

Deadly 'Church' Attracts Headlines and Sociopaths

THE SOUTHERN POVERTY LAW CENTER'S

Intelligence Report

SUMMER 1999 • ISSUE 95



Steven Barry The Man Behind the Special Forces Underground

Debate on Women's Roles Roils Movement

Extremists Flock to North Carolina

The Logic of Extremism



By Mark Potok, Editor

THE SCRAWLED LETTER CAME IN A PLAIN white envelope, carrying a Los Angeles postmark and a cheerful strawberry stamp. It was dated "7-4-99" — Independence Day.

But it was anything but cheerful.

"Benjamin Smith is a martyr to the cause: an international Aryan commonwealth," it began. "He isn't even the tip of the iceberg. He's just a grain of sand in a worldwide beachhead. Us Aryans, the world over, haven't yet begun to flex our power or influence. You'll never know where we'll pop up from. We're represented in every strata of society. And our ranks are increasing tenfold every day of every year. The day will surely come when we shall rule and our enemies shall be put in their proper place."

The author — "Aryan and Proud" was the signature — was talking about Benjamin Nathaniel Smith, the man who murdered a black former basketball coach and a Korean doctoral student and wounded nine others over the July 4 weekend. Despite the date atop the letter, it was actually postmarked July 8 — four days after Smith, cornered by police at the end his three-day rampage across Illinois and Indiana, shot himself dead.

Was the writer a follower of the World Church of the Creator (wcotc), the neo-Nazi group to which Smith had belonged? Was he or she a friend of Smith or of wcotc leader Matt Hale? Or was the author simply inspired by Smith's bloodbath?

The answer isn't known. But what is certain is that there are a number of Americans for whom such savagery is a thrill, a sign that "the cause" is indeed advancing. To them, the words of Hale after the slaughter — that Smith had been a "martyr" and that Hale and his party could feel no compassion for the non-whites slain — were inspirational. They had been energized.

That is the logic of extremism.

Hale, Hotelling and the Political Center

While most human beings feel sorry if they see a dog run down, let alone fellow humans senselessly slain, Hale was not speaking to most people. He was talking to a very special constituency: those few among the millions who heard his interviews and agreed. While most shrank in horror at Hale's violent words and racism, a small number came running toward wcotc. For them, the killings, and the huge amount of publicity Hale got

in the week that followed, were a boon — a way of gathering "proud Aryans" into the revolutionary fold.

Clearly, Hale understands that well.

He didn't care about the shocked feelings of the genteel, the offense felt by the humanitarian — the normal sense of outraged decency that 99% of those who heard him experienced as they stared at his glib visage on their television screens. Hale wasn't speaking to them. He was talking to *his* people.

Building a Revolutionary Cadre

In 1929, a mathematician named Harold Hotelling devised a model known as the "Hotelling Theorem." Essentially, it posited the idea that two vendors on a given street will move physically closer to one another, in order to gain the largest possible number of customers (who seek out the closest vendor from their homes). Lately, the model has been used to describe why candidates in a two-party system come closer and closer in their positions in a bid to capture voters in the center along with those in their particular wing.

But the theorem does not apply to the Matt Hales of the world.

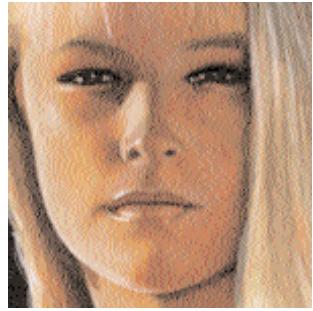
Hale is not engaged in building a mass movement, a populist uprising in which a majority embraces his neo-fascist views. He seeks to create an elite cadre of the violent — a small group of people so committed to extremism that even as a minority party they are capable of creating an insurrection. Hale is not necessarily interested in appealing to a majority. He is a man who believes that a committed cadre is enough. And for good or for ill, history has proven that his method sometimes works.

Hale is not the only radical rightist who understands this. Jeff Berry, the imperial wizard of the American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, peppers his rally speeches with violently worded attacks on "niggers" and "faggots." The result is a visceral public reaction and publicity — attention that helps Berry get his message out to his constituency. Tom Metzger, head of the violently racist White Aryan Resistance, uses similar shock tactics.

The press attention that Hale, Berry and Metzger get helps them deliver their message successfully to a tiny constituency — and that is precisely what they seek. One of those constituents was the newly energized person who wrote the July letter. "As for young Ben Smith," the writer concludes, "he did a noble deed. His spirit shall for ever live in Valhalla." ▲



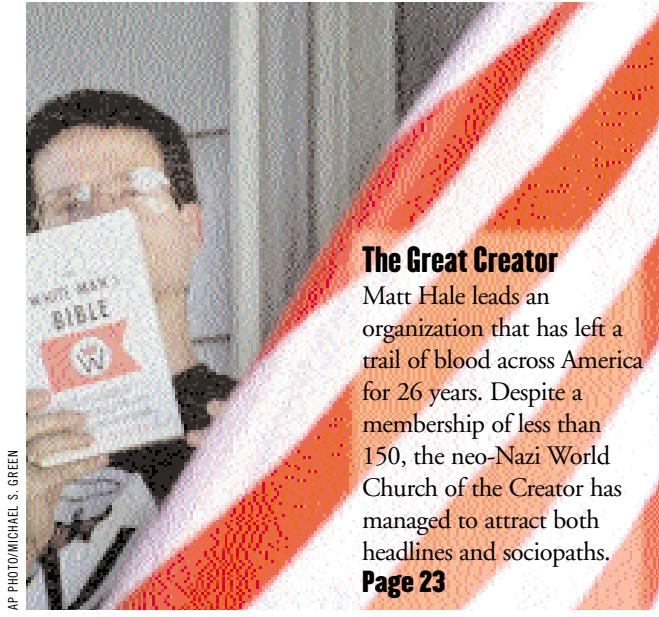
ON THE COVER Steven Barry, a now-retired member of the Special Forces and the editor of *The Resister*, has become a key figure at the intersection of right-wing extremism and the paramilitary underground. He is also a man who has received some of the best insurgency warfare training in the world, courtesy of the U.S. Army. **Page 6**



All in the Family

The voices of "racialist" women, formerly seen as mere wives and helpmates to their men, are being heard increasingly as a debate on female roles in the movement takes shape.

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AP PHOTO/MICHAEL S. GREEN

The Great Creator

Matt Hale leads an organization that has left a trail of blood across America for 26 years. Despite a membership of less than 150, the neo-Nazi World Church of the Creator has managed to attract both headlines and sociopaths.

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A Woman's Place

The former polygamous wife of white supremacist Chevie Kehoe, a convicted murderer, reflects on life and love on the radical right.

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Do Klansmen have the right to be masked in public? Eighteen states have anti-masking laws, but courts have ruled both ways on their legality.

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Election Turmoil

Purchase of Duke Mailing List Raises Eyebrows

The race for governor in Louisiana was shaping up to be a ho-hum affair in which the popular incumbent, Republican Mike Foster, was expected to easily cruise to re-election victory. But then ex-Klan leader David Duke, fresh from his failed attempt to replace Louisiana Congressman Bob Livingston, re-entered the headlines.

In May, a federal grand jury disclosed that Duke had sold Foster a mailing list of his supporters for \$150,000 when Foster first ran for governor in 1995. While the purchase of such lists is common for politicians trying to amass support, this transaction, conducted secretly and at a price almost 20 times higher than normal, has raised suspicions over what was really for sale. Despite the denials of both men, many critics believe Foster was buying Duke's endorsement and agreement not to run — both of which Foster got.

"It was good for me and good for the governor," Duke

said of the deal, telling *The (Baton Rouge, La.) Advocate* that Foster's "financial support" came at a key time for him, as he was finishing expensive research on his recently published autobiography.

Foster, a multi-millionaire who gave up a safe seat in the state senate to run for governor, said he saw no reason to report the transaction on campaign disclosure statements because he had used his own personal funds. After the matter was made public, Foster said he'd done "nothing intentionally illegal." He declined to criticize Duke.

"When you're in a political race, you do whatever you think has to be done, as long as it's honest," Foster, who faces voters in November, told *The (New Orleans) Times-Picayune*. "My job at the time was to ... figure out how to win a race."

Perennial candidate David Duke's mailing list was worth \$150,000 to a gubernatorial candidate.



NANCIE LEWIS

Aryan Nations

Neo-Nazi Security Chief Sentenced

The security chief of Aryan Nations has been sentenced to five years in prison for his role in the assault of a woman and her son outside the neo-Nazi group's Idaho compound. Jesse

Edward Warfield avoided trial by pleading guilty to a reduced charge of aiding and abetting an aggravated assault, but was sentenced stiffly nonetheless.



Jesse Warfield

Warfield claimed that he and other guards assaulted Virginia Keenan and her son Jason in July 1998 because they thought the Keenans had fired weapons into the compound. But the Keenans said that their car had backfired while stopped on the road in front of the compound, and detectives could find no evidence of their firing any shots.

The Southern Poverty Law

Center, representing the Keenans, filed a civil suit in January against Aryan Nations, its leader Richard Butler, Warfield and other security guards. The Center suit alleges that Butler's guards shot at the two plaintiffs, chased them and forced their car into a ditch, and battered and threatened to kill them.

No trial date in the civil suit has been set.

Neo-Nazis**'Hollywood Nazi' Under Attack**

In the wake of revelations about his Jewish ancestry, the young leader of the neo-Nazi Knights of Freedom (KOF) has come under widespread attack from others on the radical right. But even as the man once named Andy Greenbaum is vilified on hate groups' Web pages and publications, he continues to see himself as America's next *führer*.

Almost immediately after the Southern Poverty Law Center exposed Davis Wolfgang Hawke's former name — and the fact that one of his grandfathers was Jewish — other extremists began mocking the student at Wofford College in Spartanburg, S.C. He has been called everything from a "Hollywood Nazi" to "White Redneck Trailer Trash" within the white supremacist world, and his angry responses have burned many bridges.

An e-mail that was apparently signed by William Pierce, leader of the neo-Nazi National Alliance, describes Hawke as a "low-grade teenage hobbyist" whose "racial quality looks marginal." Although it's not clear if the e-mail addressed to Pierce associate Will Williams is authentic, Hawke responded with fury, attacking Pierce and his followers as "people who perform great heroics with words but not with actions."

A Web site of the neo-Nazi World Church of the Creator (see p. 23) — a group which Hawke reportedly had been ear-



Davis Wolfgang Hawke says he plans to become "absolute, supreme dictator" of the United States.

lier seeking an alliance with — denounces KOF as a "fake" and urges its members to leave the group. Addressing Hawke, the site shouts: "Quit now! Leave! Disappear from the scene completely! ... [T]hen change your name again, and never show your face to the White Racialist scene again." Many other sites carry the KOF acronym with a line through it, and one ridicules the "Kosher Knights of Freedom."

Hawke, 20, has kept his chin up.

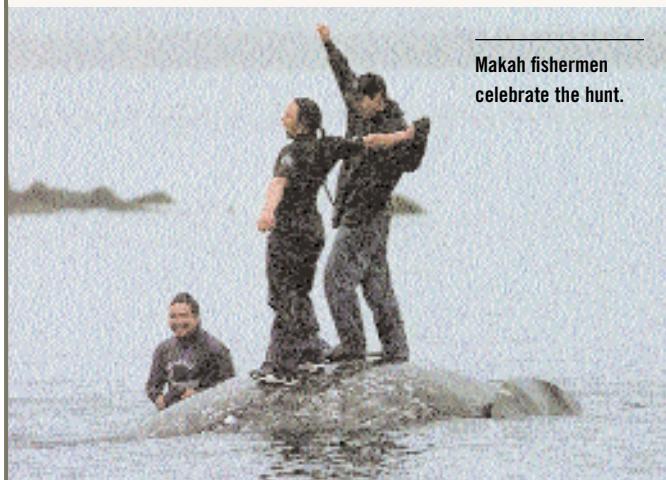
After renaming KOF the American Nationalist Party this summer in a bid to "create a receptive first-impression" that "will provide me legitimacy in the eyes of the average white American," Hawke went public with plans for an August Washington, D.C., march. Indeed, the attacks seem only to have fueled his view of himself as the white man's savior, Hawke, a man who describes his own mother as a "race traitor," puts it like this: "The responsibility for the life of a people falls squarely on our shoulders alone."

Native Americans**Whale Hunt Unleashes Anti-Indian Furor**

Hoping to restore "discipline and pride" in their youth through the revival of an ancient tradition, members of the Makah Indian tribe of Washington state this spring resumed a practice they had abandoned 70 years ago: the whale hunt.

But far different sentiments than pride have resulted.

After a group of Makah fishermen killed a gray whale, an anti-Indian furor erupted in this outdoorsy, environmentalist part of the country. Sympathy for the whale, whose death was widely covered in Seattle newspapers and on television news, quickly turned into hatred of the Makahs in particular and Native Americans in general.



Makah fishermen celebrate the hunt.

AP PHOTO/ELAINE THOMPSON

In recent months, Makahs have been inundated with death threats, their schools evacuated due to bomb scares, and their reservation placed on "war-time" alert. Protesters have paraded with signs proclaiming "Save a whale, harpoon a Makah," written into local newspapers inquiring about "where to apply for a license to kill an Indian," and even set up a Web page (www.makah.org) mocking the official Makah site (www.makah.com). Tribe members have been publicly labeled "drunkards," "savages" and "laggards."

In fact, the Makahs were completely within their rights. An 1855 treaty, upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court, guarantees their right to hunt gray whales.

Ted Kerasote, author of *Bloodties: Nature, Culture and the Hunt*, told the *Seattle Times* that white reaction "reveals a particular hypocrisy in American culture. Many Americans publicly espouse diversity and multiculturalism. ... But the moment a native community does something that doesn't fit into our preconceived notions of who we want aborigines to be, we threaten our wrath — the wrath of the majority."

Intimidation

Cracking Down on Cross Burnings

Since the first cross was burned atop Stone Mountain, Ga., in 1915, the technique has become the best-known of the Klan's many tactics of intimidation. Today, a cross is burned nearly every week, most typically at the homes of interracial or black families.

But now, some victims and officials are striking back.

their windows, and shot and wounded the family dog.

In June, an all-white Virginia jury convicted Barry Black, the imperial wizard of the International Keystone Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, under a law banning cross-burning to intimidate others. The Klansman's ACLU attorney — who was, ironically, an

an indication, said U.S. Attorney Paul Warner, of a commitment to prosecute such acts.

These responses, one civil and two criminal, underscore the greater seriousness with which cross burnings, once treated as minor crimes or even mere annoyances, are being taken by both the authorities and victims. Nationally, the



For 84 years, the Klan has burned crosses in ceremonies and to intimidate its enemies.

This spring, a federal jury in Chicago awarded \$720,000 to a black couple with two children whose white neighbor burned a 6-foot cross in the yard of their suburban home. The June 1996 incident came less than a year after Andre Bailey and Sharon Henderson moved into their predominantly white neighborhood. The couple alleged that neighbor Thomas Budlove Jr. regularly shouted racial slurs at them. Somebody also slashed their tires, broke

African-American — unsuccessfully argued that the August 1998 cross-burning, on private land leased by Black, was constitutionally protected free speech. Black faces up to five years in prison when he is sentenced.

In Utah, Michael Brad Magley pleaded innocent to four felony counts brought in connection with the burning of a cross on the lawn of an interracial couple in Salt Lake City. If convicted, he could face up to 40 years in federal prison —

Southern Poverty Law Center's Intelligence Project counted more than 200 cross burnings in the last five years: 49 in 1998, 29 in 1997, 51 in 1996, 33 in 1995 and 48 in 1994.

"The burning of a cross has a long and infamous history in this country and is more than a prank," Warner told *The Deseret News* in Utah after Magley was arrested. "It connotes hatred and an attempt to drive someone out of the neighborhood."



James Kopp

Anti-Abortion Violence

'Atomic Dog' Protester Indicted in Slaying

A grand jury in Erie County, N.Y., has indicted longtime abortion protester James "Atomic Dog" Kopp in the slaying of obstetrician-gynecologist Dr. Barnett Slepian. Slepian, director of Buffalo's best-known abortion clinic, was gunned down in front of his family by a single rifle bullet fired through his kitchen window last October.

Kopp had been arrested more than a dozen times from Georgia to New York to Italy during protests, and was sought as a witness almost immediately after the doctor's murder in the suburban Buffalo area. Witnesses and forensic evidence — including a hair found in a cap — placed Kopp near Slepian's home around the time of the shooting.

The indictment charges Kopp, a devout Roman Catholic said to attend Mass daily, with second-degree murder, reckless endangerment and criminal possession of a weapon. He also has been charged with violating the federal Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act, and his name has been added to the FBI's Ten Most Wanted List.

Oklahoma City

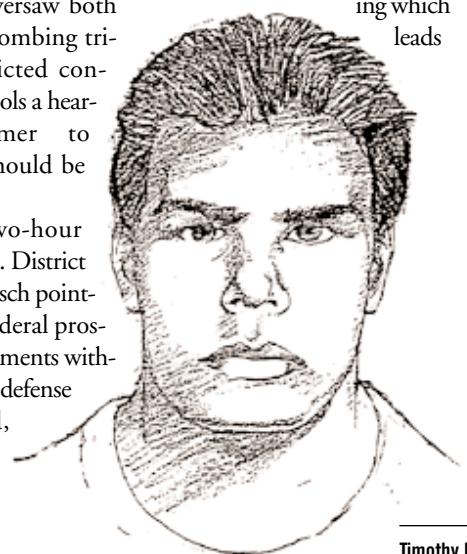
Nichols Could Get New Trial

To the surprise of many court observers, the no-nonsense federal judge who oversaw both Oklahoma City bombing trials granted convicted conspirator Terry Nichols a hearing this summer to determine if he should be given a new trial.

During the two-hour July 7 hearing, U.S. District Judge Richard Matsch pointedly questioned federal prosecutors about documents withheld from Nichols' defense team. In the end, Matsch said he would review trial transcripts before ruling. In

earlier rulings on matters brought up by defense attorneys, the judge has showed little sympathy for pleas made on behalf of Nichols and co-conspirator Timothy McVeigh.

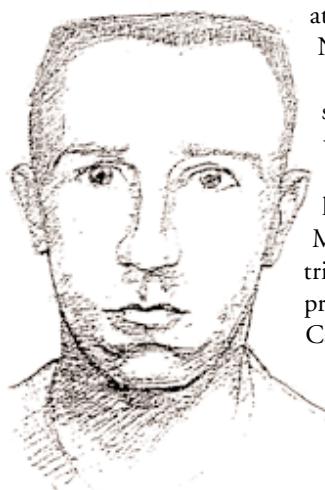
Nichols' attorney, Michael Tigar, contends that in deciding which leads



to pursue while investigating the bombing that killed 168 people, the government dismissed tips that didn't fit into its theory that Nichols and McVeigh acted alone. Tigar pointed to 43,000 documents, some of them tips related to supposed

sightings of "John Doe No. 2" (who looked like neither Nichols nor McVeigh), which the defense was never shown. Prosecutors countered that the government had turned over the 12,000 pertinent FBI files. They said the other documents, mainly about McVeigh associates, were irrelevant to Nichols.

Outside the courtroom, survivors and relatives of the victims said that while disappointed that a hearing was held, they were confident Matsch would deny a new trial. "The conspiracy was proven," said survivor Martin Cash. "The conspiracy was what he was found guilty of and there isn't anything that's going to change that."



Timothy McVeigh (right) was found, but "John Doe No. 2" — if he ever existed — never was.

AP PHOTO/JUSTICE DEPARTMENT

Terrorism

'Aryan' Revolutionary Gets Life Sentence

A mostly black federal jury has sentenced white supremacist Chevie Kehoe (see related interview, p. 20) to life in prison for his role in a terrorist crime spree that included the murder of an Arkansas family, the bombing of City Hall in Spokane, Wash., and a shootout with Ohio police.

A follower, Daniel Lewis Lee, was sentenced to death.

Prosecutors had sought the death penalty for both men, arguing that they had killed five people, including an 8-year-old girl who was apparently tortured with electric cattle prods, in their bid to create an all-white "Aryan People's Republic" in the

Pacific Northwest. There was also court testimony that Kehoe had considered killing his parents for their gun collection and his wife because he suspected she had Native American blood.

Lee was found guilty of fewer criminal acts, but was apparently given death by the jury because of his volatility, his involvement in an earlier murder and the danger he was believed to pose to other inmates. Jurors found that Kehoe, with no prior criminal record, was less of a threat. Kehoe still faces sentencing in state court in Ohio, where he and his brother, Cheyne, shot it out with police in 1997.



Chevie Kehoe escaped the death penalty despite his involvement in multiple murders.

AP PHOTO/TOM UHLMAN

'A DEFECTOR IN

The creator of an underground magazine aimed at the Special Forces is out of the Army but building up his role on the extremist right

Eleven days after the April 19, 1995, Oklahoma City bombing, Sergeant First Class Steven M. Barry, a.k.a. "J.F.A. Davidson," appeared on CBS' "60 Minutes." Questioned by reporter Steve Kroft, the Special Forces soldier — his face obscured and voice altered electronically to hide his identity — identified himself as the editor of an underground newsletter called *The Resister*. Introducing Barry's "political warfare journal," Kroft told his listeners that it used "the same inflammatory rhetoric espoused by the radical militia movement and portrays the U.S. government as the enemy."

"The command says you don't exist," Kroft told Barry.

"That's excellent," replied Barry. "Great. Exactly."

"How do we know you're not the only ... people in this organization?"

"You don't," said Barry, who was accompanied by a similarly disguised associate editor of his publication. "We won't comment on numbers, names or affiliated individuals. That's a breach of security."

For many in the Army's elite Special Forces, this last comment was laughable. Barry had just violated a cardinal rule taught at the Special Warfare Center. Appearing on the nation's most widely watched news program, Barry had revealed what was supposed to be a closely held secret — the existence of his "underground" magazine and the organization that he said supported it, the Special Forces Underground (SFU).

Steven Barry spoke to reporter Steve Kroft (left) from the shadows in his 1995 public debut.

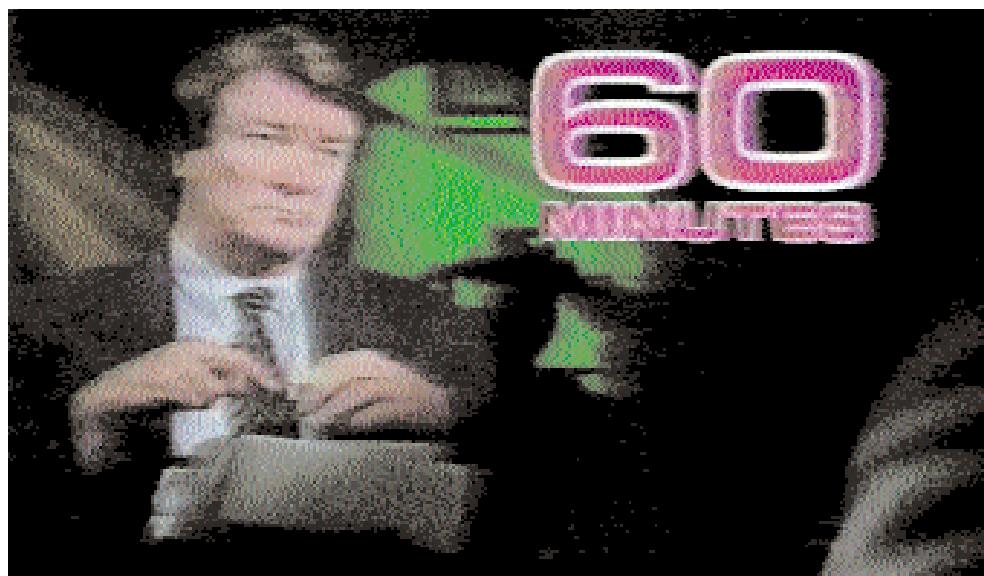
But Barry has turned out to be no laughing matter. Today, he is out of the Army, and he openly distributes his racist and anti-Semitic periodical. He is drawing increasingly near to men like William Pierce, the author of *The Turner Diaries* and perhaps this country's most infamous neo-Nazi, even as he appears at more mainstream gatherings like those of the Council of Conservative Citizens, a racist group that has nonetheless attracted the support of numerous southern politicians. More and more, Barry has grown into a key figure at the crossroads of right-wing extremism and the paramilitary underground — a man who also has received some of the best insurgency warfare training in the world, courtesy of the U.S. Army.

Leaks, Congress and *Soldier of Fortune*

The saga of Steven Barry raises many questions. How was a right-wing extrem-

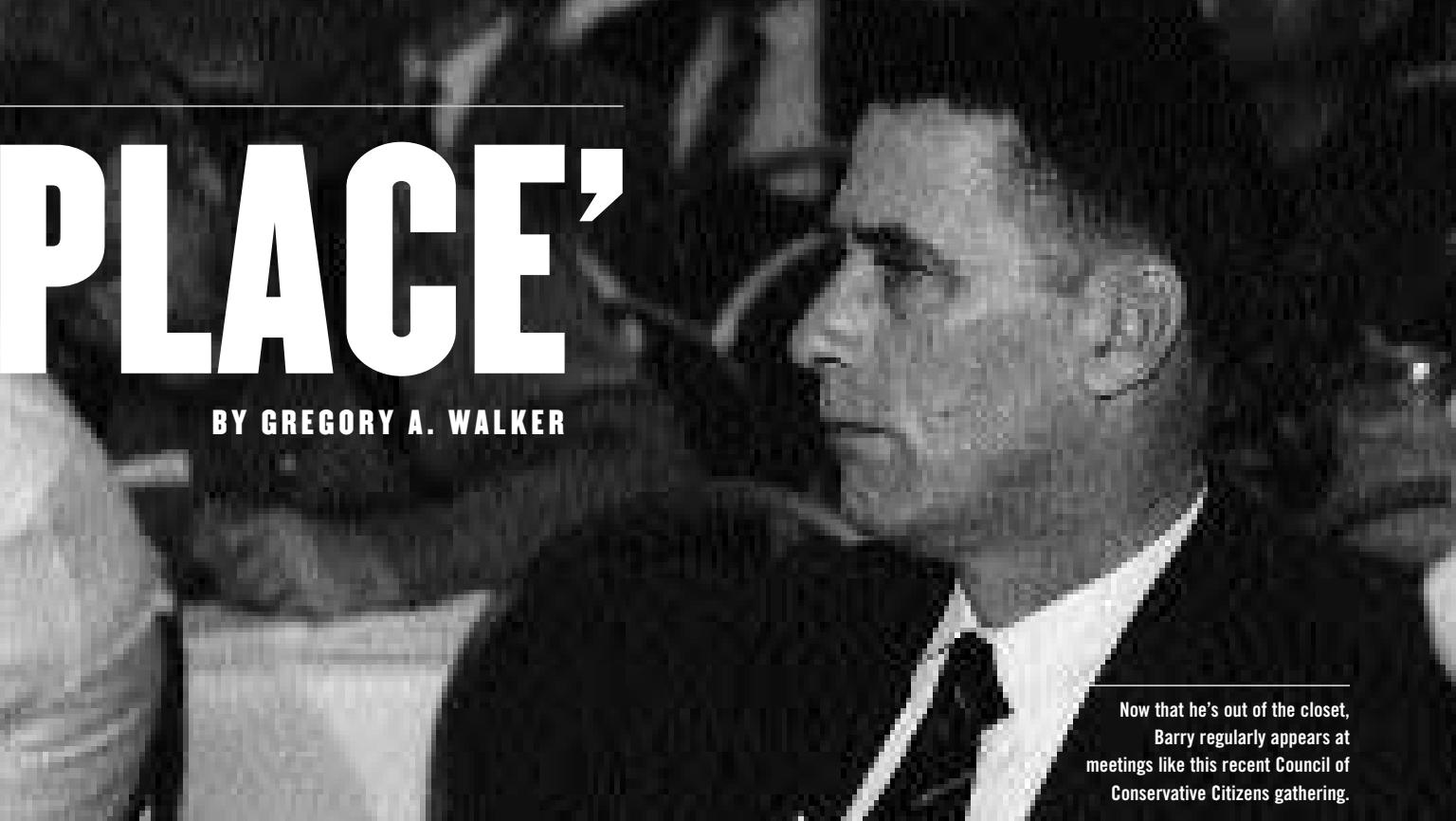
ist, at the center of a small group of elite, active-duty soldiers, allowed to operate within the Army as long as Barry did? What damage did Barry's SFU do and how were its activities finally dealt with? Where outside the Army did Barry find support?

Here is the untold story of Steven Barry, drawn from this author's role in an Army investigation and from numerous other sources. It shows that confidential Army information has been published in *The Resister*, a periodical once read by Oklahoma City bomber Timothy McVeigh; that Barry received a career-ending reprimand as a result of his activities and, at one point, was a target of both federal and military criminal investigations; and that *The Resister* boasted of Special Forces members illegally defying orders in Haiti by helping to arm anti-democratic forces. It describes how U.S. military officials sidelined Congress and



PLACE'

BY GREGORY A. WALKER



Now that he's out of the closet, Barry regularly appears at meetings like this recent Council of Conservative Citizens gathering.

allowed Barry to remain in the military despite clear evidence of his extremism. And it explains how *The Resister*, which today has a circulation of almost 2,500, was helped immeasurably by its intimate relationship with *Soldier of Fortune*, a magazine aimed at mercenaries and military men that enjoys a circulation of 100,000.

With the airing of the "60 Minutes" piece, the hunt for the SFU and the staff of *The Resister* was on. But the story of Barry and the military began long before.

Early Failures and 'Contract Work'

As a young man, Barry entered West Point in 1973 with high hopes of becoming a commissioned officer. Early on, classmates say, he attended a class on unconventional warfare and became entranced with military science, often to the exclusion of other coursework.

This may have cost him. In 1976, Barry was discharged as a result of poor grades — a failure he later tried to portray as the work of classroom instructors who disagreed with him politically. Barry also suffered another stinging defeat. While attending the super-elite Ranger school as a West Point cadet, he was "peered out" — removed after his classmates suggest-

ed he did not have the qualities needed to become a Ranger officer.

In June 1976, Barry joined the Army in Cleveland as an enlisted man. There, by his own account, he went to Airborne School and the Special Warfare Training Group. The following year, he qualified for the Special Forces and trained in weapons, intelligence and sniping. In the early 1980s, he was an instructor at the Special Warfare Center.

Barry left the Army in 1985. According to an article earlier this year in *Soldier of Fortune* by its national affairs editor, James L. Pate — a man who has been close to Barry for years — Barry later took on "some contract work" in the Philippines. That work, he told Pate, was for a group "concerned" by the democratization of that country after the ouster of dictator Ferdinand Marcos. Pate pointed out that Barry's 1988 stay coincided with a period of highly active police death squads that targeted communist rebels.

In 1989, after returning to the United States, Barry began editing *Asia Hand*, a right-wing weekly in California. The purpose, Barry told Pate, was "torquing out the Vietnamese communists in Orange County." During Barry's editorship, sev-

eral pro-communist newspapers within the émigré Vietnamese community were hit by unsolved arson attacks using ignition devices that police described as fairly sophisticated. Chuckling and at one point breaking into laughter, Barry denied involvement in the arsons.

"It was fun," Barry said of this period.

Barry as 'Defector in Place'

At the end of 1989, Barry reenlisted in the Special Forces, traveling, he told Pate, to Africa and the Caribbean on various assignments. He has said that he first conceived of *The Resister* on Aug. 23, 1992 — the day after an FBI sniper killed Vicki Weaver, the wife of white supremacist and former Green Beret Randy Weaver. Work on a prototype newsletter began, he says, on Feb. 28, 1993 — the day of a bloody raid by federal agents in Waco. Outraged at these actions and by the speech of his battalion commander lamenting the deaths of four agents in Waco, Barry writes that at this point he became a "defector in place." Had he been in the Waco compound during the raid, he later said, "I would have counterattacked at the moment the [federal raid] stalled and killed them all."

SPECIAL FORCES UNDERGROUND

For Barry — like *Resister* reader and Oklahoma bomber Timothy McVeigh — Waco would become a personal war cry. In the winter of 1993, Barry contacted Pate, who would thereafter provide numerous services to *The Resister*. Pate would come to see *The Resister* staff as both friends and as sources for his own journalism projects.

The relationship was close from the start. After journalists and others learned that a young man close to Barry had set up a *Resister* post office box in 1994 (immediately compromising the box because it was listed as commercial, meaning its ownership records were public), Pate opened another one on behalf of Barry. That box was closed down when Pate's *Soldier of Fortune* bosses became concerned about appearing to be too closely tied to *The Resister*.

"The Maryland post office box was rented in my name, as a personal favor to TR staff, and as part of my obligation to protect sources," Pate later tried to explain. "My assistance was made with the understanding that it would be temporary."

But Pate's connection to Barry went much deeper. Sources close to Barry say that Pate actually helped lay out the *The*

Extremists have long sought to recruit from elite military units like the Special Forces.

Resister's first issue and wrote for it under the pseudonym "Z.B. Vance" — an allegation that Pate has denied in the past. The "60 Minutes" interview was conducted in Pate's relative's Fayetteville, N.C., home. Ultimately, after CBS producers learned of the extent of the relationship — that Pate was acting as a gatekeeper to a secret group that he had helped to create — his CBS consultancy came to an end, producers say. Show producers complained that they'd been hoodwinked, thinking they were paying an objective reporter, rather than a silent Barry partner, to help produce their news segment.

Boasts and Reality

After the "60 Minutes" piece aired in early 1995, Pentagon and Special Forces officials denied the existence of the SFU and said *The Resister* was not an "extremist publication." The denials came nine years after a special directive from then-Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger banning active participation in extremist groups (the directive did not bar simple membership in such organizations). Over the years, the armed services had been embarrassed by a number of extremist incidents linked to men in uniform.

Still, later in 1995, Major General William Garrison, the commander of the Special Warfare Center where Barry had once taught, launched an unofficial investi-

gation to identify *The Resister*'s editor and his associates. At about the same time, a fraternal group of Special Forces veterans told Garrison it believed that editor was Steven Barry.

The FBI was interested, too.

When McVeigh was arrested earlier in 1995, a few days after the Oklahoma City bombing, police had found a photocopy of *The Resister* in his car. The copy, it turned out, was one of about 900 sent out free by *Soldier of Fortune* as part of a promotional package. Like the rest of the free *Resisters*, McVeigh's copy carried a fax signature — a number that the FBI easily traced to a Colorado convenience store used by Pate to fax documents to *Soldier of Fortune*. FBI officials followed the trail to the store, then to Pate and finally to Barry.

In February 1996, as Garrison's unofficial probe began to make headway, a Pate article appeared in *Soldier of Fortune* under the headline "Witch Hunt for the *Resister*." The story lambasted Garrison's point man in the investigation, Command Sgt. Major William Rambo, who was charged with pursuing *Resister* links inside the Special Warfare Center. (While in the Army, Barry had served under Rambo and once boasted to him that he would one day lead a successful revolutionary army.) Pate's article went on to mock the Army's supposed inability to identify those linked to the SFU.

The article had its intended effect. It was widely considered an embarrassment to the Special Forces and helped to stall Garrison's investigation.

"They have surprised even the supporters who thought they could not survive to publish this long," Pate wrote of the *Resister* group. "And the [*Resister*] staff ... have done so using the same tradecraft and counterinsurgency skills to avoid detection that they were taught as covert operators by the Army and the Central Intelligence Agency."

The truth was somewhat less impressive.

The Reprimand: 'Reprehensible' Conduct

In mid-December 1995, a soldier told officials that Barry had given him a copy of *The Resister* in a parking lot at Ft. Bragg, N.C., where he was based. By the time



GREG WALKER COLLECTION

Violence has plagued Haiti's transition to democracy — a transition that Barry boasted of subverting.

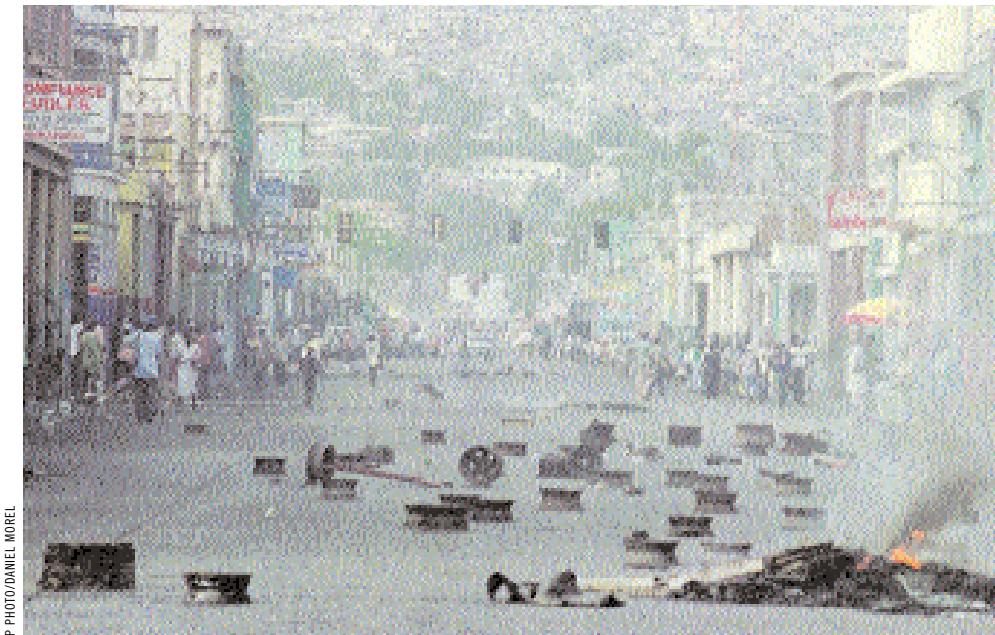
Pate's congratulatory piece appeared, Barry was being sweated by Army Criminal Investigation Division (CID) interrogators about his role in *The Resister*. According to a CID report, Barry claimed that he was a mere subscriber, not the editor of the publication.

Admitted editor or not, the result was a career-wrecking reprimand for Barry issued on March 6, 1996. Col. Mark Boyatt, Barry's commanding officer at 3rd Special Forces Group, excoriated Barry for his role in distributing a publication that consistently printed information deemed "operationally sensitive" and "of a confidential nature."

"Your apparent disregard for the protection of sensitive information which could be used to cause the injury or death of your fellow soldiers is reprehensible," Boyatt wrote. "[Y]our distribution of [*The Resister*] ... causes me to question your loyalty and future value to the United States Army." Barry's security clearance was suspended, and he was reassigned to a dead-end job at the Group's language laboratory.

Barry would boast later that the Army had merely sidelined him to a job that took just an hour a day to complete, leaving the rest of his time free to expand *The Resister* from a stapled pamphlet to an 80-page journal. But more trouble was brewing.

In the wake of the December 1995 murder of a black couple outside Ft. Bragg by three active-duty white supremacist paratroopers, the House National Security Committee decided to hold a hearing into extremist activity in the military. That decision followed the embarrassing disclosure that Army officials had known for at least 10 months that one of the murderers was an active white supremacist who'd been caught wearing Nazi symbols and fighting with a black soldier. It also came after then-Army Secretary Togo West ordered an investigation into white supremacist activities at all Army bases. The hearing, which would convene in June 1996 with testimony from all the



AP PHOTO/DANIEL MOREL

armed forces' service secretaries, was requested by the committee's ranking Democrat, Ronald Dellums of California.

In advance of the hearing, an internal memo prepared by senior committee staffer George Withers was circulated to Democratic members.

It told a troubling tale.

The Haiti Fiasco

In December 1995, Withers wrote, he and other committee staffers had traveled to Ft. Bragg to meet with Army officials for a briefing. The trip came just two weeks after a disturbing *Washington Post* article on the role of the Special Forces in a U.S./United Nations effort to restore democracy in Haiti. The soldiers were there as part of a project to reinstall the elected president, Jean-Bertrand Aristide, who had been deposed in a military coup after his 1990 election. According to the *Post*, Aristide officials claimed that Special Forces troops had helped certain anti-Aristide Haitian military and paramilitary forces to hide their guns, directly defying official U.S./UN efforts to disarm them.

Withers asked to meet with the Special Operations Command's most senior officer, but was met instead by a command legal officer. Withers inquired about both *The Resister* and the *Post* report. The offi-

cer was "less than responsive" about *The Resister*; Withers wrote. As to the *Post* story about alleged Special Forces subversion in Haiti, Withers reported that the officer told him, "We looked into that, and found it to be untrue."

Withers asked for details of the investigation that backed the officer's assertions. But for six months, Withers wrote, the Army dragged its feet. Finally, after several requests, the Army sent the committee's staff a letter reiterating that the Haiti report was "unfounded," but offering no further details. "When pressed," Withers wrote, "... [Army officials] said that they had asked the soldiers themselves if they were involved in such activities and the soldiers had said no, so they decided they did not need to investigate further." The officials also said *The Resister* was unconnected to the Special Forces although one soldier had been reprimanded for distributing it. Barry's name was not mentioned.

But even as both the Army and Special Forces were officially denying the allegations of the Aristide government, *The Resister* was saying otherwise.

In January, four months before the Army's memo to Withers, Barry boasted in print about the SFU's anti-Aristide activities in Haiti, where he had been briefly assigned in support of Operation Restore Democracy. More recently, in a 1999 issue

SPECIAL FORCES UNDERGROUND

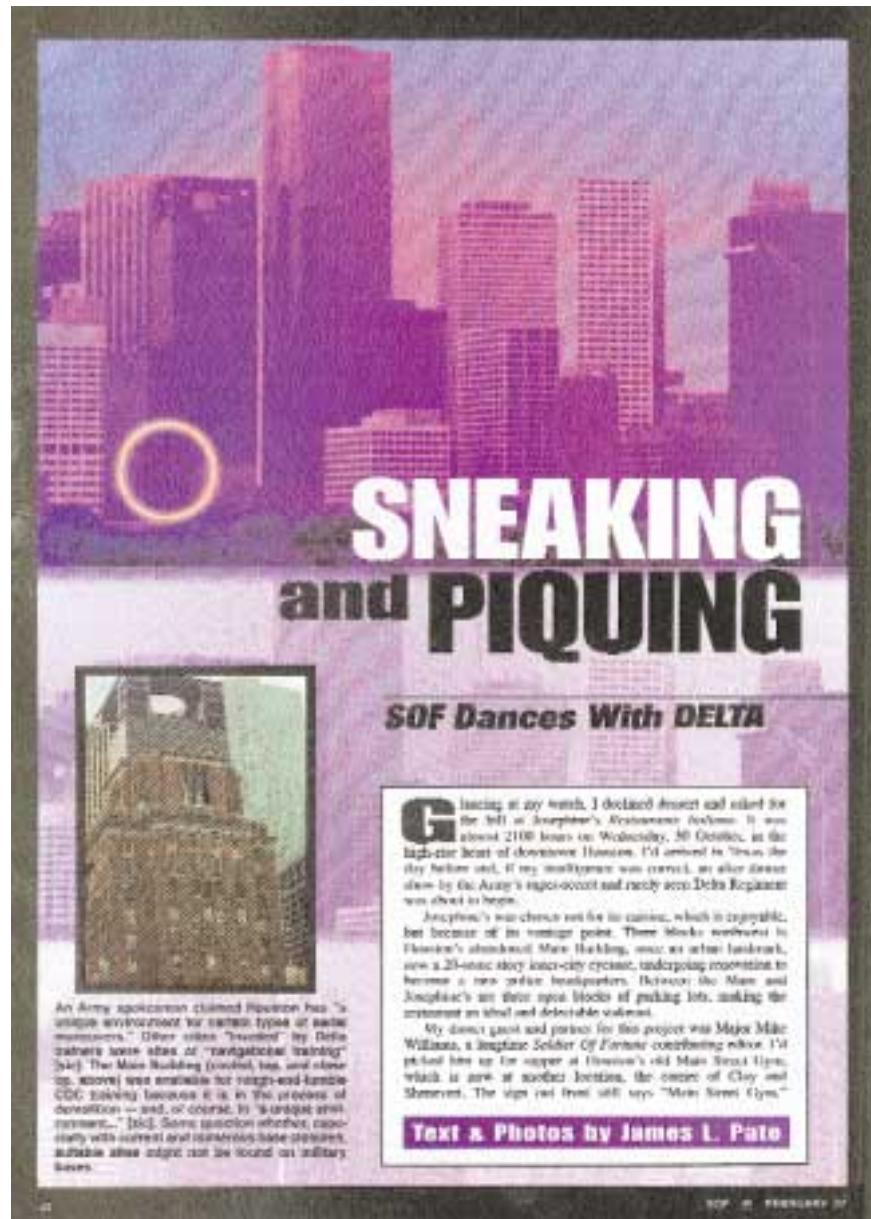
of *The Register*, he wrote of his own role in subverting the U.S. mission: "Instead of posturing and blustering and whining about [the gun confiscation program], I kept my mouth shut and acted. So, despite the best efforts of our Communist administration, there are still hundreds of anti-Communist Haitians who still possess militarily useful arms."

The Official Investigation

Not satisfied with the Army's response to its questions, Dellums' committee informed the Special Forces Command that its staffers would again visit Ft. Bragg seeking answers. On Sept. 18, 1996, in preparation for this visit, the Special Forces Command under Major General Kenneth R. Bowra authorized an official administrative investigation "into the possible illegal activities of active duty soldiers associated with ... *The Resister*." On Oct. 9, Bowra reported some preliminary findings to Withers and another committee staffer: a soldier (Barry) had been identified as distributor, publisher and editor of *The Resister*; the publication had ties to *Soldier of Fortune* (through Pate); and the publication apparently had links to other extreme-right organizations and personalities.

A key CID concern was information that had appeared in several of Pate's *Soldier of Fortune* articles. In August 1996, for example, Pate quoted "an Army Special Forces source at Fort Bragg," along with two others, to allege that the Army's elite DELTA counter-terrorism unit had been improperly deployed at Waco. Officials wanted to locate Pate's information pipeline — a pipeline they suspected began with Barry.

In late 1996, a DELTA soldier sympathetic to Barry was placed under surveillance, and classified information about an upcoming DELTA exercise in Houston was purposely leaked to him. The exercise already had been compromised by a Houston city official, but with no specifics as to the date. Special Forces Command now claims it wanted to see if this more detailed information would find its way to *The Resister* and, ultimately, to Jim Pate and *Soldier of Fortune*.



The Trap is Sprung

Sure enough, Pate showed up in downtown Houston to watch and photograph the Oct. 30 night-time exercise, which involved an aerial assault on an abandoned building — which was now being played out, in part, for Pate's benefit. In his February 1997 *Soldier of Fortune* story describing the exercise, Pate crowed about the "alpha-one" intelligence he'd received in advance and quoted "various special operations sources" in characterizing it. Published with his article was a floor plan Pate had obtained that indicated which floors and rooms in

Jim Pate boasted of the "alpha-one" intelligence that landed him this scoop.

the abandoned building would be stormed by DELTA.

As officials with the Special Operations Command identified those around Barry, sources of information for *The Resister* (and, apparently, *Soldier of Fortune*) were dried up. Officials warned many sympathetic soldiers away from Barry and his publication, and some transfers were ordered. The result, in part, was a change in *The Resister*. What had been a magazine focused on criticism of internal mil-

itary matters increasingly became a mouthpiece for little more than extremist political views.

Some connected to the House committee and the CID investigation thought that Barry would face charges. But this never happened. Barry was left in place until he retired in November 1997. The primary reason that Barry was not drummed out of the Army, sources say, was that an undercover federal investigation of Barry and the SFU was under way in 1996. Barry's operation had become so transparent that investigators were able to use it to identify other active duty extremists.

Since leaving the armed forces, Barry — a professed anti-welfare, anti-state benefit ideologue — lives on a government retirement check and shops at a discounted government commissary and PX. His college education at a predominantly black university in Fayetteville was funded by government Pell grants. But these are the kind of contradictions that have never seemed to bother Barry.

In the last two years, *The Resister* and its editor have moved even further to the right. In 1998, it began publishing full-page advertisements from the neo-Nazi National Alliance, prompting its long-time *pro bono* attorney, Kevin Jamison, to quit in protest. ("One is known by the company he keeps," Jamison wrote to Barry. "I will not have my name in the same magazine as an advertisement for nazis.") Last fall, Barry joined an Arlington, Va., gathering hosted by white separatist author Jared Taylor, editor of *American Renaissance* magazine. Also in attendance was an old friend: James L. Pate of *Soldier of Fortune*.

Extremists and the Military

In April of this year, Barry — who publicly and repeatedly has claimed that he opposes Nazism — went a step further, joining neo-Nazi National Alliance leader William Pierce as Pierce's invited guest at a Cleveland gathering of the European-American Cultural Fest. The next day, he addressed a National Alliance meeting in the same city.

These in-person activities fit well with Barry's recent writings. In the January issue



"Do you believe that Africans, Mexicans, Arabs, or Asians could have created America? One look at their squalid, collectivist, regional pest holes is the obvious answer."

of *The Resister*, he unleashes tirades against Jews, blacks, immigrants and women.

On Jews: "Communism is, for all practical purposes, a Jewish invention." Television is "Talmudvision," aimed at promoting socialism. It figures, Barry asserts, that poet Emma Lazarus, "a Jewish Bolshevik female" who wrote the famous inscription on the Statue of Liberty welcoming the "huddled masses," "would think of such a collectivist obscenity."

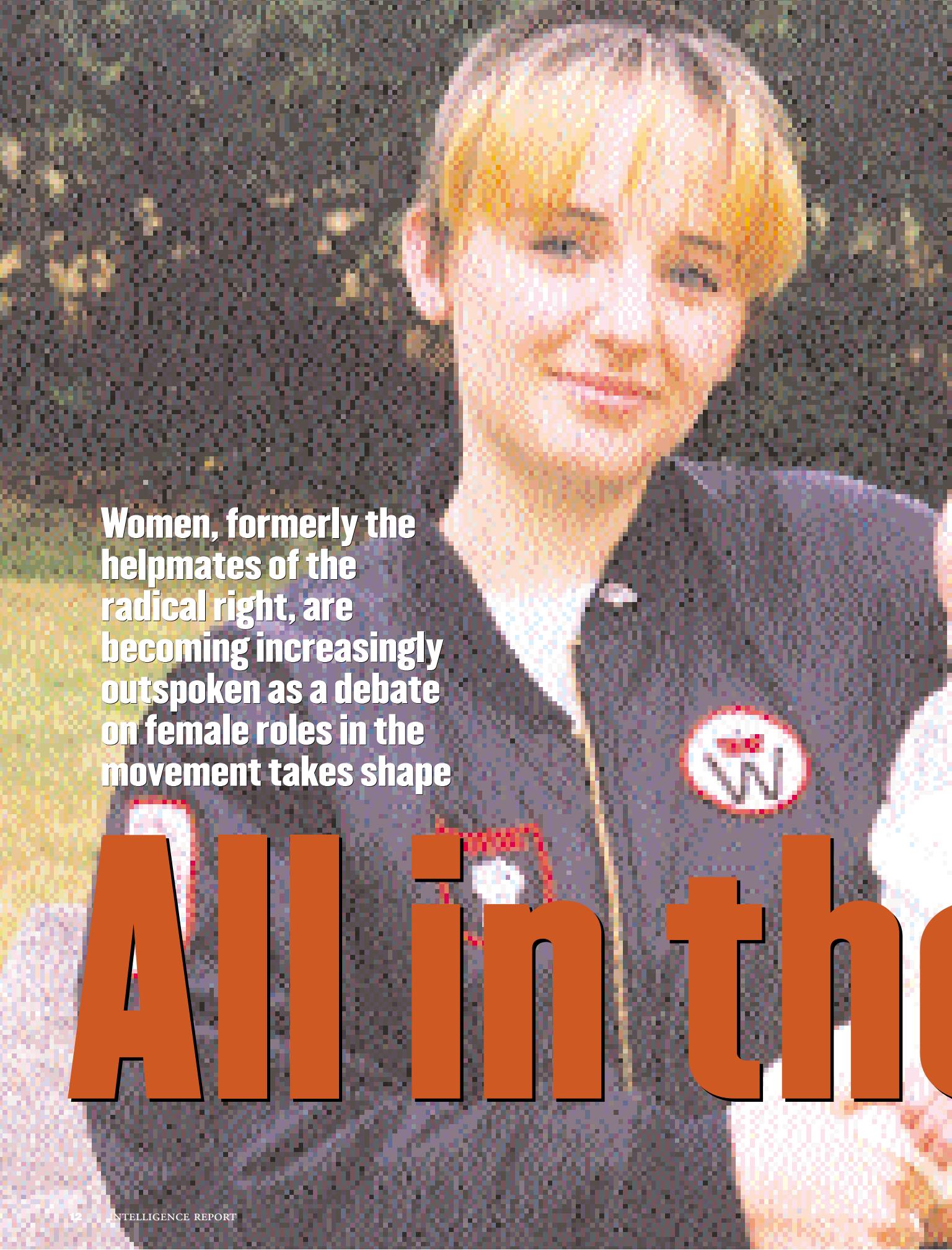
On blacks: "American Negroes did not earn their citizenship, it was a blanket government grant to African slave labor. Their first undeserved welfare handout. ... Negroes are not 'victims' of 'subtle white racism,' whites are victims of the Negroes' very presence on this continent." Blacks "cannot build, only destroy."

On immigrants: "Do you believe that Africans, Mexicans, Arabs, or Asians could have created America? One look at their squalid, collectivist, regional pest holes is the obvious answer. ... [The media] coo and gurgle that in fifty years whites will be a minority in America. They might as well simply declare that in fifty years America will be a Third World Communist dung hill." The nation is faced with the "unassimilable Southern hemisphere barbarians that flood almost unchecked into America."

On women: Most are "collectivist utopian egalitarians."

Only time will tell if Barry develops into an important leader of the extremist right. It is possible that other radical leaders will dismiss him as a walking oxymoron — a man who depicts himself as a deep cover operative but whose insatiable taste for attention and less-than-stellar attempts to keep his own operations secret reveal critical weaknesses. Certainly, he has followed a trajectory toward more and more extreme politics, ideologies that make him amenable to America's most serious neo-Nazis. As a former Special Forces instructor, Steven Barry has military qualities and contacts that make him extremely appealing to such leaders — and potentially dangerous to the rest of us. ▲

*Gregory A. Walker, the author of **AT THE HURRICANE'S EYE: U.S. SPECIAL OPERATIONS FORCES FROM VIETNAM TO DESERT STORM** and other books and articles, served with the Special Forces from 1980-1999. In 1996, he was assigned to assist in an official investigation of Steven Barry, a task for which he was awarded a Meritorious Service Medal. A decorated combat veteran, Walker is presently a police officer in the Pacific Northwest and a contributor to JANE'S INTERNATIONAL POLICE REVIEW on the issue of domestic terrorism.*



Women, formerly the helpmates of the radical right, are becoming increasingly outspoken as a debate on female roles in the movement takes shape

All in the

In the late 1960s, in the heyday of radical left-wing groups, a debate developed within the Weathermen about the role of revolutionary women, who had been largely confined to supporting their menfolk. Before it was over, the Weathermen were renamed the Weather Underground, and many of the group's women were taking up the gun.

Thirty years later, in a distant echo of that debate, women on the radical right — who a leading analyst says now comprise 25% of many groups and as many as half of new recruits — are increasingly re-examining their position in the world of white supremacy. And while they are far from radical feminists, many are espousing a new female activism and even leadership — often to the dismay and anger of the men in their movement.

"For years, it seemed that a White woman's role in the Racial movement was to write lonely prisoners and stand behind their boyfriends without much of an opinion about anything," writes Lisa Turner, who began the "Women's Frontier" of the neo-Nazi World Church of the Creator (WCOTC) in May 1998. "In the last year or so, we have seen a lot of changes in this area. Everyone is starting to realize that if we are going to overcome in this struggle we are going to have to do it together — Man and Woman — side by side!"

Brandi Houston, a WCOTC women's recruiter, with her baby Freya Geniveve.

From California to Maryland, and abroad from Australia to Canada to Europe, the voices of "racialist" women are being heard increasingly in a variety of forums. In the past, these movement women have been Nazi "Aryan breeders," the Klan moms who stayed home sewing robes for their men, the secretaries and helpmates of neo-Nazi leaders, the transmitters of "Aryan" values to the next generation. Now, some of these women are seeking new, expanded roles for themselves and their gender. And although most reject "feminism" — which is widely seen as a Jewish plot to destroy the white race — they are leading key efforts to build a viable movement. While their men try to tear down the current society, these women are building up the culture they hope to replace it with.

"There is a vacuum of leadership, and one that our menfolk must honestly look within themselves to explain," writes Turner, who recruits via the Internet. "Leadership is a legitimate and necessary role ... which women in the Church can fill."

WCOTC, which like almost all hate groups is led by a man, is only the most visible example of a concerted effort by the movement to reach out to women. Forums for and about women, particularly on the Internet, are proliferating. They range from chat rooms featuring discussions about women's leadership capabilities to Skinhead Web sites with photographs of skimpily clad examples of Aryan female

e Family

WOMEN IN THE MOVEMENT

beauty to Internet advice columns for racist mothers on how to save money with homemade baby wipes.

From Kitchen to Cross-Building

• On Stormfront, the Web's oldest hate site, a debate on the role of women in the movement has been raging for months. One man wrote to a woman who had posted an earlier message: "I'm sorry to inform you, but a woman's place is in the kitchen. ... [M]en are physically stronger, which makes us more valuable... . A real white racialist woman understands this." A second woman, speaking to the first, replies: "Don't be discouraged. Neanderthal attitudes like this one are few in the movement. ... I do think we should support our men, but we do not necessarily have to stay in the kitchen to do it."

• Women for Aryan Unity (WAU), a Web site run by a group of racist Odinist women in Canada, declares that "squeamish, bug fearing females" should "lose your forest phobias and start preparing for tomorrow" by acquiring survivalist, weapons and fighting skills. A person identified as "Max Hammer" takes a similar view in a posting on the Web site: "Certain male elements who hold a rather Turkish attitude toward our feminine comrades should wise up and think Nordic, while certain female elements should cease behaving like mindless groupies and start doing political exercises instead."

• Sigdrifa Publications, a unit of WAU, publishes a quarterly magazine "100% produced" by "Proud Aryan Women" with a mix of features like "Women of History," "Aryan Recipes," "White Prisoner Sponsorship Program" and "Baby Bulletin." It also maintains a Web site for women describing, among other things, "Aryan Beginnings for Children (ABC)," a "co-operative of racialists ... organized to assist racially aware parents ... in raising proud white children in today's society." ABC plans "White Heritage" coloring books and newsletters on children's developmental stages.

• Tom Metzger, leader of the neo-Nazi White Aryan Resistance, recently criticized "the male dominance habit": "The Right Wing ... and the racial elements thereof have perpetuated some very neg-

ative attitudes. ... These positions have caused ... the political flight of many capable women.... . Many women put the men to shame.... . Historically, women have been proven to be great leaders, warriors, thinkers, scientists, etc."

• A few female leaders of other white supremacist groups have emerged recently. In Pennsylvania, the state leader of the American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan is a woman who goes by the name of "Kay Ryan" — although a newspaper recently identified her as Kathryn Christy Sonner Negley Hedrick, 47. A May American Knights rally in Splendora, Texas, was led off by female speakers named "Bunny" and "Mary." In Philadelphia, at least through 1997, the local leader of the racist National Association for the Advancement of White People (NAAWP) was a woman, Cortney Mann — who is, bizarrely, black.

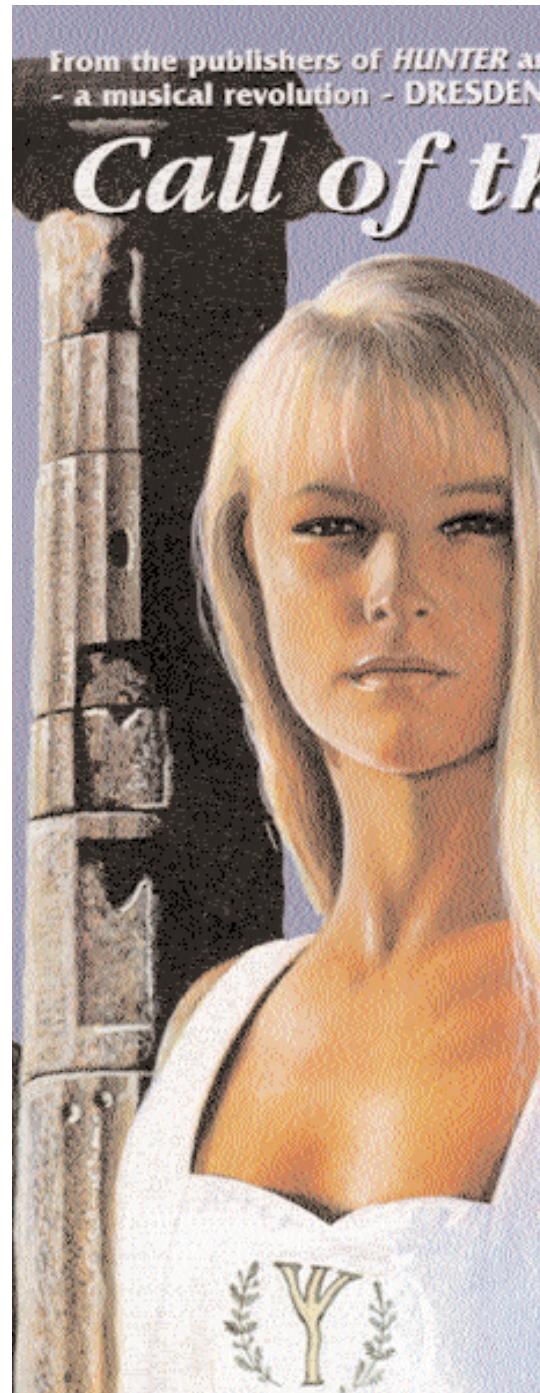
• A female leader of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, identified only as "Klaliff" (a title of a local Klan group's vice president), declares on a Web page that "Men and women are in the fight together" and says her group has a female national advisory board member. "There has been some crossover in the more traditional tasks, but not too much. For the most part, women still work in the kitchen and men work on building the crosses."

• Women within a racist Odinist group based in northern Alabama have taken steps to form their own day-care center to isolate their children from what are seen as the pernicious influences of Judeo-Christian values, as well as to free up women for other work.

• Mothers of the Movement, another Web site for racist women, features relatively little political talk. Instead, it concentrates on such matters as how to save money with recipes for baby food.

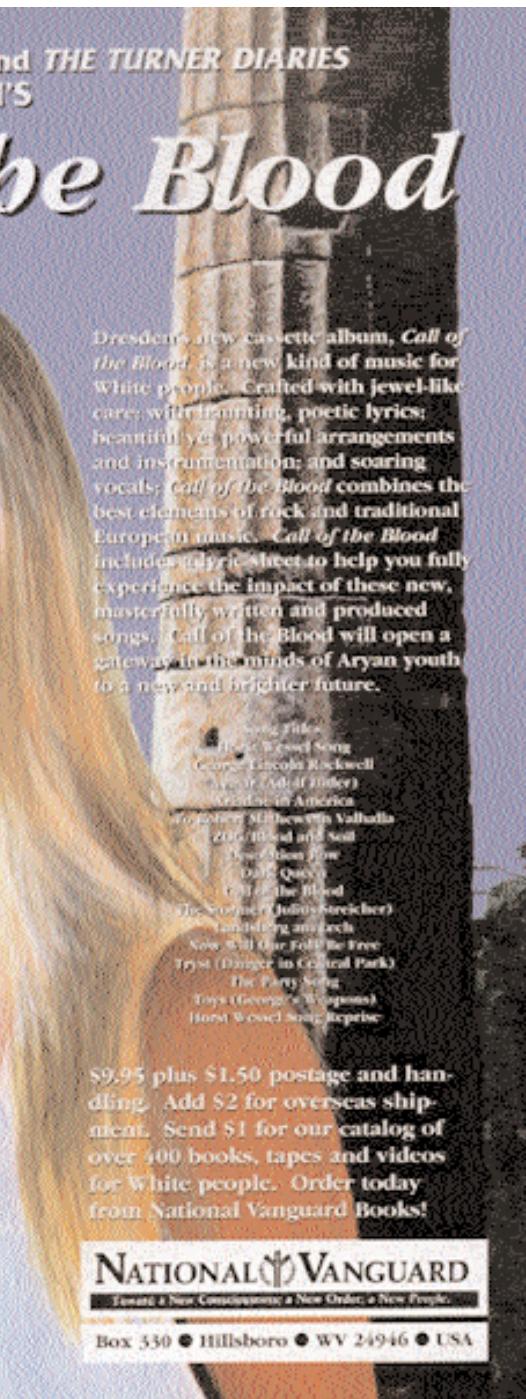
Chastity, Feminism and Vicki Weaver

"Family values" have long been a staple of the radical right. A chief mission of the Reconstruction- and 1920s-era Klans was the protection of the "honor" and chastity of white women. In more modern times, the "Fourteen Words" penned by imprisoned terrorist David Lane in the



William Pierce's neo-Nazi National Alliance presents a young woman to help "open a gateway in the minds of Aryan youth."

1980s has become a family-oriented mantra for the white supremacist right: "We must secure the existence of our people and a future for white children." White women long have been portrayed as a tiny minor-



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ity in a dark-skinned world (the National Alliance, a neo-Nazi group based in West Virginia, terms them the "Earth's Most Beautiful Endangered Species"), seeking only to protect their fair-haired children.

Now, the role of radical women is expanding.

Part of this new activism owes a debt to the examples of several previous female

Women: the Traditional View

Many within the radical right are calling for more female leaders and activists. But traditionalists — those who describe the role of women principally as that of wife, mother and genetic bearer of "Aryan" virtues — still are the majority in the white supremacist movement. Here are excerpts from a few of these traditionalists' views:

Aryan Nations, the influential neo-Nazi group based in Hayden Lake, Idaho

"Nature has ordained that man should be the guardian of the family and the protector of the community. The world of contented womanhood is made of family: husband, children and home. Honored above all is the mother. It is a far greater love and service to be the mother of healthy Aryan children than to be a clever woman lawyer."

Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, based in Harrison, Ark.

"While we accept the contributions that can be offered by our women, the Klan still believes that our women find their greatest fulfillment as mothers of our children. [N]o woman should be forced away from her home and children as is being done today by the shambled economy brought upon us by the greedy bankers of international finance."

LaPorte Church of Christ, an anti-Semitic Christian Identity ministry in Colorado (in the words of Cheri Peters, recently deceased wife of leader Pete Peters)

"Probably more than anything else a woman not only desires but NEEDS to feel loved, cherished and honored by the one man God has given to rule over her. God never intended for anyone but a white Christian male to make decisions."

WOMEN ON THE WEB

As the number of neo-Nazi and other white supremacist Internet sites skyrockets, women are staking out their own territory on the World Wide Web. On many of these sites, a spirited debate on the role of women in the racist movement is taking place. Others stick to more traditional fare, from "Aryan" recipes to parenting tips for white mothers. Here are some examples of these women's Web sites:

Sisterhood of the WCOTC

www.wcotc.com/sisterhood/index.html

One of four female-focused Web sites on the World Church of the Creator's "webring" of 18 sites. The site offers, among other things, accounts of "successful" grassroots recruitment drives; poetry extolling the virtues of motherhood; and a guestbook replete with comments, criticisms and dinner invitations.

Women's Frontier

www.wcotc.com/wcotcwf

This site is the home of the WCOTC's Women's Frontier section and the principal forum for Lisa Turner's writings. The site is one of the most extensive of the women's sites on the Web and contains the group's 13-point "declaration," interviews with Frontier "sisters," tips on "Salubrious living," book reviews and "true stories from Mudland."

Women's Frontier: Maryland Chapter

www.wcotc.com/maryland/wfrontier.html

This site, home of the Maryland section of the WCOTC's Women's Frontier, is in its early stages. It greets visitors with a depiction of a mother with her child and Frontier leader Lisa Turner's 13-point declaration. Pages on "Recipes/Food" and "The Joys of Children" are under construction.

Pulcher Candidus Dea

www.wcotc.com/women

Run by a woman identifying herself as "Sister Jennifer Cobbs," this WCOTC site contains three short essays on women's role in the movement, the group's Creativity "theology" and the family. As of mid-summer, the guestbook had been signed by just a handful of visitors.

SNOwht's Site

members.delphi.com/snowht88/index.html

Adolf Hitler greets visitors to this site with an ominous "This time ... no more Mr. Nice Guy." Once inside, SNOwht graces her guests with her thoughts, photos and a graphic of "The

White Power Dancing Baby." Within the site is "SNOwht's White Women Page," which notes that "White Women are increasingly growing" in the movement.

For Aryan Women

home.cdsnet.net/~wotan/women.htm

This site is a page of the women's section of the Oregon Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. Amid classical portraits of white women are links to writings by racist women, including a personal account from "Janice" on how she came to join the movement, anti-abortion articles and poetry including Rudyard Kipling's "Female of the Species."

Aryan Women Pride!!

www.whitefuture.com/aryandolly.html

"Aryan Dolly," who describes herself as a 26-year-old "proud mother" of four ("White women are the most beautiful thing on this earth"), welcomes visitors with a cartoon of a blonde in a miniskirt, stocking and garters — and holding a bomb with a lit fuse. The site offers links to 10 "must-see" sites (only three of which are focused on women's issues).

Women for Aryan Unity

www.crusader.net/texts/wau/index.html

This page is run by Occidental Pan-Aryan Crusader, a group based in Canada and with chapters in Australia which describes its chief goal as support for America's neo-Nazi National Alliance. It includes articles on women in the movement that describe females as "emasculated" [sic] because they are "no longer needed in the home," and men as "effeminate" because they have been "taught wife's [sic] skills."

Women in the White Pride Movement

women.wpwww.com

This page is "published by White Pride women" who pledge to "celebrate and honor" Aryan women everywhere. It provides links to articles "of and for the women in the

White Racialist Movement" (including journals of "thoughts" by the anonymous women who run the site), and warns against buying food products certified for "Kosher consumption."

Bootgirl 88 ASIAtralia mate

www.yoderanium.com/webhome/aBootgrl88

With the soundtrack to the movie "Braveheart" playing in the background, "Bootgirl" declares that "Skinhead is a way of life." Her site includes provocative sketches of Skinhead women along with her own thoughts about being a "pro-White bootgirl." Based in Australia, the site spends most of its energy attacking Asian-Australians: "They call themselves AUSSIES ... yet half of them don't speak English."

British Skinhead girls

www.skinnet.demon.co.uk/skingirl/skingirl.htm

On this site run by a branch of the British Hammerskins, "Justine" offers audio tracks of "a couple of my favourite songs," including "Smash the IRA." She has told visitors for months that the site will soon be moving to a new Web address.

Sigrdrifa Publications

www.sigrdrifa.com

Sigrdrifa is the publishing arm of Women for Aryan Unity (WAU). Its site offers products like "Children's White Heritage Coloring Books," booklets on survivalism and racist T-shirts, as well as an archive of articles. It also describes WAU's recently formed "Aryan Beginnings for Children (ABC)" — a project designed to assist parents in raising "proud white children."

SknHdGr1488

www.yoderanium.com/webhome/SknHdGr1488

Visitors to this site are greeted with a warning to "anti-racist supporters," suggesting they leave the site before being "corrupted." "SknHdGr1" then corrupts the curious with links to Skinhead sites, quotes from Hitler,

short essays and personal photos of her cohorts.

White World of Skinchick

homepages.ihug.co.nz/~gayb

This site was created by Valkyries New Zealand, a recently formed, women-only white supremacist group in New Zealand that is closely associated with the Hammerskins. The site is small — most of its articles are “coming soon” — but introduces visitors to Valkyries, an organization for “white pride women who wanted to be part of a group.”

Daughters of the Revolution — Aryan Female Homestead

www.whitepride.net/aryanfemale

This simple page contains two links: one to a page that offers reading materials for “pure-blooded Aryan prisoners” and a second to the White Pride Network. The latter link takes browsers to a drawing of a scantily clad female Skinhead, accompanied with various links to “White Pride” websites, including Women for Aryan Unity.

Freja’s Homepage

www.flashback.net/~freja

Freja, who describes herself as a “30-year-old female national-socialist from Sweden,” has four components on her site: “Freja’s Art Page,” featuring Nordic mythological art; samples of hate mail she has received; an article blasting censorship on the Web; and links to various other white supremacist Web sites.

Mothers of the Movement

www.members.home.com/ragnarok88

Run independently by “anna,” this extensive site declares that it is dedicated to “Aryan mothers everywhere.” Among other things, it offers a second-hand clothing exchange for moms, essays extolling the virtues of motherhood, and even recipes for homemade fruit shakes.

extremists. The most notable early case is that of Kathy Ainsworth, a Mississippi housewife and Klanswoman who was killed in a 1968 shootout with police as she and a companion tried to bomb the home of a Jewish businessman in Meridian. While Ainsworth was widely seen as a heroine, few women tried to emulate her. That is less true of Vicki Weaver, the wife of white supremacist Randy Weaver who was shot dead by an FBI sniper in the 1992 Ruby Ridge standoff. Many movement women say they were deeply inspired by Vicki Weaver, who seems to have been a far stronger character than her husband.

Still, many women who join the white supremacist movement seem to do so for fairly traditional reasons. Kathleen Blee, a leading expert who estimates that fully a quarter of many hate groups’ members are now female, has written that while many women enter the movement “because of

worries about crime, the quality of children’s schools or family dissolution,” others do so primarily because of personal relationships. Indeed, many racist women today are pointing out that they were brought in through a lover or husband, and that many women are not true believers like the men.

And they are seeking to change that.

Using Women to Recruit Women

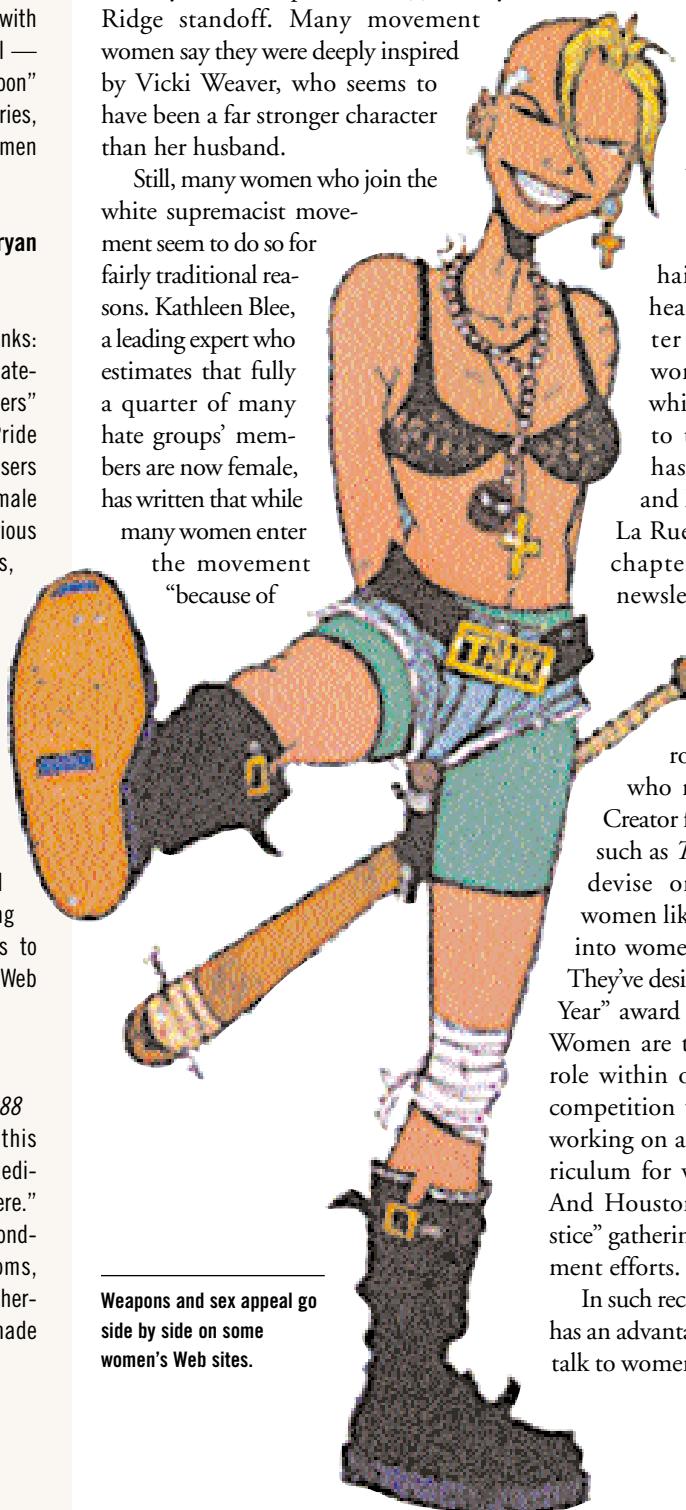
Sitting at a picnic

table in Sacramento, 19-year-old Brandi Houston looks like many a young mother as she cradles her baby Freya Geniveve — except for the wcotc jacket and the Skingirl-style hairdo she sports. Houston heads up the California chapter of a second wcotc women’s group, “Sisterhood,” which works to recruit women to the cause and which also has chapters in Washington and Michigan. She and Melody La Rue, head of the Washington chapter, publish a Sisterhood newsletter five times a year.

That’s not all they do. On alternate Fridays, Houston hosts study groups in her living room with a group of women who read up on Church of the Creator founder Ben Klassen’s works, such as *The White Man’s Bible*. They devise organizing techniques for women like slipping wcotc literature into women’s clothing on store racks. They’ve designed an annual “Sister of the Year” award (“We thought since White Women are taking on a more vigorous role within our Church, some healthy competition would be fun!”). They are working on a “racialist” educational curriculum for women who home school. And Houston coordinates “winter solstice” gatherings and other female recruitment efforts.

In such recruitment efforts, she says, she has an advantage. “It’s easier for women to talk to women, instead of men approach-

Weapons and sex appeal go side by side on some women’s Web sites.



WOMEN IN THE MOVEMENT

ing women,” Houston notes. “When I approach women, I get a much better response than when a man approaches a woman.”

Adds “Sister Blondi,” another Sacramento area women’s organizer for the wcotc: “The fact that I am a fairly young woman, nicely dressed, and white, actually helped. I’m not a threat to anyone and others feel that they can speak to me freely.”

Houston, speaking in an interview this spring, says she also works with female wcotc members to help them gain the political confidence to deal with men. “I had this girl who was so shy, she never talked to anyone,” Houston says. But now that Houston has taken her under her wing? “She opens up to everybody. ... She’s a better leader than she was.” When dealing with women’s self-esteem and confidence, issues that are critical to building future racist leaders, Houston finds that “girls just relate better. ... It’s easier [for women] to talk to [other] women about those things.”

For her part, Turner uses the Internet and newsletters to advise racist women to raise more children (“We must reawaken in our womenfolk these basic natural instincts and drives”); to push jewelry that celebrates their racial heritage; and to offer information on self-defense. She calls for an all-woman white power rock band and proposes the creation of a magazine for white women “to compete with the *Glamours* and *Mademoiselles* ... that extols the glory of motherhood, rather than climbing the corporate ladder... or ‘how to trap a man’ by wearing the right shade of lipstick.” Turner blasts those of her “male Comrades” whose art on Web sites and in periodicals depicts white women as “sexual bait.”

This is Not a Dating Service

Indeed, the wcotc and some other women’s groups explicitly reject the notion that their women’s forums are meant to further Aryan romance, like the Web’s now defunct Aryan Dating Page, which was a classified personals section for racists.

“We are not here to flirt with men or get ‘dates,’ but to conduct ourselves professionally and in a decent, understanding way,” says Turner’s Women’s Frontier page.

As to Houston’s organization, “Sisterhood’s main objective is to tie together the female allegiance ... We are not a dating service and will not turn into a ‘Cupid’s Corner.’” The wcotc’s “Creator Connection” page, Turner adds, “is a service for White women to network with one another.... THIS IS NOT A DATING SERVICE.”

(Some men apparently don’t heed that warning. In the Sisterhood guest book, for instance, one man announces that he is seeking a wife among “racially conscious women.” He claims to be a Harvard graduate, “6’3” and 220 lbs, with light brown hair... .”)

Such talk has set off many a debate, as Turner points out. “Our male Comrades, both inside and outside the Church, have generally been extremely supportive and at times even thrilled” about the new Women’s Frontier. But, she adds, “there are always reactionary elements who grumble under their breath” about its formation.

The resulting exchanges are instructive.

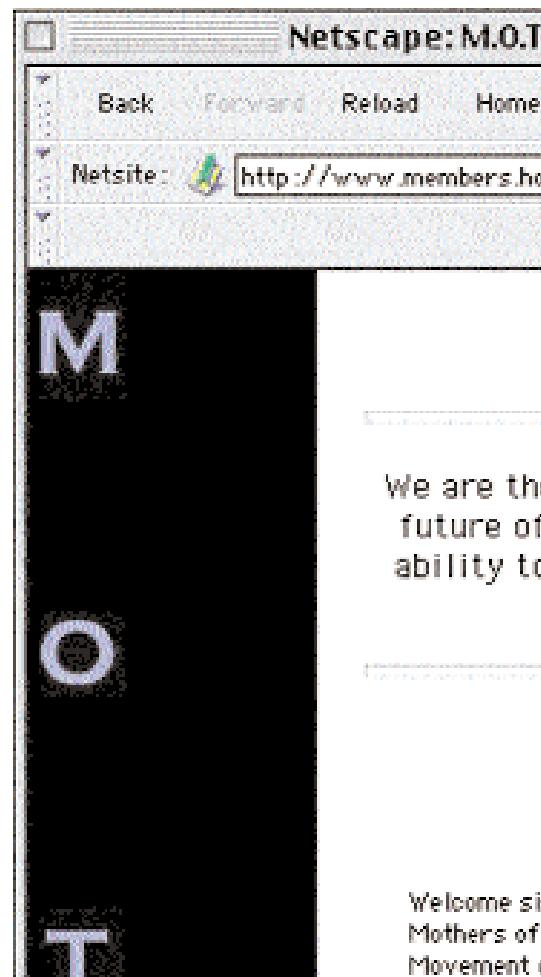
“Women have got to start pulling their weight in greater numbers and stop treating the race movement as a tittering clubhouse,” a man named Keith says in a Stormfront posting. “The guys cannot do it all on their own, nor should they be expected to.”

“Quite a vicious feminist, aren’t you?” retorts “Tarkec.”

That angers “Litta”: “Forgive my lack of humility here, but in case some of you haven’t noticed, we women are capable of high IQs too,” she says. “As for activism, even warfare, women have been there, done that, and if necessary we can do it again.”

Tarkec: “To the angry feminists on this forum: find yourself a White husband. To the feminine a**-kissing males on this forum: defending the angry feminists will not help you become a breeder. What ever happened to the tough, rugged American cowboy image? ... The impetus of activism, leading, writing ... remains overwhelmingly male.”

“On each and every list I’ve been on,” New Jersey housewife “Marge” laments, “the subject of what the role of women should be has come up, and inevitably the most popular ideas are the ones about barefoot and pregnant and ... ‘cook our



Nazi-like images of women and children are popular in the white supremacist movement.

meals, wipe our brows, understand we’re in a war and give us comfort.’ I’m actually surprised so many women do make contributions, given the misogyny of too many men on our side.”

Che Guevara or Mrs. Cleaver?

Be that as it may, there is one thing most movement women are clear about: They are not feminists. One Web site, Women in the White Pride Movement, opens with a declaration: “This is not a feminist page, but rather a page to celebrate and honor ARYAN WOMEN.” Many others denounce feminism as a Marxist-Zionist plot to destroy the white race. Houston announces that “girls tend to feel sorry for people” and “think with their emotions” while their menfolk think “with

the mothers of the movement. The survival of the Aryan race depends on our ability to bear and raise healthy, strong children.



isters, to the
the
online

Our membership has grown by a few dedicated sisters, and as more people visit the website, our resources grow. I encourage all women with websites to join the webring and take a look at

their brains." And Turner declares: "Feminism is not and never will be anything remotely connected with the wcorc."

Petra sounds a similar note in the Stormfront forum: "This new Aryan woman ... is most certainly not the strident, sometimes lesbian, often race-mixing Marxist-loving woman, or the career-minded, selfishly aggressive woman that modern 'feminism' desires to create.... We must reject the Zionist myth and illusion of 'sexual equality.'"

In fact, Houston and Turner say part of their job is to create racist mates for men. "I think our men too are looking for more white racial women to marry and to raise their kids," says Houston. Adds Turner: "Even though many [male comrades] would like to marry, settle down and begin raising families, they have no one to do it with because most 'mainstream' White women are brainwashed and lost to our Race."

None of this should imply a uniform perspective on the part of movement women. While some of these women hail the women's movement — and one even cites the example of Che Guevara as a role model — others clearly reject non-traditional roles.

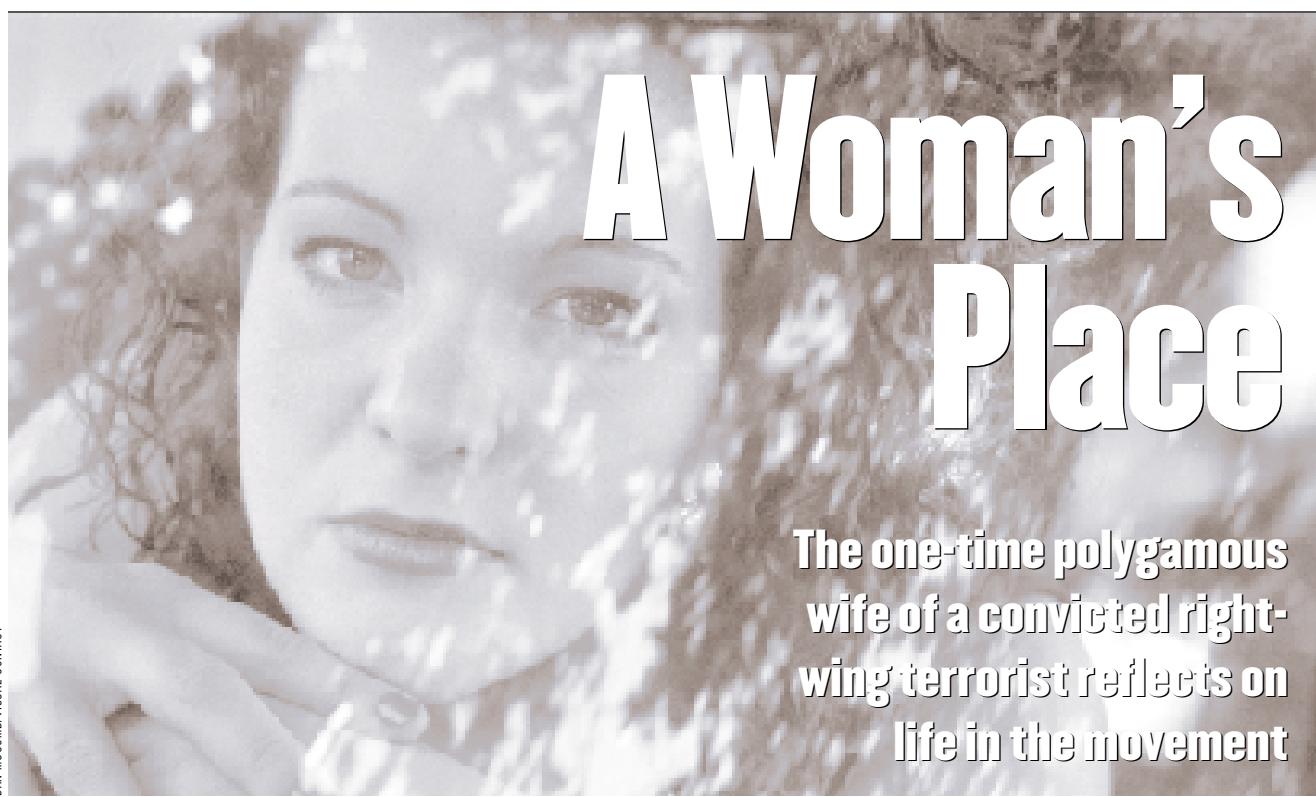
"Indeed," Blee wrote in 1996 of extremist women, "the organizing momentum of the racist movement in recent years, and its ability to attract substantial numbers of women recruits, may reflect its ability to accommodate some measure of ideological dissension within its ranks even while maintaining a facade of political unity."

The current debate about women underscores Blee's point, cutting across all kinds of ideological lines on the extreme right. Those involved in the discussion include women who worship pre-Christian Norse gods, wcorc members who practice a "theology" known as Creativity and

others who practice heretical variants of Christianity. They are neo-Nazis, Skinheads, Klanswomen and those who follow the "Third Position" — a racist political stance that rejects both communism and capitalism. Not only does it cut across these lines, but this debate conceivably could help draw these extremist factions closer together.

To the wcorc women, one thing is clear. While group leader Matt Hale, who calls himself "Pontifex Maximus," encourages women members to become church "reverends" and other kinds of leaders, there remains a ceiling on their aspirations.

Hale's job, Houston says, "is best suited for a man." Or, in the words of Turner: "I certainly would not wish to take on the role of PM [Pontifex Maximus]! ... A man is simply geared biologically and by nature to take on this most daunting of positions." ▲



A Woman's Place

The one-time polygamous wife of a convicted right-wing terrorist reflects on life in the movement

DAN MCCOMB/VISUAL CONTACT

Just days after graduating from high school in Spokane, Wash., in 1993, Angie Murray left her middle-class, Roman Catholic family to become the polygamous second wife of Chevie Kehoe — a hardened white supremacist who earlier this year was convicted of murdering three members of an Arkansas family, including an 8-year-old girl. She remained in her common-law marriage just 54 days, but in that time she accompanied the abusive Kehoe as he traveled around the country. A young and naive woman when she took up with Kehoe, Murray soon began to see his dark side. She left him before he went on a multi-state rampage and renounced her racist beliefs. Now living in Canada, she has remarried and is the mother of two children. The *Intelligence Report* asked Murray about her life in the movement and the anti-Semitic Christian Identity theology.

INTELLIGENCE REPORT How did you meet Chevie Kehoe?

MURRAY I met him through my sister, Sue, and her husband, Jake Settle, in the summer of 1991 when they were looking for property. The property was

owned by Chevie's parents, Kirby and Gloria Kehoe, and was in the Deep Lake area, near Colville, Wash.

He was this kind of quiet person, and we didn't really talk much. In the months to come, I'd go up to Stevens

County and spend time with Chevie and his wife, Karena. His brother, Cheyne, was there, too, and we'd all spend time together. Chevie wasn't abusive to anyone at that time. We'd drink beer and smoke pot.

IR So how did you come to marry Chevie?

MURRAY I still ask myself that question. Before I met Chevie, I began studying the Bible with my sister and her husband. They started telling me about God's law. At that point in my life, doing the right thing, and being the good wife and mother weighed very heavily on my mind. I was partying and drinking and doing everything you weren't supposed to do.

Then Chevie came into my life. He and Jake and Susan convinced me that I shouldn't live my life the way I was and that I should follow their [Identity] lifestyle and beliefs. I guess I just fell into it. I didn't love him. I thought I was doing it for God.

We never actually got married. There was no wedding. We just spent a night in a motel in Spokane, then went up to the Aryan Nations in Idaho. Chevie told everybody I was his second wife.

IR What was Chevie's relationship with his parents like?

MURRAY Chevie was always trying to be the authority figure, even around his mother and father. He wanted to be the boss. His mother bowed down to him. Chevie later bragged to his parents that he had two wives. His dad didn't really say a whole lot, but I know that he wasn't pleased. Gloria wasn't pleased at all.

IR How did you relate to Chevie's parents?

MURRAY His mother, Gloria, was into Christian Identity, but not polygamy. She told me I was a whore and concubine, how it was just a horrible thing for me to do. I agreed with her totally. She warned me all the time that Chevie was going to beat me.

IR What was it like at Aryan Nations?

MURRAY The people at Aryan Nations didn't seem to like polygamy. While we were there, Chevie beat Karena. She was seven months pregnant. He gave her a fat lip and a black eye and a bloody nose. He told her that was her first beating and that it wouldn't be her last.

We left from there to stay in the cabin his parents owned near Deep Lake. During that time, I told Chevie that I wanted to leave. He told me that he would kill me if I tried to leave. After that, I was never allowed to walk by myself.

IR How extensive was the abuse?

MURRAY Whenever Karena was upset or crying about the polygamous marriage, he would hit her. He wouldn't hit her in front of me, but I always heard it. I heard him sock her a few times — on at least four different occasions during the 54 days I was with them. Karena put up with it, I guess, because she apparently felt she had no choice.

IR What did you do after staying in the cabin near Deep Lake?

MURRAY After a couple of weeks there, we went to Yaak, Mont., where he said we were going to live, but we only spent a day there before going to Ellensburg, Wash., where we stayed a couple of weeks with one of his friends. Then we left for Elohim City, going through Wyoming. I spent the last two weeks with him at Elohim City.

IR Describe your experiences at Elohim City [a Christian Identity compound near Muldrow, Okla.]

MURRAY Chevie wouldn't let me have a lot of contact with the people there, although I did talk with a few of the women. Chevie's parents had taken him there before and he was familiar with the place. There were maybe 70 or 80 people there.

There were guns, but I didn't see a lot of them. I remember that Chevie complained that they weren't his kind

MURRAY I didn't really talk with her a lot. She was so quiet and so shy, and you could feel her pain. She was just so upset about my relationship with Chevie. She told me Chevie had changed and was being more abusive. She said he was going to try and make me into a quiet, submissive type of a person. We cooked together and we did the cleaning together, but we didn't have a real relationship.

IR Was Chevie very involved with drugs?

MURRAY He didn't drink much, but his mom and dad smoked pot a lot, and so did he. It got heavier, apparently, after I left him. I heard from my sister later that Chevie smoked almost all the time in the year or so before he got caught.

IR Did Chevie tell you about his political activities?

MURRAY Nothing was ever discussed in front of Karena or me. I don't think he trusted me, so I don't think he said much of anything important around me. I guess he didn't know where I stood on things. The only decision we were involved with was where we were going to live, and he even changed that.

You didn't question Chevie. I had wanted to leave him before we left the Northwest, but he said I had these obligations. At Aryan Nations, I had started to realize this guy was not okay in the head.

IR So why didn't you leave him earlier?

MURRAY I don't really have a concrete answer. I guess it was manipulation on his part regarding where I should be in my life concerning God. He said I shouldn't be doing the things I was doing. I was living on my own when I met him, partying and drinking. He told me how a woman should be in the Bible and convinced me that's what I should be doing. I felt so badly about myself. Then, he offered me the option of going with him.

IR When did you finally decide to leave Chevie?

MURRAY Right there at Elohim City. Karena went into labor. She was very stressed out from me being there and Chevie telling us both how to act. A nurse came into the trailer and was try-

When I went out to Aryan Nations and met some of the people, the only thing I could see was that many of them were outcasts. They had found a group that accepted them.

of survivalists. One night, there was a lightning storm and the lights went out. All the kids freaked out. They didn't have candles ready to go, and Chevie complained that they weren't doing it right. They were, you know, pretty simple people.

IR What was your relationship with Karena like?

ing to tell Chevie how she wanted to do things. She thought Karena was stressed out and that the baby might be in trouble. But Chevie got upset with her for telling him what to do and kicked her out. He went and got his mother instead, who was in Little Rock.

At that time, I went and talked to Rachel, one of the women who lived there. I told her that Chevie was abusive and that it was a bad scene, that I wanted out. She was going to help me leave after Karena had her baby. When Chevie came back with his mom, he told her that I kept wanting out, to leave. Gloria talked him into letting me go.

IR What did Karena say?

MURRAY We actually didn't say anything to each other when I left. A little before, I took her aside and I said, "I am leaving. I have already made plans." She told me she would have to tell Chevie. I asked her not to, but she told Chevie anyway. She was very loyal to him, even though she didn't want me in the picture. There was a lot of fear there. She used to cry and he would slap her. A lot of fear.

IR What was the last thing that Chevie told you?

MURRAY That I should never get involved in the Identity movement, because I just didn't have what it takes. I didn't say anything back to him. He just said that he would always love me, and that was about it.

IR How do you think Chevie came to his political views?

MURRAY I think the anti-government training he got made him paranoid. I know he studied Christian Identity with Jake Settle for quite a while and that added to his outlook. [Identity] is not healthy and can mess up a lot of people.

IR Where did his ideas on polygamy come from?

MURRAY I think through Elohim City and through Jake and Susan, because they support it also. Chevie thought polygamy was great. I've got this picture of him sitting there and women feeding him grapes and rubbing his feet. I think that's what he wanted — somebody to

just pamper him all the time and do whatever he wanted them to do.

IR What were his views about women?

MURRAY He thought they were there to do what he said, to be the homemakers, the cooks, the cleaners, and to please men in bed. He didn't regard women as being equal to men. Once, at Aryan Nations, he told me I had to respect him or I was going to get beaten.

IR Did Jake and Susan ever have a polygamous marriage?

MURRAY No, but they asked me. I told them no. They asked me twice if I'd join them. The first time I was probably 15, before I went with Chevie. I told them that idea was insane. The second time they asked me was about a year after I left Chevie, just before I met my current husband. I told them polygamy wasn't for me, that I'd rather be single for the rest of my life. I'd never do that again.

IR Were weapons important to Chevie?

MURRAY He always kept a gun that he said was loaded in his glove box. They also had a room upstairs in the cabin near Deep Lake that was full of ammunition and guns and grenades and masks and stuff like that. He showed me where the masks were. He had an SKS [assault rifle] that he showed me. He was going to train me to take it apart and put back together blindfolded.

IR What were Chevie's views toward Jews, blacks and minorities?

MURRAY He said they were animals. The Jews were the Devil's sons and the blacks and all other non-white races were not children of God. I was convinced he believed that. At the time, I believed a lot of the same stuff.

Chevie thought he was better than everybody else. He wanted to live apart from other races. I think in his own twisted little brain, he thought that's what he was supposed to do, that he was following the Bible.

IR What do you think attracts young people to hate groups?

MURRAY For me, it wasn't necessarily the Aryan Nations at first. I had heard about all that while studying the Bible with Jake. It was studying the Bible with him that opened a lot of different

things for me that I'd never thought about before.

When I went out to Aryan Nations and met some of the Skinheads and other people, the only thing I could see was that many of them were outcasts. They had found a group that accepted them. They were willing to belong to something that they felt was a powerful thing. I guess they felt wanted, needed, in a group that accepted them — as long as they were white. If you're looking for something, if you're wanting something, if somebody has a strong enough power and a strong enough influence, whether it be good or bad, you're going to go to it.

IR How did your relationship with your parents fare through all of this?

MURRAY When I first was with Chevie, I wasn't allowed to talk with my parents. I called them from Aryan Nations and talked with them, to my mother first. I told her that I was happy. Then she said my dad was having heart problems and she wanted me to come home. She was just saying that to try and get me to come home. I took it as a ploy.

In the long term, it actually has made us closer. Because they never quit on me, they never turned their backs on me. They were always there. I think they knew deep down in their hearts that I didn't want to do what I did. Now, we're real tight. My mom's my best friend, and I'm "daddy's little girl." We talk at least twice a week on the phone and I see them at least once a month.

IR Earlier this year, you went to Little Rock and testified in the federal conspiracy trial against Chevie. [Kehoe was sentenced to life in prison.] How was that?

MURRAY I was disgusted, having him there in my presence. He just looked slimy. I didn't really have to look at him, but I could see him in my peripheral vision, off to my right. I could hear what he was saying. I just didn't want to see him.

I felt good, finally being able to say my two cents' worth and helping put him away. I can't deny that. You get out of life what you give, and he's getting his. ▲

The Great Creator

Matt Hale speaks to the press.

Despite a membership of less than 150, Matt Hale's World Church of the Creator attracts headlines and sociopaths

For one week this summer, Matt Hale's dream became reality — he was a player on the national scene. There he was, arguing with Katie Couric on the "Today" show. His picture was splashed across the pages of *Newsweek*, *Time* and virtually every newspaper in the United States. His carefully chosen words were the subject of weighty pontifications on CNN's legal affairs show, "Burden of Proof." That the attention came at the cost of the life of a close Hale friend — and those of a couple of others — was but a minor detail.

Clearly, July was a great month for Hale.

Emerging from his bedroom on the second floor of his dad's East Peoria, Ill., home — where his bed is cheerily lined with stuffed animals from the Chicago

Bears — Hale greeted television crew after television crew, taking breaks to speak to hundreds of print reporters on the phone. The reporters all wanted to know one thing: Hale's reaction to the bloody, two-state shooting spree of one of his closest buddies. Benjamin Nathaniel Smith, for more than a year a key leader of Hale's World Church of the Creator (wcotc), had spent his Fourth of July weekend murdering a black man and an Asian man and wounding nine others.

Sure, Hale was sorry — sorry that Smith shot himself as police closed in. Smith was, in Hale's view, a "martyr for free speech" — a frustrated but well-meaning "racialist" who'd snapped when the Illinois Bar Association denied Hale a law license because of Hale's neo-Nazi views. As to the

real victims — a beloved former Northwestern University basketball coach and a Korean doctoral student, along with nine wounded Jews, blacks and Asians — Hale wasted little breath. wcotc's compassion, he said, was "reserved for our own race."

The Group Behind the Curtain

Although Hale boasted to reporters that wcotc had as many as 30,000 followers, in reality there are fewer than 150 dues-paying members — and only about a dozen who are at the group's core. His much-vaunted "world headquarters" is actually a spare room at his dad's place, decorated with an Israeli flag doormat. He doesn't have a job, but manages instead to live off the charity of his followers and his

WORLD CHURCH OF THE CREATOR

As a student at Bradley University in East Peoria, Ill., Matt Hale tried to create a White Student Union.

dad's police pension. As the so-called "Pontifex Maximus," Hale was called upon to defend his group in a moment of crisis — and responded with an everchanging series of lies, prevarications and half-truths.

Ironically, the media attention that Hale got — and the relatively intelligent facade he offered to the nation's television viewers — may actually help bring reality closer to the image he tries to project. Hale has shown some organizing skills, to some extent revitalizing a once-moribund group. He has taken advantage of the Internet to bring his message to tens of thousands of Americans. He has managed to set up chapters in some 22 states, even if some are little more than a lone member with a post office box. And he has projected the image of a coat-and-tie professional, not that of a brown-shirted thug.

Hale says he started down the racist track when, at age 12, he reacted with disgust after seeing a black boy kiss a white girl. In eighth grade, he started his first hate club: the New Reich. After a failed attempt to create a White Student Union at Bradley University in East Peoria, he formed the American White Supremacist Party in 1990. The following year, Hale switched groups again, joining the National Association for the Advancement of White People and describing its leader, former



PEKIN DAILY TIMES

Klanzman David Duke, as "the greatest politician that this country may have ever seen." In 1992, he created yet another group, the National Socialist White Americans Party, anointing himself "National Leader."

Three years later, the then 23-year-old Hale ran openly as a white supremacist for the East Peoria City Council, garnering 14% of the vote — a remarkable result for an election in middle America. After his loss, in July 1995, he took up the reins of power in the Church of the Creator — a

group begun in 1973 by Ben Klassen which Hale would rename the World Church of the Creator. A year later, he was officially coronated.

Hale and the Law

Along the way, Hale, the would-be lawyer, had a number of legal entanglements (some of which the panel hearing his law license application said appeared to be cases of selective enforcement of laws because of Hale's views). At age 19, he was found guilty of violating an East Peoria

Church of the Creator: A History

1973 Benhardt "Ben" Klassen, a former Florida state legislator and state chairman of George Wallace's 1968 presidential campaign, announces the formation of the Church of the Creator (COTC) in Lighthouse Point, Fla. The tenets of Klassen's race-based "religion," called "Creativity," are detailed in his book *Nature's Eternal Religion*. Among its "16 commandments":



"It is our sacred goal to populate the lands of this earth with White people exclusively." The group's war cry will be "Rahowa," short for RAcial HOly WAr.

1981 Klassen publishes his second book, *The White Man's Bible*, which he markets as a "program for the survival, expansion, and advancement of the white race."

1982 In March, Klassen moves COTC headquarters from Florida to 22 acres of land he has purchased in Otto, N.C., building a personal residence, a three-story church, a small warehouse and a "school for gifted boys." Later in the year, COTC is granted an exemption from state taxes based on its status as a church.

1983 Klassen begins publishing a monthly newsletter, *Racial Loyalty*, in June.

1986 The COTC has its first known brush with criminality in June, when security chief Carl Messick fires 19 shots at the car of a Georgia couple who strayed onto the COTC grounds. The COTC "reverend" is later sentenced to seven years in prison.

1988 Klassen, now 70, travels to California to ask John Metzger, son of neo-Nazi White Aryan Resistance founder Tom Metzger, about taking

ordinance against open burning after torching an Israeli flag at a demonstration. The next year, he was fined in the same city for littering — dumping racist pamphlets at a shopping mall. In May 1991, Hale was arrested for mob action after he and his brother allegedly threatened three blacks with a gun; he also was charged with felony obstruction of justice for refusing to tell police where his brother was. (He was convicted of obstruction, but eventually won a reversal on appeal. The mob action charge may have been dropped because one of the men he allegedly threatened carried a baseball bat.) In 1992, Hale was charged with criminal trespass, resisting arrest, aggravated battery and carrying a concealed weapon after allegedly attacking a security officer at a mall. (He would later be sentenced to 30 months' "intensive" probation, including six months' house arrest.) And in January 1998, he was charged with littering after throwing pamphlets on lawns.

Then came the Smith rampage. Within days, the Illinois attorney general announced plans to sue wcotc because it had failed to register as a charity. The family of one of Smith's victims also sued the group, Hale, Smith's parents and others. Attorney General Janet Reno even suggested the Justice Department might investigate wcotc.

If many of Hale's past run-ins with the law have been over petty incidents, those of his wcotc underlings and cotc pre-

decessors were not. Under Klassen, cotc leaders killed a black man in Florida, shot up an occupied car in North Carolina, brawled with anti-racists in Milwaukee, robbed banks in Ohio and blew up an NAACP office in Washington state. Under Hale, Florida members have robbed, beaten and intimidated minorities.

WCOTC in the Spotlight

Still, until Ben Smith opened fire, wcotc was little known to the public. Hale did get some national publicity earlier this year, when the Illinois Bar Association first turned down his application to practice law, but it did not last long. Largely, he was remembered as the smooth-talking neo-Nazi who sported a furrowed brow for his interviewers.

The latest publicity clearly pleased Hale. "This just increases the interest in our church, our religion and the White Man's Bible," he told a group of anti-racist protesters who held a vigil outside his home in late July.

Under Hale's leadership, wcotc has revolved around a small cadre of Hale's buddies. While Hale was studying for the law degree he completed in May 1998, the core of the group was Hale, Smith and John McLaughlin. (McLaughlin, now 48, had his own brush with fame when he got into an altercation with journalist Geraldo Rivera at a 1992 Wisconsin rally. Rivera was charged with battery and McLaughlin with disorderly conduct. In

1995, McLaughlin was sentenced to 2 1/2 years' probation after police found a cache of his illegal weapons, including 24 silencers, machine-gun converter kits and armor-piercing and explosive bullets. He allegedly told police he was preparing for the "ultimate race war.") When Hale returned to East Peoria, fewer than a dozen followers moved to be near him. Today, the real strength of wcotc is concentrated in California, Florida and Illinois. Authorities in other states where the group lists chapters reported that they had seen no activity from members aside from a few minor pamphleting incidents.

Another measure of wcotc's numbers comes in its mailings, which have been sent out from Champaign, Ill., under a bulk mail permit held by McLaughlin. An Aug. 27, 1998, postal receipt shows that the latest edition of *The Struggle*, which is sent to both members and prospective members, was mailed to just 207 people. The cost: \$63.34.

Despite that, Hale had a chance to put the best face on his group after Smith's shooting rampage. But in interview after interview, he changed his story about his relationship with Smith and the question of Smith's membership.

Tales from the Crypt

Two days after the July killing began, Hale told the first *Chicago Tribune* reporter to call that he had met Smith once, some eight months before, but didn't know

BRIAN SMALE/SHARPS HOOVER STUDIOS



Tom Metzger

over COTC. Metzger, saying he "wouldn't want to be affiliated with a church," declines.

1989 A review by Macon County tax officials concludes that COTC's North Carolina property does not

qualify for religious tax exemptions. In May, two Milwaukee COTC members are arrested during a brawl with anti-racist activists.

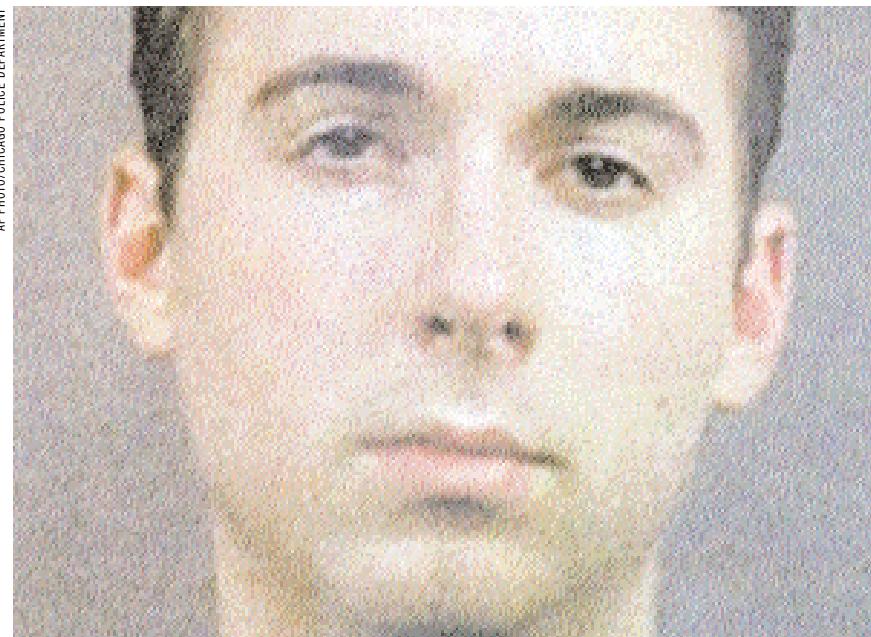
1990 Declaring that church leadership would change "at the top of every decade, on the decade," Klassen announces that Rudy "Butch" Stanko — then serving a six-year sentence for selling tainted meat — will take over once he is released from prison. In August, COTC Ohio leader Matthew Hayhow, 23, is arrested after robbing two banks and ultimately is sentenced

to a 25-year prison term. (Nine years later, Hayhow will be writing articles for *The Struggle*, the tabloid of the COTC's successor organization.)

1991 COTC "reverend" George Loeb is arrested and charged with the murder of Harold Mansfield Jr., a black Gulf War veteran, in a Florida parking lot. Loeb, whom Klassen had earlier honored as "Creator of the Month," is ultimately convicted. Fellow COTC member Steve Thomas, who will later edit *Racial Loyalty*, is charged with aiding Loeb's initial flight from Florida. (Thomas had

earlier served eight years for raping a Vietnamese woman, an incident upon which the movie, "Casualties of War," was based.) In November, Macon County, N.C., officials revoke COTC's tax-exempt status.

1992 Klassen's wife Henrietta dies of cancer in January. Two months later, Klassen cancels Stanko's scheduled inauguration as COTC's Pontifex Maximus ("supreme leader"), possibly because of Stanko's plans to move COTC headquarters, and names Baltimore pizza delivery man Charles Altavater



After a three-day murder spree, Benjamin Nathaniel Smith shot himself as police closed in.

Struggle, which was written in late May or early June, reported that Smith had moved to East Peoria to work alongside Hale.

Soon Hale was putting a new spin on this story, too. In a bizarre twist the week after Smith's rampage, Hale showed reporters a registered letter that he said he'd just received from Smith (he had the postal receipt to prove it). Mailed on the day the shooting began, the letter said Smith was "formally break[ing]" with WCOTC because he no longer could abide Hale's alleged nonviolence. Smith claimed that he had not been a "member" since April 1 — yet another date to consider.

Women, Babies and the FBI

Reporters weren't the only ones interested in Hale's relationship with Smith. The week after the shootings, local police and FBI agents showed up at Hale's home. A shaken Hale agreed to answer questions only if a *Chicago Tribune* reporter was present.

Hale told these authorities that he had suspected Smith was the shooter halfway through his three-day rampage. Why hadn't he called police? "I felt this was something you could do yourselves. You're the police. When you haven't heard from a friend ... and you usually talk to him every other day or so, and the suspect is driving a light blue Taurus, my dad and I

him well. Hours later, he told another that he did know Smith and had seen him about a week before the shootings started. He gave other reporters a variety of stories about Smith. To several of them, he explained that Smith's membership had lapsed months earlier.

But many of these statements were disingenuous at best.

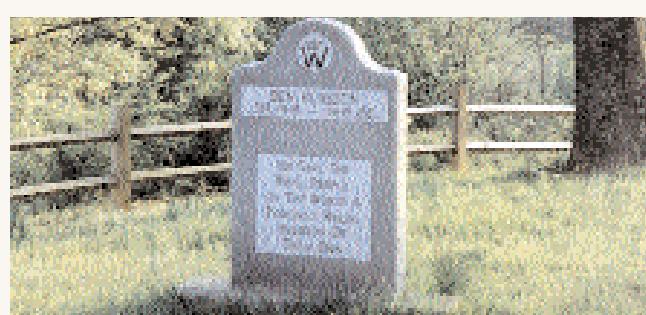
According to media accounts, officials believe Smith spoke to Hale by phone for 28 minutes just two days before beginning his rampage. In the three weeks leading up to the shooting, the two men reportedly spoke for some 13 hours.

Despite his early statements, Hale was extremely close to Smith. Last October, *The Struggle* reported that Hale had named Smith "Creator of the Month," a high honor for a group whose "religion" is called "Creativity." In January, Hale named Smith "Creator of the Year," saying, "I urge all of you, my Brothers, to view Brother Smith's activism as an example to follow." Officials also believe Smith spent \$6,190 of his own money to print WCOTC pamphlets.

Hale also claimed that Smith's membership had expired in May for nonpayment of dues. But the June issue of *The*

instead. But in June, Klassen again changes his mind (a fortuitous move: in November, Altvater is arrested after attempting to firebomb the home of a police officer who'd had his car towed), naming Milwaukee COTC chief Mark Wilson, 25, as the next COTC leader. The next month, fearing a civil lawsuit in connection with the Mansfield murder, Klassen sells most of his Otto compound to William Pierce of the neo-Nazi National Alliance. In December, shortly after publishing his final, autobiographical book, Klassen names still another successor: Richard "Rick" McCarty.

1993 In one of his first acts as the group's leader, McCarty moves COTC headquarters back to Florida in January. In July, COTC Washington state leader Jeremiah Knesal, 19, and two other COTC members bomb the meeting hall of the NAACP in Tacoma, Wash.; two days later, Knesal pipe bombs a Seattle gay bar. In his guilty plea, Knesal says the group also planned attacks on blacks and Jews. In California that month, COTC-linked Jeremy von Rineman and girlfriend Jill Scarborough are arrested in a plot to bomb Los Angeles' largest black



church. On Aug. 7, Klassen commits suicide, leaving a smoldering pile of shredded documents and a note describing suicide as an "honorable" way to die. Later that year,

Toronto COTC leader and Rahowa band leader George Burdi helps form Resistance Records, based in Detroit, to record and market racist rock music.

The father of murder victim Won-Joon Yoon, 26, faced reporters at a memorial for his son.

both kind of wondered. And if you don't like that answer, too bad."

Smith had something other than racism in common with Hale. Both men had had trouble with women. Indeed, despite wcotc efforts to reach out to women (see p. 12), some insiders have described Hale, and the men around him, as misogynists.

In 1997, Hale, then 25, married a 16-year-old wcotc member. But she left him within three months, and many wcotc members left the group in sympathy. Another former girlfriend and member was granted a protective order after a court finding that Hale had abused her. (Hale didn't bother to contest the woman's allegations in court.) By early 1998, Hale was reduced to advertising on the Aryan Dating Page for "a young, attractive, positive, dependable, creative, intelligent and open-minded White woman...." Hale has even asked potential female members to send along a photo. He has told several that he wants to help propagate the white race by making babies.

Hale also has raised the specter of inter-racial sexual violence in particularly ugly ways. In 1995, he wrote a letter to a woman who had had a letter to the editor opposing racism published in a local newspaper. According to the Illinois Bar Association panel, he suggested that the woman's rape by a "nigger beast" might enlighten her.

1994 Representing the family of Harold Mansfield, the Southern Poverty Law Center files suit against COTC in March, alleging the group is responsible for his murder. The family is awarded a \$1 million default judgment when McCarty fails to contest the case. (Later, the Law Center will sue William Pierce for participating in Klassen's scheme to keep the COTC headquarters from Mansfield's heirs. Ultimately, the Center wins a judgment for \$85,000 — the profit Pierce realized after selling the COTC property.)



AP PHOTOMICHAEL CONROY

Like his mentor, Smith also faced a protective order against him, obtained by a former girlfriend who described him as extremely abusive. Officials at Indiana University — where Smith was a criminal justice major who hoped to one day become an attorney, like his hero, Hale — have reported that Smith was caught peeping into women's windows. He also had numerous run-ins with officials around Bloomington for smoking marijuana — something expressly forbidden by the wcotc rules laid down by Klassen.

Picnic at the Coliseum

Indeed, quite apart from hatred of Jews, blacks, gays and many others, wcotc frowns upon drug use of any kind, even legal drugs. (Klassen wrote often of the merits of "salubrious living" — eating uncooked organic foods and abstaining from the use of drugs, alcohol, medicines, vitamins or refined sugar.) Members are exhorted to follow the "16 Commandments," which are often read at Creativity Sunday "services." These services amount to group readings of the com-



THE CHARLESTON GAZETTE

William Pierce

1995 Opting to head a "religious" rather than a political group, 20-year-old Matthew Hale dissolves his

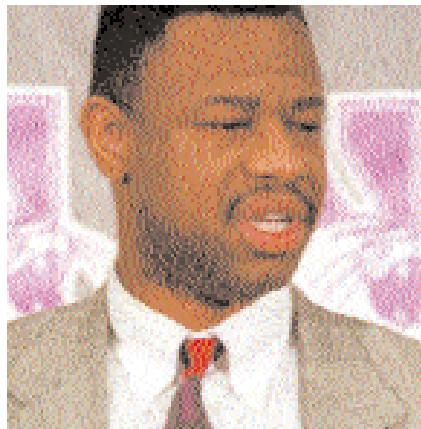
National Socialist White Americans Party in July and resuscitates the COTC as the "New" Church of the Creator in East Peoria, Ill., where he lives with his father. Hale tells old COTC members that he is the "great promoter" whom Klassen had searched for. Hale enters law school that fall. In December, he renames the group the World Church of the Creator. John McLaughlin, a man who will become close to Hale, is sentenced to 2 1/2 years' probation after officials discover an arms stockpile meant for the "ultimate race war."

1996 After meeting with two old COTC stalwarts, Matt Hayhow and Guy Lombardi, Hale convenes a May gathering at the Montana ranch of COTC leader Slim Deardorff. Hale is elected Pontifex Maximus and Jonathan Viktor, a Klassen devotee educated at his school for boys, is chosen Hastus Primus, or vice president, of the reconstituted group.

1997 Viktor presides over the May wedding of Hale and wcotc member Terra Herron, 16. When the couple divorce three months later, many Hale followers, including Viktor,

WORLD CHURCH OF THE CREATOR

AP PHOTO/TIM BOYLE



Friends mourned the death of former Northwestern University coach Ricky Byrdsong (above).

mandments (including a reminder that “the inferior colored races are our deadly enemies”), the 18 precepts of “what we believe” and the five “fundamental beliefs of Creativity,” along with a “sermon” drawn from Klassen’s writings. But in truth, Creativity can be summed up in a single sentence: Whites are the creators of civilization, and all others are its destroyers. Creativity reviles Christianity as a Jewish plot and is essentially atheistic, seeing God as a phantom “super-spoook.”

Klassen’s writings often were explicit in their encouragement of racial violence. In his magazine, *Racial Loyalty*, examples of racial violence were offered and members were encouraged to emulate them. Klassen even rated racial violence according to the



AP PHOTO/MICHAEL S. GREEN

“Enemy Toll Effectiveness Factor” (E.T.E.F.) — the ratio of white supremacist lives lost to the total number of lives taken by each violent act. The lower the ratio, the better the act.

“Creators” revere ancient Rome as the chief example of white greatness — a fas-

cination that is reflected in the titles, like Pontifex Maximus, of the group’s leaders. In the words of Klassen, whose writings are treated by members as the Holy Writ, Rome “reached dazzling heights of accomplishment because of the excellency of her racial stock.” Reading through Klassen’s

leave the group. Later in the year, WCOTC starts a Web site run by Jules Fettu in Florida. In August, Fettu and WCOTC members Donald Hansard and Raymond Leone are charged with assaulting a black man and his son who were leaving a concert in Sunrise, Fla. (Hansard and Leone later plead guilty to aggravated assault charges, and Fettu, the Florida WCOTC state leader, is convicted of battery in a trial.) In November, William Johnson, an 18-year-old California WCOTC member, is arrested for attempted murder after allegedly

stabbing a person who had insulted the group.

1998 Four armed Florida WCOTC members, all under 25, rob a Broward County video store in March, allegedly planning to use the proceeds for the group. (Three will later plead to federal conspiracy charges.) Three months later, Guy Lombardi, now WCOTC’s southeast regional director and commander of the group’s militant “White Berets,” is charged with intimidating a witness in the Sunrise beating case. (He later pleads guilty.) Hale ejects

Lombardi soon after for “insubordination,” assuring his followers the dismissal has nothing to do with Lombardi’s arrest, which Hale calls “a badge of honor.” In May, Hale graduates from law school, passing the bar exam that summer. Later in the year, a state official rejects Hale’s application to practice law because of his “character and fitness.”

1999 At an April hearing, Illinois State Bar Association officials hear Hale’s appeal on the rejected law license. Among others, WCOTC member Benjamin Nathaniel Smith

testifies on behalf of Hale, who Smith claims has kept him from violence. Two months later, three Sacramento synagogues sustain arson attacks, and within days officials say they are looking at Hale’s group for possible involvement. On July 2, headlines announce that bar officials have again turned Hale down. Within hours, Smith — a Hale intimate whom the leader honored as “Creator of the Month” in late 1998 and then “Creator of the Year” in January — begins a three-day shooting rampage, killing two people and wounding nine. ▲

materials, it's easy to picture the ideal Creativity outing: a day at the Coliseum, watching Christians, Jews and others being thrown to the lions.

Supporting Sociopaths

Today, WCOTC suffers from internal divisions related more to its youthful membership than to the collapse of the Roman empire. On one side are the "rockers," mainly racist Skinheads fascinated with racist and other rock music. On the other are the classicists, of whom Hale — who plays classical violin — is clearly one. As ludicrous as it may sound, in the youth-oriented world of WCOTC these are important matters. Some have joked that what Klassen didn't wreck, Hale will — with his violin.

Despite that, this is a group that has left a trail of blood across America for much of its 26-year life. In the case of Smith, Hale provided a home — a group that justified and condoned Smith's violent attitudes, along with providing him with a ready-made set of friends. Similarly, after two men in California were arrested in late July in connection with the murder of two gay men (see back cover), authorities found

Passersby stroll in the area north of Chicago where Ben Smith opened fire on a group of Jews.



AP PHOTO/JANE HWANG

that they possessed WCOTC literature. Although it's highly unlikely that they were members — their philosophy was clearly distinct from Creativity — WCOTC's materials provided moral support.

In the past, the organization has suffered with leaders who have not always effectively promoted their cause. Although Klassen, unlike Hale, did have contacts with other key racist leaders, he was something of a loner who was letting the group fall into disarray well before his death. One of his would-be heirs was a pizza delivery man, and another, Richard "Rick" McCarty, was principally an entrepreneur who hoped to turn WCOTC into a money-maker (he embarrassed many members with his lukewarm racism).

It remains to be seen whether Matt Hale, a man who counts his successes in newspaper clippings, can do better. He has managed to revitalize an organization that in 1995 had virtually disappeared, bringing the number of chapters it counted from 14 in 1996 to 46 at the end of 1998 — far more than Klassen ever had. Although the group is small in absolute numbers, that may not be the most important measure of its danger. It doesn't take many Ben Smiths to leave a trail of bloody carnage, broken lives and smashed dreams. ▲

WORDS FROM THE FOUNDER

The prolific writings of Ben Klassen, inventor of an early version of the electric can-opener and founder of the original Church of the Creator, are treated by his successors as holy. Klassen, who committed suicide in 1993, is seen as the greatest man in history, followed by Adolf Hitler and, presumably, the group's current leader, Matt Hale. Klassen's texts are used in "sermons" of the group and examined in study sessions. Here are excerpts:

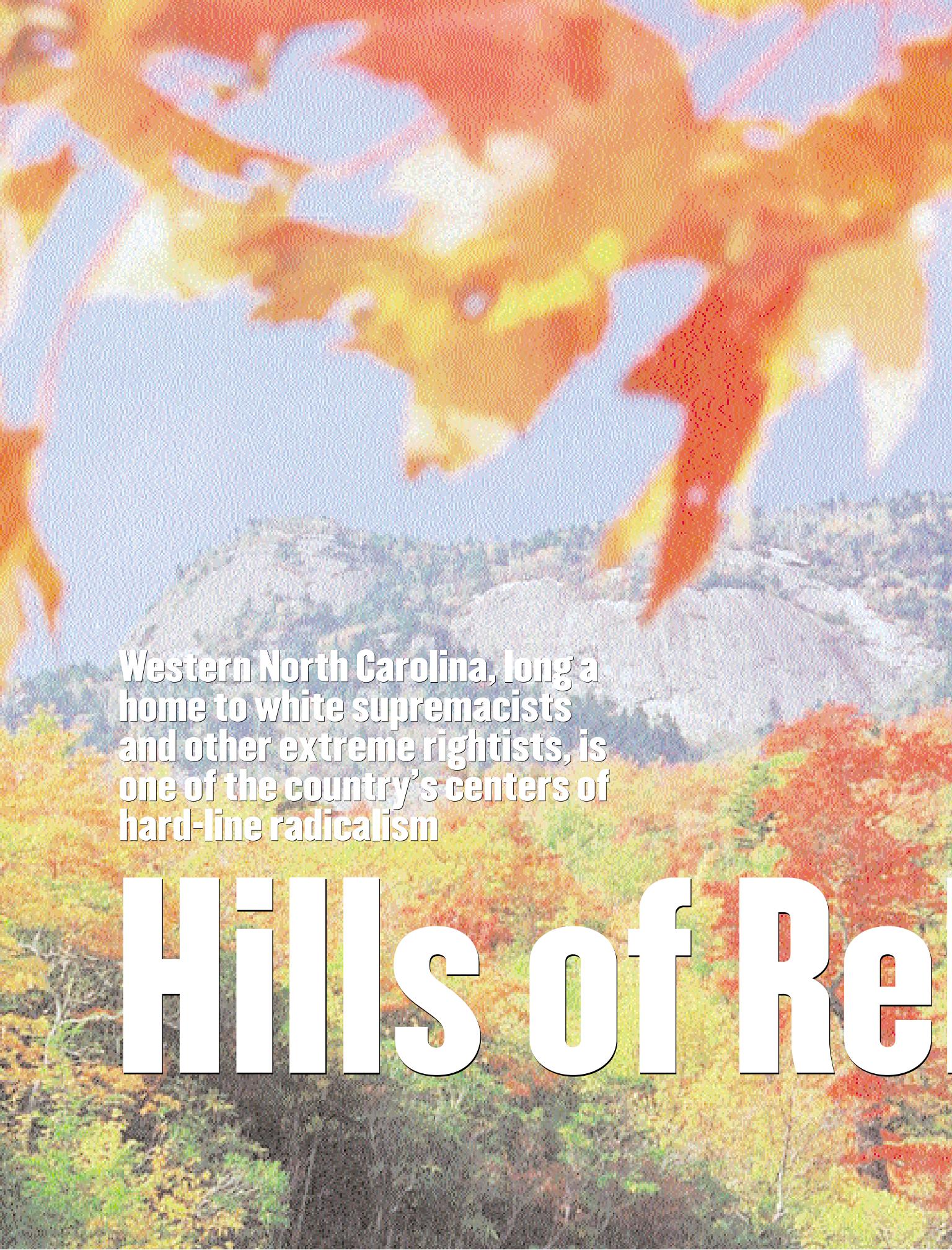


"We gird for total war against the Jews and the rest of the goddamned mud races of the world — politically, militantly, financially, morally and religiously. In fact, we regard it as the heart of our religious creed, and as the most sacred credo of all. We regard it as a holy war to the finish — a racial holy war. Rahowa! is INEVITABLE." (1987)

"We are in harmony with the Leadership Principle as expounded by Adolf Hitler and consider the former Nazi Party and governmental organization as a model structure for our own future development. We consider Hitler's Nazi Germany between 1933-39 as the finest and most efficient society the White Race has ever produced..." (1987)

"We believe that in the battle for individual survival and the survival of our race, Nature tells us that any means is morally justified. Survival is all important, nothing else matters. In the matter of survival of our race, we take the firm position that any means justifies this end, and no price is too high." (1981)

"There are basically two ways... . One is persuasion and reason, and the other is terrorism. When persuasion and reason fail, the only recourse is violence, legal or illegal." (1981)

A scenic view of the Appalachian Mountains in autumn. The foreground is filled with trees displaying vibrant shades of orange, yellow, and red. A winding road or path cuts through the foliage. In the background, more mountains are visible under a clear blue sky.

Western North Carolina, long a home to white supremacists and other extreme rightists, is one of the country's centers of hard-line radicalism

Hills of Re



bellion

AP PHOTO/HUGH MORTON

Ten months ago, on the night of November 11, large-caliber bullets began crashing into the headquarters of the Southeast Bomb Task Force in Andrews, N.C., almost literally parting the hair of one federal agent and barely missing another. Agents assigned to the search for accused bomber Eric Rudolph dived for cover as the assault continued.

Then, as quickly as it had begun, the attack was over. The shooter, who had fired eight 7.62-caliber bullets while standing in the open on a public highway just 250 yards away, vanished, simply strolling away or driving off into the darkness.

The assault on this fenced and heavily guarded compound was remarkable for its brazenness. If an agent had been killed, prosecutors would surely have sought the death penalty for the perpetrator, and at the very least the attacker faced decades in prison. But the sniper, operating amid the wooded hills and anti-government sentiment of western North Carolina, apparently felt secure enough to take the risk.

He may have had a point.

Anti-federalism in this mountainous part of the state — and in adjoining areas of South Carolina and Tennessee — dates all the way back to the Whiskey Rebellion of the 1790s, when the government tried to force Irish settlers to pay taxes on their bootlegged brew. The Feds didn't have much luck getting cooperation from the locals then, and despite a \$1 million reward for Rudolph, they don't seem to be doing much better today.

It is a region where Rudolph seems to have many friends.

In recent decades, this area has become a magnet for many in the radical right, men and women who are drawn to a place where the land is still cheap, the living is private and the population is white. In 1972, Nord Davis Jr., who was to become a leading patriarch of the racist and anti-Semitic Christian Identity religion, moved to the area. A decade later, Ben Klassen, founder of the neo-Nazi Church of the Creator (see p. 23) followed, setting up shop in Otto, near the Georgia line. Today, despite the deaths of both men in the 1990s, extremist activity, supported passively by some locals, is remarkably high

For a time, officials hoped that hunters like this one would help locate fugitive Eric Rudolph.

— much as in the better-known radical enclaves of the Pacific Northwest and the Arkansas Ozarks.

"It's the legacy of hate and bigotry," Jack Horton, a former Macon County (N.C.) official now working in another county, told a reporter. "It just changes people."

Cells, Bombs and Common Law

- While "common law" activities are declining in most of the country, court files in this part of the country bulge with arcaneously worded documents filed by proponents of this pseudo-legal ideology. They include declarations of "sovereignty" from the law, threats against officials and false property liens filed against those seen as enemies.

- Militias and other "Patriot" groups are not only active here, they take a harder line than most counterparts in other parts of the nation. A large number of those involved are adherents of Christian Identity, people who hold that Jews are the literal progeny of Satan, blacks are soulless "mud people" and whites are the true chosen people. In June, almost 160 militia supporters traveled from several states to meet and train just across the border in Tennessee — about half of them so-called "seedline" Identity hardliners.

- Every year, as many as four major Identity gatherings are held in nearby parts of Tennessee, from the "Feast of the Tabernacles" to the Identity version of Passover. These meetings have drawn key Identity figures, many of whom have criminal records.

- An underground, largely the spinoff of Davis' old organization, has developed a fairly extensive secret cell structure in the area, composed in part of some of the estimated 200 Davis followers who came to the area where Davis moved 27 years ago. One cell is known to be stockpiling explosives and training on a sophisticated gun range.

- Anti-abortion violence, like that attributed to alleged clinic bomber Rudolph, has escalated since early 1998.

AP PHOTO/ALAN MARLER

In Asheville, 75 miles from the Andrews area where officials believe Rudolph is still hiding, a bomb went off at the only abortion clinic in the western part of the state. The March 13 blast injured no one — probably because the powerful device only partly detonated. Five incidents at central North Carolina clinics — arsons and unsuccessful dynamite attacks in Fayetteville and Greensboro — also were recorded.



- A cottage industry of extremist surveillance of the federal agents searching for Rudolph has sprung up, with blizzards of e-mail and other messages warning that agents are really preparing to impose martial law on unsuspecting patriots. The cell phone traffic of both agents and reporters has been illegally listened in on with sophisticated scanners, and notes have been left in motels to let agents know they are being watched.



Planting the Seeds

North Carolinians are not more racist, or criminal, than others. To a large extent, the strength of the radical right in the area is the result of accidents of geography and history. But these accidents have produced a local movement that is remarkable.

In many ways, these activities are the direct result of the ideological seeds sown by a little-known former IBM executive

and antique car buff. Nord Davis started out as the editor of the Model A Ford Restorers Club newsletter, but he went on to become one of the nation's most prolific publishers of hate material — including a major 1993 treatise that Patriot leader James "Bo" Gritz calls "almost as explosive as anything set off at Oklahoma City." Entitled *Star Wars*, the 79-page booklet spoke of "perpetual warfare" between Christians (people of the five-pointed star)

and Jews (the six-pointed star) and called for death for gays and race-mixers. Davis' tracts were so widely disseminated that he broke the all-time record at the Andrews post office by sending out 1 1/2 tons of material in one day.

Davis, who died of cancer in 1997, began his odyssey long ago.

In 1958, he once wrote, his life changed after reading a book that alleged that President Dwight D. Eisenhower "was a conscious agent of the Communist Conspiracy." Eisenhower was not the only subservient president in Davis' eyes. So were Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon. Even Ronald Reagan was "a secret International Socialist."

Davis claimed he resigned from IBM in 1966 "to expose IBM's sales of sophisticated computers to the Communists," joining a group that believed a Communist takeover was coming in 1973. American patriots managed to foil the scheme, Davis wrote, but the plot was again put into effect in the 1990s with the coming of the "New World Order."

After the failure of a "Christian covenant community" that Davis set up in Massachusetts between 1968 and 1972, Davis packed his four daughters and wife into a travel trailer and took a trip through the mountains of several states. He was looking for moderate climate, a plentiful water supply, low taxes and a place where one could become economically self-sufficient. He found all of this and more in the Nantahala mountains, in a community just 10 miles from Murphy, the town where Rudolph would grow up.

Macon County, North Carolina's westernmost, was chosen "because it had all of the above," Davis wrote, and was peopled with "pretty well-armed" Christians.

Northpoint and the Lone Wolf

Davis' new project would be called Northpoint Tactical Teams, a name which referred both to Davis' publishing operation and the group he structured into "teams" with a variety of specialties. At least 20 families followed Davis to the area in the next few years, settling within a 35-mile radius of his well-manicured home. Others came to be near Davis after the 1993 Waco

NORTH CAROLINA

JENNIFER WARBURG



The entrance to Nord Davis Jr.'s Northpoint Tactical Teams compound is forbidding.

tragedy. Later that year, Davis claimed to have 12 teams.

But throughout, he emphasized the power of the lone wolf — the unaccompanied terrorist who, like Davis' follower Rudolph, would act without aid from others.

"America will not be saved by organizations or groups," he wrote in 1990. "If you ... study what happened in the South after the War between the States, you will see how America will be saved again. ... Small groups, known by the Socialist traitors ... as the 'invisible empire,' will meet and work in secrecy and high security, and quietly eliminate the problem people. ... There will be no unified command structure between the various groups so any infiltration will be both expensive and time consuming."

In 1992, Davis wrote a lengthy pamphlet called *Brassmouth* that reiterated

these ideas. Brassmouth, he said, is the English translation of "Phinehas" — a Biblical character who slew a race-mixing couple. Davis said that Brassmouth referred to "the one who acts alone." Indeed, others calling themselves Phineas Priests have bombed and robbed banks in the name of racist revolution — acting as a tiny cell, without support from others.

A few months after the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing, Davis repeated this theme. "If possible, one man is always the most effective when done correctly. Enough said."

Rudolph appears to have taken the words of his mentor to heart. Officials believe that Rudolph, acting alone, bombed the Centennial Olympics Park in 1996, killing two people and injuring 100; a lesbian nightclub and an abortion clinic in the Atlanta area in 1997; and a Birmingham, Ala., abortion clinic in 1998, killing an off-duty police officer and maiming a nurse. Rudolph has been charged in all four bombings, and a \$1 million reward offered.

The Disciples

Davis spawned other disciples in the area, too.

- Ramon Sparks moved there from Ohio in 1995, after Davis attended a memorial service for Michael Hill, an Ohio militia leader who was shot by police after allegedly pulling a gun in a confrontation. Davis transported an 8,500-pound stone monument honoring Hill from the Andrews area to Ohio. Sparks served as Davis' security chief, but after Davis' death in September 1997 formed a new group, the 91st Brigade USA Israel. Sparks recently has lost prestige because of inflammatory and widely circulated Internet messages which, among other things, have attacked the "so-called Patriot militia set" as soft-liners. A manual used by Sparks' group calls abortion "the greatest atrocity" and abortionists "contract killers."

- John Roberts, a former Special Forces member and Vietnam veteran, is another Davis follower. Roberts heads the Militia of East Tennessee, headquartered just a



few miles from Andrews across the state line. On June 11-12, almost 160 Patriot adherents — from Alabama, Georgia, Michigan, North Carolina and Tennessee — gathered on Roberts' property. They practiced long-range sniping and pistol shooting with man-sized steel targets and casualty-response medical training, and watched an attack-dog demonstration.

• Wayne Mack, an active member of a common-law court in Macon County, has helped spread his doctrine throughout the area. Officials say that people have filed pseudo-legal common-law documents in at least four western North Carolina counties: Buncombe, Cherokee, Haywood and Macon. Among other things, the documents have declared their filers to be "Freemen" — people supposedly exempt from state and federal law. In April, Mack addressed the Identity Passover gathering held in Sweetwater, Tenn.

More than a year and a half after it began, the search for Eric Robert Rudolph goes on.

"Freemen activity has really picked up over the last three to four years," says Richard Lightner, Macon County's tax assessor. "In Macon, maybe 100 people show up for their meetings downtown in a government building. Peter Stern is the chief honcho. I've got a three- to four-inch stack of papers from him threatening to sue us, and his group has become more vocal lately." Stern, identified in numerous media accounts as a common-law leader, denied to the *Intelligence Report* that he headed any common-law group. Retorts Lightner: "He's lying like a dog. Now he's formed some kind of church. He figures with a church he can get away with anything. He even wants to get his 1966 Chevy exempted."

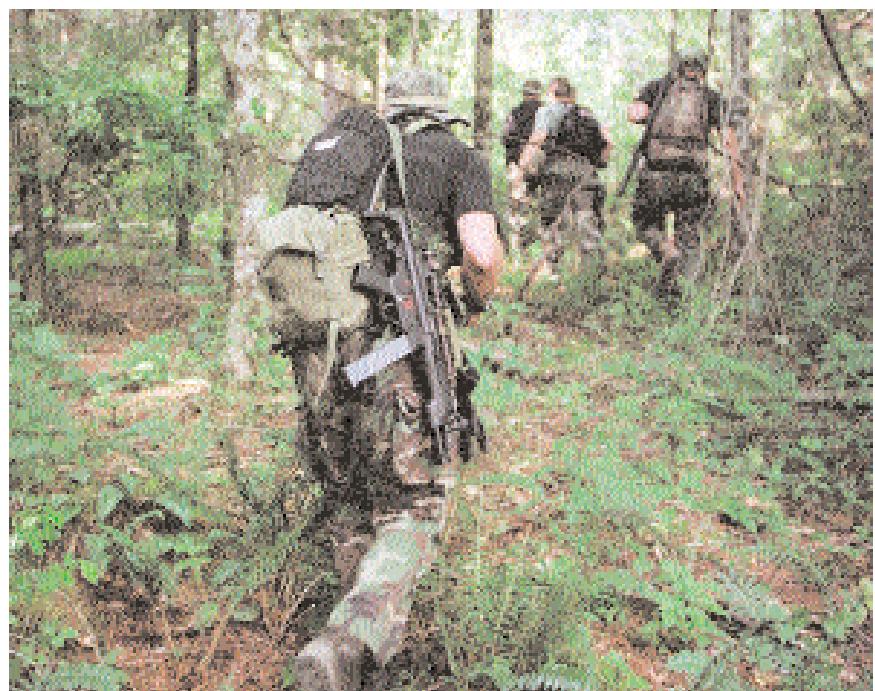
'We're Going to Bomb Your Building'

Common-law activists in Macon County — some of them originally from neighboring states — have spread their doctrines through the region. Across the South Carolina line in Anderson County, Sheriff Gene Taylor says the situation is heating up. "Common-law activity is getting worse," says Taylor, who was himself hit with a bogus, \$20 million lien against his property. "They are inundating us with stacks of paper."

Anti-abortion activity in the area, perhaps inspired by Rudolph, has picked up, too. Stephanie Mueller of the National Abortion Federation says there has been an increase in bomb threats. Clinic operators, she adds, "have received calls from individuals saying, 'If you don't call off the Rudolph search, we're going to bomb your building.'"

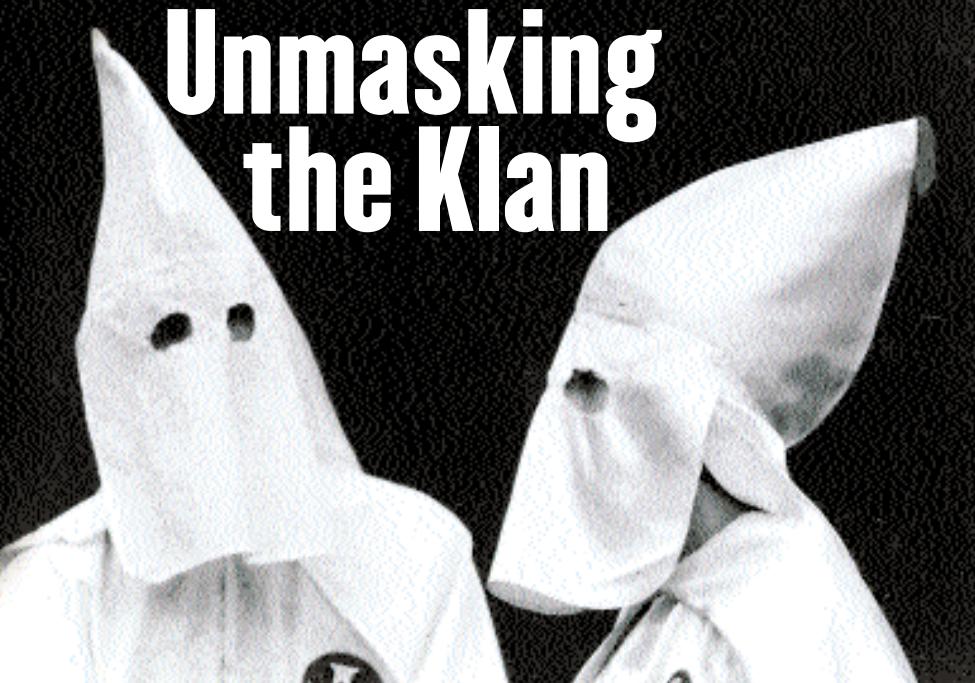
Many in the area have expressed support for Rudolph, telling reporters that they see him as an anti-abortion hero rather than an alleged murderer. (At one point, Rudolph obtained a six-month supply of food from the home of a local organic food store owner — an owner who took four days to report being approached by Rudolph.) There have been reports of federal agents posting guards outside while eating in area restaurants. At one point, a resident shone a laser light at a federal helicopter, prompting a scare.

Certainly, most in the the hills of western North Carolina support the search for Rudolph and the rule of law. But the fact remains that antigovernment sentiment is strong enough there that it is federal agents, not right-wing extremists, who hole up in well-armed compounds. And that is a fact that was clearly seen by the man, still at large, who fired on the Andrews compound. ▲



AP PHOTO/ALAN MARLER

Unmasking the Klan



Do Ku Klux Klansmen have the right to march down the street while shielding their identity, or does the public have the right to know who's behind the masks? That's the question that two courts in the 1990s faced and answered in opposite ways. A definitive answer may have to wait for a United States Supreme Court decision.

At least 18 states have "anti-masking" laws that make it a crime to wear a mask in public. Most of the laws were passed between the 1920s and the 1950s, in reaction to waves of violence perpetrated by the Klan. Public officials argued that the laws were needed to protect the public from Klan intimidation and violence and that banning masks would aid law enforcement in identifying criminals.

But there are countervailing First Amendment issues at stake. In a series of cases, the Supreme Court has made it clear that citizens have the right to communicate and associate anonymously, without fear of harassment or reprisals by others who oppose their views. There is no doubt, for example, that the government cannot

require the Klan — or any other group — to reveal its members' names and addresses, unless public officials have a compelling need for the information and no alternative means of obtaining it. *See, e.g., NAACP v. Alabama*, 357 U.S. 449 (1958).

As the Supreme Court pointed out in a 1995 case that struck down an ordinance prohibiting the anonymous distribution of political leaflets: "Anonymity is a shield from the tyranny of the majority. It thus exemplifies the purpose behind the Bill of Rights, and of the First Amendment in particular: to protect unpopular individuals from retaliation — and their ideas from suppression — at the hand of an intolerant society." *McIntyre v. Ohio Elections Commission*, 514 U.S. 334, 357 (1995).

That was the argument made by Jeff Berry, the imperial wizard of the American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, in a lawsuit filed in federal court last year against the city of Goshen, Ind. Earlier in 1998, Goshen had enacted an ordinance making it illegal for a person to wear a mask or hood in public in order to conceal his or her identity. Exceptions were made for masks worn

for religious, safety or medical reasons. The law was an effort to stop the violence and, supposedly, intimidation caused by the wearing of Klan regalia and to help law enforcement apprehend criminals.

The Klan challenged the ordinance on First Amendment grounds, claiming that many of its members wear masks because they want to remain anonymous to reduce the likelihood that they will be harassed, lose their jobs or suffer other kinds of retaliation because of their unpopular ideas.

U.S. District Judge Robert Miller struck down the ordinance, holding that by "directly chilling speech," the law violated the Klan's right to associate anonymously. The court pointed out that governmental officials did not show any connection between the wearing of masks and violent activity by the particular Klan group challenging the ordinance. Even if a connection had existed, the court found that there were other ways that public officials could prevent violence without violating Klan members' right to remain anonymous. The judge also rejected the city's argument that the anti-mask law helps the police apprehend criminals, saying that there was no evidence that Klan members wear masks to hide criminal activity.

Judge Miller pointed out the "undeniable irony" in his decision: "More than a century ago, the Ku Klux Klan wore masks to terrorize persons they wanted to drive from their communities. Today, the Klan's descendant organization uses its masks to conceal the identities of those who hold ideas the community wishes to drive off." *American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Case No. 3:98-cv-403RM* (N.D. Ind. May 4, 1999).

Georgia's highest court ruled the opposite way in a 1990 decision upholding that state's anti-masking law. In that case, Klan member Shade Miller challenged his conviction for publicly wearing a Klan hood. The Georgia Supreme Court found that the purposes of the law were the same as

continued on page 41

Do anti-masking laws aimed at the Klan expose violent haters to the light of day or simply deny them their First Amendment rights?

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 second quarter of 1999. Because hate crimes often are not reported, this listing understates the true level of bias incidents.

ALABAMA

Foley • June 10, 1999

National Alliance member Chris S. Gilliam, 27, was charged with possessing an unregistered firearm after he allegedly purchased hand grenades from an undercover federal agent as part of a plot to send mail bombs to Montgomery, Ala., and Washington, D.C.

Fort Payne • June 12, 1999

About 40 Klansmen rallied. Don Romine, Imperial Wizard of the North Georgia White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, and Jeff Berry, Imperial Wizard of the American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, were among the speakers. Five reported Klan members, Scott A. Lockamy, 36, Howard C. Lockamy, 29, Edwin Layfield, 47, Oxalia Layfield, 33, and Joseph R. Spivey, 23, were charged with possession of a firearm while attending a demonstration.

Montgomery • April 24, 1999

National Alliance literature was left at several residences.

Tuscaloosa • April 20, 1999

Pro-Hitler sayings were scrawled on the sidewalk at the University of Alabama on Hitler's birthday.

Uriah • May 2, 1999

Alabama White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan literature was left at several residences.

ARKANSAS

Little Rock • May 4, 1999

White supremacists Chevie Kehoe and Danny Lee, both 26, were convicted of racketeering, conspiracy and three counts of murder for the 1996 slayings of an Arkansas family. Kehoe was sentenced to life in prison. Lee was sentenced to death.

NEWPORT • April 17, 1999

About 20 members of the American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan held a rally.

CALIFORNIA

Alpine • May 1999

Ralph H. Dixon, 18, and three juveniles were convicted of violent hate crimes in connection with a racially motivated assault on a Hispanic man in March.

Anaheim • May 25, 1999

Two youths, ages 13 and 14, were charged with conspiracy to construct an explosive device, possession of an explosive device, possession of materials to construct an explosive device and possession of a destructive device on school grounds for allegedly stockpiling a small arsenal at school. The 13-year-old allegedly had Nazi paraphernalia, hand-crafted swastikas and white supremacist literature in his room at his home.

Berkeley • March 13, 1999

A Mexican-American student at the University of California was allegedly called racial epithets by a group of men at a restaurant. The incident later culminated in an assault at a fraternity house.

Cameron Park • March 12, 1999

Joshua Cox, 18, and Joseph Turney, 19, were charged with assault with a deadly weapon with a hate crime enhancement after they allegedly assaulted two black men while shouting racial slurs in October.

Castro • March 19, 1999

Ban Dol Im, 21, Henry Sai Hung Kwong, 19, and Thang Cao Truong, 18, were charged with suspicion of aggravated assault with a hate crime enhancement after they allegedly yelled anti-gay epithets and assaulted a man.

CLEARLAKE • May 14, 1999

Gregory Ewing, 41, was charged with a hate crime and making terroristic threats for allegedly erecting a wooden cross draped in a white sheet on his lawn and making threats toward his neighbor because the neighbor's daughter is in an interracial relationship.

Costa Mesa • April 14, 1999

Russell Wood Jr., 40, was arrested after he allegedly shouted racial epithets at two black men at a bar and charged at them with a knife. Wood faces charges of attempted murder, assault on a police officer and committing a hate crime.

Davis • April 17, 1999

A lesbian, gay and bisexual transgender group's parade float was vandalized and a gay pride flag was stolen.

Fremont • April 2, 1999

David Michael Glover, 26, was charged with making terroristic threats, committing a hate crime and resisting arrest after he allegedly yelled racial slurs and threatened to shoot a black man.

Galt • April 5, 1999

A cross was burned at a residence and the letters "KKK" were spray-painted at the house.

Highland • March 11, 1999

The letters "KKK" were scrawled on a black family's residence that was pelted with eggs.

Lancaster • March 23, 1999

Shaun Broderick, 19, and Christopher Crawford, 25, were charged with suspicion of assault with a deadly weapon and civil rights violations for allegedly yelling threats, obscenities and racial epithets at a black man in a parking lot.

Lancaster • March 31, 1999

Suspected Nazi Low Rider members Eugene Contreras, 23, Benny Hurtado, 21, and Maria Vasquez-Gutierrez, 22, were arrested on weapon and drug charges after a parole violation search warrant allegedly netted five guns, six cellular phones, a military smoke grenade and racist paraphernalia.

Lancaster • May 10, 1999

Three white men, Jonathan Bexley, 18, Samson Thomas, 21, and Lloyd Gregory, 19, were charged with a hate crime for allegedly yelling racial slurs and threatening to kill a Latino man at a gas station.

Los Angeles • March 12, 1999

Juan Chavez, 35, pleaded guilty to murder for the strangulation killings of five gay men in 1986 and 1989.

Los Angeles • May 26, 1999

Takashi Yasuhara, 57, was charged with making threats toward an interracial couple.

Los Angeles • June 7, 1999

Nazi Low Rider member Eric Dillard, 18, was sentenced to three years in federal prison for hate crime attacks against two African Americans in 1996.

Moreno Valley • March 13, 1999

A predominantly black church was vandalized. Police were investigating the incident as a hate crime.

Palmdale • April 5, 1999

Two white men allegedly used racial epithets and slashed a Latino man with a piece of glass.

Palo Alto • May 27, 1999

Two high school students were arrested for allegedly spray-painting threatening

FOR THE RECORD

and racist graffiti outside a school administrator's office.

Riverside • May 22, 1999

A cross was burned in front of an inter-racial couple's residence.

Sacramento • April 5, 1999

Two youths were charged with vandalism and civil rights violations after they allegedly burned a cross at a Latino family's residence.

Sacramento • June 18, 1999

Three synagogues were set afire and hate literature was found outside of one.

San Dimas • May 3, 1999

Two youths, ages 13 and 14, were charged with suspicion of assault with a deadly weapon, interference with the exercise of civil rights, drinking alcohol in a public place, public intoxication and suspicion of manufacturing an explosive device after the pair allegedly manufactured a pipe bomb and composed a death list that contained racial slurs and the names of 41 teachers and students.

San Francisco • March 10, 1999

Robert Ramirez, 20, Michael Hurley, 19, and a 16-year-old were charged with assault for an alleged hate crime attack on a black youth in February.

San Francisco • April 13, 1999

Reported Skinheads allegedly kidnapped a black man and etched a swastika into his chest with a piece of glass.

Santa Clarita • May 6, 1999

Osvaldo Renteria, 26, and Manuel Villasenor, 32, were charged with suspicion of committing a hate crime after they allegedly burglarized a residence and beat three gay men.

Shasta County • April 30, 1999

Thousands of white supremacist leaflets were dumped at high school and junior high school campuses.

Stanford • May 29, 1999

Racist e-mails were sent to 25,000 computer users at Stanford University.

Sun Valley • May 10, 1999

Rick L. McConnell, 37, was charged with a hate crime and interfering with federally protected activities for allegedly yelling racial slurs and turning his Rottweiler dog on a black man at a service station in March.

Temecula • March 17, 1999

Reported white supremacist Travis Miskam, 20, was charged with assault with a deadly weapon for allegedly assaulting a black man at a party.

Van Nuys • May 23, 1999

Twin brothers Kelly B. Cook and Kris J. Cook, 39, were charged with assault with a deadly weapon and making terrorist threats after they allegedly made racist remarks and threatened a man with a knife.

COLORADO

Denver • March 15, 1999

Former Skinhead Jeremiah Barnum, 25, was sentenced to life in prison for his role in the racially motivated murder of an West African immigrant in 1997.

CONNECTICUT

Bridgeport • May 22, 1999

An anti-Semitic slur was scrawled on the wall of a synagogue.

Darien • March 15, 1999

A white man, Kevin Keady, was convicted of intimidation by bigotry or bias and second-degree assault and placed on two years of special probation for a 1996 racially motivated attack on a black man.

FLORIDA

Fort Lauderdale • March 19, 1999

Reported World Church of the Creator member Dawn Witherspoon, 22, was sentenced to 13 months in prison for her participation in a video store robbery in 1998.

Hollywood • March 12, 1999

Reported World Church of the Creator member Donald Hansard, 24, was sentenced to 54 months in federal prison followed by three years of probation for his role in a video store robbery in 1998.

Miami • May 21, 1999

Eric Girard and Ryan Ortega, both 16, and Robert Radley, 15, were charged with a hate crime after they allegedly spray-painted swastikas on a Jewish temple.

Palatka • April 24, 1999

About six Klan members rallied.

St. Petersburg • April 3, 1999

Ashley Mance, a 6-year-old black youth, was killed by one of 12 rounds fired from a Chinese semiautomatic rifle. Self-proclaimed Skinhead Jessy J. Roten, 17, was charged with first-degree pre-meditated murder and attempted murder for firing the shots that pierced the interracial family's home. George G. Harvell, 19, was charged with selling the combat weapon to a minor.

West Palm Beach • June 14, 1999

Bryan Donahue, 17, was convicted of murder for the beating and kicking death of a gay man last April.

IDAHO

Coeur d'Alene • March 28, 1999

Former Aryan Nations security chief Edward Jesse Warfield, 43, pleaded guilty to aiding and abetting aggravated assault for his involvement in an assault on a woman and her son outside the compound in July. In May Warfield was sentenced to five years in prison, with no chance of parole during the first two years.

Coeur d'Alene • April 20, 1999

Two Aryan Nations members were sentenced for their roles in a confrontation outside the Aryan Nations compound in May 1998. Aryan Nations Chief of Staff Michael Teague, 31, was sentenced

to 60 days in jail with 55 days suspended and ordered to pay \$100 in restitution and \$297 in court costs. Gerald Gruidl, 65, was sentenced to 30 days in jail with 30 days suspended, and ordered to pay \$223 in costs and fines.

ILLINOIS

Bloomington • May 12, 1999

Hector Alvarez, 24, was convicted of aggravated battery and mob action for participating in the beating of a black Illinois State University student in October. He was acquitted of a hate crime.

Carbondale • April 15, 1999

Corey R. Cummings, 20, and Garland D. Fulford, 23, were charged with a hate crime, aggravated battery and unlawful use of a weapon by a felon for allegedly attacking three university students with baseball bats.

Champaign • March 17, 1999

Three white men allegedly yelled racial slurs and threatened to beat a black man who was walking to a bus depot.

Chicago • May 5, 1999

Heriberto A. Pulgar, 28, was sentenced to 12 years in prison for a racially motivated attack in 1997 when he intentionally ran over a black man with his utility vehicle after spitting on him and hurling racial insults.

Chicago • May 11, 1999

Angela Jackson, a 29-year-old black woman, was sentenced to 65 months in federal prison for trying to defraud the United States Parcel Service by scrawling racial epithets on packages and sending them to herself and national black leaders between November 1996 and May 1997.

Crystal Lake • April 5, 1999

Naoki Kamijima, 48, was shot to death at a grocery store. Douglas E. Vitaioli, 38, was charged with first-degree murder and commission of a hate crime for allegedly targeting the man because of his ethnic origin.

Fall River • May 24, 1999

Four black men, Damien Gouse, 20, Terry Lewis, 17, William Wheeler, 22, and John Baker, 19, were charged with attempted murder and civil rights violations for allegedly shooting a white teenager.

Granite City • May 1999

Steven W. Calendar, a 18-year-old white man, was charged with obstructing justice, criminal trespass to property and disorderly conduct for allegedly threatening minority residents while shouting racial slurs outside a housing project.

Gurnee • April 13, 1999

Eric D. Hanson, 24, was convicted of assault and disorderly conduct for committing a hate crime when he threatened a biracial couple outside a grocery store in February. In May he was sentenced to one year in prison.

Manhattan • May 1, 1999

Shane W. Keller, 18, and Casey Walsh, 20, were charged with committing a hate crime and disorderly conduct for allegedly yelling racial slurs outside a black family's residence.

Peoria • April 25, 1999

Two white men were arrested after they allegedly yelled racial epithets at a group of black people. Joel Banda III, 25, was charged with disorderly conduct and hate crime and Heath Garland, 26, was charged with obstructing police.

INDIANA**Crown Point • April 24, 1999**

About 40 members of the American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan held a rally.

Lynwood • March 28, 1999

John Chorak, 24, was charged with a hate crime after he allegedly attacked a black man talking to a white woman in a bar.

IOWA**Council Bluffs • April 28, 1999**

A swastika was etched into a picture

at a predominantly black church that was burglarized.

Quasqueton • April 30, 1999

Donald Von Lienen, 27, pleaded guilty to violating the civil rights of an inter-racial couple after he burned crosses on their lawn in 1997.

KANSAS**Kansas City • March 8, 1999**

Raymond Roland, 29, pleaded guilty to conspiring to threaten and intimidate a black family because of their race after he burned a cross near their home in July 1998. He was sentenced in June to 18 months in federal prison.

Kansas City • April 29, 1999

James Whitney, 24, was convicted of conspiracy to threaten and intimidate for burning a cross at a black family's residence in 1998.

Kansas City • June 14, 1999

Anthony Whitney, 20, was sentenced to a year in federal prison for his role in a racially motivated cross burning last July.

Lawrence • March 18, 1999

University of Kansas student Aaron Culwell, 19, was charged with aggravated arson after he allegedly burned a swastika into the carpet at a campus dormitory. In May he pleaded no contest to the charge.

Lyons • April 28, 1999

Jason Myers, 17, and Jason Cannon, 16, were charged with issuing a criminal threat and disorderly conduct for allegedly sending threatening e-mail messages to an American Indian man opposed to a school mascot.

Wichita • March 19, 1999

Jake Fiel, 23, and Troy Philbrick, 21, pleaded guilty to conspiracy to oppress, threaten and intimidate Jewish people after they defaced a synagogue in June. Kevin Barnes, 19, was convicted of violating federal hate crime

laws in connection with the incident.

LOUISIANA**Alexandria • April 19, 1999**

Gary D. Norman, 25, James N. Friday, 23, Matthew R. Morgan, 19, and Huey K. Martin, 18, pleaded guilty to burning a cross at the residence of a white woman who sheltered an interracial couple during a hurricane.

Baton Rouge • May 20, 1999

Reported Klansman Greg David, 22, was charged with aggravated rape, oral sexual battery and crime against nature for allegedly raping a black man in 1997.

Lafayette • March 17, 1999

A predominantly black church was burned.

MAINE**Alfred • March 18, 1999**

Bryan E. Worthley, 25, pleaded guilty to burglary, assault and a bail violation and was sentenced to 18 months in prison for his participation in a racially motivated attack on an Asian family in August.

Portland • May 18, 1999

Joseph Fontaine, 39, was charged with reckless conduct with a dangerous weapon after he allegedly used racial epithets and threw bricks at a biracial family.

MARYLAND**Havre de Grace • March 27, 1999**

A swastika and a racial epithet were scrawled on a business owned by an Asian man.

MASSACHUSETTS**Dedham • March 25, 1999**

James McCarthy, 33, pleaded guilty to civil rights violations after making anti-Semitic calls and harassing a Jewish family in 1997. He was sentenced to two and a half years in jail, placed on five years' probation and ordered to under-

go psychiatric evaluation and sensitivity training for making anti-Semitic calls and harassing a Jewish family in 1997.

Greenfield • June 2, 1999

Jonathan Shapiro, 18, and Matthew Rogers, 20, pleaded innocent to charges of assault and battery with a dangerous weapon, assault with intent to maim, and assault with intent to intimidate resulting in bodily harm. They were accused of carving an anti-gay slur into a high school classmate's back.

Wellesley • March 15, 1999

Racist posters containing anti-Semitic messages were found at Wellesley College.

MICHIGAN**Grosse Pointe • May 24, 1999**

Swastikas and racial epithets were spray-painted on a black high school student's car.

Hazel Park • March 16, 1999

Aaron A. Dickson and Wendy J. Hudson, both 15, were charged with malicious destruction of property and ethnic intimidation for allegedly spray-painting racist graffiti on a black family's residence.

Pontiac • March 22, 1999

Glen A. Ethington, 45, was convicted of ethnic intimidation, assault and using a firearm in the commission of a felony for threatening a man with a shotgun and uttering a racial epithet in 1998.

Traverse City • March 15, 1999

Jeremy Jamrog was convicted of assault and battery for assaulting a gay man in October. James Johnson pleaded guilty to disturbing the peace in connection with the incident.

MINNESOTA**Mazeppa • April 13, 1999**

Two youths were sentenced to detention and placed on probation for burning a cross in a black family's yard in September.

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MINNEAPOLIS • May 3, 1999

A 14-year-old was charged with possessing incendiary devices and damage to property after he allegedly burned two crosses on the lawn of a middle school.

MISSISSIPPI

Canton • May 29, 1999

About 40 members of the American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, led by Imperial Wizard Jeff Berry, rallied.

MISSOURI

Overland • May 26, 1999

A white man, Brian J. Hoffman, 20, was charged with making a criminal threat after he allegedly burned a cross at a black family's residence.

Springfield • March 26, 1999

Reported Skinheads James Parazzo, 28, and Lazaro Sotelo, 25, were sentenced to one year in jail for the 1998 assault of a man who disagreed with their political beliefs.

NEVADA

Las Vegas • April 7, 1999

Racial slurs were scrawled on a black University of Nevada Las Vegas student's car outside his dormitory.

NEW JERSEY

Medford • May 12, 1999

Six youths, ages 15 to 17, were charged with various counts of causing a false public alarm, making terroristic threats and conspiracy for allegedly targeting Jewish classmates and threatening to detonate bombs at their high school.

Paterson • April 16, 1999

Sherman Wright, 20, and Gary Winfrey, 22, were placed on five years of probation for their participation in a 1997 racially motivated assault of a Chinese man.

Winslow • April 13, 1999

Anthony D. Lavala, 29, and Gerald R. Willis, 19, were charged with making racial slurs and threats after they allegedly threatened to kill a black man at a pond.

NEW YORK

Brooklyn • May 26, 1999

Former police officer Justin Volpe pleaded guilty to civil rights violations for his participation in the sodomy of a Haitian immigrant in 1997.

Brooklyn • June 8, 1999

Former police officer Charles Schwarz, 33, was convicted of civil rights violations through a sexual assault for his role in the beating and sodomy of a Haitian immigrant in 1997. Fellow officers Thomas Wiese, 35, Thomas Bruder, 33, and Michael Bellomo, 37, were acquitted.

Massapequa • April 27, 1999

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

New Rochelle • April 30, 1999

Anti-Semitic letters were mailed to two Iona College students.

Woodside • March 20, 1999

Samantha Mansfield, 20, and Carmella Mansfield, 26, were charged with assault and aggravated harassment after they allegedly attacked an Asian youth and yelled racial insults.

Cary • March 23, 1999

Sylvia D. Rhodes, 38, was charged with sending annoying or threatening letters, stalking and making harassing phone calls after she allegedly mailed racist letters to apartment complex residents.

High Point • April 3, 1999

Terry E. Rich, 30, was charged with felonious burning of a cross, possession of marijuana and failure to appear after he allegedly burned a cross near his neighbors' yard following a racial dispute.

Jacksonville • April 4, 1999

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

Winston-Salem • April 10, 1999

Three white men were arrested after they allegedly attacked a black man

and yelled racial slurs. Robert E. Cook, 21, was charged with assault and malicious injury to property; Randy Dillon, 23, with failure to heed blue lights and siren, speeding and careless and reckless driving; and Jason Wilson, 26, with disorderly conduct.

OHIO

Adrian • May 25, 1999

Gary D. Hicks Sr., 46, was convicted of ethnic intimidation for burning a cross at a residence in 1992.

Defiance • March 20, 1999

About 41 members of the American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan rallied.

Harrison • May 15, 1999

Travis Hearn, a 28-year-old white man, was charged with ethnic intimidation after he allegedly made insulting comments to a black man and spit in his face after a confrontation at a softball game.

Kenton • April 27, 1999

A 16-year-old was convicted of ethnic intimidation for his part in a November cross burning at a predominantly black church.

Kettering • March 21, 1999

Members of the Knights of the White Kamellia rallied.

Wayne Township • May 7, 1999

Aryan Nations member Kale Kelly, 38, pleaded guilty to possession of firearms by a convicted felon.

Youngstown • May 4, 1999

Self-proclaimed Aryan Nations and Klan members Kirk L. Agee, 22, and Garrett Agee, 26, were charged with assaulting a police officer, inciting violence, obstructing official business, criminal damage and resisting arrest after they and three others allegedly were involved in a fight in which they directed racial slurs and threats towards black customers at a store. Sheila Agee-Leonard, 29, was charged with assaulting a police officer, inciting violence and obstructing official

business; Melissa Klemm, 23, was charged with criminal damage and assaulting a police officer; and George H. Limberty, 23, was charged with obstructing official business.

OREGON

Roseburg • June 1999

Michael Jones and Thomas J. Berger, both 19, Pamela Green, 36, and Megan Lawson and Jennifer Green, both 17, were charged with intimidation and criminal mischief after they allegedly tried to burn a cross in front of a black man's residence.

PENNSYLVANIA

Allentown • April 18, 1999

Anti-Semitic graffiti was smeared on two buildings at Muhlenberg College.

Butler • May 22, 1999

About 30 members of the American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan rallied.

Ephrata • April 18, 1999

Two white men allegedly assaulted a black man and yelled racial epithets.

Lebanon • April 24, 1999

About 25 members of the American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan rallied.

Philadelphia • April 26, 1999

Clarence R. LaRue, 34, pleaded guilty to rape, ethnic intimidation and aggravated assault for stalking, beating, raping, and making racial remarks to an Asian woman in July.

Somerset • May 27, 1999

Three reported Klansmen were convicted on counts stemming from an armed confrontation with state police last July. Donald L. Penrod, 49, and Ronald Bedics, 35, were convicted of terroristic threats and simple assault, and Michael Abraham, 31, was convicted of simple assault. Adam Moyer, 34, was found innocent on all counts.

West Mifflin • April 4, 1999

Racial epithets were spray-painted on a black couple's garage.

Woonsocket • May 8, 1999

Swastikas were scrawled on a Jewish temple.

TEXAS**Galveston • April 10, 1999**

About 20 members of the White Camellia Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, led by Grand Dragon Charles Lee, protested outside a hotel that caters to homosexual clientele.

Littleton • May 13, 1999

Jack M. Modig, 39, was charged with ethnic intimidation, attempted vehicular assault and possession of explosives after he allegedly tried to torch a mosque.

McDade • March 29, 1999

Reported Klansmen Jimmy Ray Shelton, 40, and Eddie M. Bradley, 24, were charged with attempted capital murder after a high-speed chase with law enforcement. Police allegedly seized explosive materials, semi-automatic rifles, handguns and Klan literature.

Orange • April 20, 1999

A Klan insignia and a racist drawing were left on a black man's locker at his job.

Splendora • May 1, 1999

About 18 members of the American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan rallied.

VIRGINIA**Alexandria • May 18, 1999**

Ronald Bost, 38, pleaded guilty to committing a hate crime and was sentenced to 90 days in jail for destroying government property after he plastered swastikas and "SS" stickers on traffic signs last May.

Bristol • May 22, 1999

New Order Knights of the Ku Klux Klan literature was distributed.

Henrico • March 9, 1999

Twin brothers Kevin and Kelvin Hill, 28, were charged with abduction and conspiring to incite a race war between blacks and whites. The men are reportedly followers of the Christian Identity religion and at the time of their arrest police allegedly found white supremacist literature and seized drugs, knives and 15 guns.

Palmer Springs • March 2, 1999

A black painted effigy was found at the residence of a black couple who have also been receiving racially threatening phone calls.

Prince George • April 6, 1999

The letters "KKK" and other symbols were spray-painted on a black woman's residence.

Virginia Beach • March 31, 1999

David Targee, 18, was given a suspended 12-month jail sentence and ordered to serve 30 days in jail for helping two other teens burn a cross at a residence last May.

WASHINGTON**Seattle • March 5, 1999**

Racist literature was mailed to an interracial couple.

Spokane • April 9, 1999

A cross was burned outside an interracial couple's residence for the second time within two months. A 16-year-old and two 15-year-olds were charged with malicious harassment. One of the 15-year-olds, Lonnie Goolie, pleaded guilty in May to malicious harassment.

WEST VIRGINIA**Charleston • April 24, 1999**

About 160 people attended a weekend retreat sponsored by the Christian Identity group Scriptures for America Ministries.

WISCONSIN**Kenosha • May 16, 1999**

A white man, James G. Langenbach, 27, was charged with attempted murder while armed with a dangerous weapon, causing great bodily harm to a child with a dangerous weapon and leaving the scene of an injury accident. Langenbach allegedly swerved his car intentionally and sped toward two black teens as they rode their bicycles along a sidewalk.

WYOMING**Laramie • April 6, 1999**

Russell Henderson, 21, pleaded guilty to felony murder and kidnapping for his role in the October 1998 slaying of Matthew Shepard, a homosexual college student. He was sentenced to two consecutive life terms without eligibility for parole.

Laramie • May 21, 1999

Chastity Pasley, 23, was sentenced to 15 to 24 months in prison for lying to police and destroying evidence in connection with her role in covering up the October 1998 kidnapping and murder of Matthew Shepard, a homosexual student at the University of Wyoming in Laramie. ▲

Legal Briefs

Unmasking the Klan

continued from page 36

those of the Goshen, Ind., ordinance: to protect the public from intimidation and violence and to aid law enforcement officials in apprehending criminals. But, unlike the federal judge in Indiana, the Georgia court found that these purposes far outweighed the Klan's right to associate anonymously.

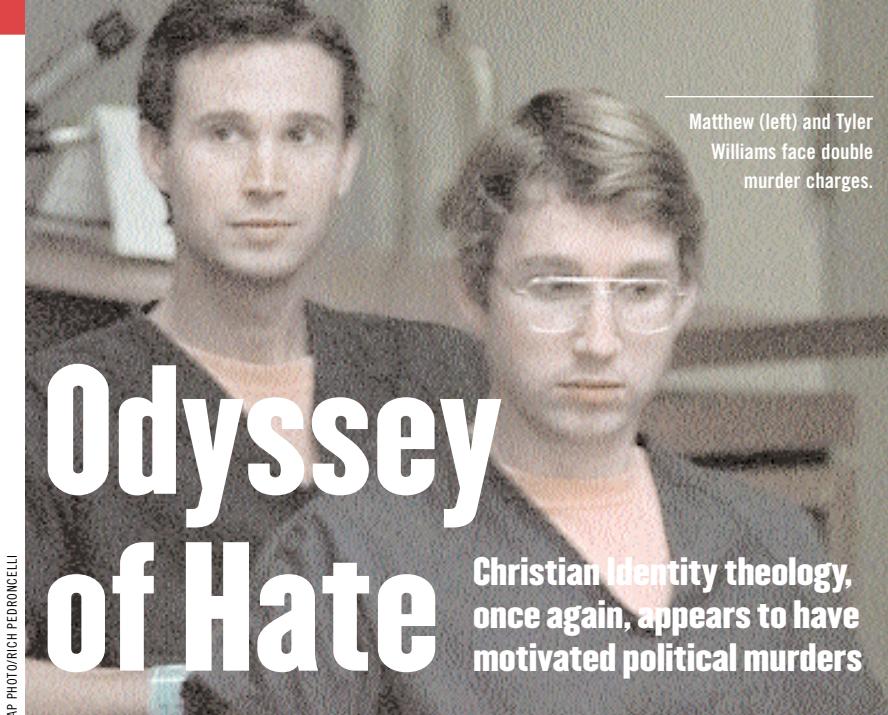
Looking at the history of the Klan in general, rather than at the activities of the

particular group whose member had filed the case, the court emphasized that masked Klansmen had a long record of "harassment, intimidation and violence against racial and religious minorities." Unlike laws struck down by the U.S. Supreme Court, the Georgia court reasoned, the anti-masking laws do not require the Klan to reveal the names and addresses of its members, nor do they stop Klan members from meeting secretly or wearing their hoods on private property. The anti-masking law "only prevents masked appearance in public under circumstances that give rise to a reasonable apprehension of intimidation, threats or impending violence." *See State v. Miller*, 260 Ga. 669 (1990).

Many people gave their lives in the civil rights struggle, battling against forces

like the Ku Klux Klan, to establish the principle that the Constitution applies equally to all of us. The question today is: does the Constitution apply equally to the Ku Klux Klan?

However convenient law enforcement officials may find anti-masking laws to be, few would be convinced by the Georgia court's assessment. While it's true that Klan marches are sometimes accompanied by threats and violence, the shouts and rocks are usually being hurled at the Klansmen, not by them. The difficult task for police at many Klan marches has not been controlling those in white sheets. Rather, it has been protecting the handful who show up in robes from the throng of angry protesters who confront them. ▲



Matthew (left) and Tyler Williams face double murder charges.

Odyssey of Hate

AP PHOTO/RICH PEDRONCELLI

Christian Identity theology, once again, appears to have motivated political murders

They grew up in a devoutly religious home. Their father had a penchant for preaching and praying in public. Their mother gave painting lessons to neighborhood children while her own kids, Matthew and Tyler, taught them about edible plants and gave away bushels of hand-picked fruit. By many accounts, they were a normal family.

That was before the Williams brothers' journey into hate.

In the end, officials charge, the northern California brothers murdered two gay men as they slept at home. They were caught when, a few days after the July killings, they allegedly tried to buy ammunition with one of the slain men's credit cards. Officials suspect that two weeks before the murders, the Williams brothers also were behind the arson attacks that wreaked \$1 million damage on three Sacramento synagogues.

The journey seems to have begun in 1993 when Matthew Williams, a young man who was clearly searching for something to give his life meaning, headed to the University of Idaho. At first, he joined a charismatic Christian church in Moscow, Idaho. But he left the church two years later, beginning a shift from a fundamentalist faith to one motivated by violent hatred of all kinds of minorities — but especially gays and Jews.

"After he left the church he went from food combining to eye exercises, to only

drinking tea, to tax revolting," former friend Jeff Monroe told *The Sacramento Bee*. He drank fungus teas and "colloidal silver," a brew that's popular in the antigovernment movement for curing a host of ills. And he began a reading odyssey through the vast array of white supremacist and other radical right material now available on the Web.

"In six months," Monroe said in remarks since echoed by other former friends, "he went from not having much of an opinion to being a confirmed racist."

Tyler, Matthew's "shadow," seems to have followed.

At first, based on materials seized from Matt Williams' home, officials thought the brothers might be followers of the

World Church of the Creator (see p. 23) — the same atheistic neo-Nazi group implicated in a July murder rampage in the Midwest. But then one of several letters Matthew, 31, sent to friends surfaced.

"Dearly beloved," it began. "I have just finished the most exciting and relevant Bible Study of my life! A special person shared IT with me and I want to share IT with the special people of my life. ... I reckon that thee shall be blessed by this greatly."

He was talking about Christian Identity.

The letter lauded the infamous anti-Semitic hoax, *Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion*. Williams implored his friends to arm themselves for the coming troubles. He included a sketch of a skeleton, dressed like Uncle Sam, watching a television set emanating deadly rays and emblazoned with a Star of David. And he referred, in glowing terms, to key ideologues of Identity: Pete Peters, Ted Weiland and the late Nord Davis Jr. (see p. 30).

Identity, a heretical version of Christianity, sees Jews as the spawn of Satan, blacks and other people of color as "mud people," and whites as the real chosen people. Because its hard-line version holds that Christ will not return until the earth is swept clean of Satanic forces, many followers feel impelled to kill. And in fact, Identity adherents have been behind a two-decade record of murder, torture, bombing and arson.

Now, in the California murders and arsons, it appears that once again the culprit is Identity. ▲

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