

THE SOUTHERN POVERTY LAW CENTER'S

Intelligence Report

SPRING 1999 • ISSUE 94



Patriots for Profit

Feds, States Probe
Financial Schemes

Patriot Groups Drop,
But Racism Grows

Neo-Nazi Denies
Jewish Ancestry

Still At Large:
Extremists
On The Run

Redefining America:
The Growth of
White Nationalism

Violence, Hate and Youth



By Mark Potok, Editor

The attack occurred on the 110th birthday of Adolf Hitler. Students reported that one of the killers called 18-year-old Isaiah Shoels a "nigger" just before shooting him, and others said that members of the so-called "Trench Coat Mafia" idolized Hitler, spoke German to one another and listened to German music. There were even reports that members of the group wore red shoelaces — a symbol of neo-Nazi Skinheads.

Many have pointed accusing fingers at the parents of Eric Harris and Dylan Klebold, the youths who apparently committed suicide after their attack. But others, closer to the families, have described the parents as utterly normal, attentive people.

It's not clear how important a role racist beliefs may have played in igniting the attack. But there is evidence that the presumed killers were deeply involved in the Internet and in the "extreme music" subculture — both worlds that have seen a rapidly increasing incursion of white supremacist and neo-Nazi influences.

Music and the Net

Since the first hate site went up on the Web just four years ago, racist propaganda on the Net has exploded. In addition, there are scores of sites glorifying violence and detailing how to build bombs like those used at Columbine High.

Hate groups have used the Net to target people like Harris and Klebold — bright, college-bound youths seen as capable of building a radical right political movement. Many hate groups have put up Web pages explicitly aimed at young students.

Harris and Klebold were also said to be deeply interested in extreme music, including Gothic, Black Metal and Death Metal. Typically, this music has been characterized by anti-authoritarian, violent, occult and even pornographic themes. But now, neo-Nazism has become very much a part of the scene.

Evidence of this change can be seen in magazines like *Pit* that cover extreme music. According to the Coalition for Human Dignity, a Seattle-based human rights group, *Pit* has run uncritical interviews with musicians like "Kapricornus," who refers to

WHAT'S HAPPENING TO OUR CHILDREN?

his national socialist beliefs and "the plague of negroidal [sic] creatures." Another musician predicts: "Auschwitz and Birkenau will be reopened under new management — US!"

Metastasizing Hate

The Littleton massacre is not the only horror story that has caused parents and others to examine the roots of hatred among the young. Peggy Greenbaum has wrestled with a similar situation since it was revealed early this year that her 20-year-old son, a youth with Jewish ancestry, leads a neo-Nazi group.

"I don't know how you don't know these things, but you just don't," a weeping Greenbaum told the *Intelligence Report*. "I just don't know where it came from."

Part of the answer may lie in the ways that normal teenage rebelliousness and problems at school can become poisoned by white supremacist organizers, who are capitalizing on the new technology of the Net to reach teens. While parents are at work or simply too busy to pay close attention, their kids are often squirrelled away in their bedrooms sitting at the keyboard — and absorbing the message of Net hate sites.

In Littleton, the killers apparently had been ostracized as oddballs by many of their classmates. Greenbaum says her son, who has changed his name from Andrew Greenbaum to Davis Wolfgang Hawke, was ridiculed in school and taunted by children who called him a "kike." These problems apparently metastasized when Hawke, Harris and Klebold came into contact with the increasingly powerful neo-Nazi movement.

Hawke, his mother says, "is beyond the point of reasoning." But that is not true of millions of other American children, kids who live in a society suffering from endemic racism. If we are to stop the upward spiral of hate, parents now more than ever must speak to their children openly about this plague, explaining why it is wrong.

Ultimately, that may be our best hope. ▲

Our New Look

Since the Southern Poverty Law Center began publishing the *Intelligence Report* in 1979, the periodical has undergone a series of changes. From a newsletter that ran to only a few pages, it has grown into a large, quarterly journal with a wide array of departments and features. With this issue, we present a completely redesigned magazine in the hope of better serving our readers. Let us know what you think.



DAVID SCULL/HONOLULU ADVERTISER

ON THE COVER Bernard von NotHaus sells his "American Liberty Currency" as part of a campaign to dump the Federal Reserve System. This issue's special report, "Patriots for Profit," profiles NotHaus' NORFED group and several others that have been bringing in fortunes by selling antigovernment theories and products to gullible Patriots. **Page 12**

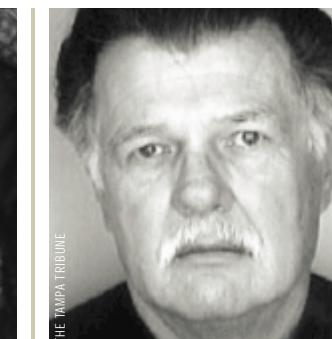


AMY BETH BENNETT

BORN ON THE BAYOU

The bizarre story of the Louisiana-based Washitaw Nation might be funny if it weren't for investigations of its possible financial crimes.

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THE TAMPA TRIBUNE

MINISTRY OF MONEY

The principals of Greater Ministries, a Florida "church" that promised to double investors' money, face federal charges.

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FREEDOM'S END

A federal judge, angered at the financial scams of the Montana Freemen, sentences the group's leaders to long terms.

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Many antigovernment fugitives remain free despite manhunts that have lasted years. **8**

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A South Carolina college student who leads a neo-Nazi group denies his Jewish ancestry. **36**

Redefining America

A leading analyst of the far right warns of the rising tide of white nationalism. **40**

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The antigovernment Patriot movement is revealed most fully in its publications. **44**

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A hate group leader's application to be a lawyer raises important First Amendment questions. **46**

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Hate Crimes

Serious Violence Against Gays Said to Rise

In the aftermath of the widely publicized murder of Matthew Shepard in Wyoming last year, authorities have reported the slayings of three more men believed gay by their attackers: a north Alabama man beaten to death with an axe handle and burned; a homeless man who was beheaded in Virginia; and a transvestite beaten to death in Georgia.

As the latest reports came in, an advocacy group, the National Coalition of Anti-Violence Programs, released a study showing that the number of murders attributed to anti-gay prejudice had skyrocketed from

14 in 1996 to 33 in 1998. The coalition is made up of 26 community-based organizations that monitor anti-homosexual violence.

On the same April day that the coalition's report was released, President Clinton urged Congress to pass a bill that would expand the current federal hate crimes law to include sexual orientation, disability and gender.

Numbers reported by the National Coalition have long been at odds with FBI statistics, which give far lower figures. But there

is little question that at least some bias killings are not designated as hate crimes, often for merely technical reasons like the absence of local hate crime reporting mechanisms. Academic studies have shown that gay men and lesbians suffer from extraordinarily high levels of violence based on their sexual orientation.

The three latest killings may be examples of that:

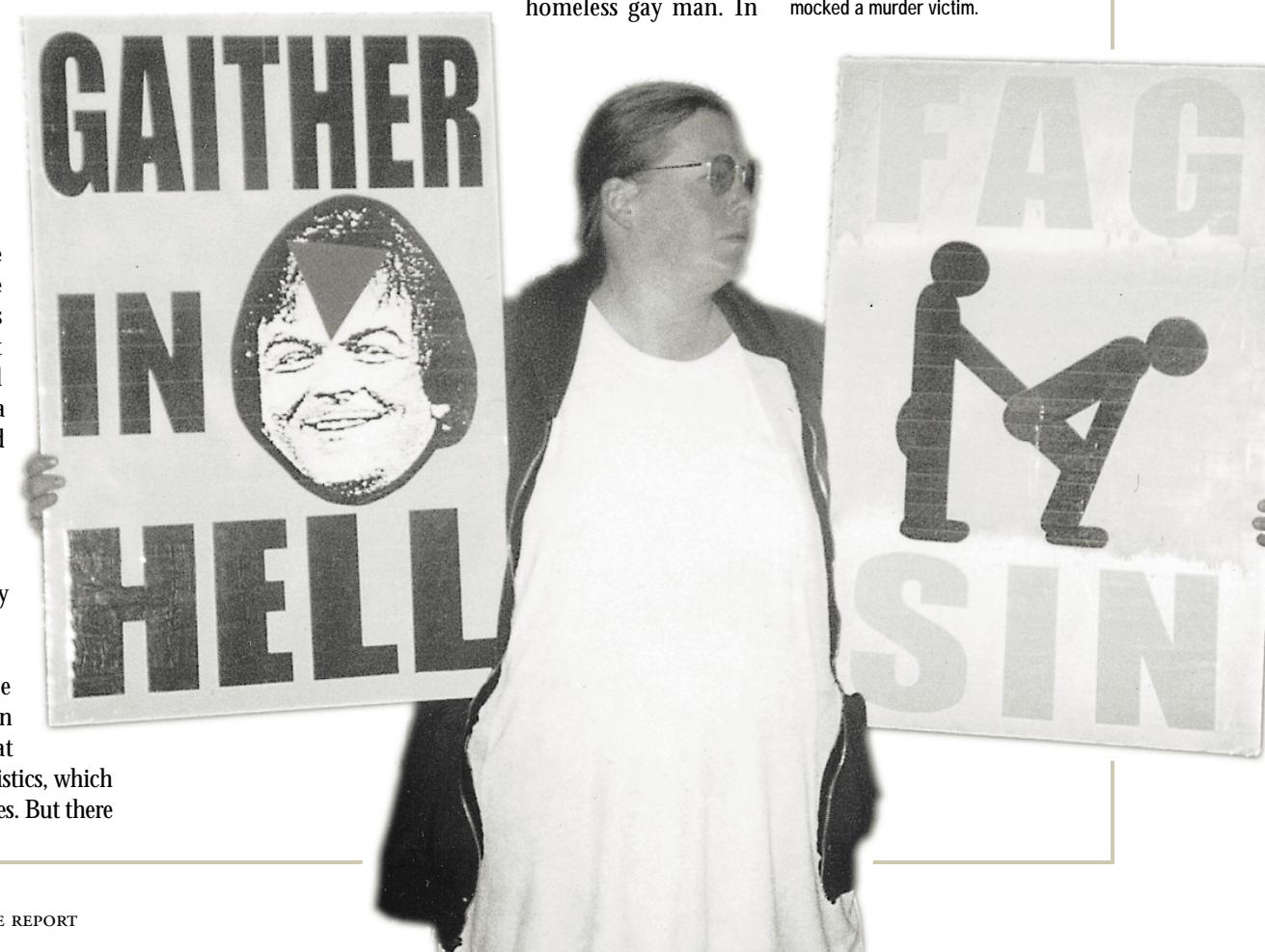
- **Billy Jack Gaither**, a singer in the local Baptist choir who lived with and cared for his elderly parents, was beaten to death in Sylacauga, Ala., allegedly by two men who then incinerated his body on a pyre

- Ten days after Gaither's murder, a young couple taking a morning stroll through a park in Richmond, Va., discovered the decapitated body of Henry

Edward Northington, a homeless gay man. In

what police say could have been meant as a "message," Northington's head had been placed at a park footbridge leading to a popular gay meeting place. No one has been arrested in the murder, and gay rights activists say police may have problems because of distrust in the gay community. In January, after 54 gay men were arrested in a police sting, the authorities sent postcards to the men's homes suggesting they be tested for AIDS — a move that enraged gay rights advocates who saw the mailings as intimidation.

In Alabama, anti-gay protesters mocked a murder victim.



• Unlike Gaither and Northington, Tracey Thompson lived long enough to talk to authorities. Bleeding from severe head wounds, the 33-year-old transvestite managed to walk a half-mile to a farmhouse in Cordele, Ga., and talk to police before losing consciousness and dying on March 31. Sheriff Stacy Bloodworth said her deputies, who found pieces of a bloodied baseball bat on the road Thompson staggered down, were investigating the murder as a possible hate crime.

The National Coalition also reported that while the total number of assaults on homosexuals declined by 4%, the attacks were more violent. It said that the number of victims requiring hospitalization more than doubled, from 53 in 1997 to 110 last year. There was a 71% rise in assaults and attempted assaults with guns, and attacks involving bats, clubs and other blunt objects increased by 47%.

Some activists laid part of the blame at the feet of conservative preachers. In Sylacauga, Cliff Tinney, a church deacon who ministers to homosexuals, said Gaither's death occurred in an atmos-

phere of hate fostered by some of the town's 70 churches.

"By saying [homosexuals are] a perverse people, this is an immoral people, don't trust your children with them," Tinney told ABC's "20/20" news show, "I think they are teaching a form of quiet hate."

Neo-Nazis

Return of the (Nebraska) Führer

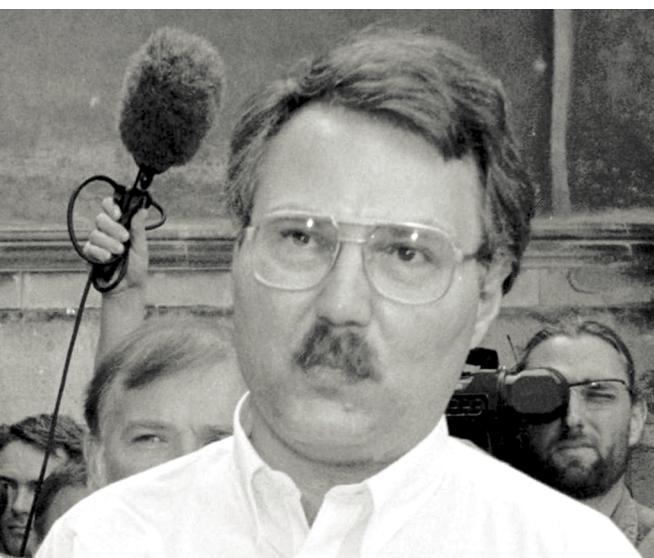
The "Farm Belt Führer" is back. Gary "Gerhard" Lauck, who for decades was one of the world's largest distributors of neo-Nazi propaganda, has returned to the United States with reported plans to move to Chicago after four years in German prisons.

Beginning in 1974, Lauck was the driving force of the National Socialist German Workers Party/Overseas Organization (known by its German-language acronym, NSDAP/AO). From his home in Lincoln, Neb., he exported neo-Nazi propaganda in 10 languages to 30 countries — including a German-language newspaper, *Nazi Battle Cry*,

and an old Nazi propaganda film depicting Jews as rats.

Apart from walking through the streets of Lincoln in Nazi uniforms, Lauck, 46, kept a relatively low local profile. But he defied European

dicted to Germany and sentenced to five years there for his propagandizing. Had Lauck stayed in the United States, the First Amendment would have prohibited his extradition.



Neo-Nazi propagandist Gerhard Lauck is back.

AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

At age 11, Lauck had moved to Nebraska from Milwaukee. Growing up, he says he was teased by classmates for speaking with a speech impediment that sounded suspiciously like a German accent. "At that point," he says, "I became a fanatic not only with my

Crime Study

Violent Crimes Hit Native Americans Hardest

Native Americans are far more likely to be the victims of violent crime than members of any other racial group, according to the first comprehensive study of crimes involving Indians, released in February by the U.S. Department of Justice.

Moreover, 70% of violent crimes against Indians are committed by members of other racial groups, mainly whites. That is a far cry from the experience of non-Indians, who are mainly attacked by members of their own races. Some 70% of whites are attacked by whites, and more than 80% of blacks are victims of other blacks, studies have shown.

Although it was not known what percentage of violent crime against Indians was motivated by bias, experts said that prejudice does motivate much anti-Indian crime. Another reason for the disproportionate numbers is the fact that Indians live among those of other races far more frequently than do members of other racial groups.

"The common wisdom was that blacks experience the highest exposure to violence," report co-author Lawrence Greenfeld told *The Los Angeles Times*. "We now know that American Indians experience a much greater exposure to violence than other races."

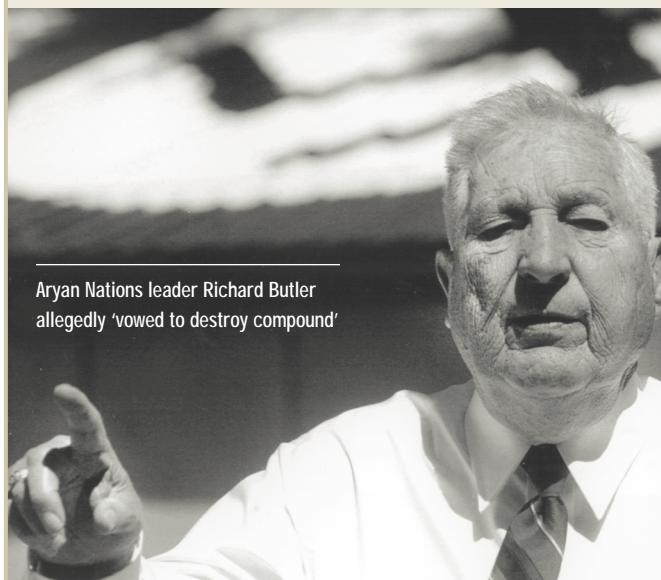
Center Suit

SPLC Wins Injunction Against Aryan Nations

The Southern Poverty Law Center in late February secured an order restraining the Aryan Nations from selling its Idaho compound while an SPLC civil suit proceeds against the neo-Nazi group, its leader Richard Butler and several of his followers.

SPLC attorneys said Butler's compound was his only substantial asset and argued that, if Butler did sell the land, it would cheat the plaintiffs out of any possible damage award.

The Center alleged that Butler "has vowed that he will destroy the compound before he will allow it to fall into the hands of his perceived 'enemies' to satisfy a court judgment." It cited a former Aryan Nations official who quoted Butler saying "he would burn [the compound] to the ground" rather



Aryan Nations leader Richard Butler allegedly 'vowed to destroy compound'

heart, but with my mind." At 19, he changed his name to Gerhard and started the NSDAP/AO in honor of Hitler — a man whose only defect, Lauck said, was being "too humane."

As Lauck was being taken away after his sentencing in Germany, he shouted to spectators, "The fight will go on!" Now, perhaps, it will.

Lauck finally left Germany on March 23. His hair is shorter and whiter, but his Hitleresque mustache remains. "If anything," he told the *Lincoln Journal Star* after the paper discovered he had reappeared in his home town, "I'm even more convinced, determined and fanatical than before."

Two Dead

Skinheads Arrested in Florida Murders

An outbreak of alleged Skinhead violence hit biracial couples in Florida early this year, and now a young woman and a 6-year-old girl are dead.

For two college students who'd been sweethearts since high school, what began as just another date ended in death when a man, who'd been tailing their car and yelling racial epithets, unleashed a volley of seven shots into their vehicle.

Jody-Gaye Bailey, a 20-year-old health administration major and Jamaican immigrant, died soon after the Feb. 24 attack. Police say the only reason for the Oakland Park, Fla., murder was the color of

Bailey's skin and her relationship with Christian Martin, her white fiancé.

Days later, police arrested Robert Boltuch, who reportedly had the word "skin" tattooed inside his lip, and charged him with first-degree murder and attempted first-degree murder. Police said that two witnesses in a Pompano Beach bar heard Boltuch say he wanted to "go out and kill a nigger" just 25 minutes before the slaying.

In St. Petersburg, Fla., Jesse Joe Roten was charged with first-degree premeditated murder after allegedly firing an assault rifle into the home of a biracial couple where four little girls were sleeping. Ashley Mance, 6, died in her bed, and her twin sister, Aleesha, was critically wounded after being struck in the shoulder.

Roten, 17, collected neo-Nazi paraphernalia and was a self-proclaimed Skinhead. But he said that it was only after arguing with friends that he had fired off an SKS semi-automatic assault rifle while standing in an alley behind the girls' house. He claimed that he meant to harm no one.

A relative of the slain girl said that when her parents moved into their mostly white neighborhood a year ago, four people who lived nearby shouted racial insults at them. The relative said Skinheads had warned the couple to move out of the area.

Interracial couples long have been the targets of white supremacists who see them as "mongrelizing" the white race. In just the first three months of this year, interracial couples were threatened or harassed in California, Florida, Illinois, Iowa and Washington.

than lose it to an SPLC-represented plaintiff. And the Center said that the day Butler was served initial notice of the lawsuit, he went to a legal forms outlet to obtain papers that would have allowed him to create a trust.

The Center suit alleges that members of Butler's security force shot at the two plaintiffs, Virginia Keenan and her son Jason; chased them for more than two miles and forced their car into a ditch; and battered and threatened to kill them.

In late March, one of the named defendants — security force chief Jesse Edward Warfield — pleaded guilty to reduced criminal charges in the assault. Warfield had been charged with two counts of aggravated assault, but pleaded guilty to a felony charge of aiding and abetting aggravated assault. A sentencing date has not been set.

Terrorism

Bloody Kehoe Gang's Exploits Detailed

LITTLE ROCK, ARK. — The woman settled her thin frame into the witness chair and looked across the courtroom at her son. "It's got to be told, Chevie," she said heavily. "God won't let me live with it anymore. It's got to be told."

"It," as Gloria Kehoe described it, was a hair-raising recitation of the murders, robberies, thefts, kidnapping and arson that brought her son and a companion to a federal courtroom in Arkansas in one of the largest criminal cases involving the radical right in recent U.S. history.

Chevie Kehoe and his brother, Cheyne, came to national attention following a 1997 shootout with Ohio police that was captured by a patrol car video camera and later broadcast coast to coast. But that incident, the government contends, was only the most conspicuous episode in a much larger pattern of domestic terrorism rooted in hate.

At press time, the defense had not yet presented its case.

The Kehoe brothers were leading players in what prosecutors describe as a conspiracy to overthrow the U.S. government. Since the trial began in early March, prosecutors have presented physical evidence and scores of witnesses to bolster their case, which includes five murders — an entire family in Arkansas were among the victims — and the bombing of the Spokane, Wash., city hall.

Chevie Kehoe's father, Kirby, was to have been a government wit-

Chevie Kehoe faces a possible death sentence if convicted.

ness. The elder Kehoe was a defendant in the original indictment but reached a plea agreement with prosecutors, as did Cheyne earlier.

The testimony of Gloria and Cheyne was especially compelling. They told of hearing Chevie detail the kidnapping of a Washington state couple in 1995, of building the bomb that he and co-defendant Daniel Lewis Lee allegedly planted outside the Spokane city hall later that year, and of burglaries and money laundering designed to underwrite their "Republic." And they spoke of the killing of the William Mueller family, including an 8-year-old girl.

Gloria and Cheyne testified that Chevie had related details of the killings: how he and Lee surprised the Muellers in their home, claiming to be agents for the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms; how Chevie killed William Mueller with a blow that shattered not only his skull but the rifle butt Chevie used as a weapon; and how Nancy Mueller and her daughter Sarah were stunned with cattle prods and their heads, like William Mueller's, wrapped in plastic and secured with duct tape.

One witness testified that Chevie was so concerned with racial purity that he investigated his first wife's ancestry, saying he would kill her should he learn that Native American



blood flowed in her veins. Others told the jury that Chevie contemplated killing his parents and his brother, Cheyne, for cooperating with prosecutors.

The government's concern about possible retaliation by ideological allies of Kehoe and Lee is apparent. For the time being, parking is not permitted alongside the U.S. courthouse here. No vehicles save police cruisers are allowed even to idle. Anyone entering the courtroom must pass through two metal detectors. The lawyers and the court personnel wear identification tags never before seen here. When the defendants sit, they are surrounded by a covey

of sharp-eyed marshals, some toting M-16 rifles.

In trial, Kehoe and Lee both affect an attitude that seems to mock the gravity of the allegations and the death penalty prosecutors are seeking. They watch witnesses, sometimes intently. But their eyes often wander, until they seem finally to fix on some point beyond the courtroom — perhaps in a world most would find nightmarish. It is a world they apparently not only covet, but aspired to create, a nation in which they would be very much at home. They, and others like them.

— BY STEVE BARNES

Still At Large

SOME OF THEM ARE FAMOUS, OR INFAMOUS, LIKE ACCUSED ABORTION CLINIC AND OLYMPICS BOMBER ERIC ROBERT RUDOLPH. OTHERS ARE LITTLE KNOWN TO THE GENERAL PUBLIC, SUCH AS TIMOTHY THOMAS COOMBS, A MAN accused of shooting a Missouri state highway patrol officer through the trooper's window as he sat eating ice cream. They are all alleged right-wing extremists, men who may have taken up arms to battle the federal government or other enemies. And they all have been on the run from authorities, in some cases for a matter of years, managing to elude major state or federal manhunts. Although there is no direct proof that these men have received sustained help from others in the radical right, many analysts and authorities believe they must have — a theory supported by experiences with similar radical fugitives in the past. Here, assuming they are still alive, are their stories.



Federal and state officials have been searching for almost five years for **Timothy Thomas Coombs**, a 39-year-old adherent of the anti-Semitic Christian Identity religion. Coombs is accused of shooting Cpl. Bobby J. Harper, a Missouri state trooper, to avenge the arrest of another right-wing religious extremist. On Sept. 16, 1994, a sniper shot Harper with a bullet that barely missed his heart as he stood at his kitchen window in McDonald County, near the Arkansas border. (Harper died of apparently unrelated heart disease in 1996.) Coombs was allegedly enraged at Harper's role in the arrest of Robert Joos, pastor of the Sacerdotal Order of David Company, who was ultimately convicted of resisting arrest and carrying a concealed weapon. Police linked Coombs to the attempted murder by shell casings found at his Witt Springs, Ark., home. He has been tied to a number of extremists, including the antigovernment Montana Freemen and accused white supremacist murderer Chevie Kehoe. His father, Harry Albert Coombs Jr., 63, has served time for tax evasion.



Michigan militiaman **Paul David Darland**, who once served as a bodyguard for the hardline leader of the U.S. Militia at Large (USML), is being sought in the 1994 execution-style murder of another militia member. The chain of events leading to the killing began when Darland and

several other camouflage-clad followers of USML leader Mark "from Michigan" Koernke were pulled over in September by Fowlerville, Mich., police who found a virtual arsenal in their car. After posting bond, the men, who included Darland and William M. Gleason, then 26, disappeared, eventually holing up at a militia sympathizer's farm. While there, Darland and two other men allegedly became enraged at Koernke, who had promised legal help that never came. At the same time, they suspected that Gleason had remained loyal to Koernke. Darland allegedly led the group in taking turns digging a grave meant for Koernke. When Gleason took his turn, police say, Darland shot him as he shoveled. Authorities believe that Darland, a 27-year-old habitué of topless clubs who once eluded police by swimming across a lake, may have left the state.



Five years after being indicted on federal drug charges, alleged right-wing mastermind **Brian Michael Knoff** is still a fugitive. Knoff, now 61, is accused of having built up a major drug smuggling operation in connection with the Sinaloa mafia in Mexico, among others, to finance revolutionary white supremacist activities. When his New Mexico home was searched in 1994, an address book was found with the names of 30 major radical right-wing leaders. That same year, Knoff gave seminars on "common-law" theory, and was invited to a major conference hosted by a leading Christian Identity adherent. On June 18, Knoff and two associates, speaking on a luxury yacht in the waters

off Tampa, Fla., were surreptitiously recorded as they discussed plans to set up a major marijuana-smuggling operation through Cuba. Knoff said he wanted to use his profits to "help some of the good people" in the antigovernment movement. Knoff, who once served time for tax evasion, has operated in Florida, North Dakota and Texas, among other places.



Twelve days after Dr. Barnett Slepian was shot in his kitchen on Oct. 23, 1998, federal authorities

announced they were seeking longtime anti-abortion hardliner **James Charles Kopp** as a material witness. Slepian, an obstetrician-gynecologist who lived in Amherst, N.Y., was shot through the back and died as his wife and 15-year-old son looked on. Kopp, 44, has been arrested during clinic blockades in California, Florida, New Jersey, New York, Vermont, West Virginia and Atlanta, where in 1988 he earned the nickname "Atomic Dog" while imprisoned with fellow hardliners.

Although he has not been named as a suspect, Kopp allegedly was seen by witnesses jogging near Slepian's house on the day of the murder. A car registered to him was spotted nearby. A hair believed to belong to Kopp was found near the scene. And records show Kopp's 1987 Chevrolet Cavalier had crossed the U.S.-Canadian border at times that would fit with the unsolved shootings of at least two other doctors. A task force of 50 agents has failed to find Kopp, who authorities now believe may have fled to Mexico.

A surprising number of antigovernment fugitives, some of them nationally known, remain on the run.



A year after three antigovernment survivalists allegedly gunned down Cortez, Colo., police officer Dale Claxton, **Jason Wayne McVean**, 27, and **Alan "Monte" Pilon**, 31, remain fugitives in the face of one of the largest searches in Western history. McVean, Pilon and a third man, Robert Mason, allegedly murdered Claxton on May 29, 1998, after the officer stopped them in a water truck they had just stolen for reasons that remain unclear. Six days later, Mason shot and wounded a sheriff's deputy near Montezuma Creek, Utah, then committed suicide. Despite a number of sightings around the harsh canyon country of the Four Corners region, state and federal authorities have not captured McVean or Pilon, and there is evidence that they may be getting help. In January, there were reports that vehicles have been seen in suspicious areas near Montezuma Creek. A month later, Navajo police said two men who did not resemble McVean or Pilon threatened a local resident who had given authorities information about the pair. The fugitives are believed linked to an underground group, the Four Corners Patriot Militia.



Larry Mikeil Myers, the one-time commander of Florida's Highlander Militia, 7th Regiment, has been sought for more than three years on charges of conspir-

acy, mailing threats and attempted jury tampering. Myers, a 50-year-old man who is said to be knowledgeable in the use of explosives, disappeared after a federal grand jury indicted a group of people in Florida connected with the so-called "Constitutional Common-Law Court of We the People." Emilio Ippolito, now 73, and seven others were ultimately convicted of charges that included threatening to hang federal judges and other officials. Ippolito drew a sentence of more than 11 years. Myers is accused of, among other things, attempting to influence jurors in the San Francisco trial of a fellow antigovernment extremist, Phillip Marsh, an Ippolito co-defendant in Florida. Law enforcement officials believe that Myers has been aided by fellow "Patriots" in Florida. Last year, evidence surfaced that Myers might have made his way to North Carolina.



Despite one of the largest manhunts in United States history, accused serial bomber **Eric Robert Rudolph** remains at large, perhaps hiding in the 530,000-acre wilderness of western North Carolina's Nantahala National Forest. Rudolph, an adherent of Christian Identity theology, is charged with four bombings that left two people dead, including a police officer, and 124 others injured: the July 27, 1996, bombing at Centennial Olympic Park in Atlanta; the Jan. 16, 1997, bombing of an Atlanta area abortion clinic; the Feb. 21, 1997, bombing of a lesbian nightclub in Atlanta; and the Jan. 29, 1998, bombing of a Birmingham, Ala., abortion clinic. Authorities

believe that Rudolph, an accomplished woodsman, is surviving without help in the caves and old mines near his boyhood home. But he has also become a folk hero to some in the area. In July, it took a health store owner four days to report his encounter with Rudolph, despite a \$1 million reward. Rudolph is believed to have broken into a dozen area cabins for supplies.



After discovering a large patch of marijuana northeast of Gainesville, Fla., in July 1997, police raided the nearby house of **Danny Ray Simmons** and girlfriend **Angela Louise Cook**. What they found amazed them. In addition to a large quantity of marijuana, 811 live pot plants and growing equipment, there was \$47,000 in cash; sophisticated false IDs; an arsenal including numerous assault rifles, cases of ammunition and a .50-caliber sniper's rifle; ingredients for pipe bombs, the explosive compound RDX; and, most frightening, some of the ingredients and a shopping list for making deadly cyanide gas. They also found extremist literature — including a publication Simmons appeared to be writing — and addresses of militia and Klan leaders. Simmons, now 50, arrived while the house was being searched but fled into the woods and escaped. Cook, 49, bonded out of jail and disappeared. Simmons may have been making \$500,000 a year and using some profits to fund antigovernment activities. He is wanted on federal and state drug and weapons charges. Cook is being sought on firearms violations. ▲

The number of "Patriot" groups is falling, but the remaining organizations are more racially oriented

When the so-called "Patriot" movement burst onto the national scene in the early 1990s, it spread like fire, fueled by resentment of the government and by events at Ruby Ridge and Waco. Even after the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing, the number of militias and similar groups expanded, hitting an all-time high of 858 groups in 1996.

Now, dampened by arrests and by the passage of time, the Patriot movement is contracting. In 1998, for the second year in a row, the number of Patriot groups fell, from 523 in 1997 to 435 last year. Over the two years from 1996 to 1998, the number of Patriot groups decreased by almost 50%.

But as the number of Patriot groups declines, the reach of their rhetoric grows. While the number of Patriot publications (see p. 44) has remained stable, Patriot sites on the Internet have exploded — from 179 in 1997 to a 1998 total of 248. In the earlier year, 18% of Patriot groups had Web sites; in 1998, 33% of them did.

The decline in Patriot groups has coincided with two other trends: a marked increase in the number of hate groups, a phenomenon fueled, in part, by Patriots moving further to the right; and increased interest in racial issues among remaining Patriot groups. Where their chief themes were once gun control and federal regulation, Patriots now are taking up issues like non-white immigration. More importantly, they are increasingly influenced by Christian Identity, a racist and anti-Semitic theology. Prominent Patriots regularly attend Identity conferences, and some militias have adopted Identity wholesale.



In one of the more publicized moments of the Patriot movement in 1998, a band of volunteers helped Patriot leader James "Bo" Gritz in a fruitless search for accused clinic bomber Eric Robert Rudolph.

state in the nation (see map, p. 26, and group list, p. 28). But they were concentrated in Texas (52), Michigan (49), California (47), Ohio (22) and Florida and Tennessee (17 each). Many of these same states had large numbers of race-based hate groups, including Florida (38), California (36), Texas (31), Michigan (24) and Ohio (22). Counting both types, the highest counts were in Texas and California (83 each), Florida (55) and Ohio (44).

The decline in Patriot groups may reverse itself in the coming year or two. Patriots, who now appear largely hunkered down in anticipation of the Y2K crisis, may again pick up steam when the event passes. Many have spoken of the need to rebuild the movement — or to prepare for the imposition of martial law they expect when the computers crash.

Norm Olson, leader of the Northern Regional Michigan Militia, has called for a May assembly to discuss "recall[ing] and reassembl[ing] the militia." One Patriot Web site, Team Law, claims that it has already chosen "governors" for 24 states — governors who presumably will lead some future American government.

Such sentiments may heat up in the buildup to the 2000 elections, as the national political debate turns to the shape of the next millennium. Some, drawn into the debate by the level of rhetoric yet repelled by both choices in the presidential contest, may opt for a "none-of-the-above" choice, falling into the ranks of the Patriots.

But whatever happens to their numbers, it is likely that Patriot groups will take on a more racist cast.

"You're seeing a ... nationalist movement, an ethnically based nationalism, moving into the American mainstream," says Zeskind, who is president of the Kansas City, Mo.-based Institute for Research & Education on Human Rights. "... We are facing a very serious challenge in the form of a rapidly coalescing white nationalism.

"We have to confront that, or we face becoming another Yugoslavia." ▲

"What we're seeing now is ... the re-emerging notion of this country as Anglo-American, a white country," says Leonard Zeskind, a longtime analyst of the extreme right who sees strengthening radicalism.

"That idea is being put forward in a mainstream way, and that has not happened successfully since at least before World War II."

Reasons for the Decline

The decline in Patriot groups has several explanations.

- The Patriot movement is aging. The events that set it afire — the 1992 killing of white supremacist Randy Weaver's wife and son at Ruby Ridge, Idaho, and the 1993 debacle in Waco, Texas — no longer have the same resonance they once did. Many of those who once expected imminent revolution have tired of waiting and have drifted back into their old lives. At the same time, many who remain have become opportunists, finding ways to make money from those who believe

Patriot ideology and conspiracy theory (see "Patriots for Profit," pp. 12-25).

- Arrests and criminal plots have frightened off many who once saw the movement as a way to bring back a mythologized American past. In particular, the authorities have cracked down on Patriots' "common-law" courts, pseudo-legal bodies that have passed false financial instruments, filed bogus liens against their enemies and purported to exercise real judicial authority (see, for example, p. 23). In addition, many Patriots have been imprisoned in connection with terrorist plots and arms trafficking.

- Many hard-liners within the movement have gone underground and are no longer part of visible, organized groups. Frustrated by the small effect the movement has had on national life, these people are effectively dropping out of the system, and in some cases taking up arms to build the second American revolution they hope for. The "leaderless resistance" model is, in the eyes of many, the only available option.

- Hate groups, once seen as the lunatic fringe of the political scene, have become a more acceptable and attractive alternative. Evidence of this can be seen in the power of groups like the Council of Conservative Citizens, a racist group that portrays itself as a mainstream conservative organization; the increasing currency of controversial theories about race and IQ; and a generalized worry among whites about becoming a minority in America (see interview, p. 40).

The Patriot movement is also atomizing. Where Patriots once sought to protect the country by remaking the government to their own liking, many are now more concerned about themselves and their immediate families. This can be seen most clearly in widely circulated fears about the Y2K computer bug and the coming millennium. Worried about the collapse of civilization or the coming of the end times, many have retreated from overt political action into "covenant communities" or their own, individual bunkers.

In recent years, Patriots and others with similar fears have attended so-called Preparedness Expos, at which dried foods and other goods are sold in preparation for the coming hard times. There were six expos held in both 1997 and 1998 — expos at which retailers report selling survivalist goods at unheard of rates. In 1999, with the millennium date change approaching, nine major Preparedness Expos are scheduled.

White Nationalism Heats Up

For now, though, the movement is clearly shrinking.

Of the 435 Patriot groups identified by the Intelligence Project, 171 were militias, down from 221 in 1997. At the same time, the number of common-law courts fell from 53 to 31. Another 107 groups were categorized as political or citizens' groups, reflecting an effort by at least some Patriots to influence the mainstream political process.

In its count, the Intelligence Project found Patriot groups operating in every

Patriots For Profit

Double your money, courtesy of God. Exempt yourself from taxes with the purchase of a \$250 "passport" from a separatist nation within a nation. Survive the Y2K crunch by investing in "silver certificates," even if they do cost twice as much as silver. Invest in land to be safe from the marauding urban hordes or get in on the "Prosperity Triad" and earn \$250,000 a year. "Monetize" your liens, and cash in those "sight drafts."

Pony up for freedom and you, too, can help save the republic.

Across the United States, men and women speaking the peculiar language of the antigovernment "Patriot" movement have devised schemes to turn the cause into cash. They have made outlandish promises to investors, telling them that they can get rich even as they help turn back the tide of the "socialistic" New World Order. Playing on the fears and passions of those who resent American government, some of these entrepreneurs are growing wealthy, driving luxury cars and flying in Lear jets.

They are the patriots for profit.

They are not the first to tailor an appeal for money to an extremist audience. In the 1920s, Ku Klux Klan leaders made fortunes selling memberships to some 5 million people, and in the 1970s and 1980s followers of the racist and anti-Semitic Posse Comitatus set up bogus "warehouse banks" and other scams that turned out to be ripoffs. But it has been in the 1990s that the number and scope of similar programs have mushroomed.

Today, major federal and state criminal investigations of several programs based on spurious "common law" theory are under way. In March, a federal grand jury in Florida indicted principals in what prosecutors describe as a humongous Ponzi scheme — a program that raked in millions of dollars by telling antigovernment Christians that they could double their

money. One outfit that markets a silver-backed "currency" that's supposedly meant to wreck the Federal Reserve System is being probed by the authorities. Another, claiming that it runs its own independent nation, is under investigation for possible fraud. Around the country, people are going to prison on similar fraud charges.

Double Your Money?

Here are some leading cases:

- For almost five years, Tampa-based Greater Ministries International Church (see p. 19) has suggested that it would double the money, within 17 months, of those Christians who donated "gifts." Although Greater's leaders claim to support overseas missionaries, ex-offender programs and other good causes, little tangible evidence backs up that assertion. In March, leader Gerald Payne and six other principals were indicted on a variety of federal fraud charges. They face possible prison terms of several decades.

- The Washitaw Nation (see pp. 14 and 16), which claims that its "empress" is the rightful ruler of a huge swath of land in Louisiana and contiguous states, has been selling driver's licenses, passports and motor vehicle registrations around the country. It also tells its "citizens" that they are exempt from state and federal taxes, and many believe they are immune to the law. Now, a federal and at least two state investigations are looking into possible fraud involving these sales, money laundering and offshore banking.

- The Montana Freemen (see p. 23), who made national headlines with their 81-day standoff with federal agents in 1996, were probably the most prolific scammers of the 1990s. For years, under the tutelage of leader LeRoy Schweitzer, the Freemen promoted the use of bogus financial instruments — and they were remarkably successful in passing such instruments themselves. But last year, authorities accused



DAVID SCULPT/HONOLULU ADVERTISER

Far-right extremists are making fortunes by promoting questionable financial schemes

the Freemen of trying to pass 3,432 "sight drafts" totalling \$15.5 billion, with actual losses of \$1.8 billion. This March, a federal judge sentenced the Freeman principal players to lengthy terms in prison — in the case of Schweitzer, who is now 60, to 22 1/2 years.

- NORFED (see p. 25), or the National Organization for the Repeal of the Federal Reserve Act & Internal Revenue Code, describes itself as a "nonprofit organization dedicated to using all its revenue to restore an honest monetary system." Starting last October, NORFED began selling its own "American Liberty Currency." The money is supposedly backed by silver stored in an Idaho vault but is sold at almost twice the price of real silver — something the group says is needed to carry on its antigovernment battle. Half a dozen federal and state agencies are reportedly investigating the group.

- Freedom's Call, based in Littleton, Colo., is a "foolproof turn-key wealth-building formula" run by reputed common-law activists Chuck and Linda Meyers. While the group describes itself as "dedicated to the peaceful preservation of individual freedom" and complains that "freedom in the U.S.A. is rapidly becoming extinct," its chief focus is money. It has three levels of membership in its "Prosperity Triad," costing \$999, \$5,999 and \$16,999, respectively — levels which come with home study materials and seminars at resorts and during "luxury cruises." But it claims that members have "\$250,000 realistic potential earnings in just one year," money to be earned by recruiting new members.

- The First Amendment Church of Truth and Sanity (FACTS), run by Adrian, Mich.-based extremist Rick Strawcutter, recruits people to become "missionaries" — at a cost of \$125. For that price, they get a "freedom manual" and two copies of a recruitment video. Those who sign on are then urged to recruit others, for which they receive \$25 of each \$125 fee. If those second-level missionaries recruit others, the original joiner gets \$5 of each new fee. According to Militia Watchdog, an Internet-based group that monitors the radical right, Strawcutter's operation "is a pyramid scheme cloaked as a church."

There are a plethora of other, similar programs. Among the most popular are a variety of "untaxing" schemes, revolving around the common-law idea, derived from the Posse, that Americans can declare their "sovereignty" from state and federal government. Once sovereign, the theory goes, individuals are exempt from taxes. These schemes have been remarkably successful, selling at seminars and over the Internet.

One of the most popular recent tactics of antigovernment moneymakers has been to file property liens against those seen as enemies. While the liens are invariably bogus, they have been used widely, by the Freemen among others. In a process known as "monetizing the lien," people have used the liens as "collateral" to write bogus checks. On occasion, the liens have been transferred to offshore banks, with checks then written on accounts with those banks.

Many other antigovernment extremists trade on fear — fear of the Biblical "end times," or, more popularly, of the collapse of Western civilization because of the Y2K computer bug. A common Y2K theme has been the idea that when the computers crash, government checks to minorities in the inner cities will stop. Then starving Hispanics and blacks will flood into the rural parts of America, armed to the teeth and willing to stop at nothing in order to wrench food from the tables of white Christians. Based on this or similar scenarios, guns, dried food and other items are being sold by the truckload.

One product of Y2K hysteria has been the development of "covenant communities" — rural settlements set up, essentially, as self-supporting, defensive groupings ready to weather the coming storm. Bo Gritz, for example, has long been selling land in his Almost Heaven covenant community in Idaho. Others are doing the same elsewhere.

Some of those hawking land, liens and all manner of programs probably believe at least some of what they are saying. But whatever their motivation, the fact is that thousands of people are being separated from their money, usually to no good purpose. And the victims are remarkably easy to dupe, officials say, because they are already so entrenched in the bizarre belief systems of America's antigovernment movements. ▲

Born on the Bayou

It was the night of the "high waters" on the Louisiana bayou when the "empress of the Washitaw" was born. A levee on the Mississippi had broken, and a swirling, stinking flood was raging outside as she burst from her mother's womb onto the cold, cement floor of a public courthouse. Within seconds, the empress says, there was a sign.

"I was born in my placenta," Her Highness explains. "I kicked out of it on my own, and then [the placenta] rolled up in my head like a crown."

And so, on that stormy night 72 years ago, Verdiacee Turner — the woman who would one day call herself Empress Verdiacee "Tiari" Washitaw-Turner Goston El-Bey — came into this world. She didn't know it then, but after stints as a civil rights activist, a small-town mayor, an accused embezzler and an amateur historian, she would, she says, finally find her rightful place as supreme ruler of the ancient, 30 million-acre empire known as Washitaw De Dugdahmoundyah — the Washitaw Moorish Nation.

Officialdom is not amused. A major, multiagency federal investigation is looking into the dealings of the Washitaw Nation and its principals, and the states of Colorado and Louisiana have opened their own criminal probes. Authorities are investigating possible money laundering and offshore banking fraud, the sale of apparently illegal license plates and other practices derived from antigovernment "common-law" ideology.

The empress denies any illegal dealings.

Partners with Problems

But difficulties are beginning to crop up around her. Already, her one-time "minister of finance" has pleaded guilty to bank fraud and conspiracy. Officials say her current legal advisor, a man who recently gave her a Mercedes that may have been

acquired fraudulently, has a history of larceny and theft arrests. Another associate was convicted in a federal court in November on 11 counts of bank and mail fraud. Around the country, people have been jailed for using Washitaw license plates and driver's licenses. And although charges were ultimately dropped, the empress, then going by her married name of Verdiacee Goston, was indicted in 1984 for the alleged embezzlement of \$150,000 in federal funds.

Like the neighboring Republic of Texas (ROT), a separatist group that claims Texas was illegally annexed by the United States in 1845, the Washitaw's empress claims that the land sold by France to the United States in the 1803 Louisiana Purchase was fraudulently obtained — and actually belongs to her. Like ROT, too, the Washitaw Nation employs the pseudo-legal language and theories of "common law" — an ideology birthed by hard-line American white supremacists in the 1970s and 1980s.

But the Washitaw are not white supremacists.

They are, in the weird language of the empress, "indigenous" — descendants of the "Ancient Ones," the "black ones" who Goston insists peopled this continent tens of thousands of years before white Europeans arrived. The empress, a grandmotherly black woman who wears graying dreadlocks, is the living exponent of what her writings describe as the "Emperial" [sic] line of matriarchs, royal women who she says have ruled here from time immemorial.

Driver's Licenses and 'Sovereignty'

This latest empress, a woman who in recent years has developed a fondness for Rolls Royces, Bentleys and Mercedes-Benzes, may have hit on a winning combination. Using something called the Sanctuary Christian Resource Center as

The Washitaw Nation, a Louisiana separatist group led by an eccentric "empress," has come under the microscope of multiple investigations

AMY BETH BENNETT

an agent, Washitaw Nation has sold a cornucopia of dubious common-law products — including "driver's licenses" and "registrations" that have turned up in Arizona, California, Colorado, Kansas, Louisiana, Nebraska, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York and Pennsylvania.

A Washitaw birth certificate will run you \$65 (send two color photos) and a Washitaw passport (another two photos, please) \$250. "To appease those who wish to see a driver's license when you're traveling," there's an "international motorist certificate" for \$100, unless you want the \$150 commercial model. Get a two-year "Motorized Conveyance Registration" for \$250 ("this procedure," the Washitaw pitch goes, "insulates you from all of the corporate States compulsory insurance laws, licensing and registration requirements, emissions testing, safety inspection and more"). Remember to ship your Certificate of Title to Washitaw's "Ministry of



Empress Verdiacee "Tiari" Washitaw-Turner Goston El-Bey says she leads the "Ancient Ones."

ferred spelling of what the empress calls "Washitaw"), especially around Monroe, contains "the most profound mysteries of American ancient architecture." When European settlers arrived, they reported finding a few remaining Ouachita and evidence of a once-great civilization.

But they are a group "lost to history," writes anthropologist Tristarum Kidder, and almost nothing is known about them. "If some story tellers ... did not assure having seen five or six," French military commander Jean Filhiol wrote in 1786, "one would doubt that a nation so-called might ever have existed."

Goston, though, says she knows the whole story.

The Ancient Ones, the first Washitaws, were Africans — "a highly intelligent race of shipbuilders, masonry [sic], a tribe of Israel, black and bushy-headed" — who crossed the Atlantic and made their way to what is now northern Louisiana. They built octagonal mounds, and traded "via the ships of Shitta." The empress explains the derivation of their name like this: "Ware-shittinwood or water-shitta-washita — now Washitaw."

Actually, there were some Washitaw here even before the Africans arrived, the empress says, dating to when all the continents of the world were one. Their lands — the lands of all the earth — were known by the indigenous term "Mu." "Are you aware that you are from Mu?" the empress writes in the January 1999 *Washitaw Post*. "Are you aware that your beginning was with Queen Mu? She was actually Empress Moo."

And the Cattle said 'Muu'

Confused? "Muu is the name taught to all nations by the Creator," Goston explains in *We are the Washitaw*. "All over the planet, the cattle teach the same name, Muu. ... We are in a land called Muu, thus we are the Muurs. ... We are the Ancient Ones."

Further proof of this hidden history lies in the fact that an "Egyptian" city was discovered in 1909 in the Grand Canyon. "No one need wonder why the Grand



An "empire" is administered from the Winnsboro, La., home of the former Verdiacee Goston.

AMY BETH BENNETT

Canyon had to be flooded by the U.S. federal agencies," writes the empress.

Goston's particular beef with the United States — aside from its "racist and sexist psychopathic" nature — goes back to the

Louisiana Purchase. Unknown to conventional history, the empress says, her 30 years of research have turned up a vital fact: Napoleon actually sold only "the streets of New Orleans and a military barracks."

Starting Small

The first chapter in the strange story of the Washitaw "empress" took place in a tiny northern Louisiana town

WINNSBORO, La. — Sitting at a desk in her imperial residence, a suburban ranch-style house in rural Louisiana, Verdiacee Goston tells her story in a soft and frail drawl. She is by turns animated, evasive and, at times, incomprehensible. The important parts of her tale, filled out with the memories of other residents, begin some three decades ago, when Goston showed up in the nearby community of Richwood, La., population 1,223.

For a time, Goston — who would one day describe herself as the powerful "empress" of a massive empire — was seen there by many of the oldest residents, the poor descendants of former slaves, as a kind of civil rights savior. She circulated a petition and helped get the community incorporated as a town, paving the way to obtaining federal funding for a much-

needed sewerage system and other basic infrastructure.

But the town's younger generation soon grew skeptical, particularly after she got herself appointed as Richwood's first mayor in 1975 and then battled to keep the post even after she lost the 1976 election to a man improbably named Governor Richardson.

In 1979, Mayor Richardson decided to run for reelection. In an interview, he said that Goston asked to meet him one night — but that he declined after his wife advised against it, worried because of Goston's well-known anger at losing the 1976 contest.

Some time later, on the night of May 11, 1979, 10 bullets were fired into Richardson's home. His wife was hit in the chin and required 160 stitches. The shooting was never solved, although Richardson says that he always felt it was

related to the political confrontation between him and Goston. When the future empress won by a handful of votes, Richardson says he decided that he would not ask for a recount.

"It wasn't worth my life," he says now.

Hard Hats, Hammers and Brains in a Bowl

By all accounts, Goston was a most unusual mayor. She presided over town council meetings in a hard hat, using a hammer instead of a gavel. When the town's aldermen objected to her total control over the council agenda, she declared a "state of emergency" due to "unrest, fires of questionable origin, and the threat of a flood." Claiming that her husband had been murdered and that the local sheriff was keeping his brains in a bowl on his desk, Goston obtained tiny Richwood's first-ever exhumation.

In 1984, Goston was indicted on four counts of public contract fraud, attempted felony theft and malfeasance. She was accused of stealing \$150,000 in government money and making off with municipal goods including the town typewriter. But in the end, the charges were dropped. The only thing she was ever found liable for was shooting two pigs foraging in a garden. "We cannot have pigs in Richwood," she said then.

The rest of the Purchase land, she says, was stolen from the Washitaw. And she's doing something about it: She's filed an \$80 quadrillion claim against the U.S.

"There's no such thing as the United States of America," Her Highness said. "The U.S.A. never purchased any land and the Washitaws never granted them any. ... They're just the people that came to dinner and stayed."

Washitaw lore today is an interesting cocktail of New Age vocabulary and United Nations tidbits (the UN, Goston insists, registers the Washitaw as indigenous people No. 215). Music buffs will be amazed to learn that the blues came from the Washitaw. Goston was cured of cancer

through traditional Washitaw medicine (although the methods cannot be revealed). And feminists will like the empress' firm belief in matriarchy.

"[I]t has always been the woman who reigned supreme over the family and the nation," Goston writes. "In ancient times she was called Mam-muur, Empress of the Muurs. During more modern times she was simply called Grandma or Mama...."

Whites and the Washitaw

Despite such unconventional theories, the Washitaw Nation appears to be growing in influence, at least in some circles. The best estimates are that there may be 200 hard-core members, with many thou-

sands more on paper. There's increasing evidence of Washitaw penetration among followers of Moorish Science, a 70-plus-year-old sect advocating black "sovereignty" from white America. And now, whites are joining up, too.

When asked about the Washitaw's racial makeup, and if a white person can become a bushy-haired "ancient one," the empress answers with a loud, imperial summons: "Daaaaaaaniel!"

Daniel Joseph Weeks, 48, is an effusive white man who explains that he lives in the "Floridæ" province of the Washitaw, a part of which "is what you call Florida." Introduced as the empress' "legal adviser," Weeks says he has been a Washitaw for three



AMY BETH BENNETT

"She left an empty trailer as the mayor's office, two beat-up police cars that weren't running and no records."

— RICHWOOD, LA., MAYOR ED HARRIS

Goston was finally ousted from office in the 1984 election. Ed Harris, the candidate who defeated her and still Richwood's mayor today, says that he inherited a mess.

"They accused me of stealing \$360,000 in HUD funds and \$49,000 in revenue sharing funds," the empress told the *Intelligence Report* indignantly. "They knew it was a lie, because they themselves stole the records and took them to a laundromat. That money never actually got to me, and if it had, I'd be in jail, okay?"

There were other accusations, too. Helen Cleveland, wife of the police chief who served during Goston's tenure, claims that Goston talked a number of Richwood residents into giving her money after promising to double their investments.

swimming pool. The garden is not doing too well either. A lone, scrawny grapefruit tree stands barely waist-high, doubled over with the weight of two ripe fruits.

In fact, there is little that's imperial about this empress. No large, jewel-encrusted rings. No heavy bracelets. She sips coffee with goat's milk in it, an elixir she swears by. She could be anybody's grandmother in her baby blue stocking feet with little flowered cloth slippers sitting in front of her, endearing in her frumpiness.

Except that like many royals, the Empress Verdiacee "Tiari" Washitaw-Turner Goston El-Bey insists that her food be tasted before she touches it. "Little bitty fish hooks" and ground glass, she reports, have been found there before. ▲

years and that he is trained in "natural and international law."

Officials say that Weeks, who's based around Tampa, is also a man with a history. He has a record of theft and larceny arrests in New York and Georgia over a 20-year period, they say. He and partner Richard Allen Charbonnier have been investigated in connection with a Florida real estate fraud, as well as a 1996 pyramid investment scheme in which Weeks was arrested at one point as a material witness, the officials said.

Also in 1996, both men were investigated in a third case, this one involving allegedly fraudulent employment information used to get a loan to buy five luxury cars.

Federal officials expected Weeks to testify against Charbonnier in the case, but when it finally went to trial in 1997 both men claimed immunity from U.S. law under the theory that they were citizens of Washitaw Nation. Despite Weeks' refusal to testify, officials say, Charbonnier was convicted of fraud.

It was one of the cars from this case, a 1988 Mercedes SEL, that Weeks allegedly gave to Goston this January. Goston, however, seemed to want more.

Rolls Royces and Bentleys

A month after Weeks' apparent gift, Goston and a Washitaw entourage showed up at a luxury car dealership in Miami. After indicating that they might have a claim to the state of Florida thanks to the recent archaeological discovery of an ancient, 38-foot circle carved into Florida's limestone bedrock, the Washitaw officials cut a \$750,000 deal with an amazed salesman for seven Rolls Royces and Bentleys.

They would be paying, they announced, in gold and silver coin. They told Richard Kovacs of Brieman Motors that "they don't believe in United States currency and reserve notes," according to a report in *The (Monroe, La.) News-Star*.

That disdain for U.S. currency hasn't stopped some at least one Washitaw offi-

cial from doing what he could to obtain more of it.

On Nov. 13, 1996, just days after Washitaw officials struck up a "treaty" with their separatist compatriots in the Republic of Texas, black officials from both groups found themselves together on a Lear jet bound for San Juan, Puerto Rico. On board were Steven Crear, a former security guard



An empress with a taste for luxury cars

Louisiana in a Lexus 400SC, trying to buy \$2 million in property in Winnsboro, seat of the Nation.

The Nation responded with outrage after Calhoun was detained, sending out a press release entitled "\$2.5 BILLION STOLEN!" In it, Goston complained angrily of a "blatant violation" of international law perpetrated by "an estranged [sic] member" of the UN — the United States. Today, the empress still defends Calhoun, Baccus and Crear. "They sent three black men to jail who had nothing to do with the money," she says.

Another Goston associate who found himself in trouble with the law was Ronald Griesacker, a 42-year-old Republic of Texas member who officials say frequently visited and lived with Washitaw officials in Louisiana. Over the last several years, Griesacker, 42, had become one of the country's leading proponents of common law, giving seminars and teaching

followers how to concoct phony financial instruments. One of them was Crear, who testified in his own trial that it was Griesacker who had schooled him.

Last November, it ended for Griesacker when he was convicted in Kansas of trying to pass more than \$2 million in bogus documents. A federal court found him guilty of nine counts of bank fraud, one of mail fraud and one of conspiracy to commit fraud.

Today, the Nation is believed to have followers in some 20 states. About 100 people attended a Washitaw convention held in January, and more may be joining up. In her interview, Goston pulled out a large black notebook of applications, complete with photos, and investigators recently found a trove of other applications in Colorado. The benefits of "citizenship," it seems, may well outweigh the empress' eccentricities.

"She is goofy," concludes Gary Clyman, a special investigator for the Colorado attorney general. "But how much of that is just an act? ... I'm pretty amazed at what [investigators] have stumbled on. It blew my mind, the financial aspect." ▲

Ministry of Money

Standing at the podium of the Indianapolis Baptist Temple, Brother Patrick Henry Talbert was heating up his audience. Already, he'd told them about how his Florida-based Greater Ministries filed 61 "violations" against judges in Florida, the resignation of 240 judges and the 300 cases Greater brought before the Supreme Court.

Now he was getting to the meat of it.

"God says give, and it shall be given," Talbert said. "You give a gift, we basically take it offshore — and we've been doing this for nine years, nobody's ever lost a dime — and we multiply it back through the body of Christ. ... We don't promise you nothing. We just say nobody's lost a dime in nine years, and we double everything."

The audience, captured in an October 1997 videotape, was wide awake now.

"The Bible tells us about the end-times transfer of wealth. ... God teaches all through the Scriptures that in the last days he's going to take all those people that stole from you, the heathen, and give it back to the righteous... . We've given out over \$500 million... . It's not our money, it's God's, but we know how to make it, and we know how to give it out so people give gifts to our ministry and we give it back to them double. ...

"It's like Christmas day every day at our ministry."

Christmas Turns to Ashes

Or so it was. This March, in the culmination of a major, three-year probe, a federal grand jury indicted Greater Ministries International Church elder Talbert, founder Gerald Payne and five others on charges of money laundering and mail fraud. According to the 20-count indictment, the group's "Double Your Blessing" and "Faith Promises" programs were elaborate frauds, criminal conspiracies that bilked thousands of people for an

amount that likely reaches the tens of millions of dollars.

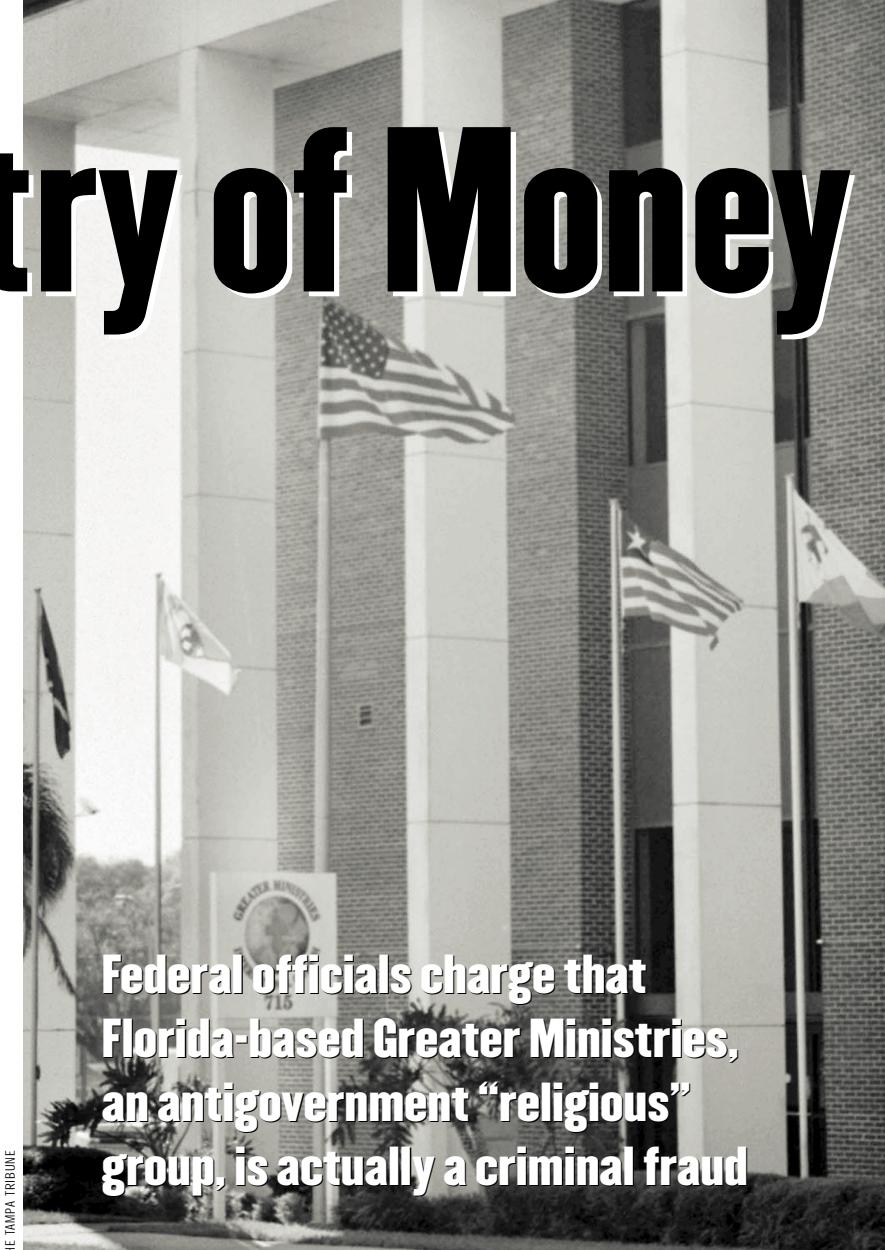
Prosecutors say that beginning around March 1993, Greater's leaders promised their victims that they would double their money in 17 months or less. The Greater leaders claimed that they were investing the "gifts" that victims from around the country sent them in African gold mines and a myriad of other enterprises. God, they promised, would make them all rich. In fact, prosecutors say, it was the classic Ponzi scheme: Money from later investors was used to pay the earlier ones, guaranteeing ultimate collapse. Along the way, Greater's elders allegedly got "gas money" — 5% of all donations they brought in.

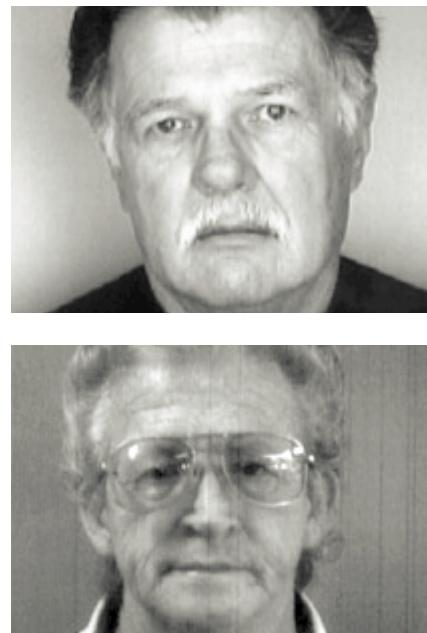
If it was a scam, Tampa-based Greater Ministries was a ripoff with a twist, what investigators call an "affinity scam" that plays on deep-seated interests that potential victims already have. It appealed to those in the so-called "Patriot" movement, to men and women already familiar with the talk of "sovereignty," of massive banking conspiracies and the New World Order, the Federal Reserve Board and the gold-fringed flag.

The 'Patriot' Connections

And it was very much a part of that movement.

• Payne, Greater's founder and director, and eight other Greater officials were





named as unindicted co-conspirators in the federal trial of Emilio Ippolito in Tampa. Ippolito was sentenced to 11 years in connection with threats to hang federal judges and other activities of his "Constitutional Common-Law Court of We the People."

• Greater's one-time general counsel is Charles Eidson, former leader of the neo-Nazi Church of the Avenger and founder of the antigovernment Tampa Freedom Center (TFC). The TFC is based in Greater's headquarters building and is listed as a division of Greater Ministries. Advertising in a 1997 Patriot publication, Payne and Eidson urged their readers to take a stand against the government and "against Zionism itself." Last September, in a letter to *The Tampa Tribune*, the two partners wrote: "We do not believe in what the Jew has done and is doing to our country." The same month, Eidson wrote in a Patriot publication advertisement that the "enemy" was "clearly the damnable eternal Jews!"

• When Payne dissolved Greater Ministries as a corporation last September — in a bid to make it "exempt" from state and federal laws — he submitted a "common law notice" to the Florida comptroller's office. The notice declared that Greater would henceforth answer only to Ippolito's common-law court and "the constitutional common law militias."



Consider Patrick Henry Talbert, the Greater elder who was videotaped making his pitch, and his friends. Talbert was introduced by his host, Indianapolis Baptist Temple pastor Greg Dixon, a man who has been a linchpin of the Patriot movement throughout the 1990s. After describing being jailed with several blacks — "I was so sick. My head was just pounding. I can't tell you how sick I was" — Dixon warmed up listeners by telling them that Greater has "a double common law trust ... and it works."

'They're Taking Over America'

"Thank you brother Dixon," Talbert replied. And within minutes, he was talking about the Patriot take on the gold-fringed U.S. flag that flies in federal courtrooms.

"Two hundred-forty countries right now have the gold-fringed flag in their courtrooms around the world," Talbert said, and the audience murmured its assent. "It's a one-world government being formed, and they've come into America.... While you was asleep at night they went into all your libraries and took the lawful flag out....



"This is how they're trying to take over America."

How should a good Patriot fight back? Invest in Greater Ministries. Greater is battling government's repression of Christian churches, a repression that's already landed "500 preachers" in jail. It's filing liens against its enemies right and left. Already, it has given a fortune to missionaries and other Christians worldwide, and its goal, Talbert says, is to "free up every Christian" financially. With mines including a Liberian mother lode of gold and platinum that soon will produce \$1 billion a year, with banks and hotels and a headquarters building and more, Greater is "truly blessed."

It worked like this.

For five years, Greater Ministries leaders traveled to churches and homes across the country encouraging people to invest thousands of dollars in their "Faith Promises" or similar double-your-money "ministries." They preached that investing was a form of "religious expression," a statement of faith in the power of God. Beyond that, and a handful of commonplace pious platitudes, there was little to Greater's theology.

"Be humble," since-indicted Greater pastor Haywood Eudon "Don" Hall said. "But you don't have to be poor."

The Trouble Begins

For many, it seemed too good to be true. After contributing to Greater Ministries' "gifting" program, investors received wads of \$50 bills in monthly payments sent via Priority Mail. People stood in line to give their money away, and the leaders of the group supplied them with stories of debt-free living, African gold mines, humanitarian efforts and an herbal research center with a possible cure for cancer.

But last year, it began to fall apart. Cease-and-desist orders were filed against Greater in California, Ohio and Pennsylvania by regulators who characterized its double-your-money programs as "unregistered securities." In July, after officials shut down Best Bank of Boulder, Colo., Greater's main bank, Greater said it had lost more than \$20 million and suspended monthly payments to "gift"-givers. In November, a Pennsylvania judge ordered Greater to halt all transactions with state residents. After Greater officials defied that ban and Payne destroyed

financial records, the judge fined Greater \$6.4 million.

Then, in March, the federal indictments were handed down. Talbert, Hall, Payne, Payne's wife Betty, John Krishak, David Whitfield and James Chambers were charged. The indictment said that despite promises to invest the money in offshore metal and currency trading, very little money was ever invested in anything. The defendants face possible prison terms of up to 20 years on each money laundering count alone. Six of the seven accused made bail immediately, and Payne did so later.

A History of Fraud

This was not the first trouble to involve Greater principals.

• In 1979, Payne was convicted on 12 counts of lying to a grand jury investigating an unrelated fraud involving a Payne employer in New York City. He was sentenced to four months in jail. Payne has sued the government for seizing a trove of up to \$26,000 in gold and silver coins when he entered the country in 1997 without declaring it. In a recent court hearing, officials said they also seized 26 bestiarity videotapes from Payne.

Greater Ministries founder Gerald Payne (top, far left), pastor Don Hall (with glasses), "director of disbursement" John Krishak (with wife) and elder Patrick Henry Talbert (below) were among seven church principals indicted in March. Krishak's wife Donna lashed out at news photographers outside the Tampa federal courthouse.



PHOTOS BY THE TAMPA TRIBUNE

• Talbert has been charged with 42 counts of racketeering, fraud and grand theft for allegedly cheating 11 elderly south Florida investors out of \$280,000 in an investment scheme called "Down Town Auto." His trial in that case was to begin this spring. According to *The Tampa Tribune*, Talbert also has been sued twice since 1994 by people who accused him of bilking them out of their investments — a couple who said he stole a \$100,000 investment of theirs and a widow who says she lost \$25,000.

• Eidson, who then had an oil recycling business, was convicted in 1993 of illegally dumping motor oil into storm sewers that empty into Tampa Bay. In 1995, Eidson, who would become Payne's legal adviser in 1996, was convicted of practicing law without a license.

• James Maher, who incorporated an earlier version of Greater Ministries with Payne, was sentenced in 1985 to five years' probation after being found guilty of running a fraudulent Ponzi scheme. Ten years later, Maher was forced to refund \$1.2 million paid by 40 Floridians to an "investment club."

• Jonathan Strawder, a 25-year-old who once worked for Greater and whose uncle helped to incorporate it, created a similar program in 1997 called Sovereign Ministries International. After collecting \$13 million from some 2,100 investors — and spending some of it on a yacht, two

Porsches and a Land Rover — Strawder quit making payments to his donors. In December, he signed a plea agreement admitting Sovereign Ministries was a Ponzi scam and agreeing to provide key testimony against Greater Ministries.

• Niko Shefer, who is Greater's main overseas operative in its alleged Liberian mining interests, is a South African who once served six years for bank fraud. According to a dissident Liberian group, Greater obtained tax exemptions in the West African country that are reserved for humanitarian organizations. The group claims that promised relief supplies and other services for the financially strapped country never materialized.

• The owner of the bank Greater chose to do business with — the bank that issued its credit cards — was Edward Mattar III, a man with "a long history of financial recklessness," according to the *Rocky Mountain News*. Mattar has been sued for hundreds of thousands of dollars in various financial undertakings. He owned several schools that wound up owing money to debtors and students. Shortly before his Colorado bank was seized, Mattar paid himself and his bank president a \$9 million bonus. "It's odd that Greater Ministries would put assets in an illiquid bank if God is advising them," a ranking Pennsylvania regulator told the *News*. "How did they end up with such a schlocko banker?"

• A couple in California, Don and Jeana Muir, are facing felony charges for promoting Greater Ministries' "Faith Promises" program, which is banned in the state.

Tall Buildings and Tales

Payne and Hall claimed to have received more than \$500 million from 100,000 people, although prosecutors say that is exaggerated. The real amount is not known.

It's also unclear where the money raised by Greater Ministries went. Its leaders have claimed to own about 100 gold mines around the world, including a gold and platinum concession in Liberia that they assert has a "\$40 billion" reserve just 15 feet under the ground. They say they have bought "the tallest building in Africa" for \$15 million. Greater allegedly put up the

money for a \$7 million purchase of Kentucky's second-largest hotel and has spent upward of \$1.5 million in improving its Tampa headquarters. Last year, after the collapse of Best Bank in Colorado, two Greater members, Charles Tomlinson and Carl Thomas, tried to buy a South Florida bank. Regulators rejected their application.

Shortly before the Kentucky hotel purchase, Greater officials reported a robbery at their Tampa headquarters. Payne's wife allegedly first told police that nothing had been stolen. Later, corrected by her husband, she said \$500,000 was missing. Payne would later claim the haul was actually \$3 million, a figure that eventually grew to \$3.5 million.

Police, who say that a guard told them that the Paynes had taken all the money in Greater's vault home before the 1996 robbery, have closed the investigation. "We have our suspicions as to what really happened," Sgt. Bob Wright told *The Tampa Tribune*.

The Kentucky hotel purchase caused a local stir when Eidson, apparently acting on behalf of Greater Ministries, issued a "common-law lien" to prevent other investors from buying the hotel. Headlines also spotlighted Eidson's anti-Semitic past. But in the end, the purchase went through, with Eidson associate Jim Biggerstaff taking over.

"I run the hotel," Biggerstaff told the *Owensboro (Ky.) Messenger-Inquirer*. "If it makes any money, some of that will be returned to Greater Ministries."

A 'Sovereign' Nation

Before the March indictments, Greater's plans were ambitious indeed. In addition to the gold mines and other enterprises, Payne had announced a forthcoming new debit card for members, creation of Greater's own newspaper, establishment of a "Greater Bible College" in Tampa, a new line of "Greater Live" herbal remedies, cancer treatments ("We actually pull the cancer right out of your stomach," Payne claims), even a supplement called "Beta 1, 3rd Glucan" that will help donors survive "end-times plagues."

"We're tired," he said, "of Christians being pushed around."

William Smith, who has sued Greater for \$170,000, says he's the one being pushed. "You see, Mr. Payne, all along you knew the truth," Smith wrote Payne. "You knew that no matter how great and glorious the Greater Ministries program seemed to be, it was all a sham. It was built on sand. One day you knew that it would have to fall." ▲

Vatican," where other governments will have no jurisdiction. For a mere \$10,000, donors were promised a Greater Lands passport, driver's license and one square foot of land.

But now, there seems little prospect of any of this.

Instead, a trickle of people who gave money to Payne's outfit — and who have not gotten the return they were told to expect — are beginning to complain. Payne "assured us that if we ever wanted our money back he'd give it to us," recalls William Smith, who invested \$170,000 with a friend. Both men say they lost small fortunes. Smith's friend, Roy Cotton, told *The Tampa Tribune* that he expected to lose his home as a result.

'It was built on sand'

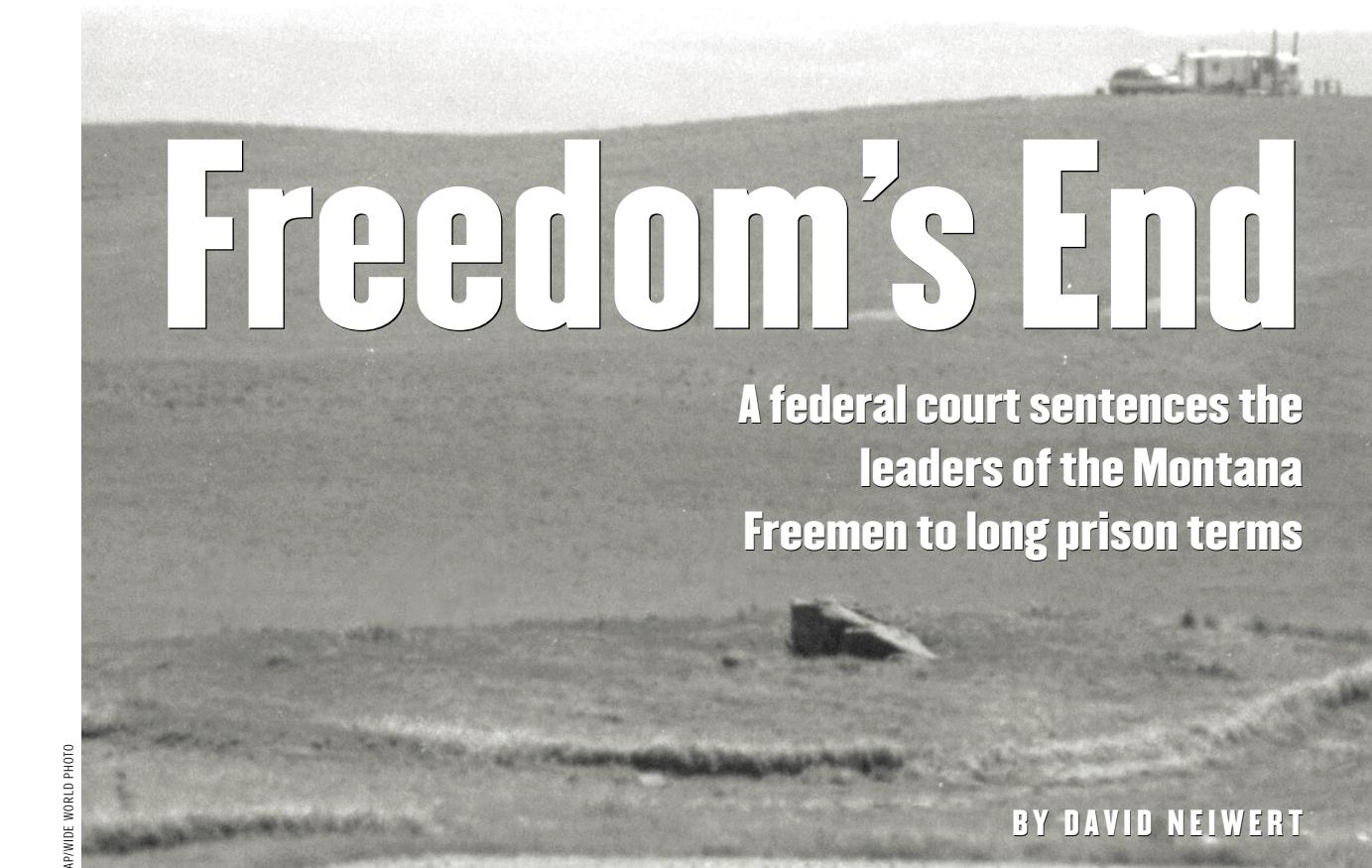
Other alleged victims faced different kinds of threats.

Pennsylvania resident Michael Miller says a Greater board member came to his house and told him "the curse of God is upon you" after Miller complained of losing at least \$10,000 in the program. June Smith, a retired businesswoman who says she invested nearly \$300,000 alleged in an affidavit that when she asked for her money back, she was told she'd been "prayed out" of the program and "cursed" by Greater.

Through it all, Greater has maintained that the enemies of God are seeking to bring down a ministry devoted to faith. Abiding by the Pennsylvania judge's injunction, for instance, "would recognize a sovereign greater than Jesus Christ with authority over the church and its ministries," Payne said at one point. Elsewhere, he declared that he cannot "submit the ministries of the church to governmental authorities." The real problem, Talbert said in Indianapolis, is the government's desire to tax Greater's "blessings."

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Freedom's End

A federal court sentences the leaders of the Montana Freemen to long prison terms

BY DAVID NEIWERT

BILLINGS, Mont. — Freemen indeed. Now that a federal judge has handed down their sentences, it is clear that Montana's most celebrated right-wing radicals will not be free men again for some time. They're going to prison.

That prospect hardly seems to bother them — for good reason, perhaps. After all, even though their convictions have had a chilling effect on the "common-law courts" they promoted, their sentences are likely to herald the dawn of a new stage in their careers as ideologues of the extremist "Patriot" right.

U.S. District Judge John Coughenour, who oversaw the trial of the so-called Montana Freemen last summer, handed down heavy sentences on March 16. As a result, many of the defendants — Freemen leader LeRoy Schweitzer, 60, in particular — likely will spend their remaining years behind bars. Schweitzer was sentenced to 22 1/2 years in prison for 25 convictions on a cornucopia of federal crimes: bank fraud, theft, robbery, firearms violations and making threats against a federal judge.

A cluster of fellow Freemen — notably Schweitzer's right-hand men Daniel Petersen, 55, Rodney Skurdal, 46, and Dale Jacobi, 57 — also received lengthy sentences. A number of secondary figures, especially the women who participated in their husbands' schemes, were given lesser sentences.

'A loud and clear message'

There was little doubt about the signal the judge was sending. Coughenour explained as he announced the sentences that they reflected the crimes' seriousness

— and, more to the point, they send "a loud and clear message to those who pass this hatred and ugliness around.... Be forewarned, your personal liberty is at stake." Coughenour observed that the Freemen's actions were part of a broader phenomenon with national significance. Their scheme, he said, was calculated to undermine the nation's banking system and to encourage lawbreaking, leading gullible people into stupid and illegal actions that eventually would cost them their homes and wreck their lives.

But the jury deadlocked on another 60 or so counts, including the major conspiracy charge and some weighty robbery charges involving the Freemen's habit of confiscating news crews' cameras at gunpoint. Prosecutors quickly streamlined the case and a second trial was held last November on the unresolved charges, with guilty verdicts delivered against nearly all involved — some 36 convictions in all. Coughenour's March sentencing combined the results of the summer and fall trials.

Another, earlier trial had seen the acquittal of one central player in the saga. Edwin Clark, the Freeman at whose ranch

the standoff unfolded, was cleared of the charges he faced, although his five co-defendants were all convicted. Two other participants later pleaded guilty: Dana Dudley, at one time Landers' wife; and Emmett Clark, the uncle of Edwin Clark, who was sentenced to time served and released. Edwin's father, Ralph — the patriarch of the Freemen's ranch — is the only Freeman whose case has not yet been settled. Reported to be in ailing health, the elder Clark is currently awaiting trial on state charges after federal prosecutors decided to drop their case against him.

How to Become a Millionaire

All told, there was little solace in the trials' eventual outcome for the Freemen and their soulmates in the self-proclaimed "Patriot" movement. It had been their fervent belief all along that their system of law was superior to that of the "satanic" courts into whose hands they had been delivered. They had been sure they would eventually win out — if not in the minds of all the jurors, at least with a few who might be persuaded to refuse to convict.

But, as with most instances where the Freemen have tried to impose their view of things on the real world, no such thing came about.

The Freemen's universe is a complex, arcane edifice, an intricately constructed world. Relying on an array of "common law" and Uniform Commercial Code citations, the Freemen contended that white male Christians can revert to pre-Civil War status as "sovereign citizens," enabling them to form common-law courts. From that platform, they issued bogus property liens — mainly against judges, sheriffs, prosecutors, county clerks, bankers and businessmen who they claimed had "wronged" them. Sometimes they would then use the liens as collateral to obtain bank lines of credit; at other times, they simply created "checks" or "sight drafts" on home computers and used them to pay for expensive goods like motor homes and computers. More often than not, they wrote these checks for more than the amount needed, receiving cash refunds for their "overpayments."

Common-law courts are a product of the anti-Semitic ideology of the Posse Comitatus, an extremist group active in the 1970s and 1980s. Typically, the courts obscure their racist underpinnings in a barrage of legalese. But the Freemen were not so discreet. In their filings of liens, "true bills," edicts and the like, they made their views clear. Consider, for example, the 1994 "Edict" that Rodney Skurdal filed in Musselshell County, which explains the religious basis of the Freemen system.

Sex and the Musselshell Edict

In the Garden of Eden, Eve was not merely "beguiled" into eating an apple from the tree of knowledge. She was sexually seduced by the Serpent, Skurdal wrote, and bore him a child — Cain. After Cain was exiled from the garden for killing Adam's son, Abel, he went off into the wilderness and mated with the soulless, beastlike "pre-Adamic" people whose posterity comprises all non-white races. Cain's descendants — the biological offspring of Satan — became the modern Jews, deceitful pretenders to the title of God's chosen people. The true children of Israel, Skurdal wrote, are today's white people, who are descended from the Hebrew "Tribe of Dan." These whites set up the original Constitution as the inerrant vessel of God's chosen people, and only by returning to it, with its view of the innate superiority of white males, can the nation be healed of such current scourges as Bill Clinton.

The fact that the Freemen — and a number of their common-law co-religionists around the nation — now stand convicted of having defrauded businesses out of millions of dollars (as well as for threatening to kill public officials) seems to have dampened enthusiasm for common-law enterprises. Most experts observing the scene say that the growth of the so-called courts has quieted substantially in the recent past.

But the Montana convictions also are likely to confer martyr status upon the Freemen. Now, they almost certainly will be vying for ascension to heights similar to that of other "victims" in the Patriot pantheon — men like Randy Weaver, whose wife and son were shot and killed

by authorities in Ruby Ridge, Idaho, and antigovernment terrorist Bob Mathews, who was killed in a shootout with federal agents. Judging by the Freemen's reaction to the trial — most of them refused to attend the proceedings, and several staged a hunger strike — they aren't bothered by the prospect of serving hard time.

And there has already been a telling indication of how that time behind bars may be spent. While lodged alongside the Freemen in the Yellowstone County Jail, several inmates serving time for more mundane crimes picked up the Freemen's ideology and, to the shock of their jailers, began filing common-law documents in their own cases. Authorities wound up separating the Freemen from others in the jail.

The Freemen's Future

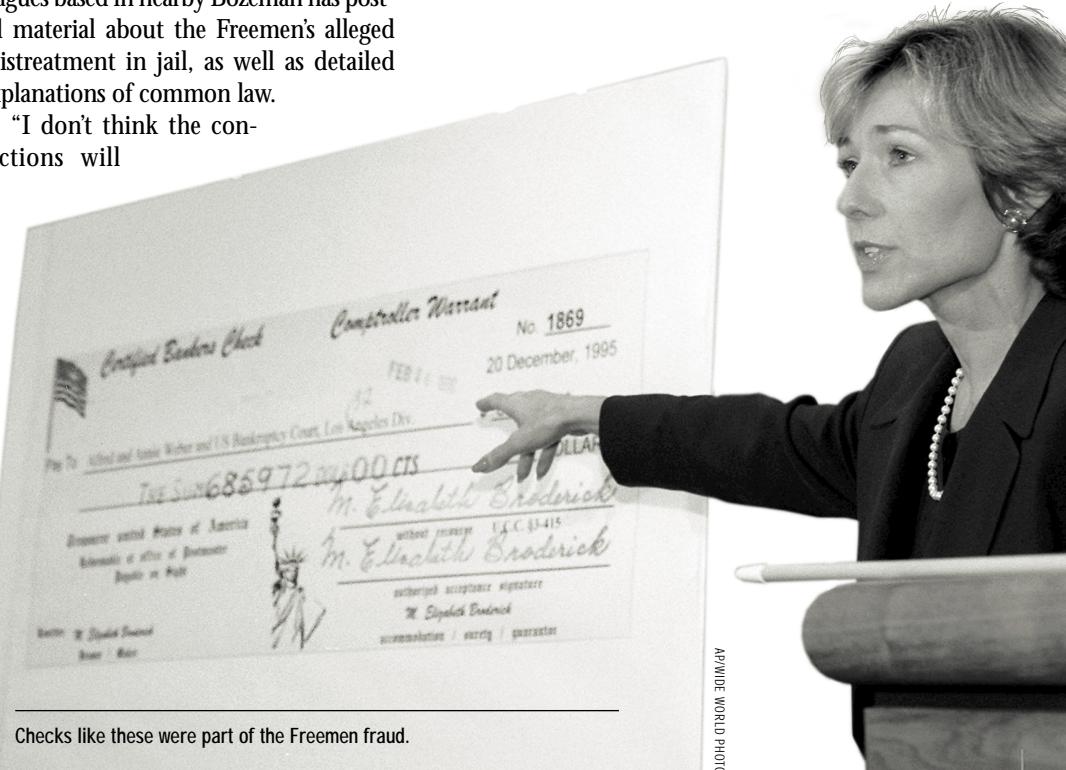
The Freemen, moreover, have already demonstrated a technological sophistication that will likely allow them to use their new platform as martyrs to spread the word about their beliefs. Much of their written material is now available on the Web and, through intermediaries, they're expected to get more of it up. Already, at least one Patriot Web site operated by colleagues based in nearby Bozeman has posted material about the Freemen's alleged mistreatment in jail, as well as detailed explanations of common law.

"I don't think the convictions will

mean the end of the Freemen at all," says Ken Toole, whose Montana Human Rights Network has been instrumental in organizing local community action against extremism. "LeRoy is already very well-connected with the larger Patriot network, and has had no trouble getting his stuff on the Web from jail these last couple of years. On top of that, he'll now have this cachet, this mystique that comes from being in jail — the political prisoner, scribbling furiously away like a mad hermit. And it's important to understand that the prison system is already imbued with white-supremacist elements. It's really one of the major wellsprings of that culture.

"Those guys will fit right in," Toole says. "Actually, they'll be heroes. And they'll be recruiting new students, indoctrinating new believers, all of whom will get out of jail and go out to do their thing. And they'll have learned from the master. So we'll have a whole new fresh wave, a whole new level of this phenomenon to deal with."

*David Neiwert is the author of *in god's country: the patriot movement and the pacific northwest (1999)*. He is a writer/producer for MSNBC on the Internet.*



Checks like these were part of the Freemen fraud.

NORFED Probe

Authorities investigate antigovernment group that's marketing its own currency

Far-right antigovernment groups have long claimed that American dollars are illegal currency, part of a vast conspiracy by international bankers to defraud the rest of the world. NORFED, based in Evansville, Ind., says it is doing something about it.

Since last fall, NORFED has been marketing its own "American Liberty Currency" — money certificates in \$1, \$5 and \$10 denominations that it says are backed by specially minted silver coins held in an Idaho vault. NORFED claims that profits from selling the certificates — which go for almost twice the cost of real silver — will be used to help bring down the Federal Reserve and "restore an honest monetary system."

It's not clear if the "currency" violates federal laws against the private manufacture of currency or "fictitious instruments" of commerce. Half a dozen federal and state agencies are investigating, according to *The (Spokane, Wash.) Spokesman-Review*.

NORFED trades on theories about "parasitic Bankers" who supposedly steal \$300 billion from "the people" every year in a "conspiracy as old as Babylon." Its "chief economist," Honolulu-based Bernard von NotHaus, says the currency is protection against problems that will be caused by the y2k computer bug — a common far-right theme. Its "marketing director" is James W. Thomas, publisher of *Media Bypass*, a magazine that caters to so-called "Patriots." NORFED's mailing address is also that of *Media Bypass*.

Many of NORFED's redemption centers are run by men and women

connected to the radical right. In Florida, the Tampa Freedom Center is headed up by Charles Eidson (see also p. 19), an anti-Semite who last fall denounced the "damnable eternal Jews."

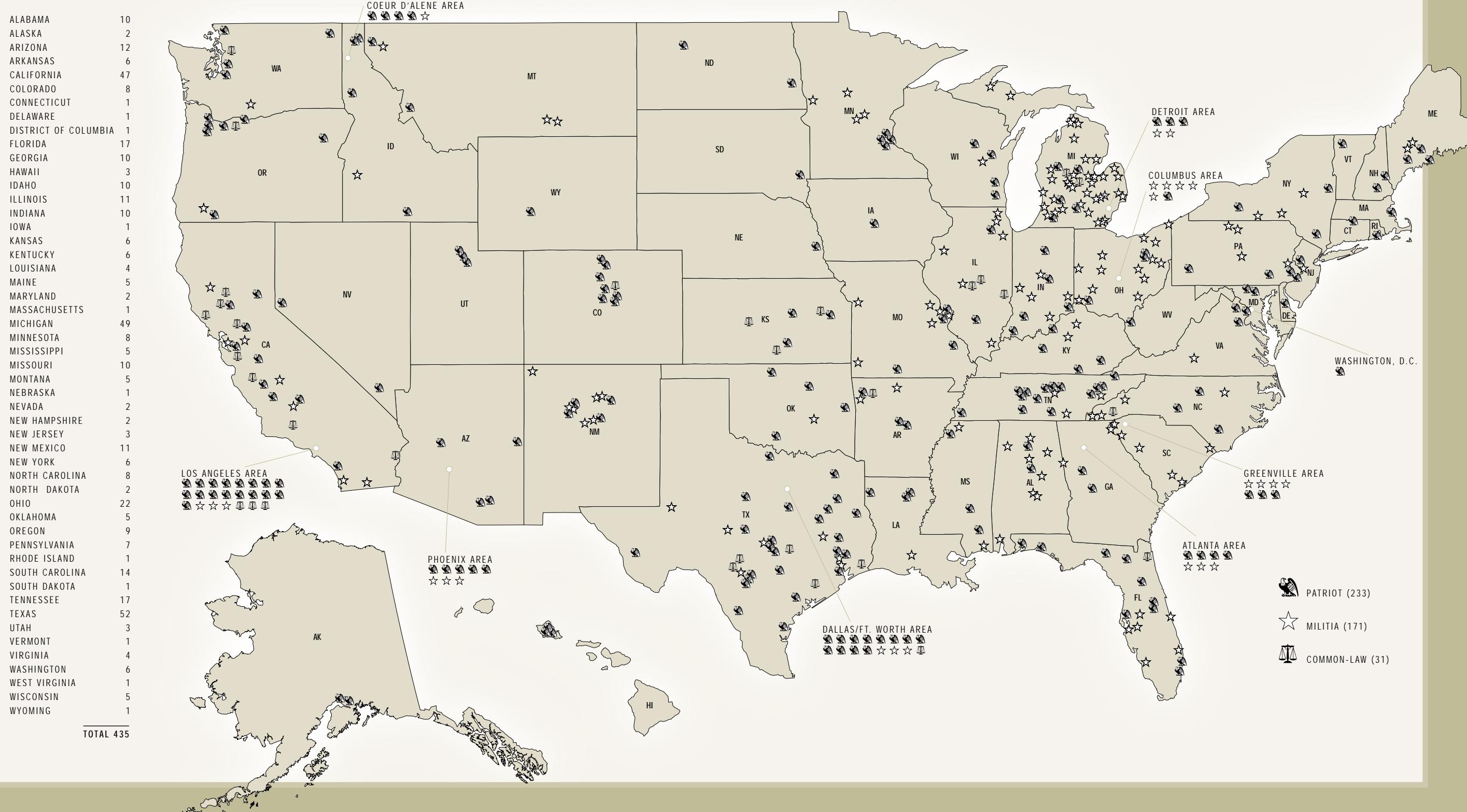
Although membership in NORFED costs only \$9, people are urged to send in \$89 to start their own redemption centers. Then they are offered a 10% cut for every dollar they "convert" to American Liberty Currency. But NORFED says most of its "modest profits" are spent "trying to bring about a positive political and economic reform, and that costs money." After all, it says, a real dollar is merely "a 3-cent piece of paper."

But buyers of the new currency may find it hard to use.

According to a recent posting on NORFED's Web page (www.norfed.org), there were just 32 merchants nationwide accepting American Liberty Currency (ALC). In Minneapolis, you can pay with ALC for a tattoo; in New Jersey, "the only Constitutional flag in the United States" is for sale; in Riegelsville, Pa., "alternative health products" are available; and in Tustin, Calif., a chiropractor will take your "silver."

Still, NORFED claims to have more than 100 redemption centers — where people supposedly can trade in their ALC for "\$10" silver coins containing about \$5 worth of silver — in 40 states. Von NotHaus, who told *The Spokesman-Review* that "we're going to be to the Federal Reserve System what Federal Express was to the Postal Service," also has written a book about his currency. It was unveiled on April Fool's Day.

Active Patriot Groups in 1998



Active Patriot Groups in 1998

The Intelligence Project identified 435 "Patriot" groups that were active in 1998. Of these groups, 171 were militias, 31 were "common-law courts" and the remainder fit into a variety of categories such as publishers, ministries, citizens' groups and others. Generally, Patriot groups define themselves as opposed to the "New World Order" or advocate or adhere to extreme antigovernment doctrines. Listing here does not imply that the groups themselves advocate or engage in violence or other criminal activity, or are racist. The list was compiled from field reports, Patriot publications, the Internet, law enforcement sources and news reports. When known, groups are identified by the city, town or county where they are located.

ALABAMA

Alabama Committee to Get US Out of the United Nations, Birmingham
U.S. Taxpayers Party, Cullman
Alabama Constitutional Militia, 4th Brigade, Gadsden
Alabama Constitutional Militia, 3rd Brigade, Haleyville
Alabama Constitutional Militia, Millbrook
American Ranger Association, Mobile
Alabama Constitutional Militia, 1st Brigade, Montgomery
Alabama Constitutional Militia, 8th Brigade, Northwestern Alabama
1st Alabama Cavalry Regiment
Militia, Pinson
Alabama Constitutional Militia, 2nd Brigade, Sylacauga

ALASKA

Jefferson Party, Anchorage
U.S. Taxpayers Party, Anchorage

ARIZONA

Resurrection News & Fax Network, Cornville
Arizona Constitutional Rights Committee, Phoenix
First Mounted Rangers, Phoenix
Militia of Arizona Regulars, Phoenix
Police Against the New World Order, Phoenix
Second Amendment is for Everyone, Phoenix
Sovereign Citizens Movement, Phoenix
Unorganized Militia of Arizona, Phoenix
Viper Reserves, Phoenix
Citizens Agency for Joint Intelligence, St. Johns
Pima County Grand Jury, Tucson
Supreme Law Firm, Tucson

ARKANSAS

Take Back Arkansas, Inc., Fayetteville
Washington County Militia, Fayetteville
Constitutional District Court, Huntsville
U.S. Taxpayers Party, Little Rock
U.S. Taxpayers Party, Maumelle

CALIFORNIA

Kern County Liberty Corps, Bakersfield
Kern County Militia, Bakersfield
California Militia, Brea
Common Law Court, Butte County
Jural Society, Canoga Park
State Citizens Service Center
Research Headquarters, Canoga Park
Free Enterprise Society, Clovis
Common Law Court, Colusa County
Truth Radio, Delano
U.S. Taxpayers Party, Durham
John Birch Society, Fountain Valley
Common Law Court, Fresno County
Common Law Court, Orange County, Garden Grove
John Birch Society, Garden Grove
Second Amendment Committee, Hanford
American Patriot Friends Network, Huntington Beach
We the People, Huntington Beach
John Birch Society, Irvine
Republic Video Clearinghouse, Livermore
California Citizens Militia, Los Angeles
Common Law Court, Los Angeles County, Los Angeles
San Joaquin County Militia, Manteca
John Birch Society, Mission Viejo
Freedom Bound, Nevada City
Alameda County Free Militia, Oakland
John Birch Society, Oceanside
American Opinion Bookstore, Orange
John Birch Society, Orange
Lockwood Publishing, Pasadena
Sovereign Citizen Resource Center, Pasadena
Pomona Valley Militia, Pomona County
Tulare County Militia, Porterville
John Birch Society, Riverside
Common Law Court, Riverside County
Constitution Society, Sacramento
Common Law Court, Sacramento County
Militia of California, San Diego
John Birch Society, Santa Ana

COMMON LAW COURT, SANTA CLARA COUNTY

Common Law Court, Sonoma County
Second American Revolutionary Army, Southern California
Truth In Taxation, Studio City
Granada Forum, Tarzana
Tehama County Militia, Tehama County
Freedom Law School, Tustin
Common Law Court, Ventura County
Citizens for Honest Government, Winchester

COLORADO

Common Law Court, Denver
Committee to Restore the Constitution, Fort Collins
American Freedom Network, Johnstown
U.S. Taxpayers Party, Kittredge
Wake-Up Call America, Lakewood
National Commodity & Barter Association, Longmont
Gospel Plow, Sedalia
U.S. Taxpayers Party, Watkins

CONNECTICUT

John Birch Society, Enfield

DELAWARE

U.S. Taxpayers Party, Harrington

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Liberty Lobby, Washington

FLORIDA

Constitutional Guardians of America, Boca Raton
Panhandle Patriots, Inc., Fort Walton Beach
Citizens for Better Government, Gainesville
Jural Society, Duval County, Jacksonville
Lee County Rifles, Lee County
Minuteman Network Ministry, Live Oak
Kingdom of Heaven Church, Longwood
Operation Freedom, Maitland
19th Regiment, Melbourne
John Birch Society, Pensacola
People for Sovereignty and Restoration, Pompano Beach

Southeastern States Alliance, St. Petersburg
11th Regiment, St. Petersburg
Minuteman Press, Tallahassee
Greater Ministries International, Tampa
1st S.O.G. State Militia, West Palm Beach
Central Florida Militia Association, Winter Haven

GEORGIA

Georgia Civilian Militia, Atlanta
1st American Constitutional Committee, Forsyth

John Birch Society, Kennesaw
Militia of Georgia, Lawrenceville
U.S. Taxpayers Party, Marietta
Sons of Liberty, Peachtree City
Americans for Lawful Government, Roswell
John Birch Society, Smyrna
Georgia Civilian Militia, Snellville
American Patriot Minority
Independent Party, Tallapoosa

HAWAII

U.S. Taxpayers Party, Honolulu
Cornerstones of Freedom Research Foundation, Honolulu

U.S. Taxpayers Party, Mililani

IDAHO

Sons of Liberty, Boise
Concerned Citizens of Idaho, Hayden Lake
Unorganized Militia of Idaho, Hayden Lake
Idaho Liberty Network, Hayden Lake
Freedom Point, Orofino
Idaho Citizens Awareness Network, Ponderay
Americans for a Constitutional Government, Post Falls
U.S. Taxpayers Party, Post Falls
Property Owners Association, Sandpoint
Right Way L.A.W., Twin Falls

ILLINOIS

Northern Illinois Minutemen, Arlington Heights
19th Regiment, Melbourne
John Birch Society, Buncombe
Illinois Patriots Coalition, Centralia
Common Law Court, Clark County

U.S. Taxpayers Party, Elgin
Morgan County Minutemen, Jacksonville
Illinois Constitutional Militia, Libertyville
Western Illinois Militia, Monmouth
Northern Illinois Minutemen, Romeoville
Illinois Christian Jural Society, Sherman
Jural Society, Springfield

LOUISIANA

Washitaw Nation, Columbia
Louisiana Unorganized Militia, Lafayette
U.S. Taxpayers Party, Shreveport
Emperial Washitaw Court, Winnboro

MAINE

U.S. Taxpayers Party, Augusta
U.S. Taxpayers Party, Greene
Maine Militia, Jay
Third Continental Congress, Jay
U.S. Taxpayers Party, Spruce Head

MARYLAND

U.S. Taxpayers Party, Taneytown
Save A Patriot Fellowship, Westminster

MASSACHUSETTS

Citizens Justice Programs, Hull

MICHIGAN

Northern Michigan Regional Militia, Alanson
Southern Michigan Regional Militia, Allegan
Central East Michigan Regional Militia, Arenac
Central East Michigan Regional Militia, Bad Axe
North American Militia, Battle Creek
Southern Michigan Regional Militia, Battle Creek
Central East Michigan Regional Militia, Bay City
Southern Michigan Regional Militia, Burton
Michigan Militia, St. Clair County, Capac
Michigan Militia Corps Wolverines, 9th Division, Central Michigan
Justice Pro Se, Dearborn
United States Theater Command, Deckerville
Michigan Militia Corps Wolverines, 26th Brigade, Deerfield
Michigan Militia, Detroit
Michigan Militia At Large, Dexter
Michigan Gun Owners, Farmington
Central East Michigan Regional Militia, Flint
Southern Michigan Regional Militia, Fowlerville

Central East Michigan Regional Militia, Gladwin County	Northern Michigan Regional Militia, Wolverine	NEVADA Justice Team One, Reno	Special Forces Underground, Fayetteville	Central Ohio Unorganized Militia, Madison County	SOUTH CAROLINA South Carolina Militia Corps, Anderson County	Republic of Texas, Athens	Texas Militia Combined Action Program, Texas
Central West Michigan Regional Militia, Grand Rapids	MINNESOTA Citizens For a Constitutional Minnesota, Apple Valley	NEW HAMPSHIRE U.S. Taxpayers Party, Concord	Americans For Preservation of Constitutional Heritage, Macon County	Ohio Unorganized Militia Assistance and Advisory Committee, Muskingum County	South Carolina Militia Corps, Charleston County	13th Texas Infantry Regiment, Austin	Texas Guardians, Texas
National Confederation of Citizens Militias, Harbor Springs	Minnesota Constitutional Rangers, Inver Grove Heights	U.S. Taxpayers Party, Wolfeboro	North Carolina Volunteer Militia, Murphy	Ohio Unorganized Militia Assistance and Advisory Committee, Portage County	South Carolina Militia Corps, Headquarters, Cleveland	John Birch Society, Austin	Republic of Texas, Uvalde
Southern Michigan Regional Militia, Ingham County	Citizens for a Constitutional Republic, Lakeville	NEW JERSEY U.S. Taxpayers Party, Cinnaminson	North Carolina Citizens Militia, Wake County	Right Way L.A.W./Wisdom Group, Uniontown	South Carolina Militia Corps, Dorchester County	Living Truth Ministries, Austin	Republic of Texas, Victoria
Michigan Militia, Isabella County	Minnesota Minuteman Militia, Minnesota	New Jersey Committee of Safety, Trenton	Constitution Society, Winston-Salem	Ohio Unorganized Militia Assistance and Advisory Committee, Westerville	South Carolina Militia Corps, Greenville	Common Law Court, Bexar County	Republic of Texas, Waco
Superior Michigan Regional Militia, Ishpeming	Minnesota Militia, St. Cloud	NEW YORK U.S. Taxpayers Party, Casselton	NORTH DAKOTA U.S. Taxpayers Party, Minot	Southeastern Ohio Defense Force, Zanesville	South Carolina Militia Corps, Greenville County	13th Texas Infantry Regiment, Bryan	Church of God Evangelistic Association, Waxahachie
Central East Michigan Regional Militia, Ithaca	Minnesota Minuteman Militia, 5th Brigade, St. Cloud	MISSISSIPPI American Constitutional Militia Network, Division II, Albuquerque	OHIO Right Way L.A.W., Akron	Kay County Patriots, Blackwell	South Carolina Militia Corps, Greenwood County	Buffalo Creek Press, Cleburne	Republic of Texas, White Oak
Michigan Militia Wolverine Corps, Kalamazoo	Minnesota Minuteman Militia, Region 4, Western Minnesota	Constitutional Task Force, Albuquerque	Ohio Unorganized Militia Assistance and Advisory Committee, Ashtabula County	Oklahoma Citizens Militia, Eufala	South Carolina Militia Corps, Horry County	Republic of Texas, Conroe	Republic of Texas, Wichita Falls
Superior Regional Militia Corps, L'anse	U.S. Taxpayers Party, Woodbury	New Mexico Citizens Regulated Militia, Southern Command, Albuquerque	Ohio Unorganized Militia Assistance and Advisory Committee, Athens County	U.S. Taxpayers Party, Lawton	South Carolina Militia Corps, Pickens County	National Federal Lands Conference, Bountiful	UTAH
Central West Michigan Regional Militia, Lakeview	MISSISSIPPI U.S. Taxpayers Party, Collins	Patrick Henry Foundation for Common Law Studies, Perkinston	Ohio Unorganized Militia Assistance and Advisory Committee, Auglaize County	Present Truth Ministry, Sallisaw	South Carolina Militia Corps, Spartanburg County	U.S. Taxpayers Party, Orem	U.S. Taxpayers Party, Corpus Christi
U.S. Taxpayers Party, Lansing	U.S. Taxpayers Party, Crenshaw	North Mississippi Militia, Southaven	Ohio Unorganized Militia Assistance and Advisory Committee, Stark County	U.S. Taxpayers Party, Tulsa	U.S. Taxpayers Party, Taylors	Independent Americans, Salt Lake City	Citizens for Legal Reform, Dallas
Central East Michigan Regional Militia, Lapeer	MISSOURI Special Patriot Services, Farmington	MISSOURI U.S. Taxpayers Party, Fenton	MISSOURI Rangers Outreach Center, Pecos	OREGON American Justice Research Center, Ashland	SOUTH DAKOTA U.S. Taxpayers Party, Sioux Falls	John Birch Society, Dallas	John Birch Society, Dallas
Michigan Electors Association, Michigan	MISSOURI U.S. Taxpayers Party, Florissant	MISSOURI New Mexico Citizens Regulated Militia, Northern Command, Santa Fe	MISSOURI Ohio Unorganized Militia Assistance and Advisory Committee, Champaign County	Freedom Bound International, Baker City	TENNESSEE U.S. Taxpayers Party, Brentwood	Republic of Texas, Dallas	Republic of Texas, Dallas
Central East Michigan Regional Militia, Midland	MISSOURI Missouri Militia, 58th Brigade, Franklin County	MISSOURI Missouri 51st Militia, Grain Valley	MISSOURI True Blue Patriots, Cincinnati	Christian Patriot Association, Boring	MISSOURI U.S. Taxpayers Party, Canby	People's Court of Common Law (Gulf Coast Districts), El Campo	Texas Reserve Militia, 1st Battalion, 1st Light Infantry Regiment, Dallas/Fort Worth
Michigan Militia Corps Wolverines, 8th Division, Monroe County	MISSOURI Missouri Militia, 42nd Brigade, Lincoln County	MISSOURI 7th Missouri Militia, Granby	MISSOURI U.S. Taxpayers Party, Cincinnati	Emissary Publications, Clackamas	MISSOURI U.S. Taxpayers Party, Church Hill	John Birch Society, Dallas County	Republic of Texas, Conroe
Michigan Jural Society, Mt. Pleasant	MISSOURI Missouri Militia, 59th Brigade, St. Peters	MISSOURI George Gordon's School of Common Law, Isabella	MISSOURI Ohio Unorganized Militia, Columbiana County	Southern Oregon Militia, Eagle Point	MISSOURI U.S. Taxpayers Party, Knoxville	Citizens for Legal Reform, Dallas	Republic of Texas, Corpus Christi
Central West Michigan Regional Militia, Mt. Pleasant	MISSOURI 1st Missouri Volunteers, St. Louis	MISSOURI Missouri Militia, 42nd Brigade, Lincoln County	MISSOURI Central Ohio Unorganized Militia, Columbus County	U.S. Taxpayers Party, Molalla	MISSOURI U.S. Taxpayers Party, Garland	John Birch Society, Fort Davis	South Carolina Militia Corps, Greenville
Central West Michigan Regional Militia, Muskegon	MONTANA Billings Assault Militia, Billings	MISSOURI Missouri Militia, 59th Brigade, St. Peters	MISSOURI Ohio Unorganized Militia Assistance and Advisory Committee, Cuyahoga County	Common Law Court, Multnomah County	TENNESSEE 508th Regiment (Airborne), Houston	People's Court of Common Law (Gulf Coast Districts), Dallas	South Carolina Militia Corps, Greenwood County
Northern Michigan Regional Militia, Pellston	MONTANA Montana Unorganized Militias, Billings	MISSOURI 1st Missouri Volunteers, St. Louis	MISSOURI Ohio Unorganized Militia Assistance and Advisory Committee, New York	Cascadian Resource Center, Odell	MISSOURI U.S. Taxpayers Party, Houston	John Birch Society, Fort Worth	South Carolina Militia Corps, Greenville
LEGAL, Pinckney	MONTANA Freedom Point, Darby	MISSOURI Hudson Highlands Free Militia, Saratoga	MISSOURI Adirondack Right Way Law, Saratoga	PENNSYLVANIA American Nationalist Union, Allison Park	MISSOURI U.S. Taxpayers Party, Huntsville	People's Court of Common Law (Gulf Coast Districts), Fort Worth	South Carolina Militia Corps, Greenville
U.S. Taxpayers Party, Portage	MONTANA American Patriot Internet	MISSOURI Orange County Committee of Correspondence, Warwick	MISSOURI Ohio Unorganized Militia Assistance and Advisory Committee, Delaware County	Pennsylvania Committee of Correspondence, Elverson	MISSOURI U.S. Taxpayers Party, Irving	John Birch Society, Dallas	South Carolina Militia Corps, Greenville
Ethical Good Government, Ronald Township	MISSOURI Classified Service, Noxon	NORTH CAROLINA 91st Brigade, Andrews	MISSOURI Central Ohio Unorganized Militia, Franklin County	Pennsylvania Crier, Levittown	MISSOURI U.S. Taxpayers Party, Kendall County	Republic of Texas, Dallas	South Carolina Militia Corps, Greenville
Central East Michigan Regional Militia, Saginaw	MISSOURI Militia of Montana, Noxon	MISSOURI North Carolina Citizens Militia, Canton	MISSOURI E Pluribus Unum, Grove City	Pennsylvania Militia, Morrisville	MISSOURI Common Law Court, Milam County	People's Court of Common Law (Gulf Coast Districts), Dallas	South Carolina Militia Corps, Greenville
Southern Michigan Regional Militia, St. Clair	NEBRASKA U.S. Taxpayers Party, Omaha	MISSOURI Ohio Unorganized Militia Assistance and Advisory Committee, Warren County	MISSOURI Ohio Unorganized Militia Assistance and Advisory Committee, Lebanon	Sons of Liberty Militia, Shillington	MISSOURI God Said Ministries, Mt. Enterprise	John Birch Society, Garland	South Carolina Militia Corps, Greenville
Central East Michigan Regional Militia, Shiawassee				Pennsylvania Bucktail Militia, Ulysses	MISSOURI Republic of Texas, Mt. Pleasant	508th Regiment (Airborne), Houston	South Carolina Militia Corps, Greenville
Central East Michigan Regional Militia, Tuscola County				Pennsylvania Citizens Militia, Ulysses	MISSOURI 1st Light Infantry, Odessa	Republic of Texas, Houston	South Carolina Militia Corps, Greenville
Central West Michigan Regional Militia, Tustin				RHODE ISLAND U.S. Taxpayers Party, Wartrace	MISSOURI Common Law Court, Orange County	John Birch Society, Fort Worth	South Carolina Militia Corps, Greenville
Lawful Path, Tustin				TEXAS Republic of Texas District 2, Abilene	MISSOURI Republic of Texas, Palestine	People's Court of Common Law (Gulf Coast Districts), Fort Worth	South Carolina Militia Corps, Greenville
People of Christ county Jural Society, Tustin				TEXAS John Birch Society, Arlington	MISSOURI Republic of Texas, Plano	John Birch Society, Dallas	South Carolina Militia Corps, Greenville
Southern Michigan Regional Militia, Wayne County				WYOMING U.S. Taxpayers Party, Lander	MISSOURI 1st Light Infantry Regiment, Red Oak	People's Court of Common Law (Gulf Coast Districts), Dallas	South Carolina Militia Corps, Greenville

The Patriot Movement on the Internet

This list of 248 sites on the World Wide Web includes pages linked to the so-called "Patriot" movement, which generally defines itself as opposed to the "New World Order" or advocates or adheres to extreme antigovernment doctrines. Pages were current in the spring of 1999, but sites tend to move from server to server or shut down without notice, so they may be hard to locate. Of the sites, 37 were linked to "common-law" or related doctrine; 55 were connected to militias or militia ideology; and the others fit into a variety of other categories. Listing here does not imply that the individuals or groups with Web sites advocate or engage in violence or other criminal activity. The 137 sites indicated with an asterisk — more than half of the total — are linked to actual groups that actively promote Patriot doctrine beyond the mere publishing of Internet material.

SOVEREIGN/COMMON LAW/JURAL	New England Confederation www.metro2000.net/~stabott/NEconfederation.htm	State Citizens Service Center Research Headquarters www.state-citizen.org/main.html Canoga Park, CA*	Billings Assault Militia www.suresite.com/mt/m/Militias/www.angelfire.com/mt/shootinBillings, MT*	Militia of California:State Medical Command www.netcolony.com/members/smc San Diego, CA*	North Mississippi Militia members.xoom.com/nm_MilitiaMississippi*	pw1.netcom.com/~dan3/pickens.htm Pickens County, SC*	Dog House www.iei.net/~doghouse
AMERIKA? www.prostar.com/web/amerika						pw1.netcom.com/~dan3/spartanb.htm Spartanburg County, SC*	Eternal Grace Baptist Church of New Maysville www.link2000.net/~preacher
California Jural Society www.jeffry.com/jural.htm Canoga Park, CA*	North Star Republic www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/1072	Supreme Law Firm www.supremelaw.com Tucson, AZ*	California Citizens Militia home.earthlink.net/~jbk97 Los Angeles, CA*	Militia of Montana www.logoplex.com/resources/mom Noxon, MT*	Ohio Unorganized Militia Assistance and Advisory Committee www.oumaac.com Columbus, OH*	pw1.netcom.com/~dan3/anderson.htm Anderson County, SC*	Flashpoint www.texemarrs.com Austin, TX*
Christian Jural Society www.magg.net/~paracles/jural.htm Palm Beach County, FL*	Patrick Henry Foundation for Common Law Studies www.ametro.net/crownrights/phf Perkins, MS*	Team Law www.teamlaw.org	California Militia Home Page pw1.netcom.com/~stevep/welcome.html	Minnesota Minuteman Militia www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/Lobby/6745	Ohio Unorganized Militia members.aol.com/locowpony/politics Columbiana County, OH*	pw1.netcom.com/~dan3/scmcatt.htm Cleveland, SC*	Gospel Plow www.frii.com/~gospowl Sedalia, CO*
Christian National Common-Law Court www.christiancommonlaw-gov.org www.teleport.com/~chuck	Kingdom of God-Information Center users.netonecom.net/~gwood/Christ Mount Pleasant, MI*	Texas Guardian web2.airmail.net/reptex1 Texas*	Texas Republic www.republic-of-texas.org Odessa, TX*	Central Ohio Unorganized Militia www.infnet.com/~pandar Ohio*	Minnesota 51st Militia www.ifs.net/personal/sbarnett/51stweb Boulder, CO*	www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/Senate/4952 South Carolina*	South Carolina Militia Corps Unit Commands pw1.netcom.com/~dan3/scmcatt.htm
Common-Law Web Page www.teleport.com/~chuck	Republic of Texas www.texasrepublic.com Fort Worth, TX*	Truth in Taxation www.taxfreeusa.org Studio City, CA*	Colorado 1st Light Infantry (Partisan) www.earthnet.net/~rcole/partisan/home.html	Missouri 51st Militia www.ifs.net/personal/sbarnett/51stweb Grain Valley, MO*	Palmetto State Guard www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/Senate/4952 South Carolina*	www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/9852/saa.htm St. Petersburg, FL*	Greater Ministries www.greater-Ministries.com Tampa, FL*
Dixieland Law Journal fly.hiway.net/~bcraft	Republic of Texas www.republic-of-texas.com www.flash.net/~rtsrv/rtdf4d.main.html	Washitaw Nation www.netset.com/~khandi/index8.html /wshtwlnd.htm	Hudson Highlands Free Militia www.angelfire.com/ny2/hhfm New York*	Missouri Militia www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/4274 St. Peters, MO*	Pomona Valley Militia home.earthlink.net/~wsranch/webdocs/Pomona_Valley_Militia.htm California*	members.aol.com/starkmil/scoum.htm Stark County, OH*	Iahushua www.iahushua.com
Dr. Tavel's Self-Help Legal Clinic and Sovereign Library www.drtavel.com	Freedom Bound International members.xoom.com/Sovereignty/freedombound/index.htm Baker City, OR*	Republic of Texas home.texoma.net/~housdoc www.overland.net/~embthert	13th Texas Infantry Regiment freeweb.pdq.net/metalryder/13thTIR Bryan, TX*	Indiana Citizen Volunteer Militia-I.C.V.M. www.angelfire.com/ak/ICVM Indiana*	New Jersey Militia www.exit109.com/~njm Trenton, NJ*	members.aol.com/starkmil/scoum.htm Stark County, OH*	Indianapolis Baptist Temple home.inreach.com/dov/dixon.htm Indianapolis, IN*
Freedom Point www.iahushua.com/Freedom-Point/freepoint.html Darby, MT*	Right Way L.A.W. www.rightwaylaw.com/homepage.htm Akron, OH*	1st Missouri Volunteers www.dmhondenonline.com/firstmo Uniontown, OH*	Intelligence Service of the Second Continental Army of the Republic www.harvest-trust.org Pinetop, AZ*	New Mexico Militia www.nmex.com/Militia/Militia.htm New Mexico*	Second American Revolutionary Army www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/Lobby/2945 California*	www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/9852/saa.htm St. Petersburg, FL*	1st American Constitutional Committee www.america-collins.com Forsyth, GA*
Illinois Jural Society members.aol.com/juralsoci Springfield, IL*	Schweitzer www.alaska.net/~winter/scheitzer.html	1st U.S. Militia, 1st Fla. Regiment www.tntonline.com/personal/namrepus Key Largo, FL*	Louisiana Unorganized Militia Home Page www.orion-cs.com/freedomforum Lafayette, LA*	New Mexico Militia, 1st Brigade www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/Parliament/219 New Mexico*	South Carolina Militia Corps pw1.netcom.com/~dan3/charlest.htm Charleston County, SC*	pw1.netcom.com/~dan3/dorchest.htm Dorchester County, SC*	Third Continental Congress www.afn.org/~mpress/3cc/3ccindex.html Tallahassee, FL*
Information Sources for Sovereignty www.worldtrans.org/sov/sovinfo.html	Sovereign Rights Forum www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/2917	2nd Cavalry 17th Division Kentucky State Militia www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/Lobby/9659 Bagdad, KY*	Michigan Militia Corps Militia.gen.mi.us Grand Rapids, MI*	North Carolina Citizen Militia www.netpath.net/~jeffr/nccm.htm Canton, NC*	North Carolina Volunteer Militia www.charlotte.net/~ncmc/1usaisrael.htm Murphy, NC*	pw1.netcom.com/~dan3/greenwoo.htm Greenwood County, SC*	Alabama Committee to Get Us Out of the United Nations themustardseed.home.mindspring.com Indianapolis, IN*
Justice Pro-Se of Michigan www.ole.net/~tmb/jps Dearborn, MI*	Sovereign's WWW Content Page www.syninfo.com/sov	7th Missouri Militia www.mo-net.com/~mlindste/7momilit.html Granby, MO*	Michigan Militia Corps, Wolverines www.geocities.com/~cowboy140 Isabella County, MI*				Ben Hinkle Citizens for Liberty www.constitution.org/mil/wa/citizens.htm Bellingham, WA*
Michigan Jural Society users.netonecom.net/~gwood/MJS	Sovereignty www.newciv.org/worldtrans/sovereignty.html						Citizens for Better Government www.afn.org/~govern Gainesville, FL*

iresist.com (Christian Media) www.iresist.com	Free American Magazine Online www.FreeAmerican.com	Brothers for Mercy Directory of Information www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/Senate/2987	Freedom Page freedompage.home.mindspring.com	NORFED (National Organization for the Repeal of the Federal Reserve Act) www.norfed.org Evansville, IN*	Restoring America www.techmgmt.com/restore/restore.htm Revolution www.scimilitar.com/revolution	Truth About Your World www.geocities.com/Area51/Realm/9485/	PATRIOT MEDIA
Jefferson Party www.alaska.net/~winter/jefferson.html Alaska*	Idaho Observer www.proliberty.com/observer	Caged Patriots www.involved.com/ewolfe/caged	In Pursuit of Reason www.skyenet.net/~gerry	Official Homepage of Michael New www.mikenew.com	Save A Patriot Fellowship www.save-a-patriot.org Westminster, MD*	U.S.A Patriotic/Militia/Anti-NWO Links www.theofficenet.com/~redorman/pagepm.htm	AFN - American Freedom Network www.amerifree.com/ Johnstown, CO*
John Birch Society www.jbs.org Appleton, WI* www.seidata.com/~neusys/dlfb.html Indiana* xld.com/public/jbs/austin.htm Austin, TX* cobbjbs.home.mindspring.com Georgia* www.cyberramp.net/~jbsdfw Dallas/FT-Worth, TX* www.hwave.com/ctjbs Enfield, CT* www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/Lobby/6707 Orange County, CA* www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/Lobby/8855 Riverside, CA*	Spotlight Home Page www.spotlight.org Washington, DC*	Center for Action www.bogritz.com Kamiah, ID*	Independent Americans www.independentamericans.org Salt Lake City, UT*	Independent Militiaman www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/Lobby/8492	Patrick Henry On-Line www.mo-net.com/~mlindste	U.S.A. The Republic www.ptialaska.net/~swampy	Citizen's Forum www.westworld.com/~jahred/forum.html
	Texas Independence Magazine www.rtmag.com	Citizen Militia www.geocities.com/Heartland/7547/militia.html	Jeff Head's Liberty Page www.nebonet.com/headhome/dadmisc/liberty.htm	Patriot www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/6627	Second Amendment Committee Home Page www.libertygunrights.com Hanford, CA*	U.S. National Militia Directory www.constitution.org/mil/mil_us.htm	Jeff Davis Show www.jdshow.com/ members.aol.com/TFIJDSHOW
	Viking Phoenix Home Page users.ccnet.com/~suntzu75	Citizen Soldier Web site fpw.isoc.net/kb8tjm	Jeff's Favorite Links www.jeffry.com/lk_pat.htm	Patriot Coalition www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/Lobby/1076	Second Amendment is for Everyone (SAFE) www.indirect.com/www/safe Phoenix, AZ*	United:States of America-Agitator www.agitoator.dynip.com	Radio Liberty www.radioliberty.com
	Wake-up Call America www.eazy.net/users/wakeup Lakewood, CO*	Citizens for Honest Government www.chg.org Winchester, CA*	Justice Team One fly.hiwaay.net/~becraft/JT0.htm Reno, NV*	Patriot Knowledge Base www.micro.com/~pkb	Seventh Seal - Militia and Patriot Links www.skalman.nu/seven/militia.htm	Unorganized Militia www.city-net.com/~davekle/idxmil.html	Remnant Radio Network www.remnantradio.org
	PATRIOT SUPPORT 100+ Sites with Patriotic Information www.relaypoint.net/~patriot/patriot.htm	Citizens for Legal Reform www.constitution.org/mil/bx/crl_meet.htm Dallas, TX*	Kay County Patriot's Home Page idt.net/~tmccrory Blackwell, OK*	Patriot Page www.azwest.net/user/slim	SN2112's Home Page members.aol.com/SN2112	Viper Reserves www.nguworld.com/viper Phoenix, AZ*	Truth Weekly Cable Program www.the-truth.org
	2nd Amendment members.aol.com/amend2nd	Citizens Justice Programs www.citizensjustice.com Hull, MA*	Lessons of the Past www.aracnet.com/~thomasam/welcome.htm	Patriot Undersiege www.cell200.net/~users/joef/siege5.htm	Sons of Liberty www.sons-of-liberty.org Peachtree City, GA*	War.Net www.war.net	Truth Radio Home Page www.truthoradio.com Delano, CA*
	508th Regiment (Airborne) www.geocities.com/Pentagon/Quarters/9227 Texas	Civil War Two members.aol.com/chittum/cw2index.html	Committee to Restore the Constitution www.webaccess.net/~commrc Ft. Collins, CO*	LogoPlex www.logplex.com	Patriot's Soapbox www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/1781 Shillington, PA*	Watcher's Conspiracy Links www.mt.net/~watcher/conspir.html	TOTALS
	A Sovereign American members.xoom.com/Sovereignty	Committees of Protection, Correspondence and Safety www.committee.org/cos1400.htm	Mark Smith's Home Page www.flash.net/~msmith01	Patriots for a Constitutional America www.mindlogic2.com/politics.html	Sons of Liberty www.sonsofliberty.org Boise, ID*	We the People www.cashflow.com/wethepeople.htm Huntington Beach, CA*	Sites are sorted by primary content, which is subject to change.
	America in Distress www.freeyellow.com/members/sweetpolli/page4.html	American Patriot Friends Network www.esotericworldnews.com/apfn.htm Huntington Beach, CA*	Maximum Yield Homemade Pyrotechnics Page www.users.uswest.net/~lbayliss	Patriots of Washington State www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/Lobby/2350	Wizard Killer's Home in Cyberspace www.geocities.com/Heartland/7006/home.html	Ministries	Patriot Web Sites
	Sam Francis Online www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/Senate/6741/samuel_francis.html	Common Man www.thecommonman.com	Minuteman Press Militia Directory www.afn.org/~mpress/militia.html Florida*	Pennsylvania Crier www.syninfo.com/Crier/pcabout.html Washington Crossing, PA*	Survival Enterprises www.survival.simplenet.com	Political/Citizen Groups	Sovereign/Common Law/Jural 37
	U.S. Taxpayers Party www.USTaxpayers.org Vienna, VA*	American Patriot Network www.civil-liberties.com	Nation in Distress www.involved.com/ewolfe/distress	People for Sovereignty and Restoration ns1.datachan.com/MILITIA Pompano Beach, FL*	Take Back Arkansas, Inc. www.users.nwark.com/~tbark/home/home.html Fayetteville, AR*	Wolfe's Lodge www.curleywolfe.net/cw/Lodge.html	Militia 55
	PATRIOT PUBLISHING American Opinion Bookstore xld.com/public/alamo/aobs.htm San Antonio, TX*	Anderson's Ark & Associates, Offshore Trusts, IRS, Tax Law www.thefreedomguide.com	Constitutional Guardians of America www.impactnet.org/FL-Const-Guard.htm Boca Raton, FL*	Nation of Ephraim, Intel 2000 Report welcome.to/Nation_of_Ephraim	Take Back Kentucky www.apex.net/users/rooster Kentucky*	Take Back Tennessee www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/Lobby/4218 Knoxville, TN*	PATRIOT VENDOR American Patriot Internet Classified Service logoplex.com/classifieds Noxon, MT*
	American's Bulletin www.mind.net/tabpaperok	Barefoot's World www.nidlink.com/~bobhard/bftw.html	National Commodity & Barter Association NCBA boulder.earthnet.net/ncba Longmont, CO*	Police Against the New World Order www.vdim.com/public/acla/acla.htm Phoenix, AZ*	Take Back Tennessee www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/Lobby/4218 Knoxville, TN*	Take Back Tennessee www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/Lobby/4218 Knoxville, TN*	Media 12
	Big Sky Patriot www.imt.net/~mtpatriot	Be Wise As Serpents www.pixi.com/~bewise	E Pluribus Unum www.infinet.com/~eplurib Grove City, OH*	Prophecy Club www.prophecyclub.com	Freedom Coalition home.earthlink.net/~jdenham	Frugal Squirrel's Homepage for Patriots, Survivalists, and Gun Owners www.netside.com/~lcoble	Support Groups 100
	Buffalo Creek Press www.buffalo-creek-press.com Cleburne, TX*	Black Choppers Are Coming members.tripod.com/~BlackOpsWatchdog/index.html	New Jersey Committee of Safety www.committee.org/NJcos Trenton, NJ*	Real American Patriots/Militia Ring www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/Lobby/2350/raptm.htm	Traitor within the Gates-George Knoblauch www.connecti.com/~knobby	Lawful Path www.netonecom.net/~gwood/TLP Tustin, MI*	Vendor 7
	Colony News members.aol.com/newcol419	Black Helicopters on the Horizon members.xoom.com/bridge1973	Endtime Deception www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/8988	Real Deal www.trail.com/~ami Santa Fe, NM*	Tri-States Coalition www.geocities.com/~TSC-ASHES	Lockwood Publishing www.alteredstates.net/lockwood.html Pasadena, CA*	Support Groups 33
	Emissary Publications Midnight Messenger www.midnight-emissary.com Clackamas, OR*	Eric's Patriot Page www.freedombyfaith.com/PATRIOT/PATRIOT.HTML	New World Odor Page www.hevanet.com/nitehawk	True Blue Patriots home.fuse.net/trueblue Cincinnati, OH*	Underground Software www.undergroundsoftware.com	Media 4	Total 2
	Boston Tea Party - Next Generation www.slip.net/~boston	New World Order Intelligence Update www.inforamp.net/~jwhitley					Total 137

Knight of Freedom



Hyman Greenbaum's son is hard at work building a youth-based neo-Nazi group and denying that he has an ounce of Jewish blood

P eering at a computer screen where swastikas flicker alongside images of SS death's-head insignias, Davis Wolfgang Hawke pounds his keyboard to martial beat. A stereo in this college student's dorm room is blasting German military anthems, and a poster of Adolf Hitler overlooks the scene. Nazi literature is strewn on the desk, World War II books are stuffed into the bookcase, and a collection of military knives lies nearby.

Peggy and Hyman Greenbaum's boy is hard at work.

Hawke, a 20-year-old student at Wofford College in Spartanburg, S.C., didn't always have such an Aryan-sounding name. Before he created his "Ministry of Racial Unity," before he built his own modern-day SS ("Security Service") to ferret out race traitors and Jewish agents — before, in fact, he left his mom's house in the wealthy suburbs of Boston to go away to school — this wannabe fuhrer was named Andy Greenbaum.

But once he settled on his goal of becoming "absolute, supreme dictator" of the United States, Greenbaum decided that had to change. The kid who had started his national socialist Knights of Freedom (kof) while still in high school strolled into a Massachusetts courthouse a few days after graduation and had his name altered to better suit his career plans. After moving into his dorm, Hawke cooked up yet another *nom de guerre* to use on his Web site and in conversation with his subordinates: Bo Decker.

No one knows just what sent Greenbaum/Hawke/Decker down the

(SPARTANBURG, SC) HERALD-JOURNAL

road of Nazism. No one can explain why a good student with high SAT scores, a kid who managed to get into elite Wofford, spends his time dressed up in SS suits, selling swastika armbands. All he offers by way of explanation are such statements as this: "The Jews ... are trying to kill us, and therefore we hate them. It's just that simple."

Be that as it may, Hawke has been having problems.

After the Southern Poverty Law Center exposed his name change — "a skeleton in my closet that I would rather keep buried" — Hawke told anyone who would listen he was actually the product of an affair his mother had had with a pure-blooded Aryan, a Germanic man named Dekker (a charge his mother denies). He said that Hyman Greenbaum, listed on his birth certificate as his father, is merely an adoptive stepfather who is one-quarter Jewish (making his mother, who says Hawke is Hyman's biological son, "a race traitor"). But, as Tom Metzger of the neo-Nazi White Aryan Resistance group in California explained to a reporter recent-

ly, "If [Hawke] is a Jew, he will have no stature left. People he is involved with will have nothing to do with him."

Until recently, Hawke appeared to be something of a comer on the white supremacist scene. He is engaging, intelligent and charismatic — so much so that his group is largely a cult of personality, with some followers referring to him as "the chosen one" and his Web site endlessly touting "The Leader." He has proved to be an astute organizer, getting \$5 a month from his members and plowing the money back into producing slick, and in some cases full-color, booklets and other literature. And he seems to be successful at selling everything from swastika armbands to imitation SS uniforms.

In addition, Hawke claims that he is about to inherit some \$700,000 — money he says he intends to use to build up his group further. Until recently, he said he was in the process of creating a "world headquarters" compound on the Montana-Wyoming border.

Still, Hawke might not have amounted to much more than a kid with a small

band of admirers if it weren't for the World Wide Web. The Web allowed him to create a real group — one that was more than a mere cyberspace fantasy.

When he started KOF in August 1996 in the affluent, largely Jewish suburb of Westwood, Mass., it was a tiny band of rebellious chums, never growing beyond 20 members. For the first two years, Hawke told the *Intelligence Report*, "We didn't really gain any members because we didn't have an outlet. We didn't have any real propaganda techniques, we didn't have any way of reaching the public with our ideas. But then we started the Web site [last fall], and that basically catapulted us."

After meeting with a writer for the *Report* and promising to set up interviews with his subordinates, Hawke E-mailed several of them to "make sure to EXAGGERATE all KOF activities/membership numbers to the

A Mother's Sorrow

In anguished tones, she spoke of her son.

She was trying to fathom how the boy she raised — a child so sensitive, she said, that he couldn't bear to see bees killed or trees cut down — could have become the hateful neo-Nazi she had just seen on television. She spoke of how he'd loved his parents, his taunting as a child by cruel classmates, the fact that a close friend had been black.

But Peggy Greenbaum couldn't explain it. Her 20-year-old son, now legally named Davis Wolfgang Hawke, is a national socialist, a young man who told a reporter that the killers of a black man in Texas should be convicted — of "cruelty to animals."

Now, Greenbaum was weeping. "I just don't know where it came from. He seems to be so full of hate and so power-hungry ... I just don't want him to hurt anyone."

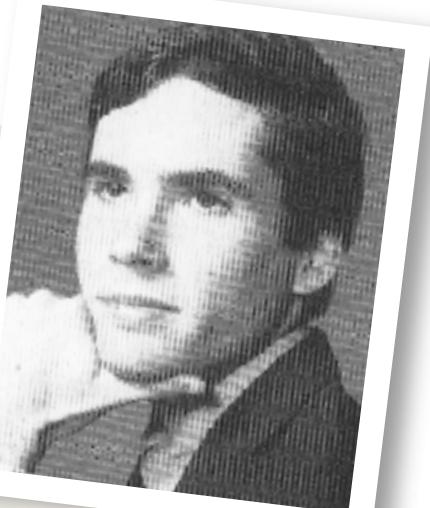
Despite Hawke's denial of his Jewish ancestry, Greenbaum — a woman who has been labeled by her son as a "race traitor" — says that one of his biological grandfathers was, in fact, Jewish. As a boy, she said, he was taunted by children who called him "kike." Hawke also was beaten up by classmates who were jealous of his good grades.

"I thought I was doing this the right way," she said of raising Hawke, who was once pegged as the next Bobby Fischer because of his chess prowess as a youth.

"I just don't know what happened to him. ... I don't know what I could have done. ... Maybe because he has seen so much hatred in the world at an early age, this is his way of dealing with it."

Greenbaum said she had never known of her son's neo-Nazi attitudes or group until she read an account of him in a newspaper this winter. After that, she refused to call him until she heard about the massacre at Columbine High School in Littleton, Colo. Then, she felt, she had to. "I said, 'Are you proud of yourself now? Maybe you're not going to kill someone, but what about your members? I hope you're proud of what you're doing.'"

Then, in tears, she hung up.



"Bo Decker" (above) began his neo-Nazi group while still a clean-cut high school student (left) in Massachusetts.

greatest extent possible. ... There is no need to answer actual questions about KOF activities truthfully — feel free to make your response a work of fiction and present the best possible front to the media at all times."

To reporters, Hawke now claims more than 1,000 members. In reality, he has between 100 and 150. But that is still a substantial number for an openly Nazi American group, a gang largely comprised of bad-boy high school and college students.

In many ways, Hawke appears to be a joke. He seems to see himself as some sort of villain out of a Batman comic, an evil genius destined to rule the world. He speaks of his exploits in wildly exaggerated terms, even as he mocks grown-up leaders in the white supremacist movement like Metzger and neo-Nazi National Alliance chief William Pierce. He seems fixated on disgust for the parents who raised him and their world.

In a separate interview with the *Report*, Hawke's "Security Service" head, a vacuum

cleaner salesman who says his name is Matthew McKenna, warned darkly that "if someone comes to my door threatening me, I won't hesitate to put a few bullets in his head."

McKenna, who lives with his mother in New Jersey, is a typical follower. Hawke "has my full and utter loyalty," he says. "We know he is the chosen one. Just thinking about him," this "minister of recruitment" reveals, "puts a smile on my face."

The Leader, McKenna concludes, "is our last chance."

McKenna's last chance majors in German and history, has accumulated a 3.8 grade point average and thinks his high school teachers were "radical left-wing liberals." He is a former chess champion who believes Jews are descended from Satan, Buddhism and Islam are "subversive cults," and women should be prohibited from working outside the home. He is a kid without on-campus friends who says that in any relationship, he must be the superior. Hawke dresses in black, sieg-heils convincingly and signs his missives "Heil Hitler!"

Now, he is also something of a pariah.

After an article about his neo-Nazi activities appeared in the (Spartanburg, S.C.) *Herald-Journal*, some 300 Wofford students — a third of the student body — attended a candlelight vigil to denounce hate. "The institution," college dean Dan Maultsby told *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, "has the obligation to speak out forcefully."

A short time later, Hawke moved off campus.

But even with all that has happened — the revelation of his given birth name, the attacks of both anti-racists and racists (including one neo-Nazi ideologue who mocked his "hobbyist Nazism") — Hawke still appears to live in his very own fantasy world.

"The Jewish media," he declares, "now perceives us as a serious threat to their world power structure." Recently, after an interview with *Newsweek* magazine — part of the media he says is controlled by sinister, power-hungry Jews — Hawke told his followers that his picture might well appear on the cover. In fact there was no picture at all, and The Leader had to be contented with a page 23 mention, in an article on someone else. ▲

Redefining America

A longtime analyst of the extreme right considers our situation and the choices we face as a nation

JENNIFER WARBURG

Leonard Zeskind, president of the Kansas City, Mo.-based Institute for Research & Education on Human Rights, has been an anti-racist activist and a leading analyst of white supremacist movements for more than 20 years. He has written widely about the radical right for publications including the *Intelligence Report*, *Rolling Stone* magazine, *The Nation* and the British antifascist magazine *Searchlight*. Last year, Zeskind was the recipient of one of the prestigious “genius awards” of the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation. He is currently at work on a forthcoming book, *Barbarism With a Human Face: White Nationalism Against the New World Order*. The *Intelligence Report* interviewed Zeskind about the state of the far right in this country, its relationship to more mainstream politics and institutions, and the development of white nationalism.

INTELLIGENCE REPORT How would you assess white supremacist movements in the United States at this stage in our history?

ZESKIND I think it's important for those of us who have been concerned about

this movement to try to put it in a larger box, a larger frame, so that we can understand the relationship it has to other currents in our society and the world. Once you begin to think about it that way, to put it in the context of

what's happening in the United States and the world, you begin to see what this movement is doing in its entirety — both the immediate lawbreakers and those who are trying to set up a more mainstream project.

IR So what do you see as the major currents shaping this movement?

ZESKIND Two of the most important are the end of the Cold War and structural changes in the global economy. These changes raise in a new way the question of who we are as a nation, how we define ourselves as a people.

IR Let's talk first about the Cold War.

ZESKIND For 40 years, the division of the world into Soviet and Western spheres of influence really defined politics for the world, and it defined American life as well. Now, the end of the Cold War has changed everything.

Shortly after the end of the Cold War, an important piece appeared in *Foreign Affairs* [a leading academic journal published by the Council on Foreign Relations] called “The End of History.” What it argued was that with the end of the Cold War, the world would now be dominated, essentially, by liberal

democracy. To some extent, you could say that that was partly true. But it certainly wasn't the end of history. You could even say that it really marked the beginning of a new history.

What actually happened with the unfreezing of the icebergs of the Soviet and Western spheres was the breakup of Yugoslavia into ethnic camps, the war between Armenia and Azerbaijan, nationalist conflicts like Chechnya trying to win its independence from Russia. What we saw was the reemergence of nationalism, ethnic nationalism — not only a global spread of liberal democracy as “The End of History” had argued.

IR You mentioned several European conflicts. How did these changes affect America?

ZESKIND The end of the Cold War shook up Americans' collective sense of who we were as Americans. Certainly, we saw ourselves as a democracy, as freedom-loving. But in the past, we had largely defined ourselves by who we were not. We were the people who were not the communists. So once the Berlin wall was breached, once you took away the communist bogeyman, the question of who we were as a people was no longer answered clearly.

Now, in a way that had not been true for decades, you have different sets of ideals contending to define what America is. Everything is open to debate.

IR Okay. And what role have global economic changes had?

ZESKIND These questions of identity aren't all purely in the realm of ideas. There's a structural basis for these changes dating back to the mid-1970s. The American economy became part of the transnational economy in a different way than it had been before. It didn't happen all at once. But what has occurred over the last 25 years is that we've developed a freer and freer global market in capital. Money that might come from Detroit sets up shop in Spain or Mexico. Daimler-Benz, a German company, winds up owning Chrysler in the United States.

Today, the allegiance of these corporate bodies is to their transnational, corporate selves. It's not like the old

British empire, where people colonized these countries and sent money back to London, or the Spanish colonization of the Americas, with gold being shipped from the New World back to Madrid. Now, with capital flowing freely all over the world, the nation-state as a definer of the market has gone the way of all flesh.

At the same time, there may be a free market in capital, but there is not a free market in labor. Indonesian workers, for example, can't emigrate to the United

the regional nationalism of the Northern League. Now, you're seeing a similar nationalist movement, an ethnically based nationalism, moving into the American mainstream as well.

IR How is that appearing here?

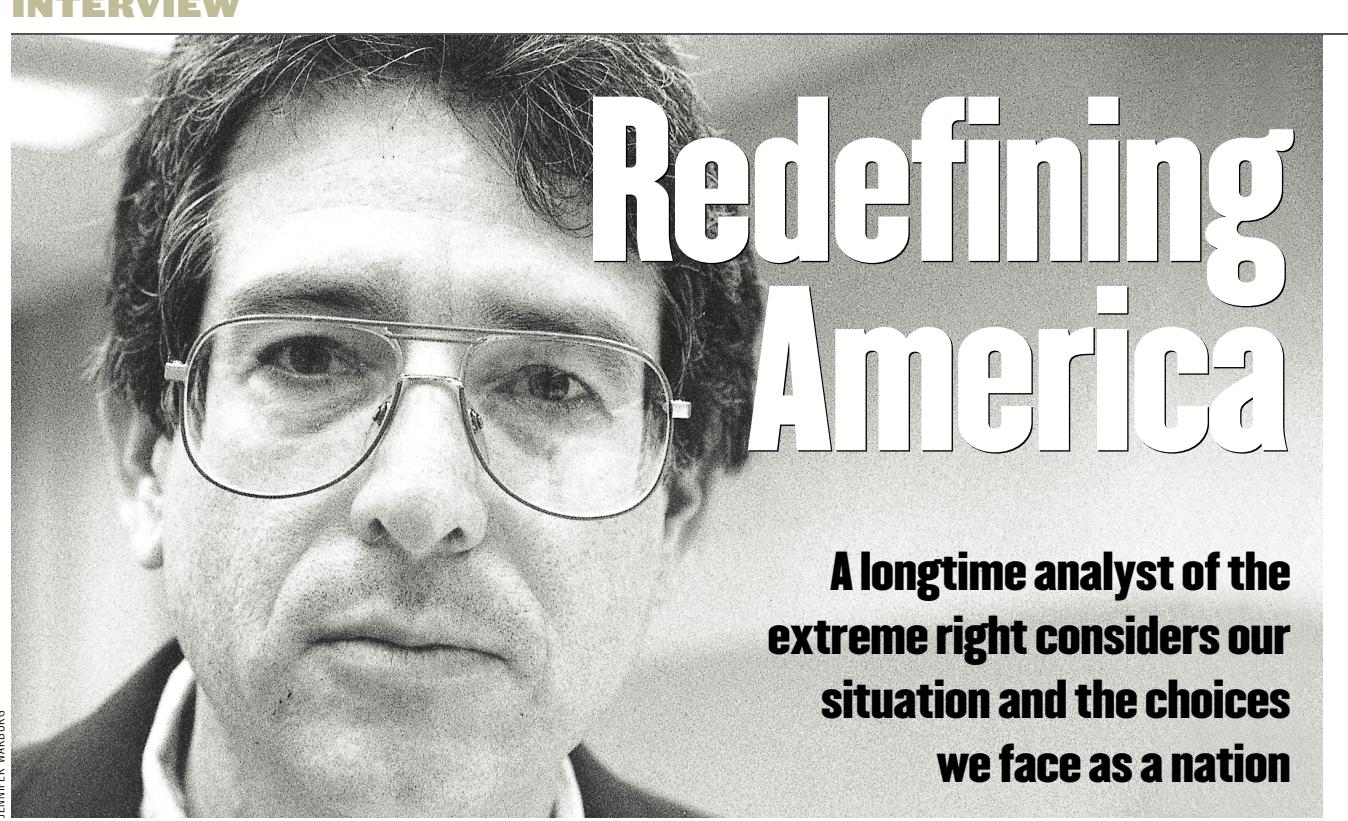
ZESKIND Nationalists in the United States are asserting a form of racial nationalism, a white nationalism, in opposition to this transnational economy, to what they call the “New World Order.” To the question of who we as Americans are, if we're not the anti-communists, the white nationalist says, “We are white people.” They define who you are from the family on out. It's all racially, biologically, genetically derived. Culture is seen as the expression of the family, this organic, primordial thing. This is similar to the answer being given by the Serbians, the Croatians, the Bosnian Muslims.

This is a broad, broad movement in the United States. It's no longer confined to the [neo-Nazi] Aryan Nations. It was kept alive in the '70s and '80s by the Liberty Lobby [the nation's leading anti-Semitic organization], Aryan Nations and [former Klansman] David Duke, making it available to be picked up by larger elements in society. But now it has been picked up by the mainstream, by people who see America as a European civilization that is under threat of racial swamping by non-European peoples.

Of course, America is not simply an extension of European civilization. It never was. But these people, these racial nationalists, see it that way. You have a widespread anti-immigration movement today, but you don't see too many people trying to stop illegal Irish immigration. They are trying to keep Latin Americans and Mexicans out, because they are the people who are seen as culturally and racially threatening.

What we're seeing now is not the politics of national socialism, of Nazism, but the re-emerging notion of this country as Anglo-American, a white country. That idea is being put forward in a very mainstream way, and that has not happened successfully since at least before World War II. It was offered by the Ku Klux Klan in trying to fight the

“You're seeing an ethnically based nationalism moving into the American mainstream.... This is a broad, broad movement.”





The consequences of ethnic nationalism: a mass grave in the former Yugoslavia

civil rights movement during the '60s, but it was defeated then.

IR When did this latest mainstreaming of white nationalism begin?

ZESKIND For me, the most noticeable moment was when Pat Buchanan, a sort of loyal Nixon Republican, decided that the war against Saddam Hussein in the Persian Gulf wasn't supportable. There wasn't a communist foe of the type Buchanan had supported [fighting] before. That marked a re-emergence of a kind of American isolationism.

IR Does the diminishing white majority in America play into this?

ZESKIND Yes, absolutely. People are constructing this white nationalism today for the day when it will have real currency, which is not too long from now. Twenty years from now, white people will not be able to control with their votes the politics of this country as whites. Between 2025 and 2050, whites will lose their majority in a large number of states.

Unless the white nationalists win out, whites will have to be part of larger pluralities of people. They will have to learn to live together with other groups in a multicultural, multiracial democracy.

IR Despite low unemployment and low inflation through most of the '90s, hundreds of thousands of well-paying

American union jobs have disappeared or gone overseas in the last 20 years. Many people who once made \$30,000 or \$40,000 in heavy industry are working for a fraction of that in the service sector, if they're working at all. The economic future for kids with only high school degrees is pretty bleak. Do you think there's an economic anger out there that white supremacists are tapping into?

ZESKIND Actually, the people who are hurt the worst by changes in the economy are people of color, and it's not black people who are making this movement. What white people are losing in this "New World Order" economy in comparison to other people is very little. White privilege remains. Ultimately, the white nationalist movement is a movement to defend and extend what is seen as whites' birthright, their natural privileges.

White supremacist organizers do try to capitalize on the perception that whites are in economic pain. They're like Marxists sometimes, sitting around waiting for the economic cataclysm, the final demise of capitalism, the point of no return.

But I don't think there's a one-to-one correspondence between losing your job and joining this movement. When a steel plant closes, the workers don't necessarily go out and join a white

supremacist group. The steel plant closing is more of a social and political indicator of what's seen as the loss of American sovereignty. Are you still a people if you can't build your own battleships with your own steel?

IR There seems to be an enlarging neo-Confederate movement agitating for some kind of reborn Old South in this country. The Council of Conservative Citizens, with 15,000 members, is fixated on symbols like the Confederate battle flag. And in groups like the [Alabama-based] League of the South, which is led by a university professor who specifically glorifies Italy's Northern League, there's an explicit interest in the kinds of ethnic nationalism you've discussed. What do you make of this?

ZESKIND There certainly has been a resurgence of these kinds of groups. I would argue that the movement for southern nationalism is a form of this white nationalism; what gives it currency is that same thing that gives white nationalism as a whole currency. Southern nationalism has gained a hearing and resiliency precisely because it begins to answer this question of who we are.

"We're the Confederates, the defenders of a great civilization that perished under the Yankee troops."

The old Confederacy, the old southern nationalism, was built around states rights and white racism, but it also included an element of a certain kind of agrarianism. That doesn't hold true of the current formulation, which is built entirely on the politics of states' rights and white racism.

IR What about the rising currency of scientists interested in race and alleged racial differences? Why do you think they seem to be doing so well?

ZESKIND The potency of scientific racism comes from the failure of American race relations, the failure to bring about real social and economic equality. In large sections of white America you have "compassion fatigue," the idea that we did the welfare thing and it didn't work. "We coddled them with affirmative action and it didn't work."

Now comes the scientific racist and says, "With the best of intentions, we tried all these things that didn't work. Why didn't they work? I'll tell you why. Now we have the biological data that shows these [non-white] folks can't make it no matter what."

By the way, that's clearly wrong. The social measures to end discrimination have been dismantled one by one over the last 20 years, long before the job was done. There's lots of data to show that there are still high levels of discrimination. Lots of whites think of affirmative action as a payback for slavery, reparations for wrongs they had no part of. But affirmative action is the answer to current, ongoing discrimination.

Anyway, it's the failure to end discrimination that makes it possible for scientific racists to make these arguments. If black people were doing better economically within this society, it would be very hard for scientific racists to hold any sway.

IR We've discussed the mainstreaming of white nationalism. How have more clearly radical right-wing groups progressed, and what's their relationship to the broader right?

ZESKIND In the '70s and '80s, you had a movement that was maturing, generating its own institutions and culture.

In the 1990s, these institutions — various kinds of Patriot groups, common-law courts, racist religions like Christian Identity — have coalesced into established counterinstitutions, a kind of nation within the larger multicultural state. Now, some of these counterinstitutions have hit the mainstream in some ways.

[Senate Majority Leader] Trent Lott and [Georgia Congressman] Bob Barr embrace some of their ideals. There's bleedover into the Christian Right. And

some of the Christian Right constituency into the arms of the white nationalists.

I think white nationalism is going to win itself blocs from other social movements on the right — folks who might otherwise have gone into the Christian Coalition, people who are unhappy with making compromises with the Bob Dole of the world.

Ultimately, I think this means you'll see a withering away of some older hard-line organizations like Liberty Lobby. These older institutions, which carried the germ of white nationalism forward in years past, will become less important and I think that you'll see broader-based white nationalist organizations in their place.

IR Are there some concrete examples of that kind of development already?

ZESKIND One indicator is that the circulation of *Spotlight* [Liberty Lobby's conspiracist publication and probably the best read periodical on the far right] has dropped 25% in the last couple of years.

Another is that Sam Francis, the philosopher-general of middle American white nationalism [and a former *Washington Times* columnist who was fired for racially inflammatory columns], has come out and said we've got to lose this conspiracy-mongering and paramilitarism and congeal into a more sophisticated movement.

You're seeing a merger of Christian nationalism with white nationalism.

IR So what is the future Americans face?

ZESKIND I'm not an alarmist, or I'm trying not to be, but I do think that unless we come forward with an enlarged, multiracial internationalism as an alternative, we're heading down the road to a larger conflict. We have to recognize that we live together in this country, and we have a common culture, and this "white" thing is a mere invention. The hope is in things like all these white teenagers who wear baggy pants and skateboard and live and work and play with their black neighbors. We've got to amplify that.

We are facing a very serious challenge in the form of a rapidly coalescing white nationalism. We have to confront that, or we face becoming another Yugoslavia. ▲

"Unless we come forward with an enlarged, multiracial internationalism as an alternative, we're heading down the road to a larger conflict."

Patriot Periodicals

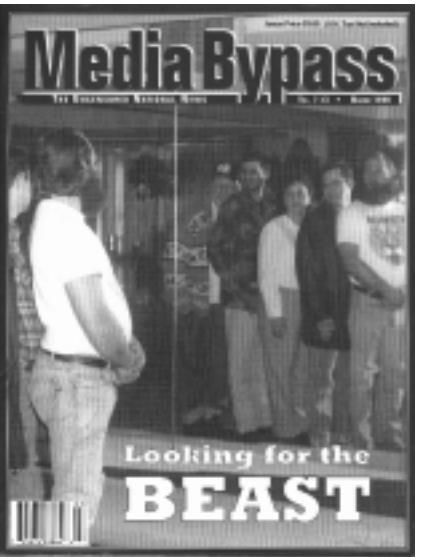
An introduction to the most popular publications in the antigovernment movement

From theories about black helicopters and secret concentration camps to proposals for "untaxing" oneself, the publications of the so-called "Patriot" movement offer a glimpse into the bizarre and conspiratorial thinking of the extreme right. While militias, common-law courts and other Patriot groups make wide use of the Internet, radio and even television programming, it is in their periodicals that they reveal themselves most fully.

"Colloidal silver generators," "sovereign" license plates, American Liberty Currency and the secret plans of the United Nations — all these topics and many more are discussed in publications that range from the cheaply produced newsletter of former Green Beret James "Bo" Gritz to the full-color, glossy magazine *Media Bypass*. Advertisements in all these periodicals help the movement to create a network that offers the reader a radically alternative lifestyle, even ways of finding romance.

Here, in alphabetical order, is a survey of some publications by and about the Patriot movement. Although there are literally scores of such periodicals, along with hundreds of Web sites and broadcast shows, these are among the most influential.

The masthead of *The American's Bulletin*, published by Robert Kelly in Central Point, Ore., proclaims the tabloid as "America's Source for the Uncensored Truth." Recent articles have included "Militia Meets with FBI: Progress, or



Prelude to Persecution?" by Ron Cole, the former commander of the Colorado First Light Infantry who is serving time in federal prison for possession of illegal machine guns; "Meet the IRS: America's Enemy Within;" and "New Currency for America! Silver is Back! Sound Money is Here!" touting a "silver-backed currency" issued by NORFED, an acronym for the National Organization for the Repeal of the Federal Reserve Act (see p. 25).

There are ads for sovereign license plates and videos on the "New World Order," taxes, the IRS and the United Nations. You'll also find a plea for donations for the children of imprisoned Kansas "Freeman" Ronald Griesacker, convicted on fraud charges after he tried to pass more than \$2 million worth of bogus documents (see related story, p. 14).

Bo Gritz's monthly newsletter, called *Center for Action S.P.I.K.E.*, is a mishmash of articles on Gritz's latest paramilitary training, his war stories and religious topics such as the 12 tribes of Israel and the Song of Solomon as "an excellent study guide for Love, Sex, Marriage and Romance." The April 1999 edition was touted as a "special tax issue." Articles offered advice

ter are devoted to the sale of a series of 12 videos on his paramilitary training, which is called SPIKE, short for "Specially Prepared Individuals for Key Events."

Gritz grew famous in the antigovernment movement after negotiating white supremacist Randy Weaver's surrender to federal authorities during the 1992 stand-off at Weaver's cabin atop Ruby Ridge, Idaho. He established the Center for Action (dedicated to "putting accountability back into government") in 1989, followed in 1993 by his SPIKE training.

Gritz's writings are replete with antigovernment code words. A single paragraph in an article on Bill Clinton in the January 1999 *Center for Action* touched on several of those Patriot obsessions. "The CFR, Trilateralist, Bilderberger elitists who control Clinton and put him in office, want to keep him as President through the Y2K dilemma. Clinton will declare the emergency allowing martial law until a global panacea is applied. This leaves Al Gore unsullied to carry the new world odor [sic] banner for the Antichrist."

Billed as "The Uncensored National News," *Media Bypass*, published by Tree Top Communications in Evansville, Ind., carries a mix of articles ranging from those written by well-known conservative columnists Walter Williams and Thomas Sowell to those involved in the sovereignty and antigovernment movement. Republic of Texas "president" Jesse Enloe recently contributed an article on the infiltration of Patriot groups by informants. Oklahoma City bomber Timothy McVeigh wrote a follow-up letter to his June 1998 essay "Hypocrisy." Past issues have featured stories on militias, the Freemen common-law adherents, the "coverup" surrounding the death of Clinton aide Vincent Foster, the 14th Amendment, globalism and a "closer look" at the Oklahoma City bombing.

The April 1999 edition was touted as a "special tax issue." Articles offered advice

Publications like *The Spotlight* hawk all manner of conspiracy theories.

on how to stop withholding ("there may be a way to do it forever"), an essay on the money lenders who purportedly control America and an offering on how socialism through hidden taxes is a way for the government to control its citizens.

The magazine also hawks books such as *Mass Mind Control of the American People*, *The New World Disorder*, *Red Sky: Learn About... America's Soon-To-Happen Civil War, Food Shortages and How to Survive, Detention Camps for Christians and Patriots*, *The Computer I.D. Chip for Your Body*, and *The Illuminati — Secret Societies*.

The *Patriot Report*, published by The Present Truth in Sallisaw, Okla., features a grab bag of conspiracy theories. Grainy photocopied pictures offer "proof" that concentration camps are being built in the United States and that black helicopters roam the skies over America, tracking patriotic citizens. Articles announce that martial law is a certainty; offer a laundry list of the people who were friends, associates or otherwise connected to Bill Clinton who have "mysteriously" died; and present the assertion by an alleged Russian defector that Soviet troops are secreting small nuclear devices throughout our nation.

Ads and videos are a conspiracy buff's dream. You can buy "colloidal silver generators," books on how to form a militia or survive the New World Order, even a "blood electrifier" — a quality product you must have to survive the biological war & diseases coming to America." Readers even can arrange to meet their future life partner by responding to an ad proposing "The Ultimate Preparedness, Having a Like Minded Mate to survive the uncertainties of the future." Just write the "Patriot Matchmaker."

The Spotlight, a tabloid published by the anti-Semitic Liberty Lobby in Washington, D.C., may be America's best read conspiracist publication. The self-described "Voice of the American Majority" contains feature stories on Mexican immigrants taking American jobs, "Trilateralists"

Urge Congress to Focus on Israeli Arms Deals. See Pages 14 & 15.

THE SPOTLIGHT.

AMERICA'S LAST REAL NEWSPAPER

VOLUME XXV NUMBER 13

March 29, 1999

SINGLE COPY PRICE \$1.50

TRILATERALS MEET IN D.C.

One Worlders Revise History

An extremist scholar wants to revise history to make world government more saleable to Americans.

EXCLUSIVE TO THE SPOTLIGHT

BY JAMES P. TUCKER JR.

President Thomas Jefferson, Teddy Roosevelt, Herbert Hoover and Calvin Coolidge are among those who would surrender U.S. sovereignty and bow their necks to a world government, according to Robert B. Zoellick, a former U.S. Undersecretary of State.

"After 100 years, America had forever linked the country's pride in its democratic experiment with a national foreign policy of morality and justice by

— David Rockefeller, 81, message to



Trilateral Commission founder

'Globalization Summit' May Reorder Planet

Internationalists call for world government and a single banking system at the latest Trilateral Commission meeting.

EXCLUSIVE TO THE SPOTLIGHT

BY JAMES P. TUCKER JR.

A "globalization summit" to move mankind into a world government was urged at a meeting of the Trilateral Commission (TC) in Washington March 13-15.

The head of Goldman Sachs International, Peter D. Sutherland, called for the "globalization summit" both in a formal report and a personal appeal to

There remain obstacles to establishing a world government, Sutherland warned.

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Pontifex, Esq.?

A hate group leader's application to become a lawyer raises important First Amendment questions

Matt Hale is the "Pontifex Maximus," or supreme leader, of the World Church of the Creator, a hate group with chapters in 46 states. But that exalted title is not enough for him.

He wants the state of Illinois to call him "Esquire."

For almost a year, Hale, a 27 year-old law school graduate, has fought to get his law license in Illinois. The First Amendment, he claims, prohibits the state bar association from holding his racist views against him.

For Hale and his followers, race — specifically, the white race — is their religion. Hale openly acknowledges that he hates Jews and blacks and would deport them if he came to power. "Hitler's program," he has written, "is similar to what we are proposing."

But Hale publicly disavows violence. Although the motto of his organization is "RAHOWA" — short for "Racial Holy War" — Hale claims that he seeks only political influence through peaceful means.

And that's the rub for Illinois bar officials. As long as Hale steers clear of advocating violence, can the state, consistent with the First Amendment, deny him a law license merely because of his racist advocacy?

'Extermination' and the Bar

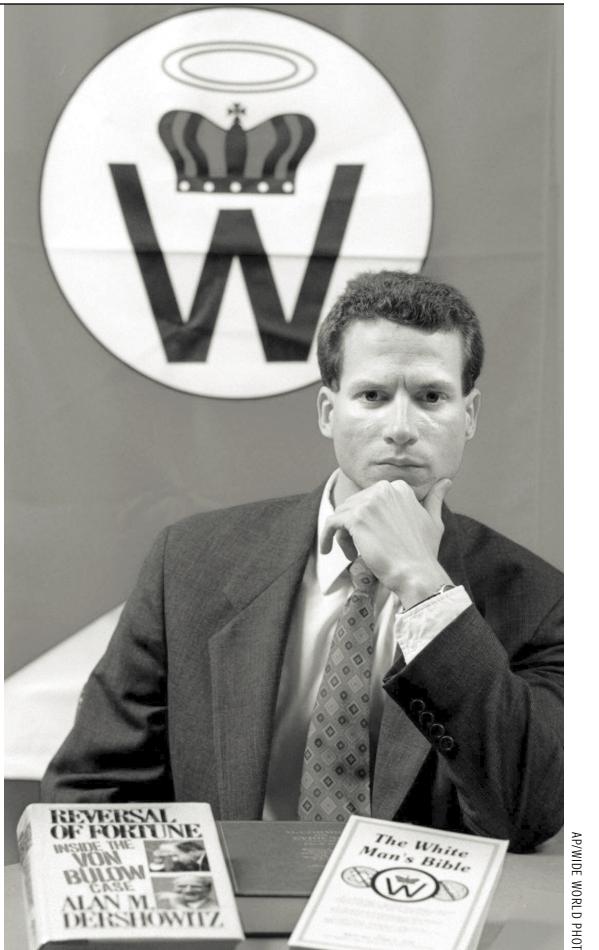
So far, Illinois says it can. In December 1998, a special panel of the state bar's Committee on Character and Fitness refused to certify Hale's application for admission to the bar. "While Matthew Hale has not yet threatened to exterminate anyone," the panel majority wrote, "history tells us that extermination is sometimes not far behind when governmental power is held by persons of his racial views. The Bar of Illinois

cannot certify someone as having good character and general fitness to practice law who has dedicated his life to inciting racial hatred for the purpose of implementing those views."

The case is far from over. On April 10, a hearing was held before another bar panel. A decision is expected before the end of May. If Hale loses again, he can appeal the case to the Illinois Supreme Court and, ultimately, to the U.S. Supreme Court.

Unless Hale runs out of steam, he probably will prevail eventually. In a series of cases decided in 1971, the Supreme Court made it clear that the First Amendment imposes severe restrictions on the prerogatives of state bar associations. Admission to the bar cannot be denied on the basis of mere membership in a subversive organization. Unless a bar applicant advocates illegal activity, he probably cannot be denied a law license for expressing extremist political views. *See, e.g., Baird v. State Bar of Arizona*, 401 U.S. 1 (1971). From the evidence gathered thus far, Hale does not appear to have crossed the line between permissible and impermissible political activity.

The fact that officials probably cannot deny Hale a law license does not mean that the state cannot disqualify him from certain positions. For example, it's unlikely that the state could be required to hire Hale as a prosecutor, no matter how stellar his qualifications might otherwise be, because hiring Hale would surely undermine the public's trust in the even-handiness of the



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTO

Matt Hale says he can be fair to non-whites despite his racist views.

administration of justice. *Cf. McMullen v. Carson*, 754 F.2d 936 (11th Cir. 1985). (Klan recruiter could be fired from position with sheriff's department because his employment would undermine public trust and ability of sheriff's office to enforce the law; law enforcement officials "subject to greater First Amendment restraints from most other citizens"). But the fact that lawyers are officers of the court and have a responsibility to uphold the law is probably too general a rationale upon which to base Hale's exclusion from the practice of law altogether.

Can a Racist be Fair?

Some question the sincerity of Hale's claims that he could take an oath to support the Constitution and that he would treat black litigants, jurors, and witnesses with respect. But Supreme Court prece-

continued on page 51

for the Record

Incidents of hate crimes and hate group activities listed in *For the Record* are drawn primarily from media sources and initial police reports, not all of which have been verified by the Intelligence Project. This listing carries incidents from the first quarter of 1999. Last year's listing is available on the Center's Web site (www.splcenter.org). Because hate crimes often are not reported, this listing understates the true level of bias incidents.

ALABAMA

Birmingham • Jan. 16, 1999
About 50 members of the American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, led by Imperial Wizard Jeff Berry, held a rally.

Birmingham • Feb. 10, 1999
National Alliance literature was mailed to two college professors.

Clanton • Jan. 16, 1999
Sixty Klansmen participated in a march sponsored by the Alabama White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

Fort Payne • Feb. 4, 1999
Ku Klux Klansman Gregory L. Garrett, 32, was convicted and sentenced to 15 years for rape and 10 years for sexual abuse in connection with a 1997 attack on a child.

Jackson • Feb. 18, 1999
Four white adults were arrested on various charges in connection with an alleged racial altercation at a restaurant. William L. Holton, 30, was charged with verbal harassment; his wife Rosalena J. Holton, 35, was charged with disorderly conduct; and Delois A. Alford, 21, and Hugh L. Connor Jr., 31, were charged with violating probation.

Montgomery • Jan. 28, 1999
A cross was burned at a black man's home.

Phenix City • Feb. 8, 1999
Neo-Nazi literature was distributed to several residences.

Antelope Valley • March 15, 1999
Ku Klux Klan literature was posted around Antelope Valley College.

Sylacauga • Feb. 20, 1999
Billy J. Gaither, 39, was beaten to death and his body set afire on burning tires in a remote area. Charles M. Butler, Jr., 21, and Steven E. Mullins, 25, were charged with murder. Gaither

allegedly was killed because he was thought to be homosexual.

Auburn • Jan. 25, 1999
A cross was burned at a park.

Calabasas • Jan. 3, 1999
Two 16-year-old Jewish youths were charged with vandalism after they allegedly spray-painted swastikas and other graffiti at an elementary school.

Little Rock • Jan. 14, 1999
Yitzak Abba Marta was sentenced to life in prison without parole for the 1996 beating and strangulation of a transvestite.

Little Rock • Feb. 8, 1999
Kirby Kehoe, 50, pleaded guilty to racketeering for his role in a conspiracy to set up a whites-only nation, identify targets of theft, commit burglary, plan robberies, transport co-conspirators, conceal and dispose of stolen property and transport stolen property across state lines.

Glendale • Jan. 27, 1999
Dominic Delmastro, 28, and Dennis G. Martinez, 19, pleaded guilty to assault and interfering with a person's civil rights for throwing rocks and shouting racist slogans at two Latinos and an Armenian youth. John Carbert, 20, David Chapman, 19, and Anthony Ingles and Allan Dupras, both 18, pleaded guilty to civil rights violations in connection with the incident.

Glendale • Feb. 11, 1999
A 17-year-old was charged with violating a person's civil rights and making terrorist threats after he allegedly threatened the life of a man because he was wearing a Jewish pendant.

Highland Park • Feb. 3, 1999
Peter C. Cobian, 18, was sentenced to perform 1,000 hours of community service or serve a 120-day jail term after waging a racially motivated ter-

ror campaign against a black 14-year-old in August.

Huntington Beach • Feb. 5, 1999
Daniel P. Carr, 18, was sentenced to two years in prison for burning a cross on a Jewish family's lawn in May.

Joshua Tree • Jan. 7, 1999
Robert Thomas Jr., 19, pleaded guilty to burning a swastika in front of a racially mixed couple's home in December. He was sentenced to 180 days in jail and placed on three years of probation.

La Mesa • Jan. 10, 1999
Swastikas and white supremacist slogans were found scrawled on a church.

Lancaster • Jan. 2, 1999
Swastikas were scrawled on a sign at a synagogue.

Lancaster • Feb. 12, 1999
James T. Araque, 35, was sentenced to three years' probation and six months of drug treatment for shouting racial slurs and death threats at several bus passengers.

Los Angeles • Jan. 11, 1999
Philip M. Alexander, 21, pleaded not guilty to conspiracy, civil rights violations and a hate crime for allegedly participating in a hate campaign against minorities in June.

Los Angeles • Jan. 29, 1999
A Chinese-American man, Kingman Quon, 22, pleaded guilty to civil rights violations for sending racist threatening e-mail messages to faculty members at California State University, students at Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Hispanic employees at various companies.

Los Angeles • Feb. 1, 1999
Two men allegedly attacked the white principal of a predominantly Latino school. The incident was being investigated as a hate crime.

Moorpark • Feb. 3, 1999
Three high school students allegedly sent racist threatening e-mail message to their teacher.

Novato • February 1999
Three white males allegedly threw mud at a black teenager and yelled racial slurs.

Rancho Bernardo • Jan. 18, 1999
A swastika and anti-Semitic slurs were scrawled on a driveway.

Riverside • Jan. 3, 1999
A reported Skinhead allegedly used racial epithets against a black man who is dating a white woman, then shot him.

San Diego • Jan. 14, 1999
Five white men, Robert Rio, 23, Steven Lawrence Newark III and Trenton J. Solis, both 18, and Jed A. Jones and Jessie B. Lawson, both 21, pleaded guilty to assault for beating and paralyzing a black Marine in May. Lawson also pleaded guilty to committing a hate crime. In February, Lawson was sentenced to nine years in prison. The other men were sentenced to one year in prison and placed on five years' probation.

San Diego • Jan. 18, 1999
Duane Tebbe, 19, was sentenced to five years in prison and fined \$1,000 for assault with a deadly weapon and commission of a hate crime for the August stabbing of an American Indian-Hispanic man Tebbe mistakenly thought was black.

San Francisco • Jan. 18, 1999
A carload of men allegedly threw a bottle at and taunted two gay men.

San Francisco • Feb. 10, 1999
A group of white men allegedly beat a black youth after a basketball game while yelling racial epithets.

South Lake Tahoe • Jan. 4, 1999
Two white men, Sean P. A. Macintire, 18, and a 17-year-old sporting a white supremacist tattoo, were arrested on suspicion of hitting and harassing a Hispanic man.

Ventura • Jan. 7, 1999
Alleged white supremacist Justin J. Merriman, 26, was indicted for allegedly raping and killing a college student in 1992. He was charged with murder, forcible rape, use of force or threats against an executive officer, assaulting a peace officer and exhibiting a deadly weapon to an officer.

Fort Myers • Jan. 12, 1999
The letters "KKK" and other graffiti were spray-painted on several mailboxes.

COLORADO
Boulder • Jan. 18, 1999
Racist graffiti was spray-painted on a shed at a mobile home park.

Denver • March 15, 1999
Skinhead Jeremiah Barnum, 25, was convicted of murder and attempted murder for the 1997 shooting death of a West African immigrant at a bus stop and the wounding of a bystander.

CONNECTICUT
West Hartford • Jan. 12, 1999
Ariel A. Gandulla, 30, was charged with false statement in the second degree and falsely reporting an incident after he allegedly fabricated an incident involving swastikas painted on his home.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
Washington • Jan. 21, 1999
William Alvarenga, 30, was charged with a hate crime and assault with a dangerous weapon for allegedly hitting a black man with a nightstick and refusing to serve him at a restaurant in October.

FLORIDA

Crestview • Feb. 6, 1999

Greg Bailey was charged with aggravated assault for allegedly participating in a cross burning and scratching a racial epithet on a black neighbor's mailbox.

Fort Myers • Feb. 5, 1999

Former Lords of Chaos leader Kevin Foster pleaded no contest to charges of racketeering, murder conspiracy, robbery and arson and was sentenced to four years in prison. Foster is currently on death row for the racially motivated slaying of a teacher in 1996.

Fort Myers • Jan. 12, 1999

The letters "KKK" and other graffiti were spray-painted on several mailboxes.

Hollywood • March 1999

Elias Rosado, 34, and Luis Rosado, 29, were charged with aggravated assault and a hate crime for allegedly attacking a black bicyclist while shouting racial slurs.

Miami • Feb. 7, 1999

Three Hispanic women allegedly stalked, beat and stabbed a man while yelling anti-gay epithets.

Miami • Feb. 11, 1999

Reported World Church of the Creator member Raymond Leone, 18, pleaded guilty to aggravated battery and committing racially motivated hate crimes for assaulting a man and his son outside a Sunrise, Fla., concert in 1997.

Pocatello • Feb. 22, 1999

Guy Clark, 53, was convicted on charges of narcotics trafficking and theft of firearms, possession of stolen property and being a felon in possession of firearms after he participated in the October robbery of a sporting goods store. Clark is reportedly a member of the Aryan Brotherhood.

ILLINOIS

Ormond Beach • Jan. 16, 1999

National Alliance literature was left on cars and lawns. Skinhead Francis A.

Mercuri, 28, and four juveniles were arrested in connection with the incident.

Plant City • March 13, 1999

Kevin C. Smith, 24, was charged with battery of a law enforcement officer, resisting arrest and disorderly conduct for allegedly assaulting a police officer at a hotel following a gathering of Skinheads and neo-Nazis. Coby Stonecypher was charged with assault for allegedly threatening a black man in connection with the gathering.

Port Charlotte • Jan. 18, 1999

Billy Gene Todd, 42, was charged with battery and a hate crime after he allegedly assaulted a black man and called him a racial epithet.

GEORGIA

Albany • Jan. 10, 1999

Reported Skinheads Charles A. Tillery, Paul C. Price, Ronnie L. Pittman and Anthony J. Price were arrested for allegedly terrorizing a family by throwing bricks and other objects at them, hitting one man with a baseball bat.

IDAHO

Coeur d'Alene • Feb. 10, 1999
Aryan Nations leader Richard Butler, 80, was convicted of interfering with a police investigation in connection with a disturbance outside the group's compound last summer. Butler received a 10-day suspended sentence and was fined \$150.

Oakland Park • Feb. 24, 1999

Guy Clark, 53, was convicted on charges of narcotics trafficking and theft of firearms, possession of stolen property and being a felon in possession of firearms after he participated in the October robbery of a sporting goods store. Clark is reportedly a member of the Aryan Brotherhood.

ILLINOIS

Chicago • March 2, 1999

Michael Raimondi, 39, pleaded guilty to a hate crime and was sentenced to

60 days in jail and two years' probation for attacking a Pakistani man at a gas station last summer.

East Peoria • Feb. 3, 1999

John Thunehorst, 47, was charged with a hate crime after he allegedly yelled a racial slur at a black neighbor and threatened to assault the man and blow up his house.

Edwardsville • Feb. 3, 1999

A black man, Taiwan Davis, 17, was convicted of first-degree murder for his participation in the mob-style beating death in August of a white man who had allegedly used racial slurs prior to his death.

Port Charlotte • Jan. 18, 1999

Billy Gene Todd, 42, was charged with battery and a hate crime after he allegedly assaulted a black man and called him a racial epithet.

Gurnee • March 3, 1999

Eric Hanson, 24, was charged with assault and a hate crime for allegedly making racist threats to an interracial couple outside a grocery store.

INDIANA

Auburn • Jan. 16, 1999

About 20 members of the Invisible Empire, Indiana Ku Klux Klan rallied.

Indianapolis • Jan. 9, 1999

Grand Dragon Michael McQueeney led about 13 members of the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan in a rally.

IOWA

Council Bluffs • January 1999

Timothy D. Dorzeiler, 32, was charged with a hate crime, assault, possession of marijuana, possession of methamphetamine and disorderly conduct for allegedly hitting a man and using a racial slur at a casino.

KANSAS

Hutchinson • Jan. 15, 1999

Randy Gresham, 39, was charged with disorderly conduct and violation of the hate-bias crime ordinance for allegedly painting racial slurs on his own home, which had been gutted by fire earlier in the week.

ILLINOIS

Chicago • March 2, 1999

Michael Raimondi, 39, pleaded guilty to a hate crime and was sentenced to

Kansas City • Jan. 12, 1999

James Whitney, 24, Anthony Whitney, 20, and Raymond Roland, 29, were charged with conspiring to threaten and intimidate and attempting to intimidate and interfere with a family's civil rights. The group allegedly burned a cross in front of a black family's residence in July.

Lawrence • Feb. 27, 1999

A swastika was burned on a residence hall door at the University of Kansas.

Turon • Jan. 27, 1999

Racist fliers were left on car windshields.

KENTUCKY

Dayton • Feb. 25, 1999

Eric Hanson, 24, was charged with assault and a hate crime for allegedly making racist threats to an interracial couple outside a grocery store.

LOUISIANA

Gretna • Feb. 22, 1999

Frank Palermo, 32, was convicted of a hate crime and sentenced to 20 years in prison for trying to torch two cars belonging to black motorists in December.

INDIANAPOLIS

Slidell • Jan. 14, 1999

Slidell's mayor received a mailed death threat with references to the Ku Klux Klan.

MAINE

Alfred • Jan. 20, 1999

Frank L. Breton, 47, was convicted of a hate crime, assault, possession of marijuana, possession of methamphetamine and disorderly conduct for allegedly hitting a man and using a racial slur at a casino.

MISSOURI

St. Paul • Jan. 27, 1999

Michael A. Sluis, 19, was charged with criminal damage to property for allegedly scrawling anti-Semitic death threats at the University of St. Thomas in October.

MISSISSIPPI

Philadelphia • Feb. 7, 1999

A cross was burned on a rural road.

MISSOURI

Bourbon • Jan. 22, 1999

A federal jury deadlocked on a verdict for John Bewig, 50, who was charged with racially motivated assault for allegedly threatening and assaulting a black woman in May 1996.

MISSOURI

Springfield • Jan. 18, 1999

Two men with white sheets around their necks were arrested on suspicion of ethnic intimidation for allegedly chasing a black youth while yelling racial slurs.

MISSOURI

Portland • March 2, 1999

Darrell Parsons was charged with making racially motivated threats of

MISSOURI

Madison Heights • Jan. 16, 1999

violence directed at a black man and his biracial daughter after Parsons allegedly threatened the two and vandalized the man's car.

MISSOURI

Westminster • Feb. 22, 1999

World Church of the Creator literature was left on car windshields at a high school.

MASSACHUSETTS

Everett • March 4, 1999

Racist graffiti was scrawled outside a black-owned beauty salon.

MISSOURI

Fall River • Jan. 7, 1999

Lucas Brouillard and Justin Santos, both 18, Adam Dapic, 21, Scott Oliveira, 19, and three juveniles were indicted on charges of assault and battery with a dangerous weapon and civil rights violations. The group allegedly threw bricks, rocks and table legs while yelling racial insults at a group of Cambodian-American children in May.

MISSOURI

St. Paul • Jan. 27, 1999

Michael A. Sluis, 19, was charged with criminal damage to property for allegedly scrawling anti-Semitic death threats at the University of St. Thomas in October.

MISSOURI

Philadelphia • Feb. 7, 1999

A cross was burned on a rural road.

MISSOURI

Springfield • Jan. 18, 1999

Two men with white sheets around their necks were arrested on suspicion of ethnic intimidation for allegedly chasing a black youth while yelling racial slurs.

MISSOURI

Springfield • Feb. 26, 1999

A 17-year-old was charged with second-degree ethnic intimidation for tigating the incident as racial intimidation.

allegedly sending his former teacher a letter containing racial slurs.

NEBRASKA

York • Jan. 18, 1999

Three men, led by Nationalist Movement leader Richard Barrett, paraded through the streets in protest of a holiday honoring Martin Luther King Jr.

NEVADA

Las Vegas • Jan. 28, 1999

Racist Skinhead John E. Butler, 26, pleaded not guilty to charges of murder for allegedly killing two anti-racist Skinheads in July.

NEW JERSEY

Hackensack • Feb. 25, 1999

Allen Scott, 20, and Leshawn Jones, 25, were convicted of aggravated assault and riot and Latson Cockfield, 27, and Henser Harmon, 26, were convicted of simple assault and riot for the 1997 racially charged beating of a Chinese restaurant owner.

Mount Holly • Feb. 16, 1999

Ryan Kennedy, Timothy Reynolds, Seiji Hashimoto and Mark Hilton, all 21, pleaded guilty to conspiracy to commit bias harassment in a series of hate crimes against Asian and African American people in five communities between April 1994 and August 1996.

Parsippany • Jan. 12, 1999

Ned Norton, 38, was charged with simple assault with bias motivation after he allegedly provoked an attack by calling his black co-worker a racial epithet.

Penns Grove • Jan. 17, 1999

Racist graffiti was scrawled on storefronts and municipal property.

Washington • Jan. 22, 1999

Two 14-year-olds were charged with bias incident harassment and criminal mischief for allegedly spray-painting swastikas and racist slogans

on walls and a trash dumpster outside a shopping center.

Woodbridge • Feb. 8, 1999

William Rich, 18, was charged with bias-related harassment for allegedly waging a one-man hate war against a community of Native Americans and African Americans in 1998.

NEW YORK

Brooklyn • Jan. 18, 1999

Nicholas Florio, 17, was charged with criminal mischief, criminal possession of stolen property and aggravated harassment for allegedly scrawling swastikas and anti-Jewish statements on an apartment building.

Camillus • Feb. 16, 1999

Scott C. Miller, 20, pleaded guilty to second-degree aggravated harassment as a bias crime and first-degree harassment for yelling racially biased threats at a black woman at a mall in June.

Miller Place • March 1999

American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan literature was distributed.

New Springville • Jan. 28, 1999

A 13-year-old was charged with assault for allegedly participating in the bias assault of a 14-year-old Hispanic youth outside a school.

Syracuse • Jan. 14, 1999

Racist messages were spray-painted on a church.

Westbury • Jan. 20, 1999

Kenneth Willett and Michael Modifica, both 18, Roland Tambe, 17, Samory Wilson, 16, and Jason Porter, 19, pleaded guilty to second-degree burglary in connection with a September ransacking and anti-Semitic vandalism of a home.

Washington • Jan. 22, 1999

Two 14-year-olds were charged with bias incident harassment and criminal mischief for allegedly spray-painting swastikas and racist slogans

motivated beating of a black man outside a nightclub.

Westhampton Beach • Jan. 6, 1999

Austin Offen, a 28-year-old white man, pleaded guilty to assault and criminal possession of a weapon for assaulting a black man outside a nightclub in 1996.

NORTH CAROLINA

Wilkesboro • Jan. 29, 1999

James M. Anderson, 19, was charged with secret assault for allegedly using a tire iron to assault a man who was trying to renounce his membership in the Ku Klux Klan in 1997.

Winston Salem • Jan. 26, 1999

A black man, Michael L. Hatcher, 20, was convicted of robbery with a dangerous weapon for the racially motivated robbery of two Hispanic men a year earlier. He was given back-to-back sentences of nine years to 11 years and seven months in prison.

OHIO

Adrian • Feb. 24, 1999

Gary D. Hicks, 46, was charged with ethnic intimidation for allegedly burning a cross at a residence in October.

Cincinnati • Feb. 8, 1999

Two 15-year-olds were charged with arson, ethnic intimidation, inducing panic and criminal trespass for allegedly burning a cross in a park in January.

Oxford • Jan. 21, 1999

Two black college students, Nathaniel Snow, 22, and Brad Allen, 21, were charged with criminal mischief and criminal trespass for allegedly posting racist fliers at Miami University in October.

Price Hill • Jan. 23, 1999

A cross was burned at a park.

Toledo • February 1999

Three white men, Daniel Daly, 21, Dustin Henninger, 18, and Charles Barnhouse, 23, were charged with

felonious assault for allegedly stomping a white man. Two of the accused claim to be Skinheads.

OREGON

Portland • Jan. 26, 1999

Anti-Semitic death threats were allegedly sent to a Jewish high school teacher.

Salem • Feb. 2, 1999

Joshua L. Bandfield and alleged Skinhead James B. Cale, both 21, Ivan R. Pawl, 19, and Justin M. Hunt were charged with intimidation for allegedly assaulting a security guard because he is black. Hunt is also charged with assault and violation of probation.

Tillamook • Feb. 11, 1999

James Ash, 48, and Kevin Hawthorn, 25, were charged with intimidation and assault for allegedly beating a man because of his sexual orientation.

PENNSYLVANIA

Bethel Park • Jan. 29, 1999

A white man, Mark D. Maloney, 38, was charged with aggravated assault, terroristic threats, ethnic intimidation and harassment after he allegedly threatened three white youths and two black youths with racial slurs and hit one youth with a brick.

Hatfield • Jan. 18, 1999

Two white males and a white female allegedly assaulted two men of Indian descent and shouted racial slurs.

Philadelphia • Jan. 12, 1999

Lorrelei Bainbridge, 31, pleaded guilty to ethnic intimidation, harassment, stalking and disorderly conduct for harassing a black family and hanging a "lynched" doll in their yard in August. She was sentenced to two to 23 months in prison, and ordered to perform 300 hours of community service and serve one year of probation.

Philadelphia • Feb. 2, 1999

Steve Grimscheid, 20, and Craig Grockett, 20, were convicted of aggravated assault for attacking a gay psychiatrist.

Houston • Feb. 16, 1999

Roderick Brenneman, 59, was convicted of assault and sentenced to a year in jail for partially blinding a man in October because he believed the man to be gay.

Jasper • Feb. 25, 1999

John King, 24, was convicted of capital murder and sentenced to death by lethal injection for chaining a black man to a pickup truck and dragging him to his death in June.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Columbia • March 3, 1999

Former Christian Knights of the Ku Klux Klan member Clayton Spires Jr., 28, was sentenced to 26 years in prison for his role in a nightclub shooting that wounded three black teens in 1996.

TEXAS

Houston • Feb. 5, 1999

A white librarian allegedly dragged an elementary student across a floor while using a racial slur.

Houston • Feb. 8, 1999

Three members of the White Aryan Circle prison gang, Thomas Armstrong, Stephen Brumfield and Robert Campbell, were sentenced to life in prison after murdering a rival white gang member in 1997.

WISCONSIN

Chesapeake • Feb. 17, 1999

The letters "KKK" were sprayed in shaving cream on a black man's lawn and the windshield of his car was smashed.

Independence • Jan. 29, 1999

Emmett Cressell Jr., 38, was sentenced to life in prison for making racially motivated threats to a black man in March.

WASHINGTON

Spokane • Feb. 4, 1999

Reported Skinhead Angelo A. Perry, 18, was charged with assault for allegedly beating a white man in January. John

tenced to life in prison and fined \$100,000 for his role in the 1997 death of a black man who was beheaded and burned.

Yelm • Jan. 6, 1999

Jason B. Slinker, 21, pleaded not guilty to malicious harassment charges for allegedly placing a cross at an interracial couple's home in December.

WEST VIRGINIA

Dell • Feb. 2, 1999

Michael V. Wildman, 20, was convicted of civil rights violations and destruction of property for burning a cross at a black family's residence in 1997.

WISCONSIN

Antigo • Jan. 11, 1999

Gregory S. Howard, 19, was sentenced to 30 days in jail with work release, fined \$500 and placed on one year of probation after entering a plea agreement for attacking a black man in 1997 and using a racial slur.

Pulaski • Feb. 2, 1999

Darrell Hylok, 40, Bruce Hylok, 29, and Troy Best, 21, pleaded guilty to battery for kicking and beating a black man while yelling racial slurs. ▲

Legal Briefs

Racist Lawyers and the First Amendment

continued from page 46
Venable also defended Black Muslims in Louisiana.

"They paid me \$25,000 and I used the money to promote the Klan. They knew I was in the opposite direction, but that didn't matter. I defended them as vigorously as I defended the Klan," Venable told *The (Memphis, Tenn.) Commercial Appeal* in 1979.

As James Venable's career reflects, Hale will not be the first white supremacist with a law degree. Kirk Lyons, the chief trial counsel of the Southern Legal Resources Center that specializes in "litigating civil rights cases involving Southern heritage violations," is a well-known, hard-

core racist who long has been a member of the Texas bar. Richard Barrett, a Mississippi lawyer, is the leader of the Nationalist Movement and advocates "non-majority disenfranchisement." Unless it would be permissible to disbar Lyons and Barrett for their beliefs, it would not be permissible to refuse Hale admission to the bar because of his.

Of course, the public should take no solace in the fact that there are other white supremacists who are lawyers. But, in truth, it is the many covert racists with law degrees who pose a far greater threat to the administration of justice in our country. ▲

Kosovo and the Far Right

Seeing a war against Christian whites, extremists are taking up the Serbian cause

The NATO-led attacks on Christian Serbs in Kosovo and Yugoslavia have given the radical right a new ideological battleground — a battleground that some believe may become as important a rallying point as the conflagration in Waco, Texas.

On scores of Web sites, in the extremist literature and in the speeches and conversations of far-right leaders, the Kosovo war is increasingly seen as an attack by the “New World Order” on white Christian ethnics that is designed to force multi-racialism and multi-ethnic states on the world over the protests of patriots everywhere.

Although voices opposing the war have come from across the political spectrum, the debate is seen in explicitly racial and religious terms by the hard right. Like the 1993 tragedy in Waco, which extremists saw as revealing the true, repressive nature of American government, the U.S. attacks on Serbian forces have emerged as a new right-wing battle cry. Perhaps most tellingly, Louis Beam, probably the revolutionary right’s most important theoretician, recently broke a long silence to attack the war.

“This baby killing, church burning, drug using, draft dodging, woman raping, perjuring lying adulterer — who calls himself the President of the United States — has begun killing Europeans in the name of the American people!” Beam, the architect of the tactic of “leaderless resistance,” writes in an essay, “Kosovo: The Alamo of Europe.”

At the same time, in Serbia and around Europe, people demonstrating against the NATO attacks have included large numbers of neo-Nazis, and many have been seen giving fascist salutes. There are also reports of European neofascists making their way to Serbia to fight for President Milosevic.

Some extreme-right Web sites have called for volunteers.

Beam, like the Belgrade-based Serbian Hammerskins and other far-right organizations here and abroad, is especially angered by remarks attributed to NATO’s supreme commander, Gen. Wesley Clark: “There is no place in modern Europe for ethnically pure states. That’s a 19th-century idea and we are trying to transition it into the 21st century, and we are going to do it with multi-ethnic states.”

‘77,000 Christians’ vs. Islam

To Beam, independence-seeking Kosovars — seen by most of the world as the victims of President Milosevic’s genocidal campaign of “ethnic cleansing” — are “Albanian Muslim terrorists backed by American cruise missiles and B2 bombers.”

Characterizing the U.S. as a “terrorist country,” Beam also slams President Clinton for recent American attacks in the Sudan and elsewhere. “Though you may feel no responsibility for violent acts of your government,” Beam tells his readers,

“it is still your government and others certainly hold you responsible. While it is true an Arab avenger cannot bring the desert to you and show you the blood of his loved ones, he can bring you pain, and the terror he knows so well. And he will.”

The Kosovo conflict has helped spur the increasing internationalization and unification of the radical right. Svend Johansen, of the Norwegian antifascist *Monitor* magazine, reports that many neo-Nazis across Europe are supporting Serbia because “they see the Muslims as a threat to Europe.” In early April, he notes, six Norwegian neo-Nazis attacked a Kosovar refugee center.

Many white supremacists have come to see Kosovo as the site of a historic stand by white Christians against the darker-skinned Ottoman Empire. In 1389, “77,000 Christian knights and soldiers “exact[ed] such a tremendous toll upon the Islamic soldiers that the advance into the heart of Europe was halted,” Beam writes admiringly.

As it was then, he says, it will be again. ▲

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