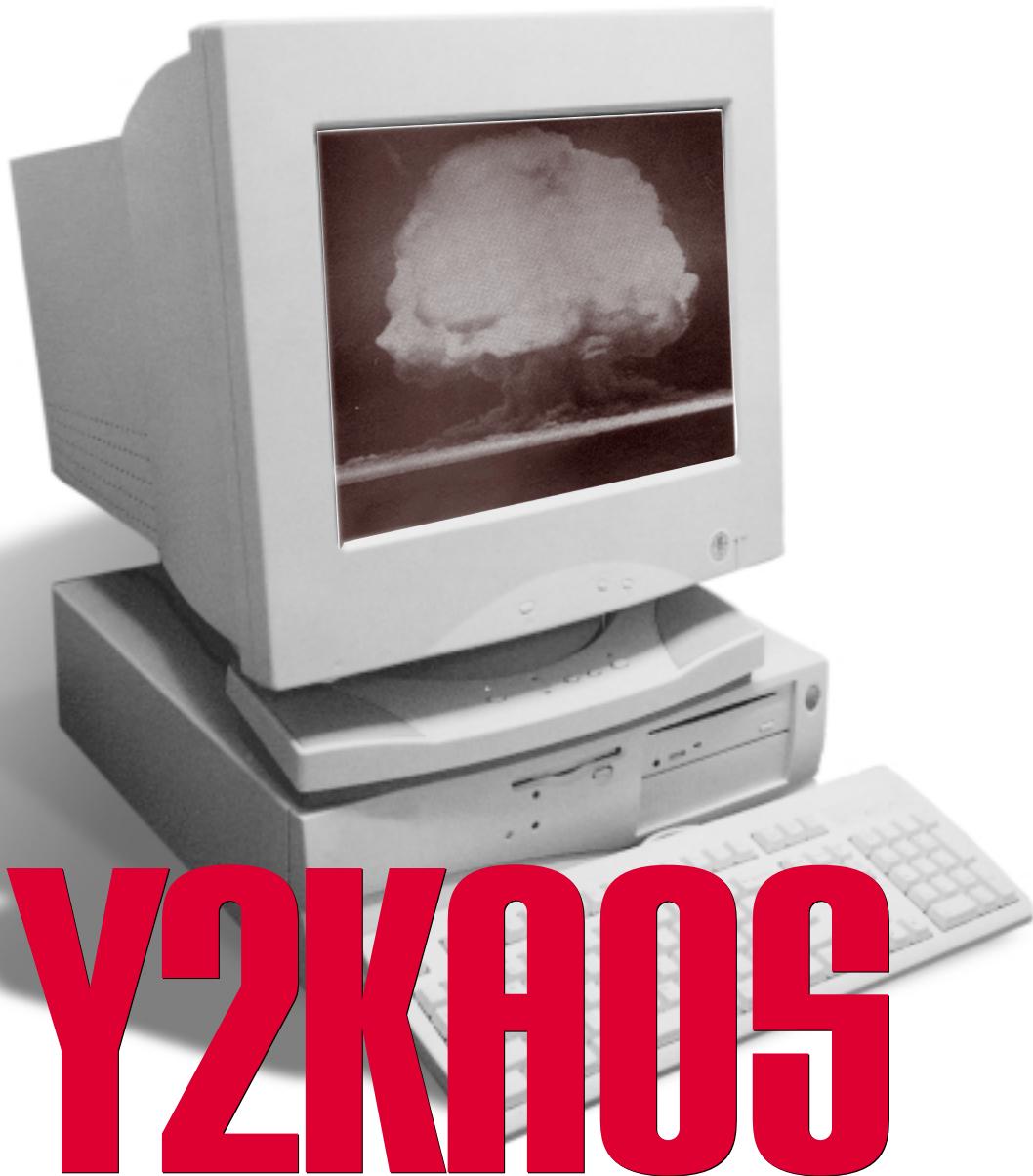
INTELLIGENCE

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Y2KAOS

**Fear of computer bug
fuels far right hysteria**

INTELLIGENCE REPORT 92 THE DISEASE IS HATE

He was a man who was short of stature but large of heart. He was kind, generous to a fault, a well-educated student who longed to join the diplomatic service and work for human rights in this country and the world. And he was gay, a youth who had already faced the prejudice of a society still enmeshed in age-old hatreds and fears.

Now, Matthew Shepard is dead.

Shepard was abducted, beaten with a pistol while he pleaded for his life, robbed and strung up on a fence in rural Wyoming in near-freezing temperatures. There he languished, losing blood for almost a day until he was found by a passing bicyclist. He clung to life without ever regaining consciousness, finally dying almost six days after he left a Laramie tavern in the company of two young toughs.

How did it come to this? Why was a boy on the brink of manhood handed a fate that some preachers, alluding to his near "crucifixion" on the Wyoming fence, have described as Christ-like? What was the road to Laramie?

A year ago, the *Intelligence Report* studied anti-homosexual hate crime and found that gays and lesbians are six times more likely to be the victim of violent hate crime than Jews or Hispanics, and twice as likely as blacks. A 1989 academic study by Baltimore psychologist Kenneth Morgen suggests that even those figures may underestimate the level of anti-homosexual violence. Morgen's study found that 45% of lesbians and 29% of gay men had suffered physical attacks because of their sexual orientation.

DEMONIZING HOMOSEXUALS

If 45% of whites had been attacked because of the color of their skin, there would be a hue and cry the likes of which this country has never seen. But in the case of homosexuals, other Americans have not risen in large numbers to the defense. The voices of outrage have been few, even as vilification of gays and lesbians has grown.

In mainstream America, it is not all right, any more, to attack blacks as subhuman. It's frowned upon to describe women as somehow less than men, to call Mexicans "wetbacks," to speak openly of Jews as conspiratorial "Shylocks" intent on enslaving the world. But it remains okay, apparently, to openly denigrate homosexuals.

On the same day that Shepard was found, the Family Research Council was co-hosting a press conference in Washington, D.C., to announce a series of television advertisements touting the conversion of "former" homosexuals through religion. It was the latest in a six-month religious right campaign that, while claiming to love the sinner while hating the sin, has had the effect of demonizing homosexuals.

"The commercials, gooey in style, end with a slogan: 'It's not about hate ... It's about hope,'" *New York Times* columnist Frank Rich wrote recently. "But it's really about stirring up the fear that produces hate. ... The ads themselves, despite the sugar-coating, ooze malice. ... [They] implicitly posit that homosexuality is itself a disease in need of a cure. Matthew Shepard has now been 'cured,' that's for sure."

In death, Matthew Shepard may help change such attitudes.

ACATALYST FOR CHANGE, OR YESTERDAY'S NEWS?

Since his Oct. 12 murder, many have called for more hate crime laws, which now exist in 41 states. President Clinton has called for passage of a stiffer federal law, and the governor of Wyoming, whose legislature has rejected several attempts to pass such a law, has asked that residents study the matter anew. Hundreds of candlelight vigils have been held, and gay rights organizations nationwide have demanded new protections.

It's not clear what effect hate crime laws really have. Advocates argue that they have deterred hate criminals from carrying out such attacks. Opponents question that assertion, saying these laws needlessly recriminalize actions that are already illegal, and in the process elevate one type of crime victim over others.

While new laws are unlikely to cure the hate crime problem, one thing seems clear: They will draw the nation's attention to it and make an important statement. In an era when Sen. James Inhofe of Oklahoma feels comfortable attacking a gay nominee to an ambassadorship by likening him to former Klansman David Duke, when evangelist Pat Robertson suggests that God may bring destruction to Disney World because of its "Gay Days," hate crime laws can make a statement: American democracy cannot tolerate attacks on entire groups of people based on their innate characteristics.

Matthew Shepard is not the first victim of anti-gay hate, and he, too, may fade into the sunset of yesterday's news. In 1992, there was a wave of national repulsion when Allen Schindler, a Navy enlisted man, was stomped to death in a men's room. There have been other, similar horrors. But the case of Shepard may yet prove to be different. If drawing sustained national attention to the consequences of anti-homosexual hate proves to be his legacy, then perhaps his death will not have been in vain.

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Many far-right extremists expect Armageddon when the Y2K computer problem hits.

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IN THE NEWS THE QUARTER IN REVIEW

Federal authorities have charged Eric Robert Rudolph, the suspect in the Jan. 29 fatal bombing of a Birmingham, Ala., abortion clinic, with the 1996 Olympic park bombing and two other Atlanta-area terrorist attacks in early 1997. Officials say that nails and steel plates recovered from the Centennial Olympic Park bombing, which killed two people and left 100 injured, linked Rudolph to the other bombings. FBI Director Louis Freeh and Attorney General Janet Reno announced the new charges against Rudolph, 32, saying they wanted to discourage anti-abortion sympathizers from helping a man they described as a cold-blooded killer out to hurt as many people as possible. "This man is no hero," Freeh told reporters in October. "The bombs that exploded were carefully designed to the maximum extent to kill and maim and injure the innocent." A secondary bomb left at a Sandy Spring, Ga., women's clinic was aimed at rescue and police personnel and injured seven people when it exploded an hour after the first. Another secondary device was placed at The Otherside Lounge in Atlanta but was detonated by police. The latest attack, at the New Woman All Women Health Care clinic in Birmingham, killed a police officer and maimed the clinic's head nurse. Nine months after that blast, Rudolph remained at large, the object of one of the largest sustained manhunts in FBI history.



Eric Rudolph as he may have appeared at the Atlanta Olympics

Kansas militia leader Brad Glover and another man who allegedly plotted to attack a Texas Army base face a mandatory five years in federal prison after pleading guilty to weapons charges in September. Officials say Glover, 59, and Michael Leonard Dorsett, 43, were arrested early on July 4, 1997, just hours before they planned to attack Fort Hood, where they believed that Communist Chinese troops were training as part of a United Nations plot to take over the United States. FBI agents who arrested the two men at a Texas campground found explosive materials, five semi-automatic pistols, two assault rifles, 1,600 rounds of ammunition, bulletproof vests and a militia operations manual. Eight other people in Texas, Colorado, Indiana, Kansas and Wisconsin also were charged in connection with the plot. Six of them, including a couple caught with 10 pipe bombs, have pleaded guilty to various charges, while the two others still face trial. The plot was uncovered after undercover Missouri state police infiltrated the antigovernment Third Continental Congress, where the plotters had formed a breakaway group.



AP/Wide World Photos

Thirty-two years after ordering the murder of Mississippi civil rights leader Vernon Dahmer Sr., long-time Klan leader Samuel Bowers was handed a life sentence in the firebombing attack. Bowers, the one-time imperial wizard of the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, had been tried four previous times for the murder, but every trial ended in a deadlock. This August, new witnesses testified that Bowers had ordered a "No. 4," Klan code for an assassination, in retaliation for Dahmer's role in helping blacks register to vote. Bowers, now 73, had earlier faced all-white juries, but in the latest trial, five blacks, one Asian and six whites were on the panel. "Oh, this is a happy moment for us," said Dahmer's widow, Ellie Dahmer, now an election official in Mississippi. "It is a moment we have been waiting for about 30 years." A month

after the conviction, Deavours Nix, another former Klan member who was scheduled to stand trial in the Dahmer slaying, died of lung cancer. Bowers, who could be eligible for parole in 10 years, earlier served six years for the 1964 murders of three civil rights workers.

A sixth man in the alleged plot to blow up the Southern Poverty Law Center and assassinate co-founder Morris Dees was convicted in September on federal conspiracy charges. Klansman Wallace Scott Weicherding, a 64-year-old former prison guard and the only one of the group not to plead guilty, faces sentencing later this year. The alleged leader of the group, Dennis McGiffen, was sentenced in a separate court proceeding to more than seven years on weapons charges related to the plot. Prosecutors say McGiffen's group called itself The New Order, after a terrorist group of the 1980s known as The Order that robbed armored cars and killed two people in preparation for a race war. The New Order allegedly planned to blow up buildings, poison the water supplies of major cities, murder a federal judge and other people, and rob banks and armored cars. McGiffen and the others who pleaded guilty claim that these plans, documented in hundreds of hours of conversations secretly taped by an FBI informant, were nothing but drunken boasts.

HATE CRIME ALARMS COLLEGE CAMPUSES

The October murder of a gay University of Wyoming student has raised alarms among educators who fear that hate crimes on and around college campuses may be growing. While it is impossible to know if that is true on the basis of available statistics, there is little question that campuses have seen a wave of recent bias crimes.



His skull bashed in, University of Wyoming student Matthew Shepard was left to die on a lonely fence outside Laramie.



In Minnesota, a college president threatened to resign after a series of racist incidents. In Maine, three white college hockey players allegedly threatened the life of a black student. Hate-fueled fires have been set in Georgia and Michigan dormitories. In North Dakota and Pennsylvania, students have been the victims of racist attacks. Anti-

black or anti-Asian E-mail has been sent to hundreds of students in California, Massachusetts, Nebraska and North Carolina — some 300 of the computer messages allegedly coming from an assistant English professor at

the University of Nebraska at Lincoln.

In 1997, at least 20 college newspapers ran ads for the Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust, a Holocaust denial outfit. The Anti-Defamation League also report-

ed that campus anti-Semitic incidents were up to 104 last year from 90 in 1996.

Colleges and universities traditionally have been extremely reluctant to report crimes on campus, fearing the publicity would drive students and donors away. In fact, despite a federal law requiring the reporting of certain campus hate crimes, just five of 25 institutions studied by the General Accounting Office last year even had such a category.

By coincidence, the same week that Matthew Shepard was abducted near his Wyoming campus, a bill strengthening campus hate crime reporting requirements was signed into law. Sponsored by Sen. Robert Torricelli (D-N.J.), the law expands the types of hate crimes that must be reported by colleges that receive federal funds.

to join in government-sponsored Adopt-A-Highway programs. The programs allow groups to take responsibility for cleaning up litter on a portion of roadway in return for states or localities erecting a sign naming the volunteers, typically civic clubs or businesses.

The highway debate has sparked several court cases around the country, with verdicts going both ways. In 1994, St. Louis authorities refused a Knights' request to adopt a highway. Last year, the Knights also applied to the state of Missouri program and was refused. The Knights sued in that case, and a federal trial has been set for March.

The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, an organization that has produced such notables as one-time presidential candidate David Duke, has lost another battle in its bid to paint itself as a benign group merely interested in doing good for white Christians.

A lawyer for the Klan said he planned to appeal the verdict.

Michael Cuffley, the Knights' Missouri leader, had sought to underwrite the program and have KWMU air a description of the Klan group as "a white Christian organization, standing up for the rights and values of white Christian America since 1865."

The Knights have made other efforts to appear mainstream.

In several cases, including two in Missouri, the group has sought

PUBLIC RADIO VERSUS THE KLAN

lose \$5 million a year in gifts and tuition if it were forced to broadcast a Klan promotion.

A lawyer for the Klan said he planned to appeal the verdict.

Michael Cuffley, the Knights' Missouri leader, had sought to underwrite the program and have KWMU air a description of the Klan group as "a white Christian organization, standing up for the rights and values of white Christian America since 1865."

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KOERNKE FREE ON BAIL

Citing "substantial proof problems," prosecutors in October dropped a felonious assault charge against Mark Koernke, the militia activist and conspiracy-mongering videomaker who is accused of attacking a court official attempting to serve him with a subpoena in late 1997.

Hours later, Koernke posted \$10,000 bond on a remaining bail-jumping charge in the case and was released from the Michigan jail where he spent two months. Koernke, 40, had failed to show up to face the assault charges and was only captured when police

on routine marijuana eradication patrol spotted him trying to flee in disguise.

The assault charge was dropped after Koernke's lawyer, Michael Vincent, presented evidence that the court process server had provoked the attack by a rifle-wielding Koernke. "We proved that the chief witness was committed to doing anything

possible to get something on Mark Koernke, including a willingness to lie," Vincent said.

The court official, Roger Gainer, was serving a subpoena in the trial of John Stephenson, later convicted of the murder of William Gleason.

Stephenson and another man who is still a fugitive, Paul Darland, were accused of killing Gleason because they suspected he was informing on them to Koernke. Stephenson and Darland, both former Koernke followers, had fallen out with Koernke while Gleason remained loyal.

Koernke is well known in the militia movement as "Mark from Michigan," a host of the incendiary "Intelligence Report" shortwave show and the producer of a series of antigovernment videotapes. Koernke had continued to broadcast his radio program while on the lam, allegedly threatening a federal prosecutor in one of his diatribes.



Michigan maintenance man and militia militant Mark Koernke still faces state charges for jumping bail.

MORE CLINIC BOMBS FOUND

Dynamite bombs found outside two North Carolina abortion clinics that had earlier been the targets of arson attacks were defused in October. Passersby spotted the bombs, containing several sticks of dynamite and hooked up to kitchen timers, at

Days later, after several churches withdrew their support, just 200 people showed up at an anti-abortion rally that earlier had been expected to draw more than 2,000. The bombs were found at the opposite end of the state from where a federal manhunt is going on for Eric Robert Rudolph, accused in two earlier clinic bombings, one of them fatal.



UTAH SKINHEAD LEADER JAILED

A sieg-heiling Johnny Bangerter and his all-Aryan Skinhead crew stand in the park they once planned to make a white homeland.

After a year-long cat-and-mouse game with authorities, white supremacist Johnny Bangerter has been sentenced to six months in jail on weapons charges.

Bangerter, who leads the so-called Army of Israel and once vowed to take over Zion National Park as a white homeland, had been a fugitive since August 1997, when he skipped out on a sentencing hearing for carrying a loaded gun in his car.

During his time on the lam, Bangerter, 29, fortified his La Verkin, Utah, home and frequently boasted to reporters that he would not be taken by law enforcement officials. But the local sheriff refused to be drawn into a standoff, saying the tough-talking Bangerter was "very paranoid" and promising to arrest him without violence.

Bangerter, the second cousin of a former Utah governor, is well known on the racist right. After years as a Skinhead in Las Vegas, he moved to Utah with a band of followers. He acknowledged to one reporter that he had spoken of wanting to blow up federal



Hard-line extremists August Kreis (pictured) and James Wickstrom called an August meeting to discuss race war scenarios prompted by the Y2K bug.

Prepare for war. It's coming!" With those words, hard-line racist preacher James Wickstrom warned an August gathering of extremists in Pennsylvania of the end-times battle he expects in the year 2000 — a battle he believes will be set off by the so-called "Y2K" computer bug.

Across the extreme-right spectrum, such fears of a societal breakdown sparked by computer date-change problems have set activists afire. While Wickstrom's prophecies may be the most explosive, similar millennial fears are dominating the headlines of the radical press. The airwaves are reverberating with warnings to head for the hills and hunker down for possible riots and race war. The Internet is replete with similarly dire scenarios.

When the crash comes, Wickstrom enjoined some 30 followers, "get out of the way for a while and then go hunting, O Israel!" Like the biblical figure of David, godly whites must "fill our shoes with the blood of our enemies and walk in them." Wickstrom lives, he said, "for the day I can walk down the road and see heads on the fence posts."

If the race war scenario such men envision is a fantasy, the computer problem they believe will set it off is not. Authorities ranging from President Clinton to leaders of industry around the world believe that Y2K — which is short for "Year 2000" — could lead to major social and economic snarls, even a worldwide depression.

The problem originated with early computer programmers who abbreviated date references to two digits — as in "98" for 1998 — in order to save then-precious bytes of computer memory. At the turn of the century, experts say, many computers could crash or spew

nonsensical data as they confuse "00" for 1900. While predictions vary hugely, many officials and experts believe there could be serious problems in banking, food supplies, air traffic control, nuclear and electrical power, defense and any number of other sectors.

Many fear a recession. And there are those who forecast even worse.

'SOMETHING WILL HAPPEN'

Regardless of the actual result — and many experts see the headline-making Y2K story as a tempest in a teacup — there is no question that a large number of extremists have pegged the year 2000 as a critical date. For many, it will be the time when Christian patriots, the "children of light," must do battle with the satanic "forces of darkness." Others believe "one-world" conspirators will attack American patriots on that date.

This has not been lost on those who battle right-wing terror. Early next year, the FBI will launch a nationwide assessment of the threat of domestic terrorism on and around Jan. 1, 2000. "I worry that every day something could happen somewhere," Robert Blitzer, head of the FBI's domestic terrorism unit, told the *Los Angeles Times* recently (also see interview, p. 8).

"The odds are that something will happen."

Hard-line revolutionaries like Wickstrom are not the only ones to tie apocalyptic visions to the Y2K problem. Pat Robertson's relatively mainstream Christian Broadcasting Network (CBN), for instance, offers news stories describing the computer bug and its possible ramifications such as "The Year 2000: A Date With

Disaster" and "Countdown to Chaos: Prophecy for 2000." Robertson markets a CBN video, "Preparing for the Millennium: A CBN News Special Report," that includes a synopsis of "the Y2K computer crisis" with his futuristic novel, *The End of an Age*, which describes a "possible scenario of a future biblical Armageddon" triggered by a meteor's crash.

The audience for such ideas is not even limited to evangelical Christians. A large number of new religious books have crossed over strongly into the secular market.

Left Behind, a recent series of four apocalyptic novels co-authored by an evangelical Christian minister and a former journalist, has sold almost 3 million copies. The series made "publishing history in September when all four of the books ascended to the top four slots on Publishers Weekly magazine's lists of bestsellers," according to a report in *The New York Times*. The book's authors say every major prophecy of the biblical Book of Revelations has been fulfilled, and they expect the Y2K bug could set off the crisis.

Y2K AND THE ANTICHRIST

"It could very well trigger a financial meltdown," co-author Tim LaHaye writes on his publisher's Web site, which attracts 80,000 electronic visits a day, "leading to an international depression, which would make it possible for the antichrist or his emissaries to establish a one-world currency or a one-world economic system, which will dominate the world commercially until it is destroyed."

The series has spun off a companion children's book series, a music CD, T-shirts and caps. More books and a movie also are in the works, the *Times* reported. And now, Tennessee trade magazine publisher Tim Wilson has launched a new periodical, *Y2K News Magazine*, that includes tips on defending property from would-be attackers.

Reaction to the Y2K problem on the extreme fringes of the right has varied widely, usually depending on the religious or ideological bent of each group. Probably the most consistent theme has been a survivalist one, with ideologues warning that people must prepare for the worst. And entrepreneurs around the country have leaped to take advantage of these fears, offering for sale everything from dried foods to underground bunkers.

At the Preparedness Expo '98 held in Atlanta last June, for instance, at least a dozen speakers offered bleak assessments of the coming crisis. For those who took the bait, there was a plethora of products available: water purifiers, hundreds of types of storable foods from "enzyme-rich vegetable juice extracts" to "gourmet" dehydrated fruits, seeds, herbal medicines, "Cozy Cruiser" trailers and all manner of books on survival skills.

Such merchants aren't the only ones pandering to millennial fear.

LAND, GOLD AND MEDICAL SCHOOL

In Idaho, so-called "Patriot" James "Bo" Gritz hawks remote lots of land that he describes as "an ark in the time of Noah," along with a huge range of survivalist

products and training (see p. 12). In Montana, Militia of Montana leader John Trochmann has a catalog of holocaust-survival items. In states around the country, far-right "investment counselors" sell strategies to protect one's money as civilization collapses. And on the Internet, two self-described "Christian Patriots" signing themselves Michael Johnson and Paul Byus offer "foolproof" gold certificates to a mining claim in Oregon.

"We [also] have set up schools to cover kindergarten, 1st thru 12th grades, adult school, community college, 4 yr college, university, and even the medical school I told you about 6 months ago," one of the Internet salesmen claims. "Bring your kids and entire family to participate in our secure decentralized Patriot community..."

Other reactions on the extreme right run the gamut, from seeing the crisis as an opportunity for global conspirators to seize dictatorial powers, to viewing it as an opening for revolution or a fulfillment of biblical prophecy. Recent examples:

- *The New American*, an organ of the ultraconservative John Birch Society, speculates that the Y2K bug could be America's Reichstag fire, a reference to the 1933 arson attack on Germany's Parliament building that was used by Hitler as an excuse to enact police state laws. "[C]ould the Millennium Bug provide an ambitious President with an opportunity to seize dictatorial powers?" the magazine asks. "Such a notion seems plausible..."

- Norm Olson, a Michigan militia leader, is busy doing "wolfpack" training for the apocalypse, reports *Media Bypass*, a magazine popular among Patriots. "Survival is the key. As with most other people, we will rely on our self-supporting 'covenant community,'" said Olson, who believes constitutional rights probably will be suspended before the real crisis hits. "It will be the worst time for humanity since the Noahic flood."

- In his *AntiShyster* magazine, Patriot editor Alfred Adask speaks of entire cities running out of food and of the possibility of "millions of American fatalities." "If the Y2K information I've seen is accurate, we are facing a problem of Biblical proportions," he says. "Potentially, Y2K ... [is] a dagger pointed at the heart of Western Civilization."

- Bo Gritz's *Center for Action* newsletter, describing Y2K as "a pandemic electronic virus more deadly than AIDS," predicts "worldwide chaos" and then goes on to offer lots for sale at Gritz's "Almost Heaven" community. "If Y-2-K has the predicted effect ... we can expect to see, out of the ashes of decimated fiat systems and economic chaos, the rise of a 'MONEY MESSIAH,' who will offer a miraculous fix to a bleeding, begging world," Gritz adds. He also predicts imposition of a worldwide "electronic currency."

- Writing in *The Jubilee*, the leading periodical of the racist and anti-Semitic Christian Identity religion, correspondent Chris Temple says that "the net result of the Year 2000 problem as I have described it will be POSITIVE! Internationalism and capitalism will be dealt severe blows; efforts to recapture local control ... will spread."

We are facing a problem of Biblical proportions. Potentially, Y2K ... [is] a dagger pointed at the heart of Western Civilization."

• In his *Patriot Report*, Identity proselytizer George Eaton concludes: "We need to act as if our lives depend upon our decisions, because they do. What can we do? Continue to work and save up money for survival items. ... A person can never be over-prepared."

• In a July Internet posting on a Klan news page, a contributor described as a computer programmer demands that the federal government "surrender" in return for programmers' assistance in fixing the Y2K bug. The posting speaks of "the thousands (probably millions) joining us in our rural retreats. We've got the bibles, the beans, the bandages, the bullets — and the brains. ... You will reap what you have sewn [sic]. ... Some cities will indeed end in flames — flames that will light a path to our posterity's freedom."

FROM FALLOUT SHELTERS TO Y2K

Interestingly, one of the most salient commentators on the Y2K problem — a man often quoted in the mainstream press — has been Gary North. North is a hard-line opponent of abortion and a theocratic thinker who advocates imposing biblical law on the United States. In his books, he has written of the possibility of a "political and military" confrontation "in the philosophical war against political pluralism." Although he is widely described as a Y2K "expert," he is also something of a professional doomsayer.

In 1986, long before the Y2K problem came to public attention, North co-authored a book on how to survive nuclear Armageddon. Called *Fighting Chance: Ten Feet to Survival*, it features a shovel — for digging fallout shelters — on its cover.

North's huge Y2K Web site has made him into a guru to many extremists. The neo-Nazi Aryan Nations is one of many groups that link their Web sites to that of North.

"These are people who are super-sensitive to anything that suggests the collapse of social institutions," Michael Barkun, a Syracuse University expert on millennialism, said of Y2K fearmongers. "Since nuclear war really is no longer out there as a terribly likely way for civilization to end, they've got to find something else. Y2K is convenient."

Many experts, including Barkun and the FBI's Blitzer, agree that extremists' fears and hopes surrounding Y2K have increased the danger of domestic terrorism. "It adds to apocalyptic fears," says Chip Berlet, who studies the far right for Cambridge-based Political Research Associates. "Therefore, it adds to the potential for violence."

James Wickstrom may best illustrate that potential.

At the meeting he co-hosted with Identity leader August Kreis in Ulysses, Pa., he warned his audience — several clad in Aryan Nations uniforms — that authorities would use the crisis to confiscate weapons, conduct forced marches of Americans into concentration camps and eliminate private medical facilities. Already, he warned, national food reserves have been deliberately reduced from 230 million to 2 million tons. Two-thirds of godly white racists, he predicted, will die in the war that comes in 2000.

The enemy, said Wickstrom, must be "exterminated." He must be "shot." He must be "hanged." "The battle is upon us," Wickstrom bellowed. "Battle!" ▲

"Many of these groups have apocalyptic visions. ... I think it's just another manifestation of their paranoia."

FIGHTING TERRORISM LEADING FBI OFFICIAL DISCUSSES DOMESTIC TERRORISM

Robert Blitzer is the FBI's point man on handling the threat posed by domestic extremist movements. As the chief of domestic terrorism and counterterrorism planning, he oversees FBI units dealing with analysis of the terrorist threat, criminal and intelligence investigations, weapons of mass destruction, domestic preparedness and other matters. In an interview with the Intelligence Report, Blitzer discussed extremist views of the year 2000 and the Y2K computer bug, weapons of mass destruction, and the state of the antigovernment and white supremacist movements.

INTELLIGENCE REPORT: We've seen a great deal of talk in American extremist movements, parts of which are deeply affected by millennial beliefs, about the coming of the year 2000. Is the FBI noticing the same thing?

BLITZER: My analytical people are seeing snippets of this out there, both on the Net and to a lesser degree in our investigative activity. Many of these groups have apocalyptic visions. Sometimes that's connected to the millennium and sometimes it's not. The millennium is certainly an event that a lot of extremists are focusing on. There probably is some sense that something will happen. We're not seeing anything in the cases that we've been working pointing to any particular planned violent action around that time. But a lot of the groups are very security-

conscious and operate in a clandestine fashion, so we won't always know when something is about to happen.

IR: How would you assess the potential threat?

BLITZER: I think it's going to continue the way it has over the last couple of years, with little eruptions happening here and there around the nation. We've had cases, for instance, like the Klan case outside Fort Worth, Texas, where they were going to blow up a [gas] tank farm. There was the group in Illinois connected to the Aryan Nations that was planning some terrorist operations. We had the Phineas Priests up in the Pacific Northwest, robbing money from banks and blowing up facilities as diversions. That's the kind of pattern that I've seen over the last three years, and I don't see that changing.

IR: There's also been a lot of talk in the movement about the so-called "Y2K" computer problem. How does that fit into the picture?

BLITZER: I think it's just another manifestation of their paranoia. It's like everything else that we've seen in the past — black helicopters, those kinds of things. It's another element of that paranoia about the government taking over and becoming totalitarian. This is just a newer thing for them to pound on.

IR: You recently discussed conducting a national assessment of dangers surrounding the year 2000. What are you planning?

BLITZER: I was speaking not so much of a formal assessment as an informal polling of all FBI field offices prior to the year 2000. We want to see what they're hearing through their contacts just to get a sense, a national sense, of what's going on.

IR: You recently told Congress that the number of investigations into the use of chemical, biological, radiological and nuclear materials had risen to 86 this year over 68 in 1997. How serious is that threat?

BLITZER: My sense is that the threat is low in the arena of weapons of mass destruction. We're seeing lone individuals engaging in either hoaxes or actual cases. These are the people I'm most afraid of, the people capable of doing something like another Oklahoma City bomb. It doesn't take but one or two people to put a major bomb like that together. The ability of law enforcement to discover and prevent that kind of an act, absent help from someone who knows what they're up to, is very slim.

We've had guys playing with [the deadly toxin] ricin and we've had some anthrax threat cases. There's also concern that some state sponsor who has the scientific know-how could decide to hurt a lot of people using some kind of biological or chemical device. I think everyone feels that's out in the future. There's no indication that this is going to happen anytime soon, but that being said, the intelligence game is not perfect.

The biological and chemical know-

how to make these things is out there, but the technical capability to execute an attack is a different thing. If you're handling that stuff you really have to have training. If you're doing biologicals, in particular, it can be very scary — you better really know what you're doing. A chemical [attack], on the other hand, is not as hard. But it still is not that easy, technically, to disperse the stuff.

IR: Some politicians have complained that the country isn't preparing quickly enough for such a threat. How well prepared are we?

BLITZER: We're making progress, but I think there's still a long way to go. I think the attorney general and others at senior levels are committed to trying to improve things.

IR: There seems to have been a remarkable rise in the number of domestic terrorism conspiracies in the three-and-a-half years since the Oklahoma City bombing. How many such cases is the FBI working presently?

BLITZER: It seems to hover right around 1,000 [compared to fewer than 100 before the Oklahoma City attack]. There are a lot of bombing cases around the United States that come under the domestic terrorism mantle. I'm always running a half a dozen to a dozen domestic terrorism intelligence cases — a very small number. The vast majority of my cases are investigating crimes that have already occurred and that have been linked in one way or another to a domestic terrorism group.

There are really two things going on

here. Because we've had additional resources [with the hiring of several hundred new agents], we've been able to do a better job in preventing or at least identifying criminal activity. When you've got people out there working it, you're developing additional investigations that may have gone unnoticed in past years.

IR: Almost all the major terrorist conspiracies have been stopped by law enforcement before people were killed or buildings blown up. To what do you attribute these successes?

BLITZER: Frankly, I think the reason is that we've had such good interaction in our task forces between state and local police, the bureau and other federal law enforcement agencies such as Secret Service and ATF. That synergy has been there. We've done a lot of training with the states and locals through a couple of programs we've had.

Also, everyone in this nation, including the law enforcement family, was very deeply touched by Oklahoma City, and so police nowadays are much more vigilant when they see things happen. A lot of these cases have come to us through other law enforcement agencies and through people [inside the movement] who just don't want to be involved in something like that. In the Fort Worth case, one of the guys just couldn't do it — he didn't want to kill a lot of people. In another Texas case, there were two guys who were going to go down to Fort Hood [a large Army base in Killeen] and do some assassinations. That came to us from an undercover operation being run by state police.

So I'm knocking on wood here, but we've had a good run. Still, you just don't

know what else is out there. You can't be everywhere. It's a big country with a lot of people.

IR: We've noticed that the so-called "Patriot" movement seems to have shrunk in size but at the same time become more hard-line. Would you agree?

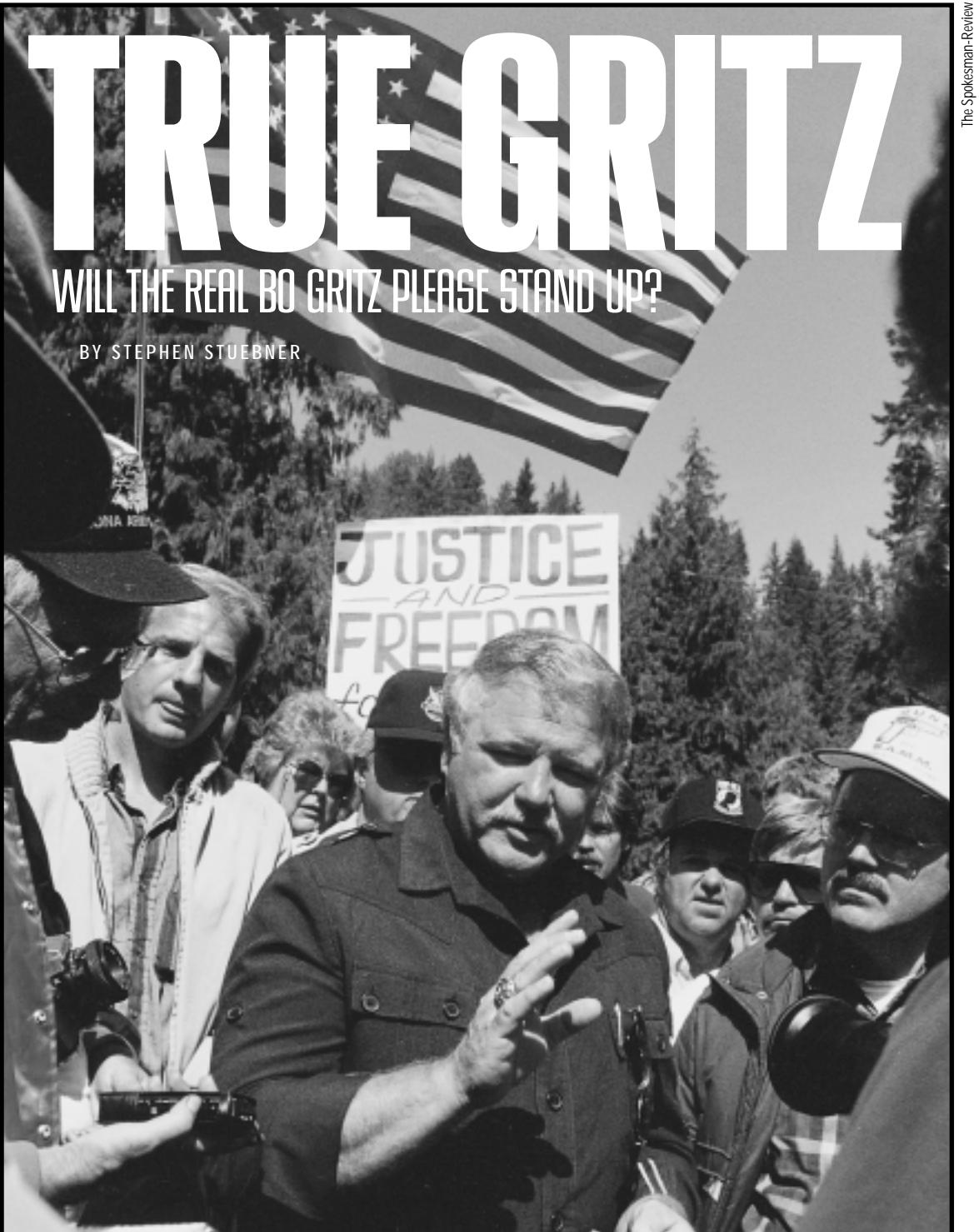
BLITZER: I think it has really flattened out. There was a big surge [in numbers] after the Persian Gulf conflict and even prior to the Oklahoma City bombing. After Oklahoma, a lot of people seemed to sit back and say, "Is this really what we want?" It's one thing to defend your country — and a lot of these militia groups believe they are defending their country — but it's another to be tainted by the murder of your own citizens.

So there is a smaller number of groups. But I do think that what is left is more serious people, more serious than those who we saw in the early '90s out there training in the woods. They are much more concerned about security and being penetrated by law enforcement. They're just more careful.

IR: How would you categorize the kinds of threats the FBI is seeing now on the domestic terrorism front?

BLITZER: They really cut across a lot of different areas. You have people who have personal beefs with other people. I've seen them go off on divorce matters. There are people who are mentally unstable. You have people who have a grudge against the government for many reasons — and it doesn't have to be the federal government. We also get a lot of hoaxes. But you have to treat each one seriously. The one you don't focus on could be the one to get you.

"Lone individuals ... are the people I'm most afraid of, the people capable of doing something like another Oklahoma City bomb."



Never one to shun publicity, Bo Gritz brought 86 volunteers to North Carolina in August to make sure federal agents — "a bunch of Nazis ... militarized police" — brought in an accused abortion clinic bomber without bloodshed. He left a week later, emptyhanded.

KAMIAH, Idaho — Late on a Sunday afternoon in September, James "Bo" Gritz was found on a gravel driveway near here, lying next to his GMC pickup truck with a self-inflicted gunshot wound in his chest.

Clad in a military uniform bedecked with ribbons and medals, Gritz, 59, had shot himself with a .45-caliber semi-automatic pistol on the outskirts of Orofino, about 25 miles from his so-called "constitutional covenant community," Almost Heaven. Remarkably, he was alive.

Somehow, Gritz, a man who has bragged for decades of his well-honed ability to kill, had missed the target — if he ever truly intended to commit suicide.

Within moments of pulling the trigger, the shot echoed around extremist and other circles throughout the nation. What could have caused the supposed model for the movie character "Rambo," the boastful and self-confident 1992 Populist Party presidential candidate, the former Green Beret and "Patriot" leader, to shoot himself?

The Spokesman-Review

TRUE GRITZ

WILL THE REAL BO GRITZ PLEASE STAND UP?

BY STEPHEN STUEBNER

Just three days earlier, on Sept. 17, Gritz told the *Intelligence Report* that the prospect of losing his wife of 24 years, Claudia, was too much to take. Claudia had left the man she married at age 16 a month before and filed for divorce on Sept. 11.

"It's the damndest thing," he said during a three-hour interview in his spacious, book-lined office overlooking the Clearwater River Valley. "I've never been afraid of anything on earth. It's what makes me a warrior. But I'm frightened for the first time in my life. I used to have nightmares, and I'd wake up and my bride would be there. I would praise her, and thank God, and I'd go back to sleep.

"Now, I dream of her, and I wake up, and it's a nightmare."

BREAKING BRICKS AND SUICIDE

This is a man who has trained thousands of antigovernment zealots to prepare for Armageddon, a propagandist who exhorts his followers in thinly disguised terms to stand up to the Jewish-led "New World Order." He is the seemingly invincible Special Forces commando who survived six years of combat in Vietnam, a bear of a man who breaks bricks with his bare hands. But apparently Gritz wasn't prepared for the emotional bomb blast of his wife's departure.

Was it a suicide attempt? Some kind of desperate effort to evoke sympathy, to bring his wife back home? A bizarre publicity stunt?

"We're kind of cynical up here, but obviously, if anyone would know how to kill himself, it's Bo Gritz," said Larry Nims, a 30-year resident of Kamiah (pronounced cam-ee-eye) and a member of the Clearwater Valley Citizens for Human Rights. "We don't know if it's something he did to get Claudia back, or if he had some subconscious wish to remain mortal.

"Who knows?"

In the interview, Gritz spoke plainly of suicide. "I've thought about looking at the other end of my pistol a few times," he said. "What kind of life do I have without my bride? ... She's been my dream girl. Now my reality is my nightmare."

Gritz's apparent suicide attempt caps a year in which his personal, financial and legal affairs have fallen apart.

Longtime business partner and 1992 presidential campaign coordinator Jerry Gillespie, a former Arizona state senator, left Almost Heaven in disgrace last winter after allegedly squandering \$1 million in revenues from land sales. (Gillespie couldn't be reached for comment.) Suddenly, Gritz says he found himself owing a local bank \$85,000, in addition to tens of thousands of dollars in debts owed elsewhere.

"We didn't check the books," Gritz said. "It devastated us."

A 'TROJAN HORSE' FACES KIDNAP CHARGES

Meanwhile, Gritz and his son, Jim, face felony charges of attempted kidnapping, custodial interference and

conspiracy to commit both crimes in Enfield County, Conn. The charges were made in connection with a 1996 effort to "protect" the two sons of a woman named Linda Wiegand from what she loudly claimed on the militia circuit was satanic sexual abuse by her husband. (The court that awarded the father custody found no such evidence.) The Gritzes were arrested at the boys' school just before classes let out. Jim Gritz also was charged with carrying a concealed knife. If convicted, they could serve up to 25 years in prison. Gritz says he had to take out a \$100,000 loan just to make bail.

"Getting involved in the Linda Wiegand case was the biggest mistake of my life," Gritz said. "But I wanted to protect those boys." Jim's wife, Gritz's daughter-in-law Vicci, calls the case "the nightmare that won't go away."

On top of that, Gritz is being attacked by others in the antigovernment movement as being more of a publicity hound and survivalist huckster — a "Pay-triot" — than a true believer. Hard-liners bitterly criticize his role in the search for accused abortion clinic and Olympics bomber Eric Robert Rudolph. Amid much uncritical national publicity, Gritz spent a week in August in a vain attempt to bring Rudolph out of the North Carolina woods, where he apparently has holed up since the Jan. 29 clinic bombing in Birmingham, Ala.

"Eric does NOT need saving especially by the likes of the Trogen [sic] horse Gritz," wrote August Kreis, a hardcore pastor of the violently anti-Semitic Christian Identity religion. Gritz, according to like-minded extremists, is a "Zionist Occupied Government" agent who would merely hand Rudolph over to the government "Beast."

FEAR, AND A LONGSTANDING 'MISTRESS'

Such attacks notwithstanding, Gritz has long been at home in the antigovernment movement.

Even as he parlayed his wartime exploits and personal charisma into a kind of folk hero status, he has repeatedly flirted with white supremacist leaders and groups. He openly labels homosexuals as "faggots" and preaches paranoid anti-Semitic notions about Jews taking over the world, the media and the federal government. In dire terms, he tells all who will listen about the end of the world and the people who are bringing it.

He preaches fear and then sells the products to cope.

For years, Gritz has travelled the country offering a series of well-attended paramilitary training sessions under the acronym SPIKE — Specially Prepared Individuals for Key Events. In them, and in the pricey, 12-part SPIKE video series he also hawks, he sells the skills he learned in Vietnam and elsewhere, from close-quarters combat to field interrogation techniques. Thousands of men and women have emerged from these elaborate training seminars with the know-how to fight a war. And indeed, many have gone on to join the violence-prone wing of the extremist antigovernment movement.

He is a popular host on "Freedom Calls," a Talk America AM radio show said to reach 4 million listeners.

"Why is there such an intense effort toward Jewish control? ... I don't think it is right for such a small interest group to control our nation."

ers five days a week, and his Center for Action produces a newsletter that is rife with conspiracy theories and antigovernment lore. In these venues, and on his Web site, Gritz advertises a plethora of survivalist items (see below), ranging from lock-picking sets to countersurveillance techniques to "offensive driving" training — skills that could teach people to be criminals, terrorists or well-equipped locksmiths.

When movement fugitives like Rudolph run from justice, Gritz appears as a Johnny-on-the-spot, leaping at the chance to negotiate between the authorities and suspects who hate the federal government. He showed up at the Montana Freemen's 1997 standoff, and again this year in North Carolina. Gritz's biggest — and only — success involved the peaceful surrender of white supremacist Randy Weaver in 1992.

His zeal to "save" people from the feds seems to be a throwback to the days when he was a Special Forces commando in Vietnam. He dedicates his autobiography *Called To Serve* to his wife Claudia, and to his "mistress, SF" — short for Special Forces. Throughout his adult life, he never could leave that mistress alone.

THE RUDOLPH FACTOR

So it was with Rudolph.

It didn't matter that Rudolph, 32, had been discharged from the U.S. Army for using illegal drugs. It didn't matter that Gritz believed that Rudolph had the know-how to be a bomber and probably did carry out

the Birmingham attack. As Gritz explains in his lavishly worded style, he was called by God.

"It was well into the night, the house was dark, my bride lay asleep, as I stood before the plate-glass window in our living room looking out into a sea of darkness and distant diamonds of light," he said. "My heart lovingly focused on communion with our Creator. 'Father, I would do thy will. Please help me.'

Gritz had been to Rudolph's neck of the woods before. On as many as eight occasions, he held SPIKE training sessions there at the invitation of the late Identity leader Nord Davis Jr. Rudolph, a Southern Poverty Law Center investigation has found, was a Davis follower and a longtime believer in Identity theology.

Prior to her departure from Almost Heaven, Claudia tried to reason with her husband. "Honey, I wish you'd reconsider your options," Gritz remembers her saying.

But Gritz plunged ahead, leading 86 volunteers in a fruitless search through the dense brush and limestone caves of the Nantahala National Forest. What he wanted was to keep "a bunch of Nazis ... militarized police" from another Waco. What he and his Confederate-flag-capped followers got was a week of beatings, bruises and boredom.

On the day of his return, Claudia packed up her belongings, grabbed the keys to their motor home and left Almost Heaven. Three weeks later, she filed for divorce, citing "irreconcilable differences" in an Idaho County court document.

\$36.95. Basic Year's Supply of Food for 1 Adult (pinto beans, rice, powdered milk, salt, "sugar OR honey plus cooking instructions"), a steal at \$490.

There are convenient lock pick sets (they're for "Defense Against Restricted Entry"), from the \$7.95 garden-variety version to the \$24.95 deluxe set. The July special was the Stereoscopic Glasses & Topographic Map Book Set, \$10 off. And in case you're worried about missing Bo's radio show, he's got radios from \$44 to \$269, postpaid.

You may want to spend your time in the woods reading up on the state of the world. No problem. From anti-Semite Eustace Mullins' "The New World Order" to "legal consultant" Howard Freeman's views of the courts, they're in stock. You can find out the truth about bar codes, the Federal Reserve and the AIDS conspiracy. Or, if you're just stuck on the classics, there's a keeper in "Our Ageless Constitution," a trifling \$28.95.

But even in these trying times, it's cleanliness that's next to godliness. And so, at \$40, there's a kit for making soap at home, "for those who truly desire self-sufficiency." Its title — which might well apply to all of Gritz's hardware — says it all: "Bucket of Bubbles."

'BUCKET OF BUBBLES'

FACING THE END-TIMES? BO CAN HELP

Looking for an herbal cure for bedwetting? A piece of Idaho land to ride out the battle of Armageddon, or a tryout set of lock picks for autos, foreign and domestic? How about a "kubotan" defense tool, Spyder Clip-It Endura Knife or some Respond 2, specially prepared formula of CS gas/pepper spray, "80 times more effective" than Mace?

Who you gonna call? Try end-times-buster James "Bo" Gritz.

This retired Special Forces lieutenant colonel has it all. In between lecturing on the evils of the "six-pointed star" and government conspiracies stretching from Laos to Arkansas, Gritz will sell you what you need to survive the coming holocaust. If Gritz doesn't offer your preferred survivalist items at his Web site or in the catalog his Center for Action puts out, it is probably not needed in what he calls

this "time of Noah."

Getting ready for the end? There are 12 different videos of Gritz's SPIKE (Specially Prepared Individuals for Key Events) training at \$75 a pop. Learn how to create a safe zone in your house, conduct photo intelligence, birth children in the wilds. Brush up on "Quick Kill Instinctive Shooting," aircraft landings and parachute operations. Hear the latest on countersurveillance, stick fighting, field surgery, interrogation and hypnosis.

When the computers crash, it may be time to get back to Mother Nature. In the know is Bo, whose prices really are quite low: Family Herb Kit (includes tinctures, powders, poultices, salves and oils), \$99.95. GETAWAY 72 Hr. 2 Person Duffel Bag ("It's a hurricane, flood, tornado — IT'S THE FEDS!!!"), \$199.95. Homeopathic Flu Solution ("IT WORKS!!"),

THE ARK TAKES ON WATER

High on a timbered bluff overlooking the Clearwater River in north central Idaho, Gritz discovered his own personal Shangri-La. Gritz says he found this spot, "the safest place in America," after studying weather, water supply, defensibility, nuclear strike probabilities, earthquake zones and other potential hazards. Far from the cities he sees as potential riot centers, he established his "ark in a time of Noah."

Gritz didn't wait long to make a splash.

He ingratiated himself with locals in a 1994 Kamiah town meeting by calling the public school system a "cesspool." Various government officials, he pronounced, were "faggots."

"When most people move into a rural area, they know enough to keep a low profile," Larry Nims said. "Gritz came here and made a lot of noise. He told people that if they didn't like him, then get out of Dodge. And I'm thinking, 'Who's he to tell people around here to get out of Dodge?' He didn't even live in Dodge yet."

Almost Heaven was conceived as a place to weather the end-times, a community that Gritz and Gillespie would develop by selling lots to like-minded people willing to abide by certain rules. But after starting out strong, the venture quickly turned into something of a business disaster.

Aside from the problems with Gillespie, there have been others. The two men began by setting up what turned out to be an illegal common-law trust called Constitutional Properties of America (CPA) for buying and selling property. They offered lots under a "biblical" no-interest leasing program, after which buyers supposedly could buy out the lease and obtain title to their homes.

But new residents were chagrined to discover that they couldn't get title to their lots or title insurance because a common-law trust cannot acquire title to property in Idaho. A few of them have filed civil suits. One lot-buyer, Richard Sullivan of San Mateo, Calif., filed a consumer complaint with the Idaho attorney general's office.

"They created a mess for themselves," said Dennis Albers, a Gritz attorney who has created a new legal entity called Constitutional Properties of America Holdings, Ltd., in Nevada. "I'm trying to get Bo in a position of providing assurable titles."

In the meantime, disgruntled lessees like Sullivan were attacked for complaining publicly. "How dare you!" Gritz wrote Sullivan on June 21, 1997. "You have

lied about me. You will stop and rectify these lies immediately or face consequences." Sullivan worked with a Realtor to sell his property. He never moved to Almost Heaven.

Several contractors also filed lawsuits against CPA, Gritz and Gillespie, alleging they failed to pay for road construction work, well-drilling and culvert placement. Kamiah excavation contractor Robert McKay, for instance, filed a claim for \$22,781.

"I wouldn't work for that outfit again," McKay said.

WE STAND READY

Greg Heun is Gritz's new land salesman at Almost Heaven now that Gillespie is gone. Heun says about 80% of the lots have been sold at Almost Heaven I and II, and another Gritz development called Shenandoah. Fifty lots are occupied and 20 remain for sale, he says. Jack McLamb — a former Phoenix police officer who is a longtime friend of Gritz's and a conspiracy-mongering Patriot leader — is developing an adjacent "constitutional community" that he calls Doves of the Valley.

Almost Heaven is not a gated community, a compound protected by armed guards like some others in the antigovernment movement. Former Quaker-owned wheat and hay farms have been cut up into smaller lots, many of them now occupied by cheap trailers. A few more well-to-do residents have built spacious log homes.

Heun is typical of many who have moved to Gritz's development. He says he brought his wife and three children to Almost Heaven in July 1995 to escape the rat race in Phoenix. He's been to eight of Gritz's paramilitary



Steve Hanks/Lewiston (ID) Morning Tribune



Rich Sugg/The Kansas City Star
Gritz displays his hatred of global organizations by burning the flag of the United Nations.

SPIKE training sessions.

"Bo Gritz's SPIKE," his black cap reads. "We Stand Ready."

"The thing I see are some real hard times coming for the future," Heun said. "If we have an economic depression and the armed gangs take over, the cities will be dangerous places to be. We won't get away from it up here, but we won't take a direct blow."

Gritz can sound militaristic when it suits his needs — but he's not ready to pull the trigger.

"I would love to form a patriot army of Constitutional Rangers and plan a war against the international banksters and power brokers," he wrote in a 1994 newsletter. "But this is not the strongest urgings of my spirit."

That doesn't sit well with some people. Chad Erickson, leader of a militia called the Idaho Mountain Boys, said he's disappointed in Gritz's lack of interest in building an army. "I went to one of Bo's Preparedness Expos in Seattle in 1992, and the Bo Gritz running for president is not the same Bo Gritz who lives up here.

"I guess he's mellowed out a little."

THE REAL BO GRITZ

Gritz has been many things to many people. He's been called a war hero and a patriot, a white supremacist and an anti-Semite. Who is the real Gritz?

Bo Gritz was born in Oklahoma on Jan. 18, 1939, an only child who arrived at the outset of World War II. His father, an Army Air Corps pilot, was shot out of the sky in November 1944, when Bo was five. His mother also served in the war as a ferry pilot, leaving Bo to be raised by his grandparents. From early childhood, the military fascinated him.

Gritz attended the Fort Union Military Academy

and, at age 18, he enlisted in the Army. He was a hard-headed recruit, court-martialed twice but acquitted while still in basic training. He became a Green Beret and Special Forces officer in Vietnam, beginning in 1965. "I needed to be tested," Gritz wrote later. "I wanted to go out and hit something."

Gritz commanded a mobile guerrilla force assigned to missions in the "dark zones" of North Vietnam, places that had never been penetrated by U.S. forces. Gen. William Westmoreland, in his memoirs, singled Gritz out as a classic American war hero.

In these years, Gritz had two children, James and Jay, with his first wife, and two others, Micheil and Melody, by a woman he describes as an ethnic Chinese former prostitute from Vietnam. While getting a master's degree in communications at American University in 1974, he married Claudia, then a karate instructor near Washington, D.C., shortly before leaving for Panama. They were unable to have children.

Gritz claims to be the most decorated Green Beret commander who served in Vietnam, with 62 citations for valor. The war took its toll, however. For five years, he said, mental trauma caused him to carouse in bars, get in fights and "shoot out the street lights.... I finally had to put my guns away."

THE POW MISSIONS

After retiring from the military in 1979, Gritz took up the cause of American prisoners of war who, he maintained, were still being held in the jungles of Laos. Although four separate forays to the Far East would produce no POWs, they eventually did bring Gritz an appearance before a Congressional subcommittee to report his findings — which turned out to be insubstantial at best.

In more than 200 pages of his autobiography, Gritz portrays an eight-year, heroic search carried out in the face of political and more sinister opponents. But *Washington Times* reporter Susan Katz Keating, in her 1994 book *Prisoners of Hope: Exploiting the POW/MIA Myth in America*, paints a very different picture.

In a lengthy section, Keating depicts Gritz as "an inveterate publicity hound ... a man who has toyed with human lives while in pursuit of his goals." Armed with funding from backers including Texas billionaire Ross Perot, she says Gritz exaggerated his exploits and alleged government backing, used such questionable methods as employing a psychic to describe an alleged POW camp, and even abandoned one of his men in Laos.

While on his missions, Gritz alleges that he learned of the involvement of U.S. officials in the lucrative heroin trade and became severely disenchanted with the federal government. He claims that it was to keep him quiet that federal officials charged him with using a false passport in 1987. The charges were dropped two years later.

During the late 1980s, Gritz's anger at the government translated into his first venture into politics, and the

beginning of his lengthy engagement with white supremacists and other bigots. At the urging of Willis Carto, founder of the anti-Semitic Liberty Lobby, Gritz agreed to run for vice president on the far-right Populist Party ticket. Although he says he expected another candidate to be selected, the convention nominated former Louisiana Klansman David Duke to head up Gritz's ticket.

DAVID DUKE AND THE RACE QUESTION

Gritz says he withdrew within 48 hours of learning he would be running with Duke. But in an interview at the time, he seemed unconcerned, saying that he'd met with Duke several times and had been assured the platform would not be a racist one. Four years later, Gritz would write Carto saying Duke "has done more harm to the Populist Party ... than Hitler would have. Why do you continue to ride a dead horse?"

Duke won 0.05% of the national vote. In 1992, Gritz, this time heading the party's ticket, captured 0.1%, twice the amount that Duke had received.

But Gritz's biggest achievement in 1992 had nothing to do with presidential politics. Instead, armed with a letter of introduction from Identity minister Pete Peters, he managed to talk Randy Weaver into surrendering to federal officials. The standoff at Ruby Ridge, Idaho, drew national attention after agents shot and killed Weaver's son and wife. Years later, the government settled a suit with Weaver for \$3 million.

Gritz denies that he is a racist, pointing to his two Asian-American children and a mixed-race godchild. But there is no question that his 1992 campaign galvanized white supremacists and other antigovernment extremists. "There's an old saying," Gritz concedes now, "that if you lie down with dogs, you get fleas."

James Aho, an Idaho State University professor who has written extensively on the white supremacist movement in the Pacific Northwest, says Gritz "compromises himself by associating with people who are racist. But he's not an out-and-out racist. I've never been able to find evidence of that."

The evidence of Gritz's antipathy toward Jews is clearer. Earlier this year, in a lengthy diatribe falsely alleging Jewish control of the media and financial institutions, he wrote: "Why is there such an intense effort toward Jewish control? ... I don't think it is right for such a small special interest group to control our nation...."

Elsewhere, he wrote: "Do you see the sign, the scent, stain and mark of the beast on America today? ... Are you willing to

submit and join this seedline of Satan? ... Look to those who are openly antichrist... [W]ho in the world is promoting abortion, pornography, pedophilia, Godless laws, adultery, New Age international banking, entertainment industry and world publishing? Wherever you find a perversion of God's laws you will find the worshippers of Baal with their roots still in Babylonian mysticism."

Gritz said in the interview that he is not anti-Semitic, but that Jews control too much of the world's wealth and power. "It's grossly out of balance," he said.

WHITHER BO GRITZ?

The future for Gritz is unclear. After leaving the hospital he moved to Sandy Valley, Utah, and Claudia returned to their Almost Heaven home. Now, some observers believe his credibility in the antigovernment movement will be destroyed. But Gritz has survived other travails and managed to come back strong.

Larry Nims would prefer to see Gritz remain powerful — to keep the more militant extremists around Kamiah from becoming violent. Bill Wassmuth, executive director of the human rights group Northwest Coalition Against Malicious Harassment, says there will likely be trouble no matter what. "A few of his followers are a lit fuse away from violence," he said. "There's just too many ... trigger points for that not to happen."

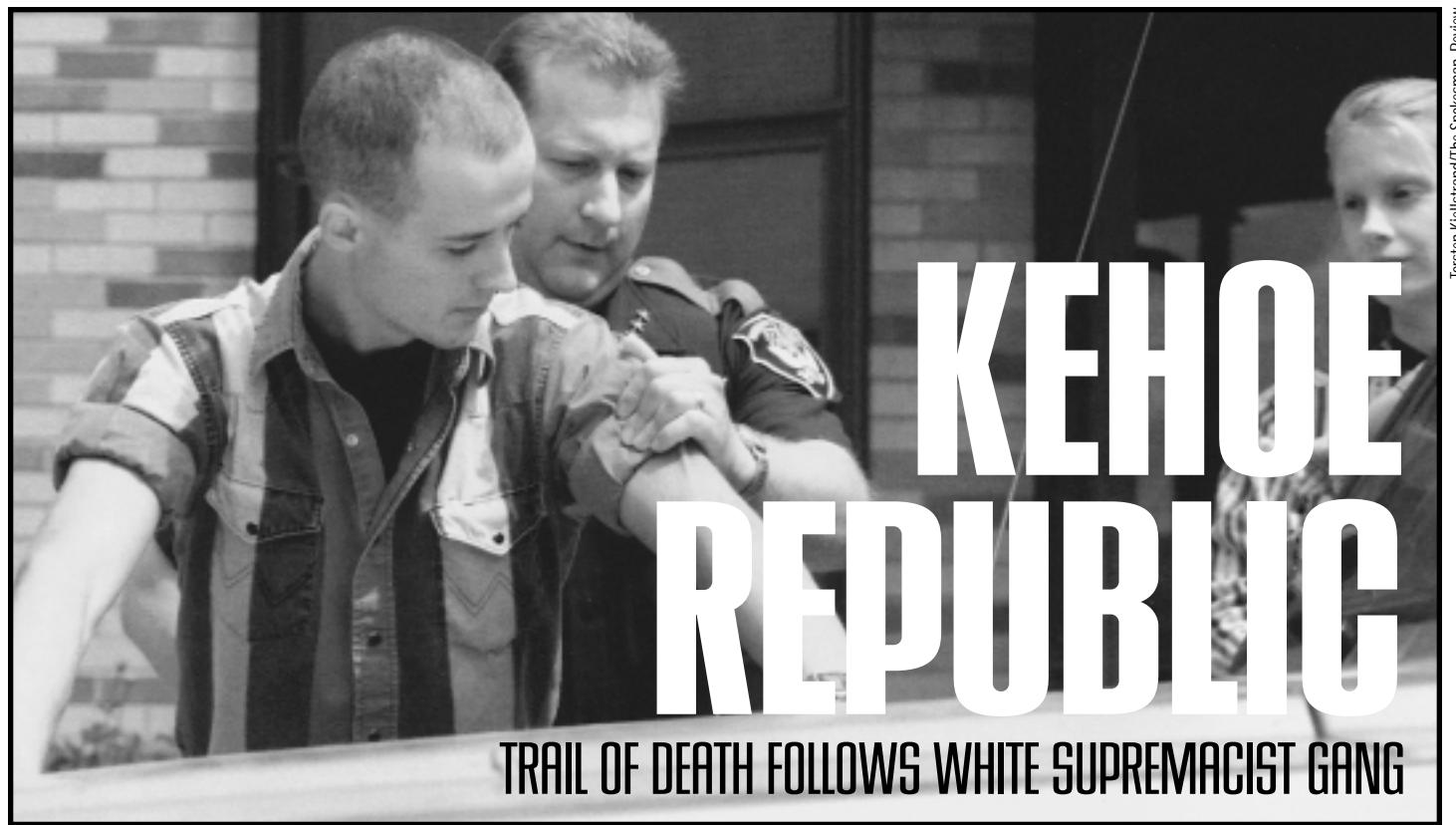
To Don Simler, a third-generation Quaker who owns farm property next to Almost Heaven, it comes down to this: Bo Gritz has wrecked his quiet country life.

"I think it's ruined our country up here," Simler said. "It's really changed the character of the area. A lot of these people come out of the big cities, and they're packing guns. I guess they're afraid of the government or whatever. It's just never going to be quite the same around here." ▲

Steve Stuebner is the author of six books, a contributor to The New York Times and other publications, and a freelance journalist who lives in Boise, Idaho.

Some neighbors say country life around Almost Heaven (pictured) outside Kamiah has been ruined by gun-toting followers of Bo Gritz.





Torsten Kielstrand/The Spokesman-Review

KEHOE REPUBLIC

TRAIL OF DEATH FOLLOWS WHITE SUPREMACIST GANG

A day after Cheyne Kehoe (pictured) surrendered in connection with a shootout with police, information he provided led authorities to his brother, Chevie, alleged leader of the Aryan Peoples Republic.

Chevie O'Brien Kehoe, a pot-smoking 25-year-old who looks like he could be the logger next door, grew up dreaming about playing a starring role in the white supremacist revolution he was sure was just around the corner.

While only a boy of 12, Kehoe heard about the exploits of Bob Mathews, a self-styled white revolutionary who tried to live out a novel's vision of race war and died in a fiery shootout with the FBI in 1984.

Today, court documents on file in three states — Ohio, Washington and Arkansas — claim that Kehoe was grimly successful in achieving his life's dream of following in the footsteps of Mathews and becoming a blood-drenched Aryan warrior. He is tied to more acts of domestic terrorism that any other right-wing extremist arrested in the United States in the last decade. As the alleged founder and leader of the so-called Aryan Peoples Republic, he is accused of involvement in five murders, the attempted murder of several police officers, bombing, armed robberies, burglaries and selling stolen property. Among other attacks, he allegedly pipe-bombed City Hall in Spokane, Wash.

Officials are prohibited by a judge's gag order from discussing the Kehoe case. But the case stems from an investigation that began three years ago, stretches from coast to coast and in many ways offers a road map to the topography of today's radical right.

Kehoe, who goes to trial on racketeering charges starting Feb. 16 in a federal courtroom in Little Rock, Ark., could face the death penalty. In addition, he could face state charges of murder and other crimes in con-

nnection with a five-year crime spree.

Kehoe's plan — as far-fetched as it may sound to many — was to carve out a new, independent country in the United States that would limit citizenship to whites. All others were to face forcible deportation or death. According to the indictment, Kehoe "patterned his enterprise's activities after the actions and ideology" of Mathews' group — The Order — that was responsible for a series of armored car heists that netted \$4 million and the murder of at least two people.

AN 8-YEAR-OLD IS MURDERED

Kehoe's alleged violence was truly grotesque. Among other things, Kehoe is accused of masterminding three Arkansas murders, including that of an 8-year-old girl who had a plastic bag duct-taped over her head. As Sarah Elizabeth Powell suffocated to death, she was apparently tortured with electric cattle prods to reveal where her gun-dealer stepfather hid his gold and other valuables. Officials also believe the little girl first may have been forced to watch while her stepfather William Mueller, 52, and mother Nancy, 28, were suffocated in a January 1996 triple homicide that shocked even seasoned murder detectives.

The attack may not have been a complete surprise. Less than a year before, William Mueller told authorities that his home near Tilly, Ark., had been burglarized of firearms and other items worth more than \$50,000. Mueller told friends that he feared the perpetrators — whom he hinted he might know — would return after the February 1995 burglary. Officials now say that the

proceeds from this burglary, including a 28-foot travel trailer stolen near Harrison, Ark., were taken to the Pacific Northwest by Kehoe, who earlier had teamed up with neo-Nazi Skinhead Danny Lee and federal prison escapee Faron Lovelace at Elohim City, a compound of religious extremists in eastern Oklahoma.

A 'LIQUID DIET'

After the Mueller family's bodies were tossed into a bayou near Russellville, Ark., Kehoe and his companions joked that the victims were on a "liquid diet," court records say. It would be six months before the badly decomposed bodies were discovered by a local fisherman. Investigators initially were completely stumped.

But small flecks of auto body paint were found on the duct tape used on the victims, eventually becoming the forensic clue that convinced federal ATF agents and Arkansas state investigators that Kehoe was connected to the three murders. The flecks scientifically matched paint found a year later on a freshly repainted pickup truck used by Chevie and his brother, Cheyne, authorities say.

The Arkansas killers stole a trailer full of firearms, ammunition, gold and militia supplies that the Muellers used to sell at gun shows, usually those tailored in part to militia fanciers and others interested in the same kind of antigovernment rhetoric that attracted Kehoe and his family. Kehoe and his white supremacist cohorts are accused of transporting the stolen firearms and half a million rounds of ammunition from the 1995 and 1996 thefts in Arkansas to Spokane, stopping at Elohim City on the way. The stolen loot was hidden in a garage at The Shadows Motel & RV Park in north Spokane, where Kehoe and his band of Aryan warriors holed up for a period of time in 1995 and 1996.

Later, the stolen items were kept in storage lockers rented under fictitious names in Oldtown, Idaho, and Thompson Falls in western Montana.

The Shadows during this period was home to an underground trade in guns and, apparently, bombs. A former manager recalls that Kehoe spent time making his own blasting caps and pipe bombs, detonating the devices under stacks of telephone directories. The manager also says that he saw Kehoe's stash of stolen firearms and other items

he's accused of stealing from Mueller — including a handful of Mueller's business cards. Kehoe told the manager that he bought the guns, ammunition and survivalist supplies from a gun dealer who had gone broke, and authorities were never notified.

TIMOTHY MCVEIGH IN THE SHADOWS

A tantalizing connection also emerged at The Shadows.

In early 1995, the former manager recalls, a man resembling Timothy McVeigh met Kehoe at The Shadows. The manager also says that Kehoe showed up hours before the April 19, 1995, Oklahoma City bombing and excitedly demanded that the manager turn on the CNN news channel, a hint that Kehoe had advance knowledge of McVeigh's plan.

The Shadows' former manager is not the only one to place McVeigh at the motel. A Spokane couple claims that a white supremacist who is now accused of molesting their children told them that he'd met McVeigh at the motel.

But the FBI has been unable to establish that McVeigh was ever at the motel — or, indeed, anywhere in the Pacific Northwest prior to the Oklahoma bombing.

It may not have been coincidence that The Shadows is a few steps from a bar that was one of Mathews' favorites hangouts in 1983 and 1984. (The bar also once hosted Madonna, who starred in a high school wrestling movie filmed there.) But instead of drinking or spending much time at the bar his hero frequented, Chevie, or "Bud," as friends called him, seemed to prefer spend-

continued on page 20

Authorities say the Mueller family, including an 8-year-old girl, were murdered after being abducted by the Kehoe gang from their Arkansas home, which was rented to them by landlord David Mason (pictured).

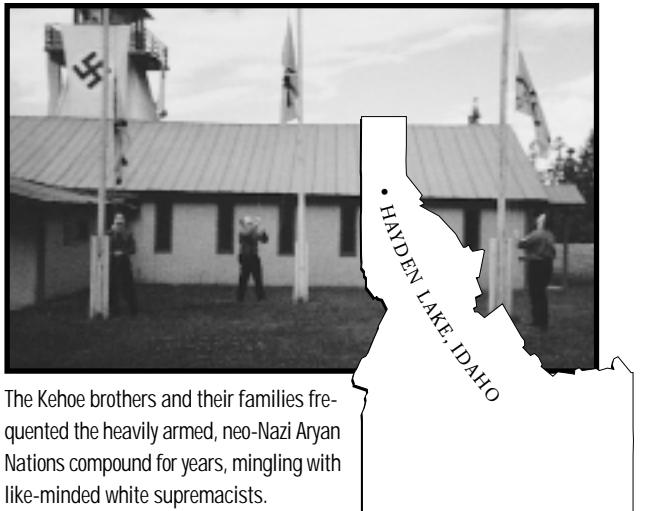


Benjamin Kain/Arkansas Democrat Gazette

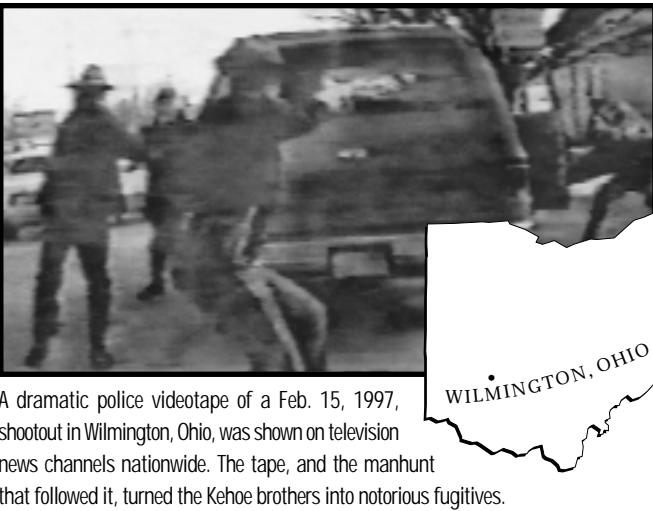


Dan McComb/The Spokesman-Review

The Shadows Motel and RV Park, in Spokane, Wash., was a meeting place for underground gun dealers and white supremacists including Chevie Kehoe. Oklahoma City bomber Timothy McVeigh also may have visited here before his 1995 attack.



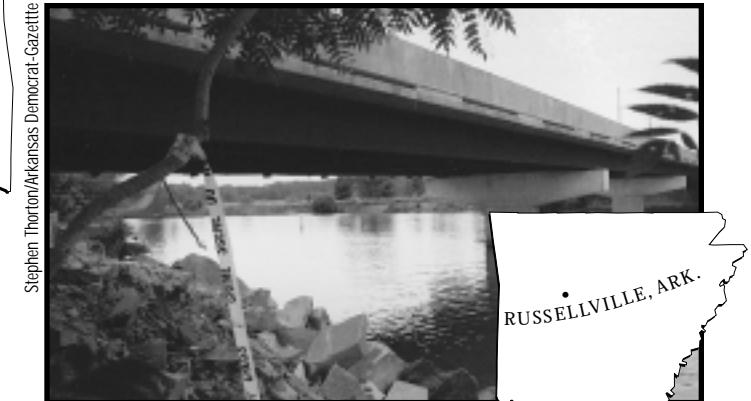
The Kehoe brothers and their families frequented the heavily armed, neo-Nazi Aryan Nations compound for years, mingling with like-minded white supremacists.



A dramatic police videotape of a Feb. 15, 1997, shootout in Wilmington, Ohio, was shown on television news channels nationwide. The tape, and the manhunt that followed it, turned the Kehoe brothers into notorious fugitives.



The well-armed Elohim City compound (pictured) has been a nexus for white supremacists and terrorists for decades. Among the people who have frequented it are the Kehoe brothers and members of the Aryan Republican Army, who apparently first made contact there in early 1994.



The bodies of the family of William Mueller, including 8-year-old Sarah Elizabeth Powell, were found in this secluded bayou near Russellville, Ark., by a fisherman. The three victims had been tortured and then suffocated to death with plastic bags taped over their heads.

THE KEHOE GANG

A NATIONAL SAGA

The saga of Chevie Kehoe, his family and the men who followed him is one that stretches across many states and years. Here, drawn from court records, interviews and media accounts, is a timeline of significant events. Although criminal cases have established some facts, many events listed here are allegations from the government's indictment of Kehoe and other sources that have not been proven in a court of law.



CHEVIE KEHOE
AP Wide World Photos



CHEYNE
AP Wide World Photos



KIRBY KEHOE
The Spokesman-Review



FRED L. LOVELACE
AP Wide World Photos

Jan. 29, 1973 Chevie Kehoe is born in Orange Park, Fla., the eldest son of Kirby and Gloria Kehoe. Nurtured from an early age in the tenets of the racist and anti-Semitic Christian Identity religion, Chevie will adopt radical antigovernment views as he grows up that shape the rest of his life.

1993 Chevie and others launch a terrorist conspiracy to create the Aryan Peoples Republic, a whites-only homeland. Eventually, at least five people will be murdered.

JUNE 12, 1995 Supermarket owners Malcolm and Jill Friedman are robbed and kidnapped near Colville by a man dressed in camouflage, who authorities later identify as Lovelace. Malcolm is kidnapped but released unharmed near The Shadows Motel. Chevie, who once worked at the Friedman's supermarket, and his father Kirby allegedly drove Lovelace to the Friedman home.

FEB. 12, 1995 Tilly, Ark., gun dealer William Mueller tells authorities that masked men took \$50,000 in guns, coins and equipment in a home invasion. Later in the month, Chevie and Faron Lovelace stop at Elohim City with a truckload of Mueller's weapons.

SEPT. 20, 1995 Lovelace robs Colville jewelry wholesaler and gun enthusiast Dick Morton of his gun collection during a home invasion. Morton also is driven to Spokane and forced to withdraw \$480 from a bank machine before being released near The Shadows Motel.

APRIL 29, 1996 A pipe bomb goes off outside Spokane City Hall. Chevie Kehoe later says that his brother Chevie carried out the attack. Eventually, Lee also is indicted in the bombing.

DEC. 10, 1996 After being arrested in possession of a Mueller rifle at a freeway rest stop in Sioux Falls, S.D., Haines implicates Chevie in the Mueller gun theft. Learning of the arrest, Chevie convinces Cheyne to join him in his flight from the Spokane campground where both have been living. They sell stolen Mueller weapons as they go.

JAN. 11, 1996 Mueller, his wife and her 8-year-old daughter are abducted, robbed and murdered as they leave their Arkansas home for a gun show. The killers tape plastic bags over their heads and shock them with electric cattle prods as they suffocate. Later that month, Chevie buys a motor home with \$10,000 cash. Weapons owned by the Muellers are eventually linked to the Kehoe brothers and Kirby.

AUG. 18, 1996 A heavily armed Lovelace is arrested after being lured from his home to Priest River, Idaho, to assassinate supposed Hispanic drug dealers recruiting young girls into prostitution — a story concocted by agents to trap Lovelace. Lovelace leads authorities to Scott's buried body.

JULY 1, 1997 Authorities begin a fruitless search in north Idaho for the body of a Chevie associate, neo-Nazi Skinhead Jon Cox. Chevie is believed to have murdered Cox because he was writing to friends about Chevie's plans to rob a series of armored cars.

JULY 7, 1998 A federal grand jury in Little Rock, Ark., issues an amended indictment accusing Chevie, Kirby and Lee of racketeering and other violations. Lovelace, already on death row for the murder of Scott, is dropped from the initial indictment, issued on Dec. 12, 1997. The trial is set for Feb. 16.

1991 Chevie's rage at the government is heightened by a federal raid on a neighbor's house near his own family home in Colville, Wash. A year later, the deadly Ruby Ridge, Idaho, stand-off between authorities and the family of white supremacist Randy Weaver adds to Chevie's hatred of the government.

1994 Around this time, Chevie meets members of the Aryan Republican Army, along with members of his own future gang, at Elohim City. Members of the white supremacist ARA gang later go to prison in connection with the robberies of 22 Midwestern banks meant to finance a revolution. It's later established that the ARA used weapons supplied by the Kehoes.

MARCH-APRIL 1995 Witness place Chevie at The Shadows Motel and RV Park in Spokane, Wash., where he's involved in illegal gun sales. A former manager later tells *The Spokesman-Review* newspaper that he believes Oklahoma City bomber Timothy McVeigh met Chevie at the motel. The former manager says Chevie appeared to have had advance knowledge of the April 19, 1995, Oklahoma bombing. The FBI says it can't confirm the report.

JULY-AUGUST 1995 Chevie orders Scott's murder in north Idaho after persuading Scott's common-law wife to become his polygamous second wife. Lovelace is later convicted of the killing.

JANUARY 1996 Chevie and associate Daniel Lewis Lee leave Yukon, Okla., where they have been living, and head for the Mueller home in Tilly, Ark.

FEBRUARY 1996 Travis Brake is arrested while carrying a gun traced to the Mueller collection. He tells authorities he bought the weapon from Kirby at a Seattle gun show, giving investigators their first break in the Kehoe case.

JUNE 28, 1996 A fisherman finds the bound bodies of the Mueller family in a bayou near Russellville, Ark. The same month, neo-Nazi Skinhead Sean Michael Haines, an Aryan Nations youth leader, allegedly swaps guns with Chevie at The Shadows Motel.

AUGUST 1996 Apparently fearing arrest after Lovelace's capture, Chevie and his family abandon a stolen trailer home where they had been living in the Kaniksu National Forest in Idaho. Chevie heads to "the Yaak," a river valley in northwest Montana, where his parents are living.

JANUARY 1997 The Kehoe brothers and their wives pay a month's rent in advance at a campground near Frankfort, Ohio.

FEB. 28, 1997 Officials find the Kehoes' abandoned motorhome, containing bomb-making components, outside Casper, Wyo. Chevie reportedly travels through Ohio, Kentucky and Indiana before making his way to Utah. Cheyne's path takes him through Wyoming and Arizona before he arrives in Utah, where both brothers live under assumed names with their families. The two fugitives find work on a ranch near Gunlock, Utah.

MARCH 18, 1998 Kirby is arrested in Springdale, Wash., by agents who seize hand grenades, machine-guns and ammunition. He had been sought after violating a judge's order to remain in Montana while facing charges of possessing a handgun stolen from the Muellers. In May, he pleads guilty to federal weapons violations.



A televised February 1997 shootout with police in Ohio brought the Kehoe brothers national notoriety.

ing his time at the motel, regularly smoking marijuana.

Chevie wasn't the only Kehoe to occasionally live at The Shadows. His father, Kirby Keith Kehoe, and other members of his family apparently did so as well, frequently traveling 60 miles north to Colville, Wash., where the family once lived. Officials say that Chevie and his father supported themselves while based in Spokane by brazenly selling some of the stolen Mueller firearms at gun shows around the country — a dangerous practice that may ultimately have led to the undoing of the Kehoe gang.

The first stolen weapon to surface in the case was a .45-caliber Colt pistol that authorities now say was Nancy Mueller's personal handgun. Seattle police seized the gun in February 1996 when they arrested a suspected drug user who was spotted carrying the gun in a pawn shop. The man later told investigators that he got the gun from Kirby Kehoe, who was secretly indicted in Spokane in June 1997 for possessing the stolen firearm.

That revelation was the first break for state and federal investigators who jointly were investigating the Mueller murders. But it would be another 17 months before Chevie Kehoe and other alleged gang members were behind bars.

A LIFE OF EXTREMISM

The Kehoe saga began long before.

Chevie Kehoe was born on Jan. 29, 1973, in Orange

Park, Fla., to Kirby and his wife, Gloria. His name, a family friend who lives in Spokane recalls, came from a family preoccupation. "His father was a real good mechanic and particularly liked Chevrolets, and that's why they named their first son Chevie," the friend said.

The elder Kehoe was a Vietnam veteran, whose dislike and distrust for the federal government intensified as Chevie was growing up. Chevie, Cheyne and the six other brothers who followed sometimes attended public schools, but mostly were home-schooled by their parents, who deeply distrusted public education.

Chevie listened and learned.

The family was itinerant, with the parents building pole barns, planting trees and doing other jobs — mostly just getting by in the underground economy that attracts so many in the extremist movement. They lived in Florida, Arkansas and elsewhere before moving to northeastern Washington state, near the Canadian border, in the late 1980s.

Somewhere along the way, the elder Kehoes connected with the Christian Identity belief that whites are the true Israelites, God's chosen people, who have a moral obligation to fight for the preservation of their race. They heard the Identity message, which also emphasizes that Jews are the children of Satan, at Elohim City, the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations compound in Idaho and a small church called The Arc, north of Colville.

In his mid-teens, Kehoe met Jake Settle, a former Marine and ex-cop who was living in the area. Settle, who frequented the Aryan Nations compound with his wife, Susan, shared the Kehoe family's Identity beliefs. As Chevie matured, he became somewhat estranged from

his father and came to see Settle as his mentor. "He really liked Jake and looked up to him as a big brother, even a dad," a former friend recalls.

POLYGAMY AND THE CHOSEN PEOPLE

In the early 1990s, Chevie and his family began visiting Aryan Nations, where they listened to the Identity teachings of leader Richard Butler. A decade earlier, Butler had been the inspiration for Mathews, Bruce Carroll Pierce, David Lane, Gary Yarbrough, David Tate and other young men who soon grew tired of merely listening to Butler's hate-filled speeches and decided to take action by secretly forming The Order.

Ultimately, Chevie would decide to avoid the mistakes of Mathews, whose downfall came largely because of the size of his group, which numbered more than 30. Following the strategy of "leaderless resistance," Chevie allegedly kept his group of Aryan warriors much smaller, determined to avoid the attention of the authorities.

As he grew toward manhood, Chevie became increasingly interested in polygamy, arguing that it was accepted in biblical times and permitted under the Identity doctrine, according to the federal indictment. He told friends and family that it was his obligation to enhance the population of the white race by having multiple wives and as many children as possible. Ultimately, the indictment says, he saw the practice of polygamy as vital to building the Aryan Peoples Republic that he envisioned.

Soon enough, he was turning those words into action.

In 1993, Susan Settle introduced her 18-year-old sister, Angie, to Chevie, who by then was married to Karina Gumm. Chevie later went to Angie's house in



Anne Williams/The Spokesman-Review

Spokane, hoping she could supply him marijuana. Before the encounter ended, Angie had agreed to become Chevie's second wife in a polygamous relationship that lasted less than two months.

Chevie took both wives to the 1993 Aryan World Congress, an annual event hosted by the Aryan Nations, apparently hoping to impress others that his polygamous ways would help ensure the vitality of the white race. While there, Kehoe assaulted Karina, who was seven months pregnant. She suffered a black eye and a bloody lip, apparently because she was having trouble accepting her role in Chevie's polygamous family.

ENTER THE ARYAN REPUBLICAN ARMY

Chevie, Karina, Angie and one child spent a couple of weeks in a small cabin near the Canadian border, north of Kettle Falls, Wash. Soon they headed to Elohim City, where Chevie's polygamy was accepted by others pursuing a similar lifestyle.

After 54 days of marriage, Angie grew homesick, tired of the marriage and the domestic violence that accompanied it. With the help of another woman at Elohim City, she planned her flight. But she soon learned she had an ally in Gloria Kehoe, who convinced her son to allow Angie to return home to her parents in Spokane.

While at Elohim City, a community to which his parents had originally introduced him, Chevie met up with a group of like-minded white supremacists. Authorities now believe that beginning in 1994, Chevie began supplying firearms to members of the Aryan Republican Army, a group that would steal \$250,000 in a series of 22 bank robberies in the Midwest. It's unclear if the group, with a name remarkably similar to the Aryan Peoples Republic Chevie was striving to create, was connected to him in other ways.

Soon, Chevie was staying at The Shadows and, in a parallel to McVeigh, traveling the gun show circuit. It

THE IDENTITY CONNECTION

It would be comforting to think of alleged terrorist Chevie Kehoe as an aberration, a serial killer driven by some psychosis. But the facts indicate that he may have been the logical outcome of having been reared in a home devoted to the Christian Identity religion.

This racist and anti-Semitic theology, at least in its hard-line version, propels many of its followers to violence. Because it argues that satanic elements on earth must be destroyed by white Christians before Christ can return, many acolytes feel driven to take up the sword against Jews, blacks, the government and a host of other enemies.

Some of America's most violent domestic terrorists allegedly were reared in Identity-believing homes. That was apparently the case with Eric Robert Rudolph, who is accused of bombing two abortion clinics, the Atlanta Olympics and a lesbian bar. And so it may have been with Kehoe, who was nurtured on Identity early on.

Despite its bizarre tenets, Identity is a remarkably widespread religion. A study the Southern Poverty Law Center completed earlier this year found 94 active Identity ministries in 34 states. Many more that were not located are believed to exist. All told, there are probably 50,000 Identity adherents in North America.

The crimes attributed to Identity are numerous.

Identity followers in the Midwest pleaded guilty to charges related to 22 bank robberies carried out to fund a revolution. Also in 1996, Identity believers calling themselves Phineas Priests were sentenced to life terms after robbing banks and setting off bombs around Spokane, Wash. In Minnesota, Identity believers were convicted in 1995 of plotting to use the deadly ricin toxin to kill federal agents. In Missouri, a would-be assassin shot a highway patrolman in 1994, apparently to avenge the arrest of an Identity pastor.

The three major terrorist groups of the 1980s — The Order; the Posse Comitatus; and the Sword, the Covenant and the Arm of the Lord — also had Identity components.

It may well be that Kehoe is only the latest in a long line of Identity believers willing to kill as they prepare for the battle of Armageddon. That would come as small surprise to most students of Christian Identity, the concoction of race hate and end-times paranoia that is increasingly the glue that binds together the radical right.



Using guns allegedly supplied by Chevie Kehoe, members of the Aryan Republican Army stole more than \$250,000 in a series of 22 Midwestern bank robberies.

was in this period as well that authorities now believe he was involved in the murders of two neo-Nazi Skinhead associates.

In the summer of 1995, prosecutors allege that Kehoe ordered Faron Lovelace to murder Jeremy Scott. The reason: Kehoe had convinced Scott's wife to join him in a polygamous marriage and Scott stood in the way. Prosecutors say the other man, Jon Cox, may have been killed because Kehoe believed he was telling friends of Kehoe's alleged plans to rob a series of armored cars, just as Mathews had done a dozen years before. Members of Mathews' Order had also killed a suspected informer, Walter West, whose body, just like Cox's, was never recovered from the wilds of the Pacific Northwest.

By late 1996, after Nancy Mueller's handgun was found in Seattle, investigators were closely examining Chevie and Kirby Kehoe in the Mueller case. They also were looking for one of their alleged associates, Timothy Coombs, who remains a fugitive in the attempted assassination of a Missouri state trooper shot through his kitchen window. The Muellers had lived in a home that was once owned by Coombs.

THE NET BEGINS TO CLOSE

Another big break in the case came on Dec. 10 of that year, when a Spokane Skinhead was arrested while getting a traffic ticket in South Dakota. In Sean Haines' vehicle, police found a Bushmaster .223-caliber assault rifle stolen from Mueller. When Arkansas and federal investigators began talking to him about the possibility of being charged in a triple murder, Haines quickly rolled over and implicated Chevie Kehoe.

Apparently hearing of the arrest, Kehoe hit the road. First he moved from The Shadows to another Spokane recreational vehicle park. Then he convinced his brother, Cheyne, and Cheyne's young family, to join him and his wife in leaving Spokane in a motor home that allegedly was purchased with proceeds from stolen goods.

The families moved fast, passing through Nevada, Texas and Alabama, before checking in to an Ohio campground. Then, on Feb. 15, 1997, two Ohio police officers stopped a Chevrolet Suburban with expired Washington plates.

Cheyne came out shooting.

In a dramatic exchange of fire captured on a police car video camera and broadcast around the nation, no one, amazingly, was killed, and the Kehoe brothers escaped. A few minutes later, Chevie opened up on other officers, again escaping unhurt.

A nationwide manhunt was on. Officials put up a wanted poster and offered a \$60,000 reward. But the Kehoes had disappeared, moving through a murky antigovernment underground, selling Mueller weapons as they went, and ending up in southern Utah. There, the brothers and their families found ranch work under assumed names.

THE FINAL TARGETS: CHEVIE'S OWN FAMILY

They might have remained hidden, officials say, if not for Chevie's tendency to extreme violence. While at the ranch, he allegedly began speaking of killing his parents to secure a pricey gun collection. Cheyne remembered well how Chevie had spoken calmly to friends of killing his own wife, Karina, after learning she might be part Native American. To top it off, Chevie had developed an unhealthy interest in Cheyne's wife.

So Cheyne fled. In June 1997, he drove straight through to his family's old hometown of Colville and, accompanied by Identity minister Ray Barker, turned himself in to local authorities. The next day, armed with a map Cheyne had provided, FBI agents arrested Chevie as he walked into a feed store in Gunlock, Utah.

Cheyne cooperated fully, and federal officials asked a state judge for leniency. But the judge handed him a 24-year sentence on charges stemming from the Ohio shootout, pointing out that Cheyne had guns stolen from a murder victim and had tried to kill several Ohio police officers. Cheyne's wife reportedly got the \$60,000 reward.

Lovelace is now on death row after a state conviction in Jeremy Scott's death. Chevie, his father Kirby and Danny Lee go to trial in February on the federal racketeering charges. And Cheyne is being hidden by prison officials who fear he could be killed at the hands of imprisoned white supremacists who see him as a traitor.

Like his fallen hero, Bob Mathews, Chevie appears unrepentant. Suckled on the theology of Christian Identity, he has promised to fight to his dying breath.

In an undated letter to his wife seized by authorities in Utah, Chevie allegedly wrote that he would "rather die on my feet than live on my knees." He told Karina that he "had to represent the ideals that I [have] so long honored." Then, in a postscript to federal agents, he added that he would "forever and always seek to destroy you and yours. I will see to it on earth if alive and will see to it in the heavens if made a 'GOD,' either way my fears and pains [will] torment you and yours forever." ▲

CHAOS TO CONSPIRACY

RACIST SKINHEAD VIOLENCE GROWING MORE ORGANIZED



To all appearances, the Independence Day murders of Daniel Shersty and Lin Newborn in the Las Vegas desert were far from typical Skinhead killings. This double murder had all the hallmarks of an execution.

Shersty and Newborn, well-known members of the Las Vegas Unity Skins who had had many run-ins with racist neo-Nazi skins, were not killed in some beer-fueled, Skinhead bar brawl. Friends say that the victims were deliberately lured to the desert by two white women affiliated with racist skins. Shersty, a white 21-year-old stationed at an Air Force base, was shot dead next to his car. Newborn, a 25-year-old black man working at a tattoo parlor, was murdered some 200 yards away, apparently as he tried to flee.

A neo-Nazi Skinhead, John Butler, has been arrest-

ed in the murders, and authorities are investigating a possible greater conspiracy. Butler, 26, reportedly had connections with the larger neo-Nazi scene and Utah Skinhead leader Johnny Bangerter (see p. 5), who once lived in Las Vegas. Officials believe that Shersty and Newborn were killed in a racist Skinhead plot to eliminate non-racist Skinhead critics.

Since the inception of the American racist Skinhead scene some 15 years ago, there has been a sea change in the nature of the crimes it produces. What began as a wave of spontaneous acts of violence — often erupting at the music shows that were once the prime venues of Skinheads — has escalated over the years, finally reaching the level of well-planned murders. While there are many exceptions, the overall trend in Skinhead vio-

Danny Lee (third from left), seen here at a rally, is an example of the shift to more sophisticated violence. Lee now faces federal racketeering charges in Arkansas (see p. 16).

lence has been one of increasingly organized crime.

Originally, Skinhead violence usually occurred during encounters between racist and non-racist skins in the "mosh pits," areas just in front of musical stages where wild dancing and drinking often devolved into slugfests. By the late 1980s, however, there was an increasing number of killings, sometimes involving victims that racist Skinheads viewed as their enemies. In Las Vegas, Skinheads involved in Satanism murdered a convenience store clerk. In Washington D.C., an 18-year-old skin beat a gay man to death with a baseball bat. In Denver, a Skinhead robbed a hair stylist and then shot him dead. In Pittsburgh, another racist skin murdered a social worker who worked with the blind.

In 1988, one of the first Skinhead murders connected to an organized hate group made headlines across the nation. Skinheads affiliated with White Aryan Resistance, a neo-Nazi group run by Tom Metzger that is based in California, beat an Ethiopian student in Portland, Ore., to death with a baseball bat. Although the attack was triggered by a chance encounter on the streets, it showed the increasing influence of established hate groups on young, already violent street thugs. Southern Poverty Law Center attorneys sued the group and its leaders and won a \$12.5 million verdict for the family of the victim.

In July 1993, the leader of the Fourth Reich Skinheads was a central figure in an unsuccessful plot to blow up the First African Methodist Episcopal Church in Los Angeles and spray its 8,500-member congregation with

machine-gun fire. The plan also called for attacks on Rodney King, black celebrities and Jewish targets.

In the mid-1990s, racist Skinheads were involved in two major revolutionary racist groups. Three Skinheads were members of the deadly Kehoe gang — two of them falling victim to their own comrades-in-arms — and another three were convicted in connection with the bank-robbing, white supremacist Aryan Republican Army (see p. 16).

Late last year, Matthaus Jaehnig, a Denver Skinhead, led police on a wild car chase after being surprised while he burglarized a home. When he was cornered, Jaehnig was willing to do something no Skinhead had yet done in this country — murder a police officer. Jaehnig then committed suicide. Investigators believe that Jaehnig may have been involved in a larger criminal enterprise, marketing hard drugs and trafficking in heavy weapons — like the machine gun he used in the murder.

Earlier this year, Skinhead Daniel Rick, 20, pleaded guilty to weapons charges in connection with a plot to blow up the Southern Poverty Law Center and murder its co-founder, Morris Dees. Police believe that he was involved in a ring that was selling fully automatic weapons to fund the cause of white supremacist revolution.

With the killing of Shersty and Newborn, these kinds of plots may have reached a new plateau — a successful assassination conspiracy aimed at furthering the Skinhead white supremacist agenda. ▲

SKINHEADS BY THE BOOK

Here is a list of books that have become popular in the Skinhead movement. Some have enjoyed enormous success: James Moffat's first three novels, written under the pseudonym of Richard Allen, have sold more than 3 million copies. Although most of these books are novels that depict graphic Skinhead violence, others are more historical in nature.

Skinhead — Richard Allen, *London: New English Library, 1970*

Suedehead — Richard Allen, *London: New English Library, 1971*

Skinhead Escapes — Richard Allen, *London: New English Library, 1972*

The Complete Richard Allen (vol i-vi) — Richard Allen, *Scotland: S.T. Publishing, 1992*

England Belongs to Me — Steve Goodman, *Scotland: S.T. Publishing, 1995*

Hear the Cradle Song — O.T. Gunnarsson, *Illinois: SS Leitheft, World War II Books, 1993*

Red London — Stewart Home, *London: AK Press, 1994*

Slow Death — Stewart Home, *London: Serpent's Tail, 1996*

Blow Job — Stewart Home, *London: Serpent's Tail, 1997*

The Spirit of '69: A Skinhead Bible — George Marshall, *Scotland: S.T. Publishing, 1991*

Skinhead Nation — George Marshall, *Scotland: S.T. Publishing, 1996*

Saturday's Heroes — Joe Mitchell, *Scotland: S.T. Publishing, 1996*

Skinhead — Nick Night, *London: Omnibus, 1997*

Skins — Gavin Watson, *London: AK Press, 1994*

SKINHEAD DREAMS

WRITINGS DEPICT SKIN-HEAD SPLITS, VIOLENCE

From Skinhead literature to Skinhead 'zines, the struggle to define what it means to be a Skinhead is being fought out in black and white. As enmity between racist and anti-racist Skinheads heats up, those in both camps are drawing inspiration from a little-known literary subculture where the common language is usually one of violence.

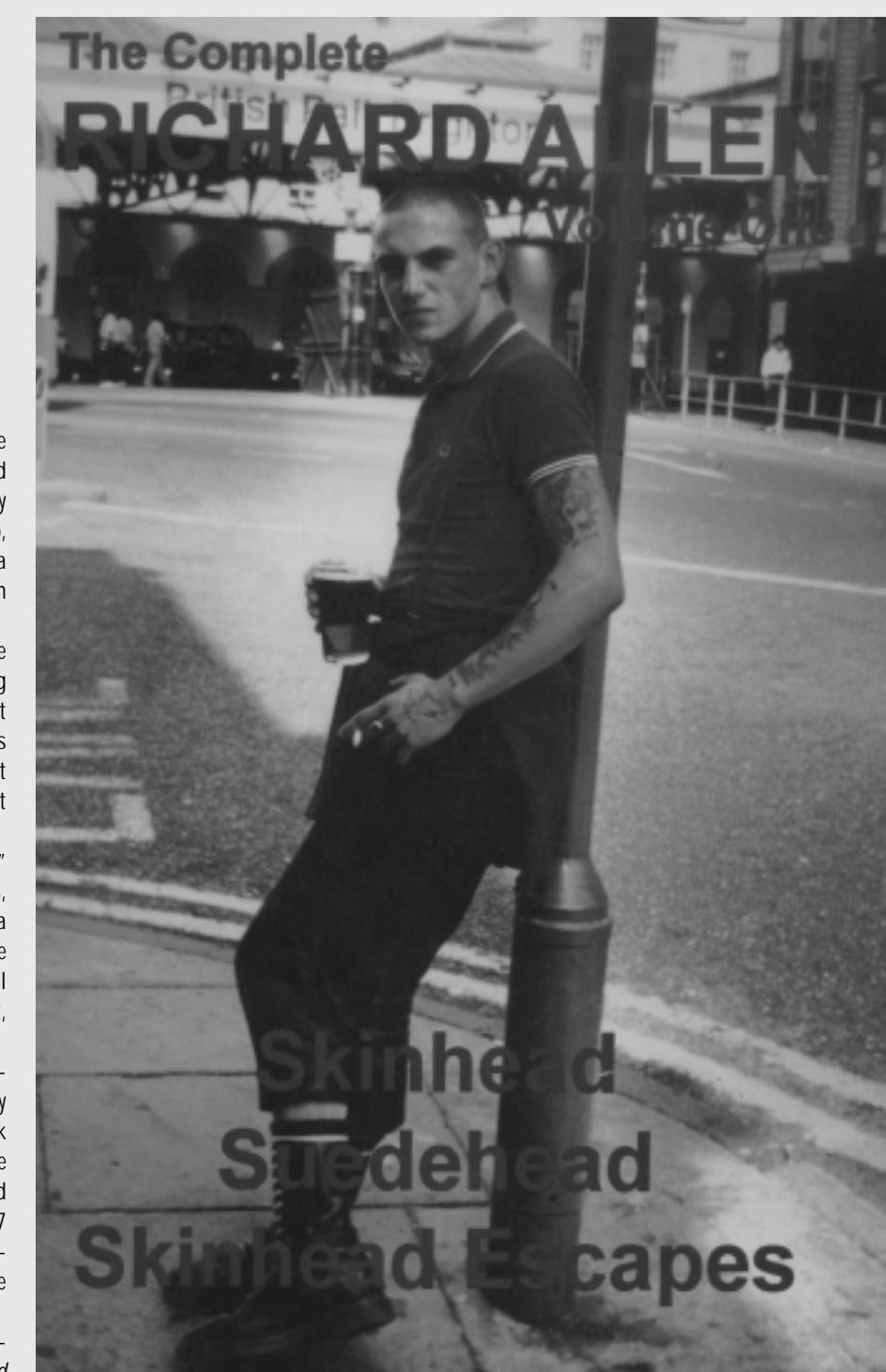
A series of novels, most of them British, have sold in the millions since they began appearing around 1970 — giving the lie to the stereotype that Skinheads don't read. In them, in language that is often cartoonish, a paper battle is being fought out between the two main factions of the Skinhead street culture, depicted in words that hold little back.

"Joe grinned sadistically and jumped forward," James Moffat, one of the most prolific authors, wrote in *Suedehead*, published in 1971. "Like a spear, his umbrella found a soft, fleshy target. The African's anguished bellow sounded like a cat call to arms in Joe's brain. The umbrella slashed out, catching an innocent bystander across the nose."

More recently, as violence by neo-Nazi Skinheads grows, anti-racist skins have increasingly taken up the language of street fighting. "Black and white fists thudded into nationalist faces, while ... boots simultaneously smashed against exposed groins," author Stewart Home writes in his 1997 book *Blow Job*. "ZOWIE! Several right-wingers staggered backwards spitting out gouts of blood and the occasional piece of broken tooth."

Not everyone writes so approvingly of such attacks. Steve Goodman, Skinhead author of *England Belongs to Me*, critically examines violence in non-racist as well as Nazi Skinhead culture. Goodman emphasizes nonviolence to his fellow skins.

Skinhead literature of all kinds is enjoying a renaissance. Several writers depicting Skinhead life have released new novels in the 1990s, and 18 novels written by Moffat under the pseudonym of Richard Allen were re-released in a six-volume set in 1992. The many writings of Moffat — who publicly



distances himself from the racism of his main character — have become required reading for Skinheads of all denominations.

Unlike Moffat, racist author O.T. Gunnarsson makes no bones about his neo-Nazi ideology. "The Field Marshall signaled to a line of troopers who stood behind a line of Jewish big-wigs whose hands and legs were tied," Gunnarsson rhapsodizes in a

1993 novel, *Hear the Cradle Song*. "... Each trooper stepped behind the Jew opposite him, took a knife from his belt and slit the chosen one's godly throat from ear to ear."

— By Eric Ward
Associate Director

Northwest Coalition Against Malicious Harassment

STREET FIGHTER

AN ANTI-RACIST ORGANIZER'S VIEW OF SKINHEADS

Shocked by the appearance of neo-Nazi Skinheads on the streets of her hometown of Eugene, Ore., Michele Lefkowith began working with anti-racist groups seven years ago. For the last three years, she has been the director of Communities Against Hate, a project of the Community Alliance of Lane County (formerly known as Clergy & Laity Concerned). She has focused on combatting racist Skinheads at the grass-roots level, spending much of her energy on working with what she describes as true Skinheads — anti-racist youths with roots in an originally nonracist, multi-ethnic movement in England. Tough-talking and streetwise, Lefkowith says that many in law enforcement have confused a movement that has many positive elements with the neo-Nazi groups that she says have hijacked Skinhead culture and tradition. The Intelligence Report interviewed Lefkowith about her work on the streets, the situation in the Pacific Northwest, and her views of Skinheads and their history.

"We are seeing a resurgence of the Nazi Skinheads up and down the I-5 corridor. They are definitely growing in numbers."

IR: Can you describe the development of the Skinhead scene in the Pacific Northwest?

LEFKOWITH: The number of Nazi Skinheads back in the late '80s and early '90s was pretty high up and down the I-5 corridor, in Portland, Salem, Corvallis, Eugene, Medford and Grants Pass, even in smaller rural communities. The American Front and eight or nine other Nazi organizations were operating in Portland, and there was a real surge of hate crimes. At the same time, there were anti-racist Skinheads that were organizing themselves. There were various confrontations, and law enforcement really started to clamp down hard, so aboveground Skinhead activity diminished for a period of time. At the same time, many racist skins started recruiting aggressively underground.

What has happened since the early to mid-'90s is that many of the key Nazi leaders have been coming out of the prison system. And they're coming out much more sophisticated and much more committed to their beliefs. In fact, it's like a badge of honor for them. They get icon status if they actually end up in the slammer for a hate crime.

IR: What's the situation in the Pacific Northwest like now?

LEFKOWITH: We are seeing a resurgence of the Nazi Skinheads up and down the same I-5 corridor. They are definitely growing in numbers. I wouldn't want to inflate it, but I would say there are between 200 and 300 of them. There are about 60 self-identified Nazi Skinheads in Portland and 30 or 40 in Salem, and those figures are probably low because many of them aren't identifying themselves [openly] as Nazis. They are operating on a single-man cell basis, unidentified with any organization. They're working in a sophisticated, underground way — they are in an organizing mode.

Volksfront, which is based in Portland, is probably the most prominent neo-Nazi [Skinhead] group in the Pacific Northwest. We are seeing a concerted effort on their part to strategically place older Nazi leaders, people in their late 20s, up and down the I-5 corridor.

One of them, who had gone to prison for hate crimes including attacking a black man with a hammer in Portland, recently came to Eugene. He brought seven of his goons and got into a verbal altercation with some anti-racist skins. He went off with, "This is going to be a Volksfront town now. We're going to break your backs. We ran the anti-racist skins out of Portland and we're going to do the same here."

Another leader has been handing out Volksfront literature on the buses here, and he's shown up at one of the "Ska [a form of West Indian music] Against Bigotry" concerts that I helped organize.

IR: Can you give an example of other violent Nazi Skinhead tactics?

LEFKOWITH: They go on these things they call "fishing trips." They put the little guy up front driving. He'll drive by and see a person of color, for instance, and flip them off and try to engage them in some kind of verbal exchange. Then, all the Nazi skins jump out from under the canvas in the back of the truck and beat the hell out of the person.

IR: Are there other neo-Nazi organizing efforts underway?

LEFKOWITH: Volksfront is making a concerted and sophisticated effort to organize and recruit in prisons at the national level. They call it their "prisoner of war" program. Nazi Skinheads also recruit at [music] shows and places like malls, where disenfranchised and homeless kids hang out. That's a real ripe and ready arena for the Nazis.

There is also a real effort to recruit young people at the high school and middle school level. There were 19 neo-Nazi Skinheads at just one high school in Salem last year, and we're still seeing the trickledown effects of that now. They're getting young kids, 12- and 13-year-old kids who are really bright, and befriending them. They're looking for the middle-class, upper-middle-class folks that have some brain, that will bring strategy and organizing ability into the movement.

They're even inviting really young people, kids

who are 8, 9, 10 years old, over to their apartments. They build a personal relationship with them and don't indoctrinate them into politics until much later in the game. The kids don't know what they're all about and sort of think they look pretty cool, and so they start hanging with them. I know of one older Nazi who tested kids: If they knew Hitler's birthday they would get a six-pack of beer, smokes or whatever.

They also prey on kids who have no place to go, homeless kids. They offer shelter to them, a roof over their heads, and food. It's a real manipulative thing.

IR: The stereotype is that it's usually people like that — homeless kids, those from broken or dysfunctional or at least poor homes — who become Skinheads. Is that a true picture?

LEFKOWITH: I would never generalize about the Skinhead scene in that way. Some of them I know come from really prominent families, where Mom's a researcher and Dad's a professor. That is very true on the Nazi scene. A lot more racist Skinheads are coming out of prominent families, families that own major businesses.

One Nazi Skinhead I know of invited about 13 of his friends over to his parents' for Christmas, and his parents actually bought them each a pair of Doc Martens [boots favored by Skinheads] at \$100 apiece! I have a group shot of that Christmas party.

Let me tell you another story. At an event I organized in 1996 [a showing of an anti-racist film], the mother of one of the leaders of a Nazi Skinhead group actually came to the event first to look the place over. Her son's group was planning to come over to disrupt the event and confront the anti-racist Skinheads, and she wanted to make sure her son was going to be safe! She supported him and his group. She even provided him with the computer he used to create the Nazi recruiting posters that he put up all over their neighborhood.

IR: You helped one young man who was at that film showing, Scott Britt, to leave the neo-Nazi Skinhead movement. What happened?

LEFKOWITH: It wasn't like all of a sudden a light bulb came on. About 15 Nazi Skinheads came to that event, and their leader was Scott. He was the head of Aryan Pride in Salem, where he had organized a group of 40 Nazis. That night, he encountered Eric Ward [a local human rights activist], and Eric engaged him in a conversation. Scott said later that here was this black guy, and he was really nice. The same night, this Jewish rabbi came up to him and said, "If you ever want to get out of this stuff, give me a call." The president of the NAACP talked to him, too. It totally surprised Scott.

He was also tired of all the backbiting and the violence and stress of the Nazi scene.

And shortly after that, his girlfriend had their baby. He started thinking about some of the things the Nazi skins talked about, like how if it comes down to race war they would go from house to house killing



Michele Lefkowith frequently lectures on the Skinhead scene in the Pacific Northwest.

black families, even their babies.

He went and met with the rabbi, and actually gave him his boots and his laces [important parts of the Skinhead uniform]. He met with the president of the NAACP. He finally approached my organization. That was two and a half years ago.

IR: How did you interact with Britt?

LEFKOWITH: The first thing I had him do was to go up and make a public apology to the community of Salem. About 400 people showed up. He went up and talked about what he had done. I didn't get all emotional and fuzzy when he did — it was his responsibility to do that. I also had him do a formal apology in a publication I do called *The Racemixer*. Since then, we've spoken together at high schools and gone on road trips to talk to human rights organizations.

I think Scott is still struggling with his racist beliefs. He is sincerely and diligently working towards rectifying what he was about. But unfortunately, we are still living with the residual effects of his [Nazi organizing] efforts in Salem.

Now, Scott has been targeted by the Nazi Skinheads. Just a few weeks ago, he was in the convenience store where he was working to pay his way through college. Some Nazi skins drove up and two of them came out and got into a verbal confrontation with him. Within a matter of seconds, while one of them distracted him, the other guy sucker-punched him, drilled him to the floor. They broke his nose and may have fractured his jaw.

I'm just glad they did not shoot him. That's what they do. Everybody is at risk with these people.

IR: What other kinds of grassroots work do you?

LEFKOWITH: I try to create opportunities for young anti-racist activists and street kids, to formulate their

thoughts. I'm not condoning violent acts, but that's what they know — it's their way of dealing with the white supremacist movement. I try to channel their thoughts and energies into nonviolent methods. We meet on a regular basis and talk about different ideas to create a safe environment on the street level. For instance, we created this Nazi notification campaign, where we put up posters around town of the racists who are operating here. They give me an expertise about what's going on in the street, and we try to translate that into action. I publish *The Racemixer*, and they contribute poetry and artwork and articles. I've taken them to anti-racist rallies and to speak at high schools and conferences about the racist Skinhead movement. In the last two years, we've had two "Ska Against Bigotry" concerts. I'd like to make them semiannual events.

IR: How did you become involved in this work?

LEFKOWITH: I have a couple of kids of my own who I raised Jewish, and they are in the public school system. One day, I went to pick them up at elementary school and there was a Nazi Skinhead who had been recruiting on campus all day. No one had asked him to leave! It turned out he lived two blocks from my home. From that point forward, I started to notice Skinhead activity in the area. Soon, I started volunteering for Communities Against Hate, a group that was formed after rumors circulated that 40 Nazi Skinheads were coming to town to attack an anti-racist punk rock concert.

Then, in 1994, a couple of racist Skinheads shot up Temple Beth Israel, the only synagogue in town. No one was hurt, thankfully. But the shooting completely shattered the security of the Jewish community and several other communities traditionally targeted by Nazi Skinheads. That was probably the biggest catalyst for me. I went on to become the director of Communities Against Hate about three years ago.

IR: The Skinhead movement began in the 1960s as a working-class phenomenon in Britain, connected to black West Indian music and later punk rock, and unrelated to any racist cause. What happened?

LEFKOWITH: A split in the movement developed because the [neo-fascist] British National Front saw these guys and gals as primary recruitment material. Like what we're seeing in the United States now, there was heavy anti-immigrant sentiment at the time and there was also heavy industrial downsizing going on. The National Front really capitalized on these things and began organizing within the Skinhead scene. A split occurred, with "traditional" Skinheads ["Trads"] saying we don't want to be associated in any way, shape or form with any kind of racism or anti-Semitism. Later, they called themselves SHARPs [for Skinheads Against Racial Prejudice]. So you had the Trads and the SHARPs, and then you had the Nazi Skinheads.

To me, the Nazis just robbed the Skinhead scene, taking on that look and that way of dress. They broke

apart the working-class Skinhead scene, which had been multiracial up to then. When I refer to the Nazis, I call them "boneheads," not Skinheads. They do not adhere to the values and ethics of the real Skinheads. The Nazis are impostors.

IR: So how would you describe "real" Skinhead values today?

LEFKOWITH: There is a real pride in having a job, and a strong distaste for folks not carrying their weight. The anti-racist Skinheads run the spectrum of political ideologies. Many have leanings to socialism, communism, the left. But I know Skinheads who are card-carrying Republicans. They have pride in working, getting their hands dirty and doing a hard day's work, and in building a community with a future. There is a patriotism on the Skinhead scene that is based on a real love of community.

The clothes are really important because of an image they want to project, that they are busting their knuckles and working hard and trying to do the right thing. It's all part of a positive image they want to project.

IR: Many people would say that's a very rosy picture of Skinheads. Some observers, and certainly many within law enforcement, believe that there's a culture of violence associated with both racist and traditional Skinheads. How do you respond?

LEFKOWITH: Part of the culture is wrestling around with each other, getting into it with each other, and it's a world I don't totally understand. They are into partying and causing a ruckus and drinking. But I would downplay the violent part of this. The stronger part of their culture is the camaraderie, the bond of their working-class values and the heartfelt commitment to doing the right fight, the good fight, and to supporting each other.

IR: So a part of being a Skinhead is being able to fight...

LEFKOWITH: I wouldn't know a Skinhead who didn't know how to fight and didn't resort to an honorable fight, because a part of it is defending what they believe in. I would say that is definitely part of the culture, to be able to do the good fight.

They do ruck around with each other, sparring and flirting and getting into it. And sometimes it does end up in violence — but that is because the folks they are dealing with, the Nazis, are violent people. The Nazis are packing firearms. They are even more violent than they used to be. There is a real concern on the street level: When is the next pregnant African-American woman going to get killed by a Nazi Skinhead? When is it that my kids are going to get gutted by the Nazis?

IR: Have you had to contend personally with threats of violence?

LEFKOWITH: I definitely have to think about how I live my life. I try to be as cautious as possible. I've had threatening letters and phone calls to my office. These are violent people. We are talking about people who murder. ▲

"The Nazis are packing firearms. They are even more violent than they used to be. ... We are talking about people who murder."

LEGAL BRIEFS

FEDERAL HATE LAW ON ROPES DESPITE SLAYINGS

BY BRIAN LEVIN

Despite a national outcry over the gruesome murder in October of a gay Wyoming university student, efforts to pass a strengthened federal hate crime law this year appear doomed. While the Hate Crime Prevention Act (HCPA) could be considered in a future session of Congress, its chances for passage even then are unclear at best.

Since 1968, several federal laws have been enacted that can be applied to hate crimes in some circumstances. But these laws have rarely been used, and critics say they are extremely limited in scope.

The limitations on the reach of the law can create bizarre results. In one case, for instance, a hate crime inside a convenience store could only be punished because a video game happened to be located there, making the use of the store as a venue of public entertainment a federally protected activity. Anomalies like this sparked the recent bipartisan effort, backed by the Clinton Administration, to greatly expand the law's scope with the proposed HCPA. But despite testimony from a relative of James Byrd Jr., the black man dragged to his death last June in Jasper, Texas — and national headlines about the murder of Matthew Shepard in Wyoming — the proposed law remained bottled up in House and Senate committees.

• 18 USC §241 punishes conspiracies that interfere with federal rights. Lone offenders are not covered by the law.

• 18 USC §242 punishes deprivations of federal rights committed by government officials. This law was used to prosecute the police officers who beat Rodney King. It does not apply to offenders who are private citizens.

Currently, there are seven primary federal civil rights statutes, some of them passed prior to 1968, that may be applicable to hate crimes:



Blood and flowers mark the spot where James Byrd Jr.'s body was left.

acquitted under 18 USC §245 even though the jury believed Franklin tried to kill then-Urban League President Vernon Jordan because of his race. The jury found that a required element of the statute — that Jordan was shot to prevent him from using a public accommodation — was not proved.

What's more, the jury was right.

"One would think, and I think most people in the United States do believe, that it is a federally protected and constitutional right to live, and that if one's life is taken by another person because one is black, Hispanic or some minority group, then that constitutes a violation of federal law," Drew Days III, then head of the Justice Department's civil rights division, told Congress that year. "But it is my considered judgment that this type of

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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

Gadsden • July 28, 1998
National Alliance literature was mailed to a woman.

CALIFORNIA

Agoura • July 29, 1998
Anti-Semitic fliers were left in mailboxes of several families.

Artesia • Aug. 12, 1998
Three adults and four juveniles were charged with assault for allegedly shouting racial slurs and spraying four Indian men with an acid-like chemical.

Castaic • July 16, 1998
Black and Latino inmates clashed in the latest of a series of racially motivated disturbances at the jail.

Claremont • July 29, 1998
White Aryan Resistance literature was distributed.

Clovis • Aug. 14, 1998
Bryan Von Smith, 22, and Gregory Lee Pearce, 19, pleaded guilty to battery and vandalism after attacking a Hispanic teen and his white girlfriend in June.

Cypress • Aug. 3, 1998
Two white men with shaved heads and swastika tattoos were charged with assault with a deadly weapon and suspicion of attempted murder for allegedly assaulting a Latino man and stabbing two of his white friends. Later in the month, Ryan Bill Marsau, 22, and Ryan Scott Moser, 21, were arrested in connection with the incident.

Cypress • Aug. 22, 1998
Swastikas were drawn on a Korean church.

Fresno • July 10, 1998
Self-proclaimed Klan member

John Varela was charged with assault, making threats and dissuading a witness after he allegedly grabbed and berated a teen attending a preliminary hearing where he was testifying about being the target of a hate crime.

Hemet • July 14, 1998
A white man allegedly attacked a black woman and used racial slurs.

Huntington • Aug. 14, 1998
Charles McDavid, 24, pleaded guilty to assaulting a black couple and an infant and using racial slurs in June. McDavid was sentenced to one year in jail.

Lakeside • July 22, 1998
Five Skinheads allegedly beat a black Grossmont College student.

Lakewood • Aug. 15, 1998
Two white men, Robin Eaton, 22, and Brandon Buffington, 19, were arrested for allegedly beating a black youth while making racially charged remarks.

Lancaster • Aug. 11, 1998
Nazi Low Rider member Eric Dillard, 18, pleaded guilty to civil rights violations for assaulting two black men in separate attacks in 1996.

San Bernardino • Aug. 18, 1998
Alleged Nazi Low Rider member Alvie Utah Williams, 26, was charged with murder for allegedly shooting into a car and killing a 2-year-old in August 1997.

San Diego • June 23, 1998
Gregory A. Kuhn, 33, was charged with attempted murder, carjacking, robbery, assault with a deadly weapon, auto theft and evading police with reckless driving after allegedly trying to shoot a black man while yelling racial epithets in May.

Denver • Aug. 28, 1998
A threatening letter, allegedly from the Ku Klux Klan, was sent to a black activist.

San Diego • Aug. 5, 1998
Dean Quillen, 23, and his brother John Raymond Quillen, 24, were charged with conspiracy and arson for allegedly setting fire to a black church in 1993. William Harrison, 24, pleaded guilty to civil rights and arson charges in connection with the incident.

Stafford • Aug. 8, 1998
Racist and anti-Semitic graffiti was written at an elementary school.

San Francisco • Aug. 7, 1998
Charles McDavid, 24, pleaded guilty to assaulting a black couple and an infant and using racial slurs in June. McDavid was sentenced to one year in jail.

Santa Rosa • Aug. 8, 1998
A 15-year-old and his friend allegedly assaulted an elderly black man and taunted him with racial slurs. The 15-year-old was charged with assault and commission of a hate-motivated felony.

Torrance • Aug. 4, 1998
Neo-Nazi National Alliance literature was stuffed into food packages at grocery stores.

West Hills • July 31, 1998
Anti-Semitic graffiti was scrawled on a synagogue.

COLORADO

Boulder • July 17, 1998
A hate-filled letter was sent to a University of Colorado minority group.

Denver • July 9, 1998
Zachary Wills, 17, was charged with harassment for allegedly using racial slurs against two black women in December.

Denver • Aug. 28, 1998
A threatening letter, allegedly from the Ku Klux Klan, was sent to a black activist.

CONNECTICUT

Manchester • July 24, 1998
A 10-foot cross was burned in a field.

Stafford • Aug. 8, 1998
Racist and anti-Semitic graffiti was written at an elementary school.

DELAWARE

Dover • Aug. 4, 1998
An 18-year-old pleaded guilty to conspiracy and committing a hate crime for spray-painting racist graffiti at a predominantly black church in May.

FLORIDA

Daytona Beach • Aug. 16, 1998
Stephen Anthony McLaughlin, 36, and Jason Lee Signore, 28, were charged with home invasion/hate crime and aggravated assault/hate crime for allegedly entering a black man's apartment and assaulting him while repeatedly using a racial slur.

Fort Pierce • July 23, 1998
The letters "KKK" were spray-painted on a black family's residence.

Lutz • June 27, 1998
Ten white men — Karnado Brown, 22; Andres W. Ward, Michael S. Darius, and Matthew J. Hancock, all 18; James E. Chambers, Christopher J. Hernandez, Justin P. Lambeth and James R. Hubbard, all 17; and Kristopher J. Moats and Mitchell T. Wester, both 16 — were charged with a hate crime for allegedly vandalizing an acquaintance's home because the man is gay.

Idaho Falls • July 4, 1998
Jeremy T. Wilcox was arrested for littering, possession of drug paraphernalia and resisting arrest after he allegedly scattered swastika stickers throughout a neighborhood.

Ocala • May 22, 1998
Tom Shrouder, a 38-year-old white man, was charged with battery and throwing a missile into a

vehicle for allegedly throwing rocks and a beer bottle at a school bus filled with predominantly black children.

Alton • Aug. 10, 1998

Richard L. Skelton, a 48-year-old white man, was beaten, kicked and stomped to death, allegedly by nine blacks who used racial epithets. Timothy L. Lee and Edtwayne D. Allen, both 26; Bruce L. Steward, 23; Christopher L. Smith, 20; Jason W. Campbell, 18; Taiwon M. Davis and Elmer J. Moore, both 17; and two juveniles were charged with first-degree murder. Errin P. DeBruce and Ivan Wheeler, both 27, were charged with aggravated battery and mob action in connection with the incident.

Sunrise • July 14, 1998

Guy Lombardi, 35, southeast regional director of the neo-Nazi World Church of the Creator, was charged with retaliating against a witness after allegedly intimidating a witness in the case of a beating of a man and his son in August.

Belleville • June 21, 1998

The letters "KKK" were spray-painted on a black family's van.

Warner Robins • Aug. 11, 1998

Racist graffiti was spray-painted on a black family's residence.

Bloomington • July 28, 1998

Shannon Pankey, 24, was convicted of a hate crime for threatening a black man, calling him a racial epithet and attempting to run him off the road in March 1997.

Keaua • June 27, 1998

A swastika and the words "Heil Hitler" were spray-painted at an elementary and an intermediate school.

IDAHO

Coeur d'Alene • July 17, 1998
Approximately 92 people participated in the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations' One Hundred Flag March, led by Richard Butler.

Chicago • July 13, 1998

Gilbert Vega, 31, Eduardo Santiago, 26, Fernando Galarza, 24, Rafael Hernandez, 18, and Marcos Vazquez, 17, were charged with hate crime assault for allegedly verbally assaulting a man they believed to be gay and threatening to beat him with a baseball bat in May.

ILLINOIS

Alton • Aug. 6, 1998

John L. Barrett, 37, was charged with a hate crime for allegedly threatening the lives of two black

youths while using racially intimidating language in May.

sentenced to two years in prison for possession of a sawed-off shotgun and possession of a firearm with the serial numbers obliterated.

East St. Louis • Aug. 31, 1998

White supremacist Wallace Weicherding, 65, was convicted of conspiracy to bomb several human rights organizations and public buildings, assassinate a civil rights lawyer, kill a federal judge, rob banks and poison water supplies and possess unregistered weapons.

Granite City • July 8, 1998

Michael G. Baggot, 41, was charged with a hate crime after allegedly threatening to set a black woman on fire.

Peoria • Aug. 26, 1998

Michael J. Davis, 19, was charged with aggravated assault, disorderly conduct and a hate crime for allegedly harassing an interracial couple at a gas station.

Springfield • July 20, 1998

Thomas Goacher, 27, was charged with a hate crime, aggravated kidnapping, armed robbery and aggravated battery for the alleged abduction, torture and robbery in January of a man whom Goacher believed to be gay.

Wadsworth • Aug. 12, 1998

Three 18-year-olds and a 15-year-old were arrested for suspicion of writing anti-Semitic graffiti at a cemetery.

Waukegan • June 22, 1998

David Killian, 33, was sentenced to four years in prison after violating terms of his probation by attacking a Hispanic teenager in September 1996.

INDIANA

Bloomington • July 4, 1998

Neo-Nazi World Church of the Creator literature was left on cars.

Goshen • June 27, 1998

About 20 members of the

American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan held a march.

Logansport • July 18, 1998
Between 15 and 20 Klan members distributed literature.

Nappanee • Aug. 19, 1998
Eight members of the American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan marched and distributed literature.

IOWA

Palo • July 12, 1998
A cross was burned at the residence of a family of Hispanic and Indian descent.

KANSAS

Derby • July 4, 1998
A cross was burned at the residence of a man who is of Hispanic and American Indian descent.

Kansas City • July 26, 1998
A cross was burned at a black family's residence.

KENTUCKY

Lexington • Aug. 10, 1998
White Aryan Legion member Daniel R. Kopitz, 41, pleaded guilty to possession of a firearm by a convicted felon. Following his guilty plea, charges were dismissed of discrimination in housing, mailing threatening communications and destruction of government property for allegedly sending threats to mixed-race couples and ordering the firing of two gunshots into a post office in May.

Paducah • July 10, 1998
Barry Dunn, 25, and Chris Mahan, 24, were sentenced to 18 months in prison and Daniel Porter, 27, was sentenced to a year in prison for conspiring to violate the civil rights of a black family in September. The three men were ordered to share in the \$2,306 restitution and to serve three years' probation.

LOUISIANA

Alexandria • Aug. 8, 1998
About 34 members of America's Invisible Empire Knights of the Ku Klux Klan rallied.

Baton Rouge • July 12, 1998
Brandon Starks, 20, was charged with simple battery, hate crime and aggravated battery for allegedly beating a black teen and using racial slurs. Shawn Ledig, 22, was charged with aggravated battery; Michael Pizzolato Jr., 20, was charged with aggravated battery, simple assault and simple criminal damage to property; and Edwin Smith, 19, was booked as a principal to simple battery, aggravated battery, simple assault and simple criminal damage to property for allegedly attacking three people.

New Orleans • Aug. 20, 1998
A death threat, allegedly from the Ku Klux Klan, was sent to a Louisiana Supreme Court candidate and his family.

MAINE

Falmouth • July 31, 1998
Brian McCallum, 39, was charged with terrorizing, violating a protective order and disorderly conduct for allegedly threatening to kill and behead two lesbian neighbors.

Portland • June 11, 1998
Alan J. Shaw, 17, was charged with aggravated assault, harassment by characteristic and a hate crime involving racial slurs for allegedly starting a racial brawl between ten white men and five immigrants.

South Berwick • July 1, 1998
A swastika and racist slogans were drawn on a church and a religious statue was broken.

MARYLAND

Columbia • June 29, 1998
The letters "KKK" and racist graffiti were scrawled on the town-

house of a white man who is dating a black woman.

Highfield • Aug. 19, 1998
A swastika was found at a Jewish girls' camp.

Millersville • Aug. 13, 1998
The letters "KKK" and a swastika were spray-painted on an interracial couple's vehicle.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston • Aug. 5, 1998
A group of white youths allegedly smashed the windows in an apartment occupied by a Dominican family. The incident was the latest in a series of reported racial assaults against minority residents at the housing project.

Boston • Aug. 8, 1998
Neo-Nazi Aryan Nations literature was distributed.

Concord • June 22, 1998
A swastika was burned into a street.

MINNESOTA

Renville • June 7, 1998
A Hispanic woman's residence was burned to the ground a week after a racist slogan had been spray-painted on the house.

St. Cloud • July 16, 1998
Neo-Nazi National Socialist Movement literature was distributed throughout a neighborhood.

St. Paul • Aug. 25, 1998

Tyler Behr, 28, pleaded guilty to making terroristic threats and fleeing a police officer after he dragged two black women from a car and directed racial remarks toward them in January.

Monson • June 22, 1998
Anti-Semitic and racist graffiti was spray-painted on a chapel and on several mailboxes.

Hattiesburg • Aug. 21, 1998
Samuel Bowers, 73, former Imperial Wizard of the Mississippi White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, was convicted of murder and sentenced to life in prison for allegedly scratching an anti-Semitic epithet on the victim's car in November.

Newburyport • Aug. 4, 1998
A 14-year-old was ordered to per-

form 80 hours of community service, complete an anti-hate program, undergo psychiatric evaluation, submit to random drug screenings and stay away from a middle school teacher to whom he sent anti-Semitic letters.

MICHIGAN

Flint • July 5, 1998
Three white boys, ages 10, 14, and 15, allegedly sent a note with Klan references to a white woman with a mixed-race grandchild.

St. Joseph • June 27, 1998
Twelve members of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan rallied.

Warren • July 13, 1998
A cross was burned at an interracial couple's residence.

MINNESOTA

Renville • June 7, 1998
A Hispanic woman's residence was burned to the ground a week after a racist slogan had been spray-painted on the house.

St. Cloud • July 16, 1998
Hate graffiti was written on a sign at a church that has gay and lesbian attendees.

NEBRASKA

Omaha • July 14, 1998
A swastika and the words "Burn Jew Burn" were carved into a wall at a synagogue that was burglarized.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Concord • July 24, 1998
A white prison inmate, Eric Balagot, 29, was beaten to death the morning after he allegedly used a racial epithet. A black prison inmate, James Skinner, 35, entered no plea to first-degree murder charges.

NEW JERSEY

Cliffside Park • July 6, 1998
Joseph W. Wedemeyer, 26, was charged with a bias crime for

Dahmer's death, had his sentence suspended because of his testimony against Bowers.

Jackson • July 21, 1998
Copies of "The Truth at Last," a white supremacist newspaper, were tossed onto driveways.

Oxford • June 7, 1998
A residence occupied by four white females was broken into and racial slurs were written in the house.

Oxford • July 9, 1998
A residence occupied by three black females was burglarized and racial epithets were written on the walls.

MISSOURI

Gladstone • Aug. 13, 1998
Anthony Pique, 22, was charged with ethnic intimidation after he allegedly yelled racial epithets at a couple and threatened them with a knife and a beer bottle.

Kansas City • Aug. 14, 1998
Hate graffiti was written on a sign at a church that has gay and lesbian attendees.

NEBRASKA

Omaha • July 14, 1998
Nine swastikas were painted around a high school football field and track.

Pemberton

• July 19, 1998
An eight-foot wooden swastika was left at a black family's residence.

MISSISSIPPI

Hattiesburg • Aug. 21, 1998
Samuel Bowers, 73, former Imperial Wizard of the Mississippi White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, was convicted of murder and sentenced to life in prison for a 1966 firebombing that killed civil rights activist Vernon Dahmer. Former Klansman Billy Roy Pitts, 54, who was sentenced to life in prison for his part in

NEW JERSEY

Cliffside Park • July 6, 1998
Joseph W. Wedemeyer, 26, was charged with a bias crime for

allegedly threatening his black neighbor and using a racial epithet.

Elizabeth • July 4, 1998
Racist fliers were distributed throughout a neighborhood.

Hackensack • July 29, 1998
Swastikas and an anti-Semitic slogan were written on a Jewish woman's mailbox.

Hamilton

• Aug. 3, 1998
Samuel Whitman, a 50-year-old white man, was charged with making terroristic threats, simple assault and possession of a weapon for allegedly using racial epithets and threatening to shoot a black man.

Lakewood • July 1, 1998
Two 16-year-olds and two 17-year-olds were charged with simple assault for allegedly throwing produce on two Jewish men.

Marlton • Aug. 6, 1998
Tracy Ramos, 25, was charged with harassment involving a bias incident, simple assault and a number of motor vehicle violations after he allegedly tried to provoke a fight in a restaurant while using racial slurs.

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

Brooklyn

• Sept. 7, 1998
Nine swastikas were painted around a high school football field and track.

Ringwood

• July 28, 1998
Andrew Felmore, 29, Frank Veronese, 23, and Jason Watson, 20, were charged with criminal mischief, conspiracy and harassment for allegedly spray-painting swastikas and other graffiti on a rock cliff.

Washington Township • July 9, 1998
A 130-foot swastika was carved into a cornfield.

Elmira • Aug. 20, 1998
Rodney G. Lindsay Jr., 19, Brandon S. Waite, 18, and a juvenile were charged with first-degree aggravated

vandalized with swastikas and an anti-Semitic phrase.

NEW YORK

Babylon • July 19, 1998

A 13-year-old was charged with second-degree aggravated harassment for allegedly creating an anti-Semitic Web site, and threatening and harassing one of his Jewish schoolmates.

Brooklyn

• June 27, 1998
A Latino couple, Jose Cruz, 22, and Janet Marrero, 21, were charged with assault and menacing for allegedly assaulting a black man in a bias-motivated attack.

Brooklyn

• July 9, 1998
Charles Price, a 44-year-old black man, was sentenced to 21 years in prison after being convicted of civil rights violations for inciting a riot that resulted in the death of a Hasidic scholar in August 1991.

Brooklyn

• July 23, 1998
Gazi Ibrahim Abu Mezer, a 24-year-old Palestinian, was convicted of plotting to blow up a subway station in an attempt to kill Jewish people last summer.

Brooklyn

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

Buffalo

• Aug. 1, 1998
Swastikas and an obscene message were written on a Jewish school.

Coram

• July 21, 1998
Shariff Elkordy and Phillip P. Millwater, both 17, were charged with second-degree aggravated harassment for allegedly making phone calls of a threatening and racial nature to a black person.

Washington Township

• July 9, 1998
A white man allegedly threatened to shoot two women and shouted anti-gay remarks.

Peekskill

• Aug. 20, 1998
A swastika was drawn on a black Jewish family's residence.

harassment for allegedly spray-painting swastikas on a Jewish community center in May 1997.

Great Kills

• July 6, 1998
Michael Conte, 19, was sentenced to 16 months to four years in prison after being convicted of aggravated harassment and attempted assault for trying to run down two people in separate bias incidents in May.

Hempstead

• July 25, 1998
Swastikas were scrawled in front of a policeman's residence.

Lake Grove

• Aug. 18, 1998
William Devine, a 45-year-old white man, was charged with second-degree aggravated harassment for allegedly using racial epithets against two black women.

Little Neck

• July 20, 1998
Four swastikas were drawn on a door of a school, the second time within a week that the school was targeted with racist graffiti.

Manhattan

• Sept. 2, 1998
Six men allegedly shouted anti-gay epithets at a man. One of the assailants allegedly punched the man.

Mastic

• Aug. 7, 1998
John Brust and Darren Hightower, both 30, were charged with second-degree aggravated harassment for allegedly using racial slurs and beating a black youth who was with his white girlfriend.

New York

• July 9, 1998
A white man allegedly threatened to shoot two women and shouted anti-gay remarks.

Morehead City

• July 31, 1998
Terry Wray, 50, was arrested for allegedly burning a cross in his black neighbor's yard.

Queens • Aug. 3, 1998

Eight to ten Puerto Ricans allegedly beat two Mexican immigrants and used racial slurs.

Queens • Aug. 9, 1998

Juan Marte, 20, Shreick Hoffman, 19, and Daniel Grissom, Malik Felder, and Rajhae Williams, all 18, were charged with assault and robbery for allegedly robbing and beating an Irish man while making racial comments.

Riverhead

• Aug. 26, 1998
Gregory Rohr, 17, was sentenced to five years' probation for stabbing a classmate in the chest and using an anti-Semitic slur in May 1997.

Staten Island

• Aug. 5, 1998
A 17-year-old was allegedly assaulted by a man who made anti-gay remarks.

Syracuse

• June 10, 1998
Scott C. Miller, a 19-year-old white man, was charged with harassment for allegedly making racial remarks and threatening a black woman.

NORTH CAROLINA**Cramerton**

• July 9, 1998
Scott Edward Clark, a 18-year-old white man, was charged with assault and ethnic intimidation for allegedly running down two black youths and yelling racial slurs in August.

Lexington

• Aug. 8, 1998
About 20 Klan members rallied. Alleged Klansman Jimmy Ray Shelton, 29, was charged with carrying a concealed weapon.

Morehead City

• July 31, 1998
Terry Wray, 50, was arrested for allegedly burning a cross in his black neighbor's yard.

OHIO**Elyria**

• July 15, 1998
John A. Luther, 20, a member of the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations, was sentenced to six years in prison for

engaging in a pattern of corrupt activity, possession of criminal tools, complicity in aggravated robbery and theft for robbing a bank in June 1997.

Hamilton • July 23, 1998
Steve Cole, 19, pleaded guilty to assaulting a black University of Miami student in January and using racial slurs.

Hicksville • June 27, 1998
American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan members, led by Imperial Wizard Jeff Berry, held a march.

Lafayette • July 16, 1998
The letters "KKK" and several obscenities were spray-painted on a white family's car.

Shelby • July 20, 1998
Gregory Morgan, 19, was sentenced to seven months in prison for his role in a January cross burning.

Tupper Plains • July 11, 1998
The White Shield Knights of the Ku Klux Klan and the International Keystone Knights of the Ku Klux Klan held a rally.

Warren • July 27, 1998
American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan literature was left in two newspaper coin boxes.

Warren • Aug. 9, 1998
About 30 Klan members rallied. Two adults and a juvenile were arrested and charged with disorderly conduct.

OKLAHOMA

Lawton • July 11, 1998
A man allegedly made a racist comment to a Native American woman and punched her in the face.

Norman • Aug. 1, 1998
A swastika was burned into a woman's front lawn.

Oologah • July 21, 1998
Three white men, Alan L. Littler,

26, and Bill C. Fendley and Mark Andrew Warren, both 23, were charged with assault and battery and assault and battery with a dangerous weapon for allegedly beating a black man while yelling racial slurs.

Hillsboro • Aug. 22, 1998
Barry Black, 50, Imperial Wizard of the International Keystone Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, was charged with burning a cross at the conclusion of a Klan rally.

OREGON

Ashland • Aug. 17, 1998
David Dean Johnson, 23, pleaded guilty to second-degree intimidation and was sentenced to 30 days in jail for intimidating a Hispanic man with racial slurs in July.

Bend • Aug. 7, 1998
Racist graffiti was spray-painted on a Korean church.

Mercer • Aug. 8, 1998
About 40 members of the American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan rallied.

Eugene • July 31, 1998
Steven Wesley Hunt, 37, was charged with racial intimidation, assault, harassment and disorderly conduct for allegedly punching a Japanese woman and making a racist comment.

PENNSYLVANIA

Boswell • July 25, 1998
Three reported Klan members — Ronald Bedics, 34, Michael Abraham, 31, and Adam Moyer, 33 — were charged with aggravated assault, simple assault, reckless endangerment and making terroristic threats after they allegedly aimed assault rifles and shotguns at an undercover state policeman at a Klan-sponsored White Pride Day picnic.

Northampton • July 6, 1998
Three white men allegedly attacked a Mexican man and made derogatory remarks about his race.

Doylestown • Aug. 11, 1998
Racist graffiti was spray-painted on a synagogue.

Falls • June 23, 1998
A cross was burned at a Jewish family's residence.

Grafton • June 16, 1998
Two 13-year-olds were charged with destruction of property for allegedly spray-painting swastikas on a Jewish man's car.

Philadelphia • Aug. 19, 1998
Edward Majors, 41, pleaded guilty to racially motivated vandalism and was sentenced to a year in federal prison for vandalizing a house in order to prevent a black family from moving into it in 1996.

Pittsburgh • July 16, 1998
Anthony Davin, 20 and Sean Murray, 21, were charged with aggravated assault and conspiracy for an alleged racially motivated attack on three black men.

Lansdale • July 12, 1998
Donald Lee Penrod, 48, was charged with aggravated assault, simple assault, reckless endangerment and terroristic threats for allegedly threatening to kill a state police trooper who was monitoring a White Pride Day picnic. The picnic, held on Penrod's property, was sponsored by the International Keystone Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

North Huntingdon • July 15, 1998
Shawn Lichtfuss, 26, pleaded not guilty to allegedly vandalizing three synagogues with anti-Israeli and pro-Palestinian graffiti in June.

York • June 13, 1998
Swastikas and racial epithets were spray-painted on garages, boats, fences, vehicles and at a high school. Two 17-year olds and a 16-year-old were arrested for their alleged involvement in the incident.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Charleston • July 14, 1998
Former Klansmen Gary C. Cox and Timothy A. Welch, serving time for burning black churches in 1995, had their sentences reduced after they provided information

in other cases. Cox had his 19-and-a-half year sentence reduced to 14 years and Welch's sentence of 18 years was reduced to 12 years.

Columbia • July 13, 1998
Former Christian Knights of the Ku Klux Klan member Joshua England, 20, pleaded guilty to shooting and injuring three black teens in October 1996.

Hartsville • July 13, 1998
A white chiropractor, Michael Cole, 51, was charged with assault and battery for allegedly beating a black woman while screaming obscenities and racial slurs.

Manning • July 24, 1998
A \$37.8-million civil judgment was returned against the Christian Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc., its South Carolina branch, South Carolina Grand Dragon Horace King and four other defendants in the torching of a predominantly black church in June 1995.

Plano • Aug. 29, 1998
United Confederate Knights of the Ku Klux Klan literature was wrapped in newspapers and left at residences.

TENNESSEE

Oak Ridge • Aug. 11, 1998
Racial slurs were spray-painted on

two cars belonging to a racially mixed couple.

Pulaski • July 18, 1998
About 36 Klan members held a rally.

TEXAS

Corpus Christi • July 29, 1998
Former members of a satanic rock band were sentenced to federal prison for setting fire to two churches in October. Tomas Czar Jimenez, 24, was sentenced to six years; his common-law wife Michele Ann Scott, 23, was sentenced to five years; and Ramsey Leal, 24, was sentenced to five years. All three were ordered to pay \$138,600 in restitution. The church burnings were considered hate crimes under federal law.

Grafton • June 16, 1998
Swastikas were scrawled on a Jewish man's car.

Mount Vernon • Aug. 14, 1998
Two explosive devices and anti-gay literature were left at the residence of two men.

Portsmouth • Aug. 10, 1998
Two white men allegedly punched a black man several times and yelled racial slurs.

WASHINGTON

Issaquah • June 8, 1998
White Aryan Resistance literature was allegedly sent to a white woman who has a black boyfriend.

threatening note were left at a gay couple's residence.

Beckley • July 4, 1998
A racist letter was circulated throughout a neighborhood.

WEST VIRGINIA

Madison • June 17, 1998
Kenneth W. Leffler, 33, and Dominic L. Pena, 27, were charged with disorderly conduct while armed after allegedly taunting a black man with racial slurs in a convenience store.

Milwaukee • July 26, 1998
A cross was burned at a woman's residence.

Racine • July 16, 1998
Trinera C. Herron, a 19-year-old black woman, was charged with battery and attempted robbery with use of force, both as hate crimes, after she allegedly attacked a white woman.

Waupaca • July 30, 1998
Jeffrey S. Schucknecht, 27, was convicted of one count of substantial battery of a selected person of a class for attacking a homosexual man in September. He was sentenced to one year in jail and placed on three years' probation.

Federal Hate Crime Law

continued from page 29

violence can take place without running afoul of federal statutes."

The recently proposed HCPA sought to remedy this perceived problem.

It would have expanded the rights protected under the 18 USC §245 to include any right protected under federal law or the Constitution. And it would have designated sexual orientation, disability, and gender as protected status groups, although only in instances where interstate commerce was involved.

The rationale for the interstate commerce nexus is that status-based violence against groups like gays, women

and minorities disrupts commerce by discouraging members of those groups from traveling or transacting business.

Opponents of HCPA argued that it would inundate federal courts with new cases that were already covered by state statutes. "It is only a short step to federalizing all violent crime," argued attorney Kimberly Potter, co-author of a book on hate crime laws.

But proponents contend the law was necessary because of the unique severity of hate crime, the weakness of existing federal laws and the need for federal resources in a

To 27-year-old Army veteran Rene Francis Mullins, the case for the proposed federal law is simple — and deeply personal. "On June 7, 1998, between 2:15 and 2:30 a.m.," she told a Senate committee, "my father James Byrd, Jr. was on his way home from an anniversary party when three Caucasian men picked him up, tortured him and dragged him to his death."

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 (www.stockton.edu/~hatecntr/levin.htm). Levin is the author of a forthcoming book, Hate and Justice in America (Aspen Publications, 1998).

RACIAL RENAISSANCE

MEETING DRAWS RACISTS, PSEUDO-INTELLECTUALS

Coming together at a Virginia gathering committed to "the defense of Western Civilization," a group of pseudo-intellectuals obsessed with the "race problem" rubbed shoulders with Klansmen, neo-Nazis and other white supremacists in August.

More than 200 people attended the conference, dedicated to the theme "Why is Race the Problem That Will Not Go Away?" and hosted by white separatist author Jared Taylor's *American Renaissance* magazine. Speakers and attendees advanced ideas like the forced repatriation of "genetically inferior" minorities, harsh pro-European immigration reform and aggressive resegregation as an intellectual platform for white nationalism.

Many of those there described the meeting, the third organized by the Taylor, as part of the formation of a "safe haven" for racial theorists who have been ostracized by mainstream American society. But even as academics took the limelight, former Klansmen like David

Duke and Internet hatemonger Don Black were much in evidence.

Theories advanced were unconventional indeed.

Glayde Whitney, a psychology professor at Florida State University, told his audience that blacks are "bigger in bone, smaller in brain," biologically specialized "primitives" who often mate with white schoolgirls because they mature sexually faster and are physically larger and more aggressive than whites. Today's fastest black marathon runners, he theorized, are "biologically adapted cattle thieves" because they come from a Kenyan tribe specializing in cattle theft where captured thieves were often put to death.

Other speakers included Samuel Francis, fired from his *Washington Times* job for racially inflammatory work; J. Philippe Rushton, a University of Western Ontario psychology professor who reportedly has promoted the idea of an inverse relationship between brain and penis size; Michael Walker, a European extreme right-



Host Jared Taylor discusses biology and race.

ist and editor of *The Scorpion*, a white nationalist newsletter; and Stephen Barry, editor of *The Resister*, billed as the "political warfare journal" of a secret right-wing military group.

Conference host Taylor long has attacked multiculturalism, saying that for whites such a policy is "nothing more than unilateral disarmament in a dangerous world." The author of a controversial book on race, *Paved With Good Intentions: The Failure of Race Relations in Contemporary America*, Taylor also argues that blacks are less intelligent than whites and should be segregated. ▲

INTELLIGENCE REPORT

SOUTHERN POVERTY LAW CENTER
400 WASHINGTON AVENUE
MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA 36104



A MESSAGE TO CENTER SUPPORTERS

Dear Center Supporter,

The Fall 1998 issue of the *Intelligence Report* contains stories about:

- ▲ violent extremists who believe that a breakdown in society caused by the year 2000 computer bug will give them an opportunity to set off a race war;
- ▲ white supremacist Chevie O'Brien Kehoe, whose dream of setting up an all-white nation has led to a horrific series of murders;
- ▲ the migration of racist Skinheads into the adult racist mainstream, where they could become the shock troops of the white supremacy movement.

Your contributions to the Southern Poverty Law Center and its Intelligence Project help make the *Intelligence Report* possible. With your support, we are now distributing it free to over 30,000 law enforcement officers and agencies across the country.

After you have had the opportunity to read this issue, I urge you to pass it along to a community organization or law enforcement group where you live.

Sincerely,

Joseph J. Levin, Jr.
President

INTELLIGENCE REPORT

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