

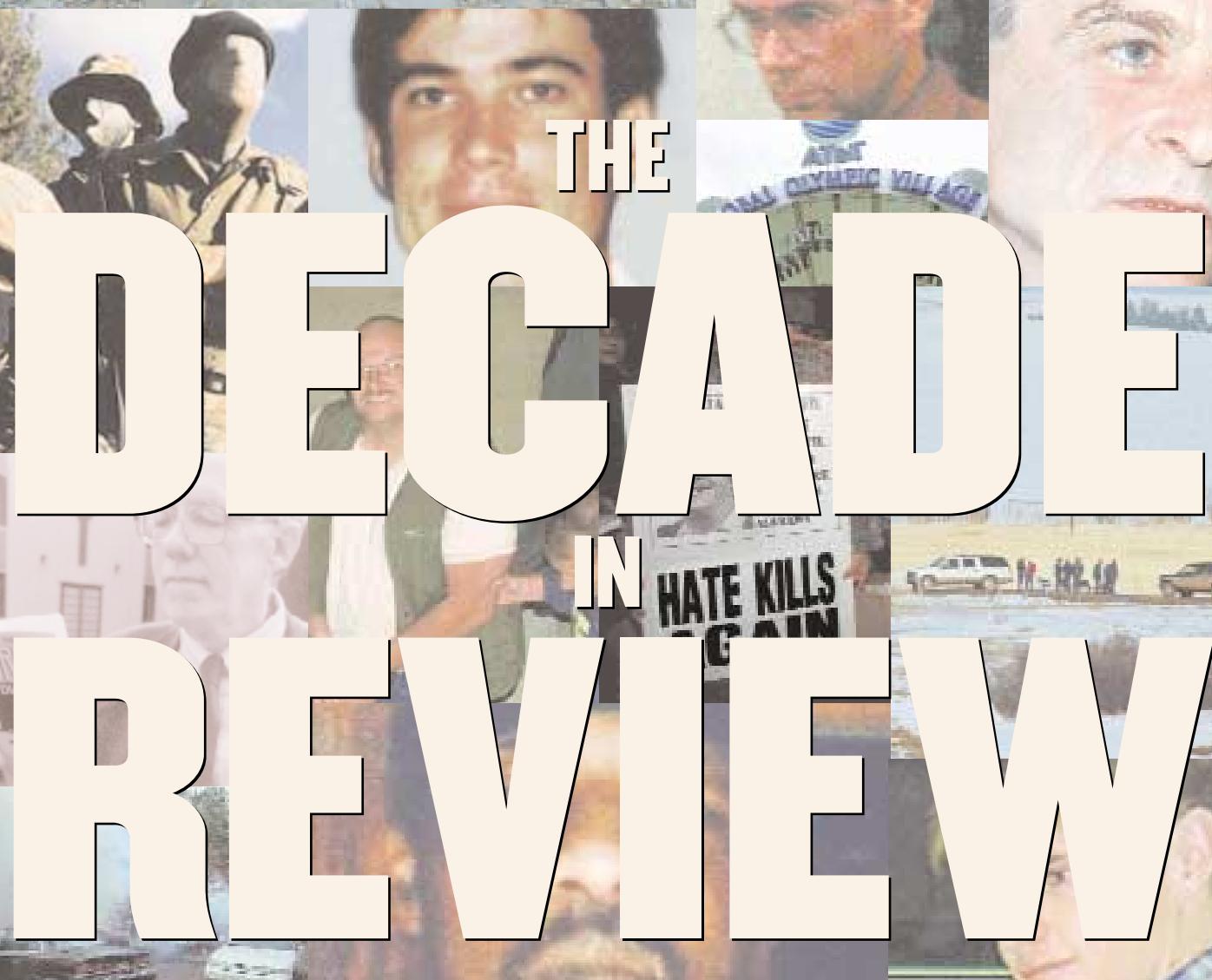
SPECIAL REPORT: EXTREMISM IN THE NEW MILLENNIUM

THE SOUTHERN POVERTY LAW CENTER'S

Intelligence Report

WINTER 2000 >> ISSUE 97

THE DECADE IN REVIEW



Reshaping Extremism



By Mark Potok, Editor

Ruby Ridge. Waco. Oklahoma City. The birth of the "New World Order" and the modern militia movement. By almost any account, it was a remarkable decade on the American radical right.

There was a sea change in the attitudes of the insurrectionists. In the 1980s, white supremacist groups like the Posse Comitatus and The Order murdered a number of people. But their targets seemed focused: law enforcement officials, a radio talk show host who had insulted extremists, alleged informers.

In the 1990s, all that changed. Suddenly, with the blast that shook Oklahoma City awake at 9:02 a.m. on April 19, 1995, massive "collateral damage" had become acceptable. Children, Social Security recipients and other innocents — all were fair game. For a stunning number of radicals, there were no regrets. As several wrote: "Hail McVeigh!"

Testifying against his former associate, Michael Fortier could have been speaking of much of the contemporary extreme right as he described Timothy McVeigh's thinking: "[H]e explained to me ... that he considered all those people to be as if they were the storm troopers in the movie 'Star Wars,'" Fortier testified. "They may be individually innocent. But because they are part of the, the evil empire, they were, they were guilty by association."

The Patriot Decade

Throughout the 1990s, the pace and severity of domestic terrorism picked up, only dropping back at the very end of the decade. Where the FBI typically worked about 100 domestic terrorism cases at a time in the early 1990s, it was investigating close to 1,000 as the millennium came to a close.

The decade was remarkable in other ways as well. The Internet fueled the growth of hate and helped radical groups recruit among the young. Antigovernment "Patriot" groups grew tremendously, peaking in 1996 before starting a steady decline. Softer-line groups grew harder as weekend revolutionaries went home. Hate groups like the Klan grew through the latter half of the decade despite a booming economy, only beginning to fall in 1999 as many retreated to cyberspace. Hundreds, if not thousands, were sent to jail as authorities cracked down on the far right — many in revolutionary conspiracies that included planned mass murders.

At decade's end, it was the extremists who cowered in fear. Anticipating widespread problems caused by the Y2K computer bug, large numbers expected the imposition of martial law at midnight

on Dec. 31. Others saw an opening for revolt. But the apocalypse was a no-show: no martial law, no revolutionary violence, no computer-driven societal collapse.

Symbolically, Y2K marked the end of an era — the petering out of the 1990s, a decade that may well be remembered as the Patriot Decade. Now, as we enter the new millennium, important new trends are shaping the future.

'Hate Has Its Reasons'

Neo-Nazism, once shunned, is increasingly important — a fact reflected in the growth of the National Alliance, a group led by the author of *The Turner Diaries*, the novel used by McVeigh as a blueprint for his attack. The white supremacist movement is more international. Racist variants of neo-pagan religions like Odinism are on the rise, while the more entrenched and specifically American racist theology of Christian Identity declines. Many small hate groups are consolidating into larger ones. More "mainstream" groups and politicians are picking up on racial themes once confined to the fringe. Overall, the movement is showing a remarkable resiliency.

And then there is globalism.

In a report on the extremism of the new millennium, the *Intelligence Report* details a remarkable convergence of traditionally "left" and "right" political doctrines — a volatile mix that could define the shape of things to come. Increasingly, the far right is keying in on "left" issues like the environment and animal rights and supporting "national liberation" struggles of even non-white peoples against "imperialism" — or more specifically, transnational capitalism.

Globalism makes an inviting target. As non-white immigration increases in most Western countries, nativist resentment is growing. At the same time, the new global economy has pressured many working people, adding to the rage. "As economic globalization has accelerated, producing definite losers and winners, so too has the momentum of neofascist and right-wing extremist organizations," says Martin Lee, an expert on fascism.

Lee's point is an important one. Difficult economic conditions do not by themselves create extremists — but they do provide fertile ground for the recruiting pitches of the radical right. For those who seek to battle the spread of hate, it is worth remembering that some underlying causes are real. Hate, as *The New York Times Magazine* pointed out recently, has its reasons. ▲

Correction Four California teenagers were accused last year of planning to attack Armenians — not to kill them, as reported here last fall. The teenagers were students at Wilson Middle School in Glendale.



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS



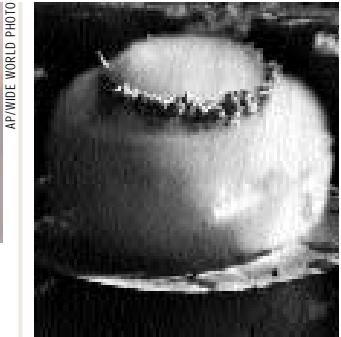
HATE KILLS AGAIN

On The Cover In a 22-page retrospective, the *Intelligence Report* reviews key events on the radical right in the 1990s, a decade virtually unprecedented in the history of American extremism. “Bombs, Bullets, Bodies” recapitulates developments from the “birth” of the “New World Order” in a 1990 presidential speech to the dawning of the new millennium, which was supposed to — but didn’t — bring revolutionary chaos. **Page 8**



The Year in Hate

Just as the business world was characterized by giant mergers and Internet start-up companies in 1999, so was the world of hate. **Page 6**



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTO

‘Neither Left Nor Right’

The “Battle in Seattle” last November illustrated a worrying new phenomenon — the convergence of anti-globalist forces from the far “left” and far “right.” This special report outlines what could be the shape of extremism in the new millennium. **Page 40**

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Internet Hate and the Law

In a speech to a United Nations gathering in Geneva, Switzerland, *Intelligence Report* Editor Mark Potok discussed the First Amendment as it applies to the Internet. **48**

‘Paying the Price’

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Hate Laws Face Challenges

Attempts to broaden hate crime laws mostly failed last year, and the Supreme Court agreed to hear two cases that could weaken existing legislation. **57**

Denying the Holocaust

A British historian who describes the Holocaust as “a propaganda hoax” finds himself on the defensive after suing an American scholar for libel. **61**

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Patriot Crimes

James 'Bo' Gritz: Would-Be Kidnapper?

Survivalist James "Bo" Gritz has been called many things: decorated Vietnam War hero and model for the "Rambo" movies, hapless champion of Americans lost in action in Southeast Asia, opportunistic anti-Semite. Now, backers in the antigovernment "Patriot" movement are waiting to see if Gritz is to acquire a new title: attempted kidnapper.

After a series of delays, Gritz went on trial in Connecticut this January. He is accused of plotting to kidnap the eldest son of Linda Wiegand, a woman involved in a long-running custody dispute whose cause was taken up by Gritz more than three years ago.

Gritz and his son James were arrested on Sept. 30, 1996, in the parking lot of McAlister Middle School in Suffield,

AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTO



Conn., where Wiegand's son, then 10, was attending classes. In Gritz's vehicle, police found two-way radios, a photo of the boy, a school schedule, a large knife and a lockpicking device — the tools, authorities say, for a kidnapping.

In late January, there was testimony to the same effect.

Jerry Gillespie, who for six years was Gritz's partner in the "Almost Heaven" survivalist community in Idaho, told jurors Gritz had asked him to find 10 families who would be willing to hide Wiegand's two sons. Another witness, a druggist, said that four hours before the alleged kidnap attempt, Linda Wiegand

A war hero faces the trial of a lifetime.

had asked her to rush an antibiotic subscription through because she had "a plane to catch." And a clerk at a local motel testified that Gritz's son — who is to be tried separately later — had used the false name of "Jim Jones" when booking two rooms near Suffield.

Gritz, who faces a possible 26-year sentence if convicted, is being tried with alleged accomplice Sheldon Robinson. Linda Wiegand, whom Gritz had championed as "a mom without a voice," is not with him. After several courts found nothing to support her allegations that her ex-husband had abused the children, Wiegand, flouting mandatory court appearances and arrest warrants, went on the lam.

Spic-and-Span Klan

Klan Finds Cleaning Up Is Hard to Do

Sometimes, it's hard to be a Klansman.

Consider the case of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, a group that spent years trying to join Missouri's state Adopt-A-Highway program. Only after a lengthy court battle was the group finally allowed to maintain a stretch of Interstate 55 south of St. Louis — and to get state highway signs designating the Klan-cleaned stretch.

But the hard times had only just begun. Less than a day after the first signs went up on Dec. 1, vandals knocked them down. Then, a black state senator introduced a bill to rename the Klan's stretch of interstate the Rosa Parks Highway, in honor of the civil rights heroine who refused to give up her seat to a white man on a segregated bus.

Next came official threats to boot the Klan out of the high-



A much-disputed sign makes a rare appearance on I-55 south of St. Louis.

way program because, three months into their sponsorship, they had yet to pick up a single bag of trash. Finally, in February — a day and a half after replacement signs went up following a nine-week delay

— the highway signs were again knocked down.

"I don't know why there is such hatred towards white people," Klan leader Thom Robb said. "It just shows the example of hatred in the world."

AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTO



Framed by a huge Confederate flag, a state senator describes the NAACP as the "National Association of Retarded People."

Flag Rally

'Heritage Not Hate' Is Claim, but Racists Abound

In January, a rally in honor of the Confederate flag in Columbia, South Carolina, drew over 6,000 people. The organizer of the event, the South Carolina Heritage coalition, said it was defending "heritage not hate." But the coalition included white supremacists in its ranks.

Joining with groups like the United Daughters of the Confederacy and the League of the South were the Council of Conservative Citizens, a racist group that portrays itself as "mainstream," and Kirk Lyons, a veteran white supremacist who heads the Southern Legal Resource Center.

The rally was meant to counter a call by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

(NAACP) for a tourism boycott of South Carolina until the state takes the Confederate flag down from its statehouse. During a speech at the pro-flag rally, Republican South Carolina State Sen. Arthur Ravenel referred to the NAACP as the "National Association of Retarded People." The flag-waving crowd loudly applauded him.

Despite the enthusiasm of the participants, the Confederate flag rally didn't compare in size to the anti-flag rally held a week later on Martin Luther King, Jr., Day—a holiday that South Carolina alone does not celebrate. Under the auspices of the NAACP, prominent political figures from around the country spoke at a rally that drew more than 40,000 people.

Neo-Nazis

An Illinois Neo-Nazi Calls on the Law

Would-be lawyer and World Church of the Creator leader Matt Hale has been busy trying to get the law on his side. After being denied a law license by the Illinois Bar Association, the East Peoria neo-Nazi recently petitioned the U.S. Supreme Court to hear the case. His crusade to keep his group's tax-exempt religious status got a boost when a judge threw out a state suit alleging that it was really an unregistered charity. And now, Hale is promising to sue Northwestern University near Chicago if he isn't allowed to start a white supremacist group there after collecting the required signatures.

As part of that last effort, Hale and a small coterie of supporters appeared near the Northwestern campus outside Chicago in January. Meeting with 150 angry protesters, Hale was swept up in a scuffle and emerged with a bloodied lip. Riot police escorted him away under a barrage of snowballs.

Hale's appearance was seen as a stick-in-your-eye outrage at Northwestern, adding insult to the fatal injuries that one-time "Creator of the Year" Ben Smith — a longtime Hale deputy — inflicted on a former Northwestern basketball coach. Smith also killed another man and wounded nine people, all of them Jews or other minorities, during a Fourth of July weekend rampage. Then Smith killed himself.

Ever hungry for publicity, Hale has found his World Church of the Creator (WCOTC) in the headlines in other ways, as well. Recent developments:

- A home security salesman and WCOTC member is running in the March 21 Democratic primary for Illinois' 3rd Congressional district. R. Benedict Mayers' platform: repeal the right of blacks to vote; prohibit interracial marriages; send black prison inmates "back to Western Africa"; redraw city lines to exclude blacks from city services; and undertake an "investigation" of international Jewry.
- Florida WCOTC leader Jules Fettu, who police say was slated to become the national group's second in command, was sentenced to five years in prison for the 1997 beating of a dark-skinned Cuban man. At least six other WCOTC Florida members have recently been convicted or pleaded guilty to charges in connection with this incident and others, including cases of armed robbery and witness tampering.
- A spate of some 30 hate letters sent to historically black colleges, the NAACP and 16 offices of the American Jewish Committee included WCOTC catchphrases: "Hail Ben Klassen," referring to the group's founder who committed suicide in 1993, and the word "RAHOWA," shorthand for the group's motto, "Racial Holy War!"

Drugs and the Right

Once Again, Bangerter Goes to Jail

Most of those who have known Johnny Bangerter — and even many of the millions who saw the neo-Nazi Utah Skinhead on one of several television news specials — concluded long ago that the man seemed positively wired. Now, it's nearly official.

Bangerter, his wife, brother and another woman were arrested on drug charges in early February at Bangerter's home near St. George, Utah. Bangerter, 30, and the others were held for alleged possession of methamphetamines and drug paraphernalia. Six children in the home — a ramshackle affair with no electricity beyond an extension cord from a neighbor's house — were placed in their grandparents' custody.

Bangerter, who once vowed to lead his Army of Israel band of Skinheads in a



An intemperate Johnny Bangerter once threatened a U.S. senator.

AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTO

takeover of Zion National Park, was serving 36 months' probation when he was arrested. He was on probation for failing to respond to police commands, reckless driving

and interfering with legal arrest by ramming a police car. The officers were pursuing Bangerter to force him to face charges in an earlier illegal weapons case.

Awaiting further developments, Johnny Bangerter will now spend his days in a special kind of purgatory — the Purgatory Correctional Facility in St. George.

Youth at the Edge

Unrepentant Los Angeles Killer Gets Life

Early last fall, jailed southern California Skinhead Randall Rojas spoke in moving tones of his renunciation of racism, his jailhouse conversion to religion and his plans to help other young people stay out of prison. But in November, upon being sentenced to life in prison for a racist murder, Rojas sang a different tune.

Rojas unleashed a stream of obscenities at prosecutors and investigators just minutes

after his sentence was pronounced for his part in the gruesome 1995 murder of Milton Walker, a homeless black man who was beaten to death behind a fast food restaurant. After his tirade, Rojas, who was affiliated with the Nazi Low Riders gang, looked back at his mother, who appeared to smile.

Earlier, in an interview with the *Intelligence Report*, Rojas had described his life

and spoken of the killing — although without being specific — with regret. He said a black inmate had brought him to God. He claimed that he wanted to help young people by speaking to them about his life and where he had gone wrong. "Really tell them how it is," he said then. "That is the most effective way. They need to see how they're going to be. They need to look at the future."



Rojas



Pilon



McVean

Seventeen months after three survivalists murdered a police officer near Cortez, Colo., the body of one of them was discovered by deer hunters trekking through the Utah badlands. Alan "Monte" Pilon had apparently killed himself.

On May 29, 1998, Pilon, Robert Mason and Jason McVean shot 26 bullets into Cortez officer Dale Claxton when he attempted to stop them in a stolen water truck. Two more officers were wounded in the chase that ensued, but the survivalists eluded the authorities and disappeared into the high desert of the Four Corners region. What has been called the largest manhunt in the history of the Southwest followed.

Involving up to 500 officers from 41 law enforcement agencies, the pursuit even has

been fictionalized in a current Tony Hillerman bestseller, *Hunting Badger*.

No suspect in the case has been found alive. Several days after the initial shootout, Mason killed himself after shooting at one of his pursuers. He was found with a rifle mounted on a bipod, a pistol

Utah Survivalists

In the Badlands, a Cop-Killer is Found



Officials are still puzzled about the motives of three men who murdered a small town Colorado police officer on this lonely highway.

near one hand and pipe bombs attached to his body. He was wearing a bulletproof vest and a military helmet.

Then, last Halloween, Pilon was found at Tin Cup Mesa, a few miles across the Colorado border in Utah.

Now only McVean, the alleged ringleader of the group

that long feared the end of the world was near, remains at large — despite rewards totalling \$327,000. Some law enforcement officials believe he has gotten help in the area, which is known for its antigovernment sympathies. But others say he, too, may very well be dead.

Racist Skinheads

Death Sentence Averted, Thill Faces More Trials

Following a mistrial on charges of first-degree murder, Denver Skinhead Nathan Thill — who once boasted publicly of slaying a West African man at a bus stop — has pleaded guilty to the

killing in return for avoiding the death penalty.

Thill is now serving a sentence of life without the possibility of parole in the killing of Oumar Dia and the shooting of a woman who tried to help

Dia. Jeannie Van Velkinburgh, a nurse's aide, was paralyzed from the waist down.

Thill has not done well since he was jailed for the November 1997 attack. He has been charged with three counts

of second-degree assault for allegedly attacking a jail official and two sheriff's deputies; and with two counts of illegal possession of weapons and a handcuff key. This summer, he faces five separate trials.

The Year in Hate

As many hate groups consolidate and others mainstream their message, a new kind of extremism is taking shape

Just as the business world was characterized by giant mergers and Internet start-up companies in 1999, so was the world of hate.

Across the board of the radical right, smaller groups disbanded or joined larger organizations. At the same time, more and more haters went on-line with their message, reaching out electronically to an audience of millions.

In its annual count, the Intelligence Project found that the number of hate sites on the Internet in early 2000 rose to 305 from 254 a year earlier (see listing, p. 36, and related story, p. 48). It also found that the number of hate groups operating in the United States dropped by about 15% in 1999 — a decrease of 80 groups from 537 in 1998 to 457 last year (see listing, p. 32, and map, p. 30).

But the reported decline in groups may be deceiving. Among the reasons:

- The Internet. To be included in the Intelligence Project group count, hate groups had to engage in racist behavior such as crimes, marches, rallies, speeches, leafleting or publishing literature — more than merely putting up Web pages. But many individual white supremacists have retreated to the Internet — increasing their propaganda reach but diminishing the numbers of people actively engaged in the movement in other ways. The Web sites are included in the count of hate sites; however, they are not included in the group count regardless of how they portrayed themselves unless they also engaged in racist behavior beyond the world of cyberspace. Two major studies have shown that heavy Internet users tend to withdraw from social interaction. That appears to be true of many haters as well.

The number of such individuals is growing. In 1998, 95 of the 254 hate Web sites were not affiliated with hate groups active beyond cyberspace — 37% of the total. In 1999, the number of unaffiliated sites swelled by 50% to 143 — 47% of the 305 hate sites that the Intelligence Project counted in early 2000.

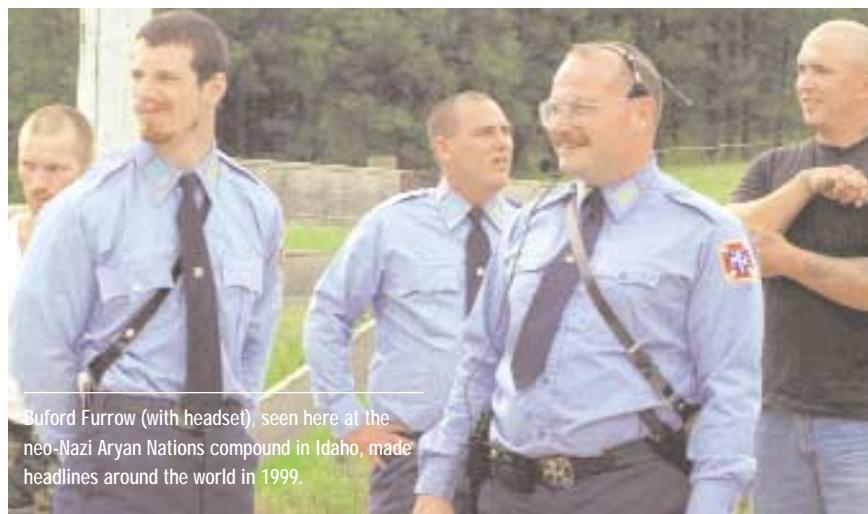
- Consolidation. Several of the largest hate groups swelled as they absorbed

by more “respectable” groups. Immigration, affirmative action, race-based IQ theories, black crime and similar matters are key issues for groups like the racist Council of Conservative Citizens, an outfit that includes many southern lawmakers. Neo-Confederate groups have also taken up the same kinds of concerns. Race science is more prevalent on college campuses. As a result, many racists — like some who back Pat Buchanan's bid for the Reform Party's presidential nomination — are finding “safe havens” in groups that are not blatantly racist, thus drawing down explicitly hateful groups.

The Strong Grow Stronger

Of these factors, consolidation may be the most ominous.

Historically, skin crews have been fiercely independent, small groups — just 16% were part of large organizations in 1997.



Buford Furrow (with headset), seen here at the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations compound in Idaho, made headlines around the world in 1999.

members of smaller ones, accounting for part of the overall decline. An analysis of the numbers shows that in 1997, hate group chapters were evenly split between large organizations (more than five chapters) and small ones. But by 1999, for every group chapter in a smaller organization, there were more than two in large groups. In other words, large groups are getting larger as many small ones disappear.

- Mainstreaming. Many of the key issues of the radical right — especially those related to race — have been siphoned off

In 1999, 80% were Hammerskin Nation — the largest coalition of neo-Nazi Skinheads in the world — absorbed a slew of smaller Skinhead groups, adding about 70% more chapters in 1999. At the same time, the Skinhead movement — far more mature than the days when rebellious but ideologically unsophisticated teens formed its bulk — is producing more political violence than it has in years.

The case of the neo-Nazi National Alliance — a group headed by William Pierce, the author of the race war novel used as a blueprint for the Oklahoma City

bombing — is also instructive. The Alliance actually lost three chapters in 1999, but the number of its members skyrocketed by half, to about 1,500.

There are numerous other cases as well. One chapter of the neo-Nazi American Nationalist Party informed Michigan police in July that its members were disbanding and joining the National Alliance. In New Jersey, Klansman Joseph Bednarsky Jr., once state leader of the Confederate Knights of the KKK, took his followers into the Alabama-based America's Invisible Empire Knights of the KKK.

"The situation's deeply worrying," said Joe Roy, director of the Intelligence Project. "Many of the less active and isolated smaller groups have joined forces with much more serious players. There is strong evidence that far more people are now in really hard-line groups like the National Alliance and Hammerskin Nation."

Still, some of the decline in hate groups is probably real.

California neo-Nazi leader Tom Metzger recently put it like this: "All membership organizations are [currently] either treading water or losing ground. ... Many [members] will turn informant, rationalizing that we barbarians have just gone too far. ... [But] the Iron Heel has prepared the stage. Now is the time for the actors to take their places. ... I have confidence there is enough collective hate lurking in the breasts of our race to pull it off one more time for the Gipper."

New Politics and New Religions

The decline may be clearest in the case of Christian Identity, an anti-Semitic theology that for decades has been a central factor in the white supremacist world. Today, Identity is seen by more and more young racists as passé, an overly Christian cosmology that requires long hours of study and is not exciting. In a number of cases, aging Identity pastors died or retired. Although three new Identity ministries were identified in 1999, another 19 disappeared — an overall loss of 16 groups.

The lessening attraction of Identity is reflected in attendance at key conferences as well. In 1995 and 1996, between 500 and 600 people attended the Identity "Super Conference" in Missouri; by last year, that number had fallen to about 75. Jubilation, another key Identity gathering, drew more than 400 people in 1996. Just 60 attended in 1998, and the national conference was not even held in 1999.

Religions like Odinism and Asatrú — neo-Pagan, nature-based theologies — seem to be the wave of the future, particularly among the young. Their impact is being widely felt in the prison system, where such theologies thrive. Even some older leaders have converted. Long-time Alabama Klansman and four-time felon Bill Riccio, for instance, became an Odinist after his last stay in prison.

As the new millennium dawned, it appeared that the shape of hate was changing in other ways as well. During the 1990s, radical groups keyed in on such issues as

race, guns, immigration, abortion, homosexuality and the power of the federal government (see also retrospective of the decade, p. 8). Now, at least some sectors of the extreme right are focusing on issues that also are of interest to the traditional left: the environment, animal rights and, above all, the specter of growing economic globalism (see p. 40). Both left and right fear the global power of what extremists call the "New World Order."

"The New American Patriot will be neither left nor right, just a freeman fighting for liberty," Louis Beam, a key white supremacist ideologue, predicted in January. "New alliances will form between those who have in the past thought of themselves as 'right-wingers,' conservatives and patriots, with those who have thought of themselves as 'left-wingers,' progressives, or just 'liberal.'"

Much of this bodes poorly for the future.

To William Pierce, who acquired white power music label Resistance Records last year, the coming years look rosy. "The whole climate for our revolution has shifted toward more favorable conditions," Pierce wrote in December, seeking to explain a 1999 growth rate 20 times his average for the preceding four years. "I believe that the conditions which have made our people angry enough in 1999 to overcome their fear will continue and intensify in 2000 and the years ahead. ... We are a long way from exhausting our pool of potential recruits." ▲

Center Sues Klan Leader

The Southern Poverty Law Center filed a federal lawsuit in January against Jeff Berry, the national leader of the American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, alleging that Berry falsely imprisoned and assaulted two Kentucky journalists.

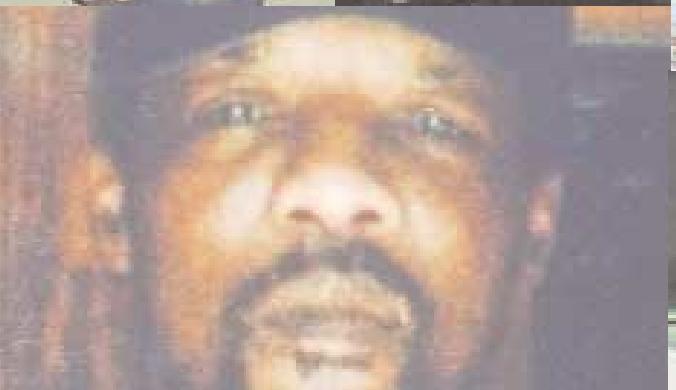
According to the suit, reporter George Sells IV and camerawoman Heidi Thiel went to Berry's house near in Newville, Ind., on Nov. 17 to inter-

view Berry about an upcoming rally in southern Indiana near the journalists' Louisville station, WHAS-TV. Berry became enraged when the pair told him that they also planned to interview Brad Thompson, a former Berry deputy who defected from the group.

Berry allegedly demanded the journalists' videotape. When they refused, Berry and several followers held them in

the room where the Berry interview had been conducted. Another Klan follower blocked their vehicle in the driveway. Finally, the suit alleges, the journalists gave up their tapes after another Berry follower entered the room with a shotgun, which he pumped to intimidate them.

The American Knights is one of the largest and most aggressive Klan groups in the country. Largely led by men with criminal records, the American Knights was once characterized by a Center spokesman as "the bully-boy Klan."



Bombs Bullets Bodies

THE DECADE IN REVIEW

The 1990s were a decade that was virtually unprecedented in the history of the American radical right. Standoffs with law enforcement officials at Ruby Ridge, Idaho, and near Waco, Texas, helped to ignite the modern militia movement, while the 1995 truck bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City showed the world just how deadly convinced antigovernment zealots could be. Hate crimes and terrorist attacks grabbed headlines like never before. The Internet became a principal venue of race hatred. Neo-Nazism, once shunned by even hard-line Klansmen as an ideology that their fathers had died fighting, became a central tenet of the white supremacist movement. Although the extreme right had left a trail of bloodshed across the nation in the 1980s, in the 1990s the pace and severity of radical activity — and of domestic terrorist conspiracies — overshadowed the events of the previous decade. Here is a retrospective of some of the key events of the 1990s. >>

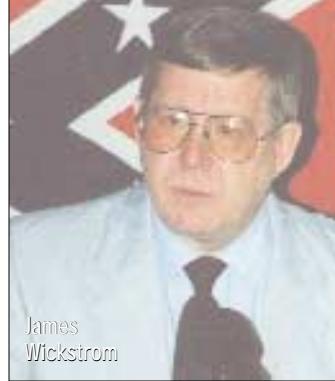
1990

The 'New World Order' is Born

MARCH 1 >> In the first federal civil rights prosecution of neo-Nazi Skinheads, five members of the Confederate Hammerskins are convicted in Dallas of conspiring to violate the rights of blacks, Hispanics and Jews. Despite the convictions, this small group with

others will go on to form the nucleus of Hammerskin Nation — a Skinhead coalition, with thousands of members in both the United States and abroad, that by the end of the decade will become the most far-reaching, best organized and most dangerous Skinhead group known.

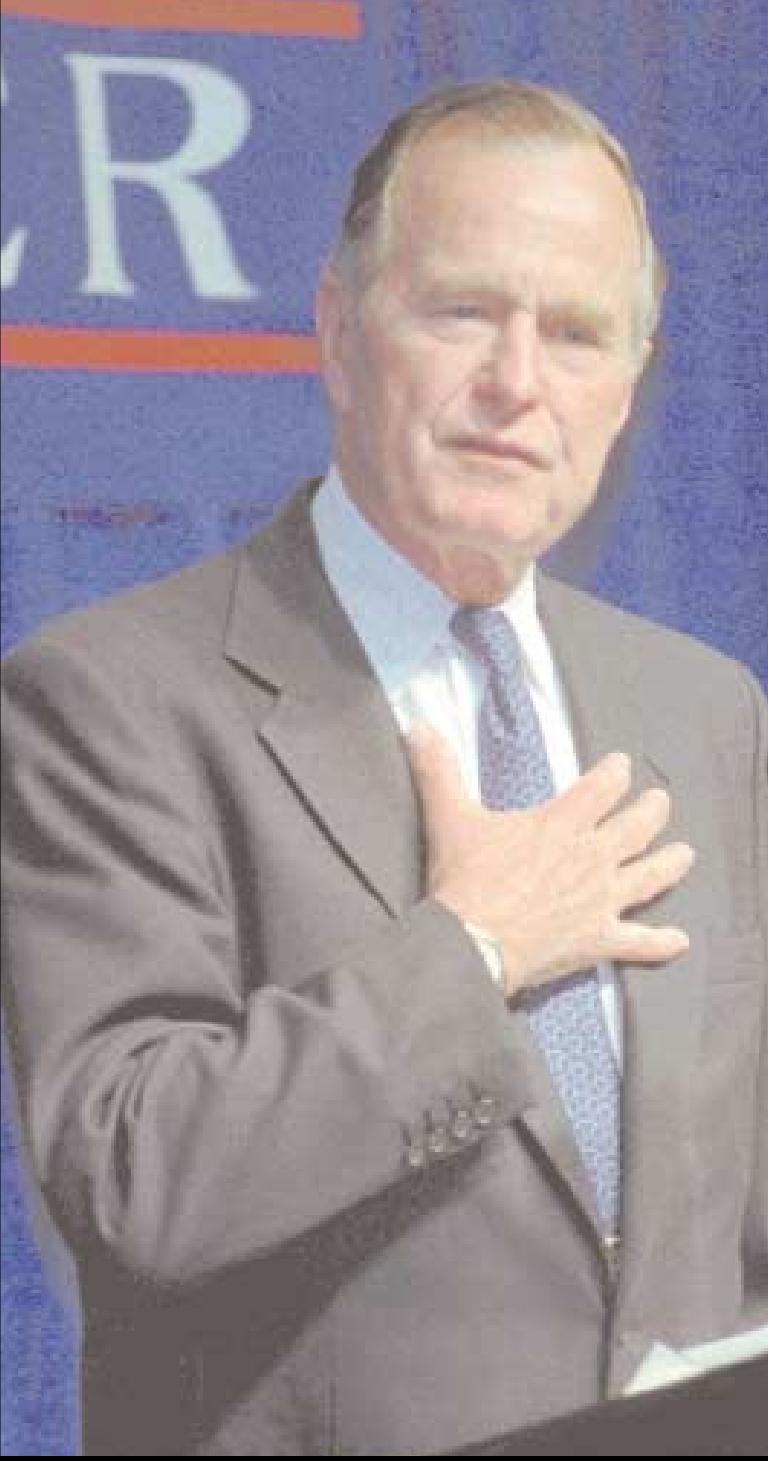
APRIL 28 >> As hate crimes around the nation draw increasing attention, President Bush signs into law the federal Hate Crime Statistics Act of 1990, mandating that the FBI compile data collected by the states on crimes motivated by race, ethnic background, religion or sexual orientation. But, to the dismay of many experts, the law does not require the states and law enforcement agencies to collect hate crime data. As a result of that and other problems in data collection, it will remain impossible to say definitively whether hate crimes are rising or falling.



James Wickstrom

JUNE 14 >> Signaling the end of the era of the deadly Posse Comitatus, Posse "national director of counterinsurgency" James Wickstrom is convicted of plotting to distribute counterfeit bills at the 1988 Aryan World Congress, held at the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations' compound in Idaho. The bitterly racist and anti-Semitic Posse, precursor of the 1990s militia movement, raged through the farm belt for much of the 1970s and 1980s, organizing farmers who faced a severe agricultural crisis and leaving a trail of fraud, violence and murder in its wake. In August, Wickstrom will be sentenced to three years in prison.

AUG 9 >> Two Houston Skinheads are charged with murdering a 15-year-old Vietnamese youth, Hung Truong, with a group



SEPT 11 >> In a speech before a joint session of Congress as the Cold War comes to an end and in the midst of the Gulf crisis, President George Bush says, "Out of these troubled times ... a new world order can emerge... ." The speech galvanizes many on the extreme right, who see it as a slip of the tongue that reveals federal officials' secret plans to create a "New World Order," or a kind of dictatorial, one-world government. In 1991, a book by televangelist Pat Robertson, alleging a conspiracy to take over the United States, will add to these fears. The book is entitled *The New World Order* — a phrase that in short order will be used by virtually all radical right groups to describe their perceived enemy.

Out of these troubled times . . . a new world order can emerge. — PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH

from a speech that many on the extreme right saw as evidence of a secret plot to create a dictatorial, one-world government

of other white youths and men. The senseless brutality of the crime and the victim's final plea for mercy — "Please stop, I'm sorry I ever came to your country. God forgive me!" — underscore the wave of Skinhead violence that at its peak between 1988 and 1993 will leave some 35 people slain. The number of Skinhead groups will peak in 1991, with 144 organizations detected. Born in England, the Skinhead scene — both racist and anti-racist — had first appeared here in the early 1980s.

OCT 15 >> Former Klansman and current Louisiana State Rep. David Duke, who epitomizes the calculated move of many white supremacists from robes to three-piece suits, loses his bid to become a U.S. senator in a Louisiana primary. But he stuns the American political establishment by garnering almost 40% of the vote — some 605,681 ballots, or fully 60% of the white vote. The results mark the beginning of the mainstreaming of white supremacist ideology, a process that will continue and grow throughout the decade.

OCT 22 >> A Portland, Ore., jury orders neo-Nazi White Aryan Resistance (WAR) leader Tom Metzger, his son John, their



Attorney Morris Dees, co-founder of the Southern Poverty Law Center, argued the case against White Aryan Resistance.

California-based organization and two local Skinheads to pay \$12.5 million to the family of an Ethiopian man murdered two years earlier. Prior

to the killing, the Metzgers had sent a recruiter to organize Portland skins as part of a national recruiting effort and to train them in WAR methods;

afterward, Tom Metzger praised the killers for having done their "civic duty." The award signals the end of a period in which Tom Metzger had been a leading figure of the extreme right. The verdict in the case, brought by the Southern Poverty Law Center, marks the largest damage award levied in a civil lawsuit to date. The young son of victim Mulugeta Seraw is the chief beneficiary. >>

Please stop, I'm sorry I ever came to your country. God forgive me! — HUNG TRUONG

the final plea of a 15-year-old Vietnamese youth beaten to death by two Skinheads

1991

Hate Enters the Mainstream

JAN 23 >> Two active duty members of the elite Special Forces at Fort Bragg, N.C., a U.S. Postal Service employee and another man are indicted on 16 counts of weapons violations. The men, alleged members of the white supremacist Knights of the New Order, are said to have been stockpiling a huge cache of stolen military weaponry — including enough explosives to destroy a city block — and planning to attack newspapers, television stations and businesses owned by blacks and Jews. Over the coming decade, Fort Bragg and the Special Forces will be plagued by similar revelations of active duty extremists.

MAY 17 >> A “reverend” of the Church of the Creator — a neo-Nazi group started in 1973 by Ben Klassen — kills Harold Mansfield, a black sailor home from the Gulf

War, in a Florida parking lot. The next month, in its *Racial Loyalty* publication, the group lauds its “activists” in the Jacksonville, Fla., chapter for “exceptional efforts in promoting Creativity [the group’s white supremacist ideology] in their area.” The case will spark a successful lawsuit brought by the Southern Poverty Law Center against Klassen’s group.



Walter Thody

AUG 29 >> For the second time in six weeks, a Muskogee, Okla., thrift store is robbed, ending in gunfire and a car chase. After Walter Elijah Thody is arrested, he tells a reporter that the \$52,000 taken in the first robbery is being used to support his white suprema-



Despite his claims to the contrary, Klan leader Thom Robb was a hard-liner.

MAY 7 >> A series of cross burnings hits black neighborhoods around Shreveport, La., on the same day that state Klan leader Wayne Pierce reports to officials to begin a four-month term for firearms violations. Pierce and several followers in the Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, later plead guilty to conspiracy charges. The case belies the group’s claim to be part of a kinder, gentler Klan, despite actions like Imperial Wizard James Farrands’ banning of neo-Nazis and their symbols. Over the year, a clear split becomes evident between Klan groups that publicly take a hard line and others like Thom Robb’s Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. “We don’t hate anybody,” Robb claims repeatedly.



Harold Mansfield

cist group, and claims the group will commit armed robberies, kidnappings and assassinations of mainly Jewish “conspirators.” Thody, a convicted counterfeiter, calls his shadowy band the Phineas Priesthood, based on a 1990 book by Richard Kelly Hoskins, *Vigilantes*

of Christendom. The book describes “Phineas priests” as those who report to no one but feel called by God to carry out terrorist attacks; it will become increasingly important as “lone wolf” attacks grow more common. In 1992, Thody will be sentenced to life in prison.

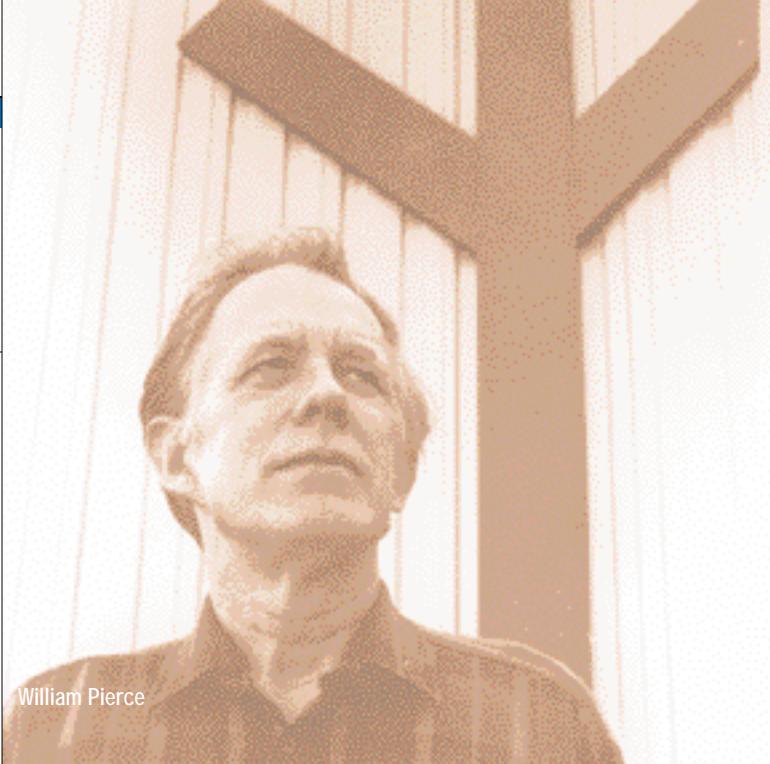
We don't hate anybody.

— THOM ROBB

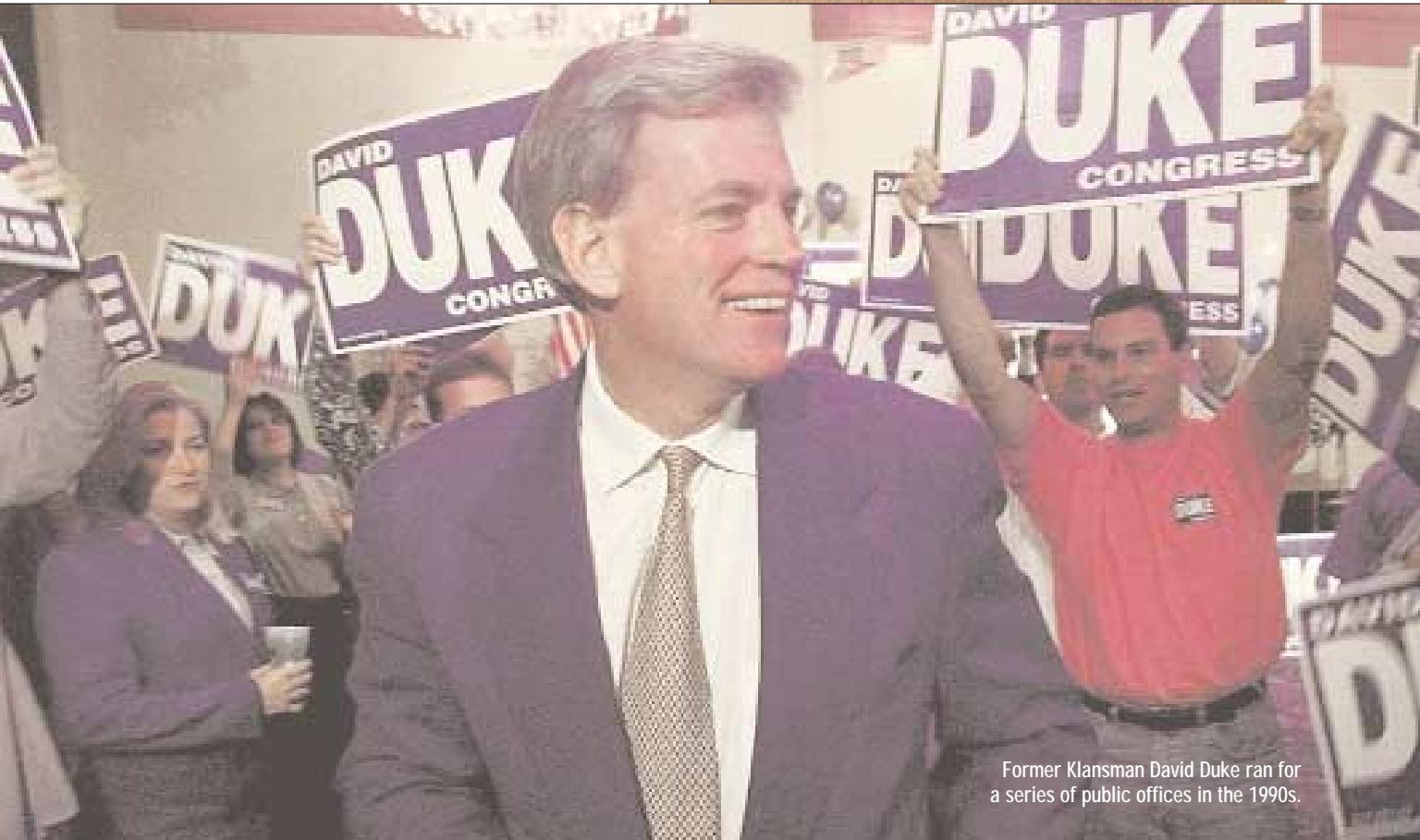
claim typical of those trying to soften the image of the Klan

DECEMBER >> The National Alliance, a neo-Nazi group based in West Virginia and headed by former physics professor William Pierce, begins broadcasting a short-wave radio program entitled "American Dissident Voices." The program soon is carried by several AM stations and, later, by FM stations around the country. By the latter part of the decade, extreme right

talk shows will be heard on at least 366 AM, 40 FM and seven short-wave stations. World Wide Christian Radio, a 100,000-watt station in Nashville, Tenn., is a chief example of the large stations involved. On short-wave alone, monitors report an explosion of radical right programming, from five hours per week in 1990 to 238.5 hours per week by early 1998. >>



William Pierce



Former Klansman David Duke ran for a series of public offices in the 1990s.

OCT 19 >> Running a close second in a crowded field, David Duke, aided by former Klan members and other white supremacist activists, takes enough votes in his bid for Louisiana governor to force a run-off with former Gov. Edwin Edwards. Duke will lose the run-off, but garner almost 700,000 votes and come within two percentage points of Edwards.

1992

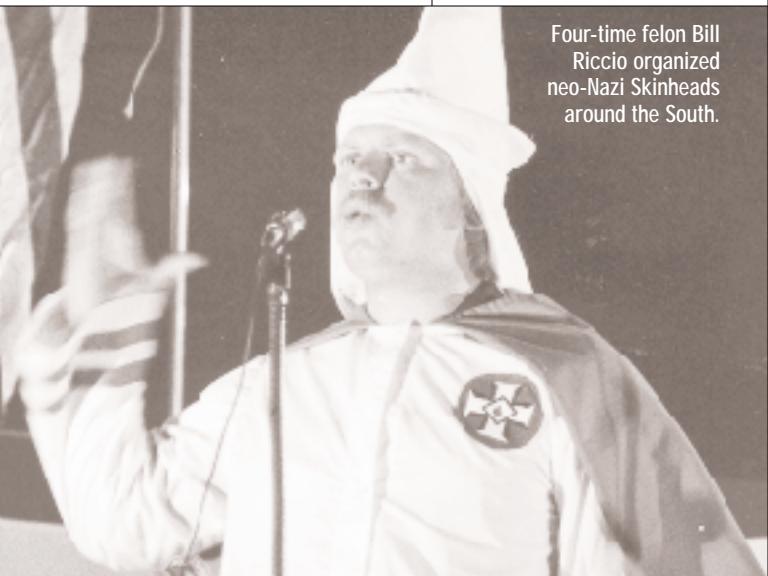
An Idaho Standoff Ignites the Right

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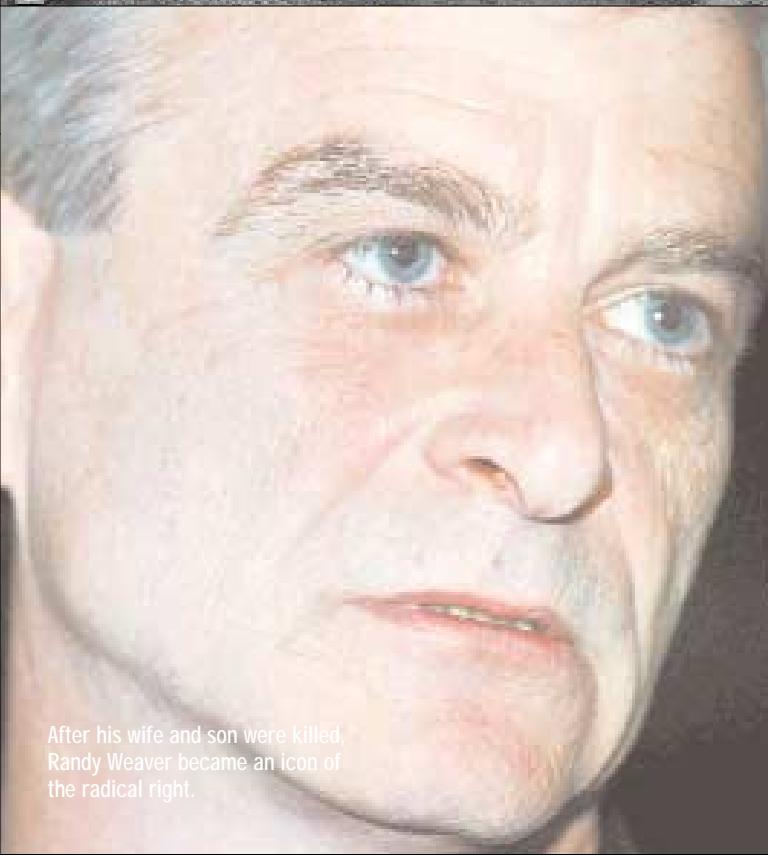
FEBRUARY >> Notorious former Klansman Louis Beam, writing in his newsletter *The Seditionist*, calls for "leaderless resistance" — cells

of a few men who report to no one — in a bid to protect extremist groups from law enforcement infiltrators. The concept is quickly picked up by the radical right, and will be endorsed at the Estes Park conference held later this year. In the coming years, a number of small groups will take Beam's advice. "It is the duty of every patriot," Beam writes in his essay, "to make the tyrant's life miserable."

APRIL 18 >> Capping a local wave of Skinhead attacks on street people, a homeless black man is stabbed to death by three neo-Nazi skins in Birmingham, Ala., just hours after one of them attended a rally hosted by former Klansman Bill Riccio. At around the same time, three Riccio associates are also arrested, two on weapons charges and a third for alleged homosexual sodomy of a teenager. In August, Riccio, who as "national director" of the Birmingham-based Aryan National Front (ANF) heads up a coalition of Skinhead groups, is arrested on firearms and explo-

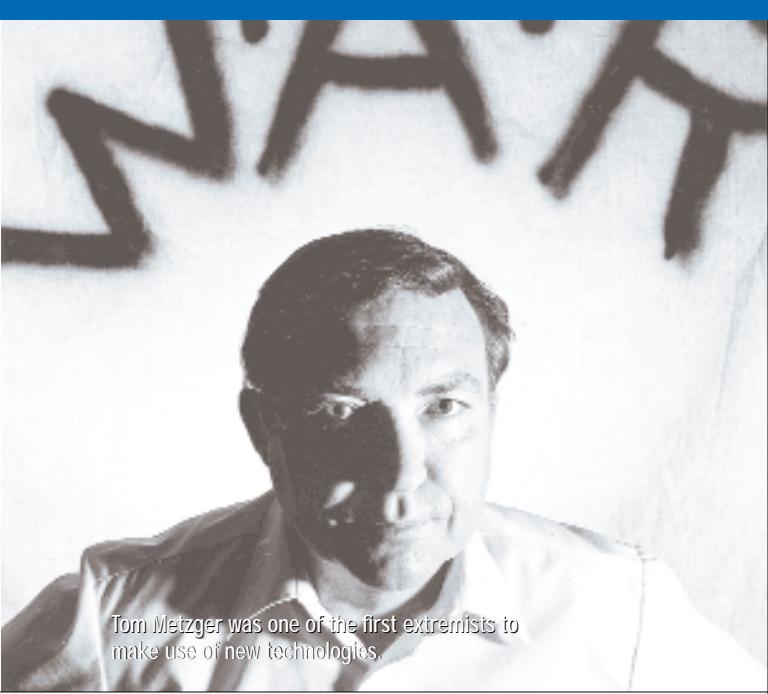


Four-time felon Bill Riccio organized neo-Nazi Skinheads around the South.



After his wife and son were killed, Randy Weaver became an icon of the radical right.

AUG 31 >> White supremacist Randy Weaver surrenders to law enforcement officers outside his cabin atop Ruby Ridge, Idaho, ending an 11-day standoff that resulted in the deaths of a federal marshal and Weaver's wife and 14-year-old son. During the standoff, which stems from Weaver's failure to appear on illegal weapons charges, crowds of neo-Nazi Skinheads and other white supremacists had gathered at the foot of the mountain (above, top photo) to denounce law enforcement officials. After federal agents' killing of Weaver's wife and son become known, the incident galvanizes the radical right, which characterizes the incident as typical of what happens to anyone who dares to deviate from political orthodoxy. In the late 1990s, Weaver will settle a wrongful death suit against the federal government for \$3.1 million.



Tom Metzger was one of the first extremists to make use of new technologies.

sives charges and ultimately pleads guilty to violating a federal bodyguard statute. Riccio, already a three-time felon convicted of various weapons charges, will be sentenced to almost four years, effectively wrecking the ANF.

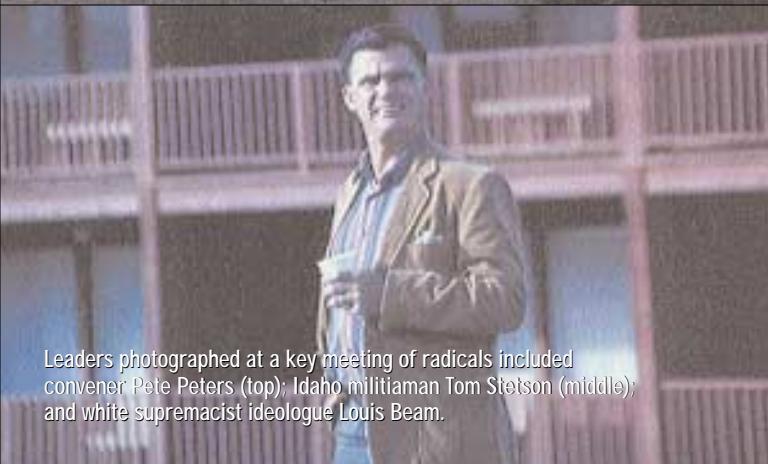
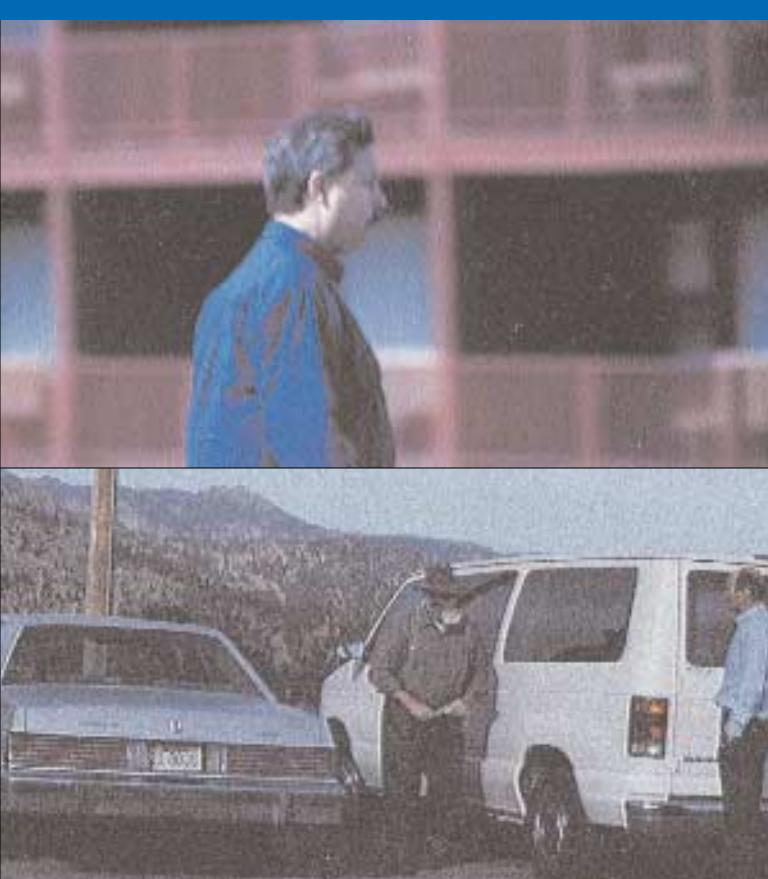
JUNE >> After leading the radical right's foray into free cable access television — an effort that began in 1984 — White Aryan Resistance (WAR) leader Tom Metzger's propaganda efforts reach a peak. His white supremacist "Race and Reason" cable show is now airing in 62 cities in 21 states, a number that will soon drop off as the Internet grows more important.

JULY >> Worried that his Church of the Creator (COTC) is about to be sued over the 1991 murder of a black sailor in Florida, a beleaguered Ben Klassen sells most of his Otto, N.C., COTC compound to William Pierce of the neo-Nazi National Alliance for \$100,000. Pierce quickly resells the land, turning an \$85,000 profit. Ultimately, the Southern Poverty Law Center will win a \$1 million

default judgment from COTC in the murder and an \$85,000 judgment against Pierce because he engaged in a scheme to hide COTC's assets.

NOVEMBER >> Anti-gay initiatives appear on two statewide ballots, failing in Oregon but passing in Colorado. Gay rights organizations in those states and others, where local communities are voting on similar measures, report a steep increase in homophobic hate crime during the run-up to the votes. Of the 29 states that by this year have passed hate crime laws, 18 include language about bias based on sexual orientation.

DEC 30 >> In a case that brings wide attention to the fact that hate crimes are perpetrated by all races, a white Charleston, S.C., woman is abducted, raped, tortured and killed by a group of six black men. A document is later found advocating attacks on whites, and two suspects reportedly tell police the murder is a payback for "400 years of oppression." More than 200 black churches respond with memorial services for Melissa McLaughlin, 25. >>



Leaders photographed at a key meeting of radicals included convener Pete Peters (top); Idaho militiaman Tom Stetson (middle); and white supremacist ideologue Louis Beam.

OCT 23 >> Pete Peters, a leading pastor of the anti-Semitic Christian Identity religion, convenes a gathering of 160 white "Christian men" to plan a response to the Ruby Ridge incident. The Estes Park, Colo., meeting is attended by neo-Nazis, Klansmen and more "moderate" rightists such as Larry Pratt of Gun Owners of America, and will shape the contours of the modern militia movement. In a key speech, Louis Beam describes the Weavers as victims of "the tender mercies of a government gone mad," and calls upon his listeners to put aside doctrinal and even racial differences. Indeed, the militias that will emerge in the coming years de-emphasize racism in favor of anti-federalism.

1993

With Waco, the Poison Spreads

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FEB 28 >> In a disastrous raid, four federal agents and several cult members are killed in a firefight that breaks out when the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms storms the Branch Davidian compound near Waco, Texas. The raid, to serve a search warrant for illegal weapons, follows by a day the publication of a major local newspaper story headlined "The Sinful Messiah" that describes the Davidian cult led by David Koresh. The 51-day standoff that follows the raid will rivet the attention of the nation.

MARCH 10 >> In the first murder of an abortion provider in the United States, Dr. David Gunn is shot to death outside a Pensacola, Fla., clinic by activist Michael Griffin. Shortly before Griffin's trial, anti-abortion activist Paul Hill circulates a statement describing such murders as "justifiable homicide" that is eventually signed by 33 other prominent abortion opponents. In 1994, Hill will follow his own advice, murdering a doctor and his escort in Pensacola. He will also describe himself as a "Phineas Priest," language taken from the racist right. The killings mark a hardening of one wing of

the anti-abortion movement and the concomitant weakening of "mainstream" groups like Operation Rescue.

MAY 20 >> The Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan — the nation's largest, most violent Klan group — is forced to disband, destroy its membership lists, give up all its assets and pay \$37,500 to a group of civil rights marchers who were attacked in 1987 by a Klan-led mob in Georgia. The case, brought by the Southern Poverty Law Center, signals the end of the old, hard-line Klan. Future Klan groups will often attempt to appear more moderate.

JUNE 11 >> The U.S. Supreme Court unanimously upholds the constitutionality of the most widely used type of hate crime law, a penalty enhancement statute. In *Wisconsin v. Mitchell*, the court rejects the notion that the law punishes thought or violates the First Amendment. The case involves a black man whose sentence was doubled because his beating of a white youth was racially motivated. The high court's decision clears the way for the widespread use and enforcement of hate crime penalty enhancement statutes.



After his death in Waco, cult leader David Koresh would be memorialized by many who never knew him.



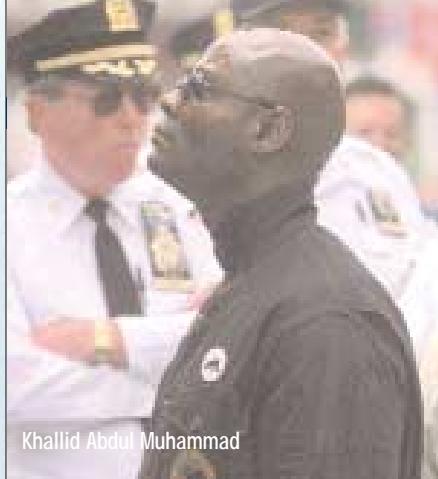
APRIL 19 >> The FBI, which has taken over the Davidian siege, tries to end the standoff by using armored vehicles to inject tear gas into the Waco compound, where more than 20 children and almost 70 other Davidians are holed up. Fire breaks out during the operation, and some 80 Davidians die in a televised conflagration that is seen around the world. Despite strong evidence that the Davidians started the fire themselves — including audiotapes from listening devices smuggled into the compound — hundreds of thousands of Americans come to believe that it was the intentional work of federal agents. More than any other event of the 1990s, the Waco debacle fuels the growth of the radical right, which portrays the fire as proof that the federal government is willing to murder any who dare to dissent. "The [militia] movement was conceived at Ruby Ridge in 1992, [and] given birth on April 19, 1993, at Waco," a 1997 article in *Modern Militiaman* magazine declares.

JULY 8 >> In a decision widely seen as a stinging rebuke to federal law enforcement, a jury acquits Randy Weaver and another man of murdering a U.S. marshal during the 11-day standoff at Weaver's Ruby Ridge, Idaho, home. The trial produces evidence that the FBI altered its normal rules of engagement to allow snipers to fire on unarmed people, a change that apparently resulted in the killing of Weaver's wife by an FBI sniper. Ultimately, it is shown that some key FBI officials destroyed evidence to cover up this fact.

AUG 6 >> Twenty years after founding the neo-Nazi Church of the Creator (COTC), Ben Klassen, now 75, commits suicide by swallowing four bottles of sleeping pills. The group Klassen leaves behind has no effective leader and quickly falls into disarray. Over the next year, COTC will virtually disappear, only making a comeback later in the decade.

OCTOBER >> Taking a cue from the well-established racist music scene in Europe, veteran Canadian hate monger and band leader

George Burdi helps found Resistance Records to record and distribute white power rock 'n' roll. Burdi and co-founder Mark Wilson, both former COTC leaders, establish the business in Detroit to avoid Canada's strict hate crime laws. Within a few years, Resistance is distributing an estimated 50,000 CDs and tapes a year. But after Burdi's conviction in an assault is upheld by an appeals court in 1997, the enterprise will go into a tailspin. It will be brought back to life in late 1999.



Khalid Abdul Muhammad

NOVEMBER >> Khalid Abdul Muhammad, senior aide to Nation of Islam (NOI) leader Louis Farrakhan, gives an address at a New Jersey college vilifying whites, Jews, Catholics, Arabs, homosexuals and even some blacks. In white-ruled South Africa, he suggests, "we kill everything white. ... We kill the women. We kill the children. We kill the babies. We kill the cripples. ... We kill them all." Farrakhan weakly rebukes Muhammad after two months of heavy criticism. In a 1997 press interview, Farrakhan will endorse all the anti-white views of NOI founder Elijah Muhammad. Echoing the ideology of many white supremacists, NOI's official program describes blacks as God's true chosen people and calls for a separate nation for blacks and, in the meantime, freedom from all taxation.

NOVEMBER >> After seven years of congressional battles, the Brady Bill — imposing a five-day waiting period and background checks on handgun purchasers — is signed into law by President Clinton. The law, along with a September 1994 ban on 19 types of assault weapons, ignites grass-roots opposition in many parts of the country and helps to fuel the nascent militia movement. Militia ideologues claim Americans have an unfettered right to own guns, despite a series of U.S. Supreme Court rulings that find the Second Amendment was written to ensure the arming of official state militias, not individuals. >>

1994

The Militia Movement Takes Off

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JANUARY >> In a bid to spur trade and economic growth, the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) is implemented. One result is a loss of American jobs to Mexico and other countries as manufacturers shift production to lower-wage markets.

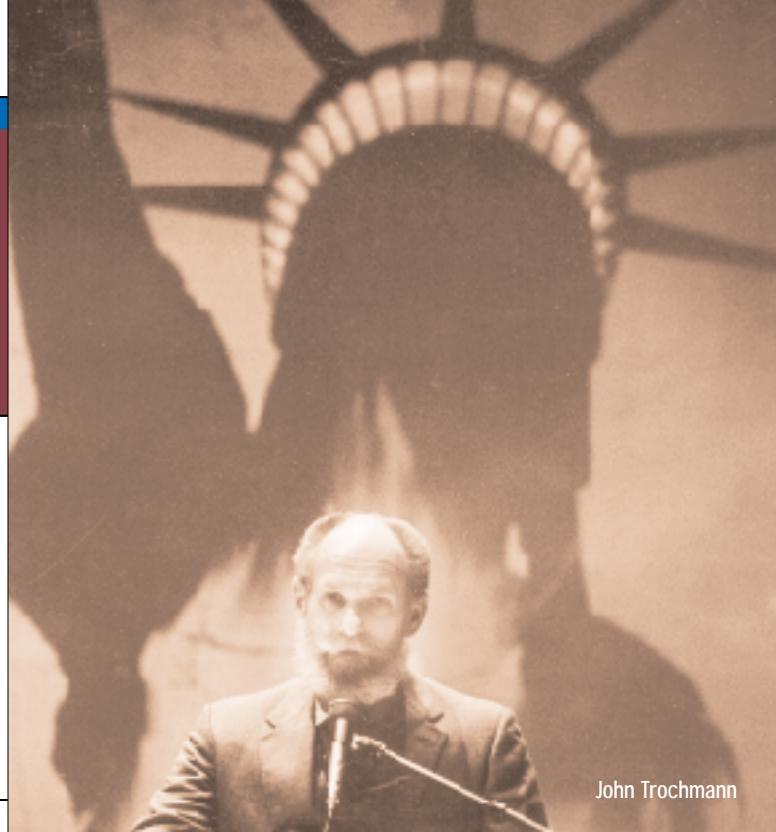
Within three years, a study by the advocacy group Public Citizen will find, some 500,000 U.S. jobs have been lost and downward wage pressure is affecting millions more. NAFTA and other international economic pacts are deeply resented by radical rightists, among others, who see them as evidence of the growing power of a global elite, or "New World Order."

JAN 30 >> Stanislaus County (Calif.) Court Recorder Karen Mathews, who had angered radicals by refusing to remove a \$416,343 IRS lien against one of them, is severely beaten, stabbed and sodomized with a gun in her Modesto garage. The attack reflects the growing violence of "common-law" adherents — "sovereign citizens" who believe they are exempt

from state and federal laws and who are setting up their own vigilante "common-law courts" and filing property liens against their enemies. "You are a messenger to all the recorders," assailant Roger Steiner warns Mathews. "This could happen to them, too."

APRIL >> The Michigan Militia, soon to grow into the nation's largest militia group with as many as 6,000 members, is formed by gun shop owner Norm Olson and Ray Southwell. Although the group will split later over ideological battles between hard- and soft-liners, Michigan will remain a hotbed of militia and white supremacist activism.

APRIL >> The nation's largest Klan group, Thom Robb's Arkansas-based Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, ruptures when Ed Novak leaves to create his own, more militant group. The split, to be followed in August by another, reflects the increasing ascendancy of explicitly neo-Nazi ideas on the extreme right as a whole. It also signals the end of Robb's position as a major extremist



John Trochmann



Many militia groups, including this one in the Pacific Northwest, were linked to white supremacists.

JAN 1 >> The Militia of Montana (MOM), the first major modern militia, is officially inaugurated in Noxon, Mont., although it probably was formed months earlier. It is led by John Trochmann, who earlier created the United Citizens for Justice as a support group for his friend, Randy Weaver. While many of the militias that will emerge in the next few years do not have clear ties to white supremacists, MOM is a good example of those that do. Although he will deny it, Trochmann has strong links to the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations group. MOM will soon become known as the "militia superstore" of the movement, selling propaganda, paramilitary manuals and other militia support items nationwide.



Aryan Nations leader
Richard Butler

JULY >> The Aryan Nations, which had been declining since the early 1990s, hosts its two best attended gatherings of Skinheads and other white supremacists in years. The Aryan Youth Fest, in particular, highlights leader Richard Butler's effort to recruit young Skinheads. In a single year, Aryan Nations has gone from three to 20 chapters, although in the latter part of the decade it will decline again. Over the course of the 1990s, Butler will name various men to succeed him, but by the end of the decade he will remain in charge.

leader and the preeminence of his Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

MAY >> The Rev. Matthew Trewella, founder of the militantly anti-abortion Missionaries to the Preborn, calls on churches to form their own militias in a speech to the Wisconsin convention of the U.S. Taxpayers Party. The talk, in which Trewella suggests that his listeners buy each of their children "an SKS rifle and 500 rounds of ammunition," marks the increasing convergence and cross-pollination of anti-abortion extremists and other kinds of radical rightists — a trend that will continue through the late 1990s.

JUNE 18 >> On a luxury boat in the waters off Tampa, Fla., antigovernment extremist Brian Michael Knoff is surreptitiously recorded as he discusses setting up a marijuana smuggling operation through Cuba. "I'm not in it for my own per-

sonal thing," Knoff, a convicted tax evader and common-law ideologue, tells his two partners. "I want to ... help some of the good people." His comments — referring to his desire to fund and otherwise aid the Patriot antigovernment movement — underline a growing trend of radical rightists engaging in drug-dealing in order to finance the perennially underfunded revolution.

AUG 4 >> Two members of an antigovernment group, the Minnesota Patriots Council, are arrested for manufacturing the deadly toxin ricin. Seven months later, they and two other council members will be convicted of conspiracy to poison law enforcement agents. The case helps ignite officials' continuing fears of biological and chemical terrorism. In coming years, many more extremists will be found with similar biological agents, although by the end of the 1990s, no major attack

using such toxins will be recorded.

SEPT 8 >> Three self-described bodyguards for Mark Koernke — a Michigan janitor who has emerged this year as a major Patriot propagandist under the alias "Mark from Michigan" — are stopped while driving through Fowlerville, Mich. In the men's car, police find a large number of illegal weapons and notes indicating they were surveilling police. Although the Patriot movement is little known nationally at the time, events such as this one and reports from watchdog groups soon will raise awareness of violent extremists.

SEPT 19 >> Linda Thompson, self-appointed "acting adjutant General of the Unorganized Militia of the United States," urges antigov-

ernment Patriots to march under arms on Washington, D.C., to force the repeal of gun control and trade laws and three constitutional amendments. After heavy criticism from fellow Patriots, the Indianapolis attorney — who made the extremely popular conspiracy video *Waco: The Big Lie* — withdraws her call for armed insurrection. By the end of the decade, after her video is discredited as a deceptively edited propaganda film, Thompson will move to Alabama and fade into obscurity.

SEPT 28 >> In one of the first overt acts of the Oklahoma City bombing conspiracy, Terry Nichols — a man with a history of "common-law" activities who once "renounced" his U.S. citizenship despite having accepted some \$90,000 in farm subsidies — helps steal blasting caps and explosives from a Kansas quarry. In the coming weeks, he will buy thousands of pounds of ammonium nitrate and secretly rent storage sheds before leaving co-conspirator Timothy McVeigh a December letter urging his old Army buddy to "go for it."

NOV 14 >> After testifying in favor of an environmental measure in Everett, Wash., a local Audubon Society official is threatened by a militiaman with a noose. Although the incident is minor, it dramatizes the often violent anti-environmentalism of many militia supporters. Officials from the U.S. Forest Service, the Bureau of Land Management, the Environmental Protection Agency and other state and federal regulatory bodies are regularly threatened, attacked and even targeted with bombs throughout much of the 1990s. >>

TRÖCHMANN: SANDRA BACROFT; BUTLER: AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTO

Go for it. — TERRY NICHOLS

from a December letter to co-conspirator Timothy McVeigh

1995

Mass Murder Comes to the Heartland

FEB 26 >> Two neo-Nazi Skinheads are arrested after stabbing and bludgeoning to death their mother, father and 11-year-old brother in Allentown, Pa. — the ultimate Skinhead nightmare of violence. Bryan Freeman, 17, and his brother David, 16, along with their cousin Nelson Birdwell III,

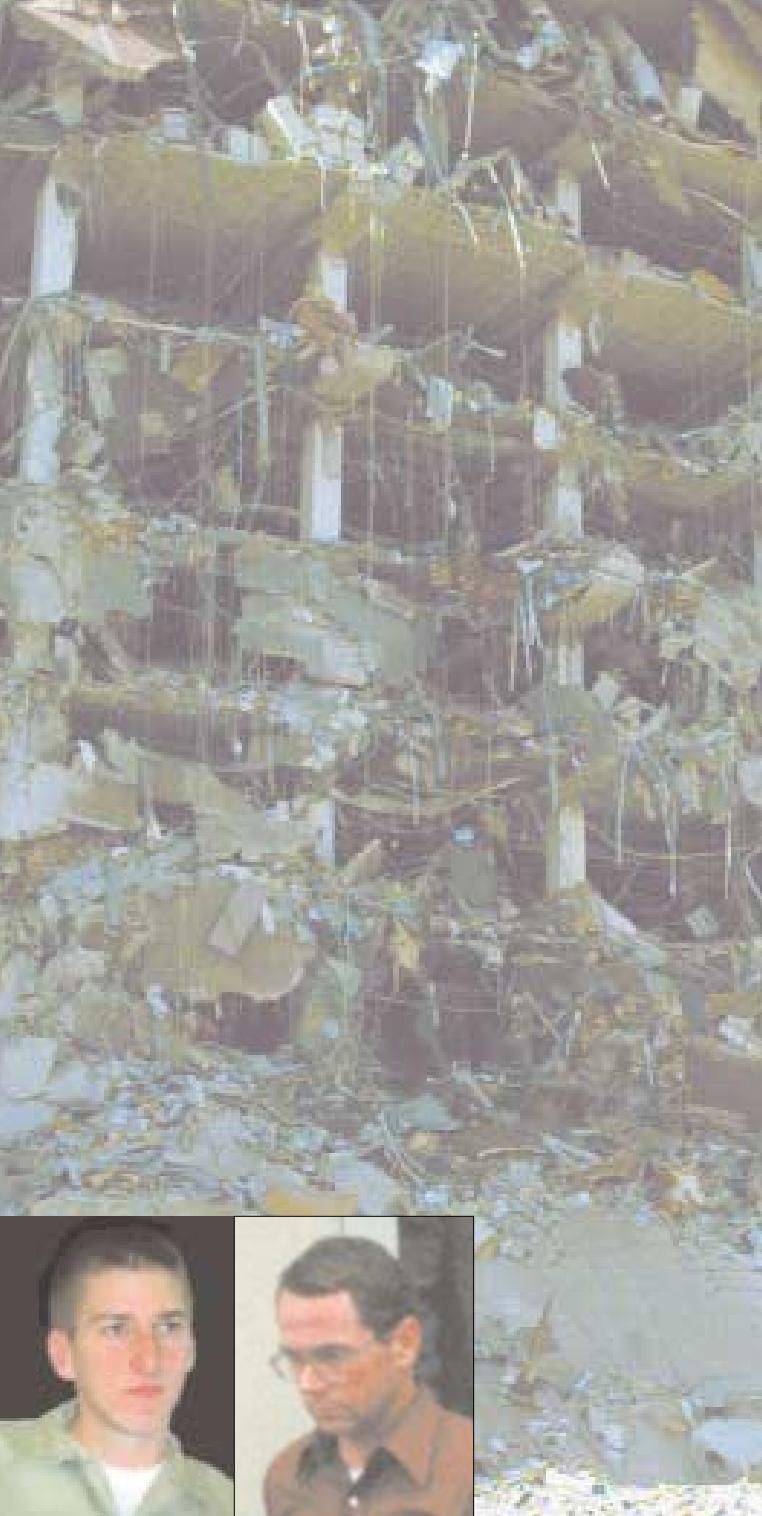
are associated with Mark Thomas, a neo-Nazi who was named Pennsylvania state leader of the Aryan Nations just six months earlier. The case will soon be seen as a gruesome example of the influence of older hate mongers on the young. An 18-year-old former resident of Thomas' compound testifies at a later hearing that Thomas had long harassed her parents and those of other teenage Thomas followers.

MARCH >> Using computer skills learned in federal prison while serving time for conspiring to invade a tiny Caribbean island, former Klansman Don Black puts up Stormfront, the first major Internet hate site to appear on the World Wide Web. Black calls the Internet a "major breakthrough" for radical

right propagandists, explaining, "I think there's a potential here to reach millions." And indeed, by the end of the 1990s, there will be more than 500 hate and antigovernment extremist sites on the Internet. The sites will prove to be both an effective recruiting tool and a way of politically energizing the extreme right.

LATE APRIL >> Echoing Patriot antigovernment rhetoric, the National Rifle Association warns in a widely distributed fundraising letter that "jack-booted government thugs" in "Nazi bucket helmets" have "the government's go-ahead to harass, intimidate, even murder law abiding citizens." Former President George Bush quits the NRA in protest.

APRIL 30 >> Making his public debut, Special Forces sniper Steven Barry appears on CBS' "60 Minutes" with his face and identity hidden. Barry tells viewers of the Special Forces Underground (SFU) — the extreme right-wing group he has secretly created within the military at Fort Bragg, N.C. — and the magazine he edits, *The Resister*. Although Army



APRIL 19 >> In the worst act of domestic terrorism in U.S. history, a truck bomb containing a mixture of ammonium nitrate and nitromethane fuel brings down Oklahoma City's Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building, killing 168 people, including 19 young children. The attack is timed to occur on the second anniversary of the Waco fire, and follows in great detail the fictional scenario outlined in *The Turner Diaries*, a novel of race war written by neo-Nazi William Pierce. (Timothy McVeigh will have a photocopied page of the novel with him when he is arrested a few days later.)



Although McVeigh (above, far left) and Terry Nichols — two men with ideological links to the militia movement — will be charged in the attack, antigovernment Patriots almost immediately adopt the conspiracist view that the U.S. government orchestrated the bombing as part of a bid to crush dissent and pass draconian anti-terrorism legislation. For virtually all major law enforcement agencies, the catastrophic attack moves domestic terrorism to the front burner. The FBI will soon add close to 500 anti-terrorism agents.

God won't be mad at us if we drop four or five buildings. He will probably reward us.

— MILITIA PLOTTER

arrested in November bombing conspiracy

officials deny the existence of SFU to congressional investigators, the case will become another embarrassment to the military, which nine years earlier had banned soldiers from participating in extremist groups. Growing ever more radical, Barry will retire and, in 1999, join William Pierce's neo-Nazi National Alliance as "military unit coordinator."

JUNE 15 >> After two months of massive press coverage of the bombing and the militia world which seemed to produce it, experts on the far right and Patriot leaders from the Militia of Montana, the Michigan Militia and other groups testify before the U.S. Senate Judiciary Committee. Given the relatively uncritical nature of most of the legislators' questioning, many experts see the hearings as something of a propaganda victory for Patriots.

SEPT 12 >> Antigovernment extremist Charles Ray Polk is indicted by a federal grand jury for plotting to blow up the IRS building in Austin, Texas. In 1996, he will be sentenced to almost 21 years in prison. The case dramatizes the fact that domestic terrorism is mounting, not falling, as many experts had expected in the wake of the horrific Oklahoma City attack. In the three years that follow the Oklahoma bombing, more than 25 major domestic terrorist conspiracies will be thwarted by law enforcement officials.



Ray Lampley

NOV 9 >> Oklahoma

Constitutional Militia leader Willie Ray Lampley, his wife and another man are arrested as they prepare explosives to bomb numerous targets, including abortion clinics, welfare offices, gay bars and the Southern Poverty Law Center. "God won't be mad at us if we drop [bomb] four or five buildings," one of the plotters says before the arrests, according to court records. "He will probably reward us." The three suspects, along with another man arrested later, are eventually sentenced to terms of up to 11 years.

DEC 7 >> A black man and woman are gunned down outside Fayetteville, N.C., and three U.S. Army privates from Fort Bragg are soon charged in the murders. Two of the soldiers, James Burmeister and Malcolm Wright, are members of a racist Skinhead group. A large billboard advertising the neo-Nazi National Alliance is located near their base. The widely publicized case sparks renewed worries about extremists in the military. >>

1996

The Terror Accelerates

JAN 19 >> After producing a bizarre underground video, members of the Aryan Republican Army (ARA) including "Commander Pedro" — Peter Langan — are charged in connection with some

22 Midwestern bank holdups meant to finance a white supremacist insurrection.

Eventually, Pennsylvania neo-Nazi Mark Thomas will plead guilty to helping to plan the robberies. It later turns out the ARA men obtained weapons from the soon-to-be notorious Kehoe brothers, whom they met at Oklahoma's armed Elohim City compound.

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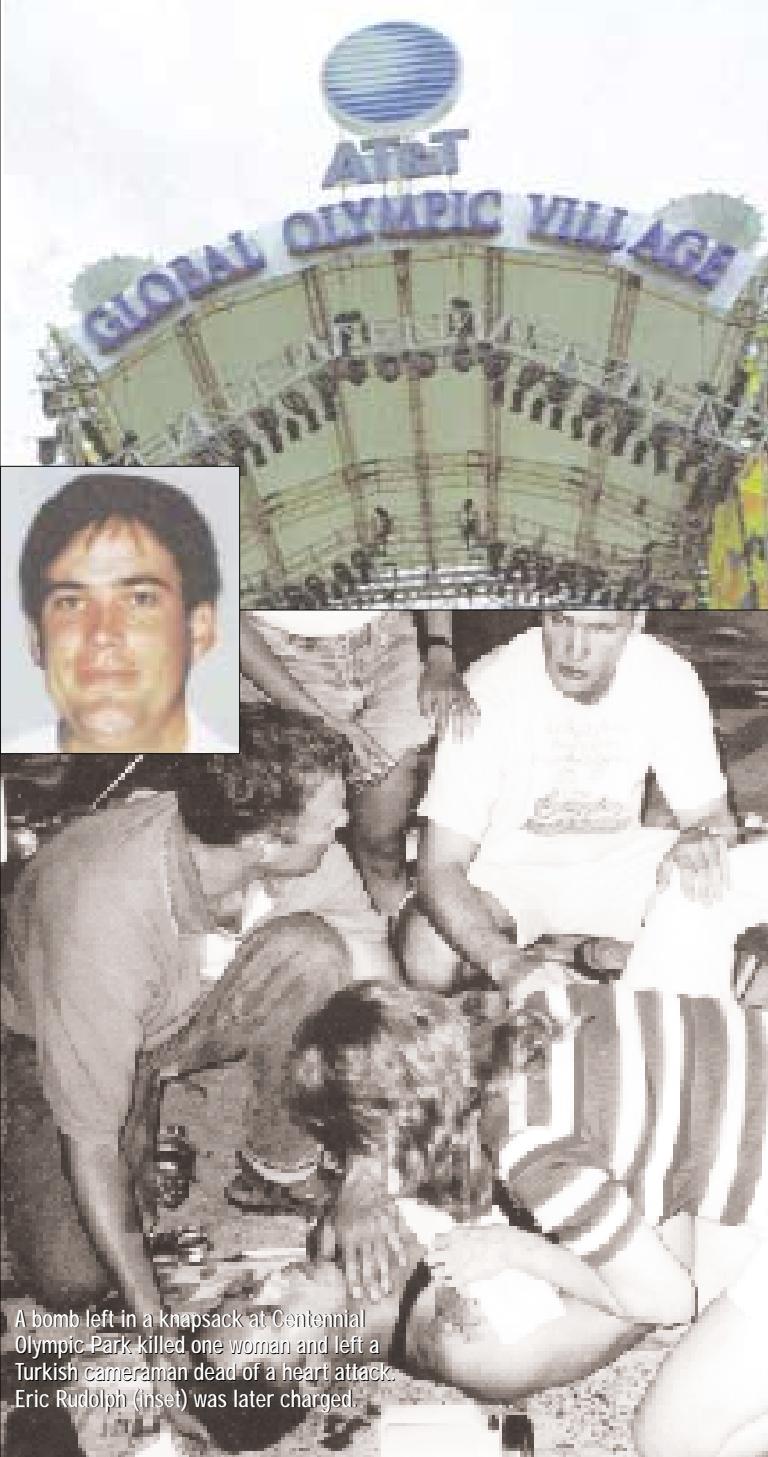
and other charges for allegedly planning to kidnap and hang federal judges, mailing threats and obstructing justice. Once again, the case dramatizes the violent potential of "common-law" adherents who had once been widely dismissed as mere "paper terrorists." Around the country, judges begin sending hundreds of common-law backers to prison on a variety of charges.

APRIL 26 >> Two leaders of the Militia-at-Large of the Republic of Georgia are charged with manufacturing 40 shrapnel bombs for distribution to militia members. Robert Edward Starr III and William James McCranie Jr. will later be sentenced on conspiracy and explosives charges to prison terms of up to eight years. Another Militia-at-Large member, accused of training a team to assassinate politicians, will be convicted of conspiracy.

JULY 1 >> Twelve members of an Arizona militia group called the Viper Team are arrested on federal conspiracy, weapons and explosives charges after surveilling and videotaping a series of potential targets. Authorities say the group, after training with guns and bombs in a nearby national forest,

Peter Langan,
a.k.a. Commander Pedro

MARCH 15 >> Federal prosecutors in Tampa, Fla., accuse Emilio Ippolito, his daughter and other members of the Constitutional Common-Law Court of conspiracy



JULY 27 >> A nail-packed bomb goes off at the Atlanta Olympics — an event seen by many extremists as emblematic of a multiracial "New World Order" — and kills two people and injures more than 100 others. No suspect is immediately identified. But in 1998, federal officials will charge Christian Identity adherent Eric Rudolph with this bombing and others at a gay bar and an abortion clinic. The attack highlights the virulence of many followers of Identity, which now has an estimated 50,000 adherents in the United States. Many believers think Christ cannot return to Earth until "Satanic" elements here have been liquidated.



Face-to-face talks like this one helped to avert violence in the standoff between federal agents and the Montana Freemen.

MARCH 25 >> A common-law group dubbed the Montana Freemen begin a widely publicized, 81-day standoff in Jordan, Mont., after leader LeRoy Schweitzer and Daniel Petersen are arrested and charged with millions of dollars' worth of fraud. The charges relate to the Freemen's, and especially Schweitzer's, role in spreading financial rip-offs around the country. The case highlights the racist beliefs of "sovereign citizens" — who claim that whites have rights to a higher form of citizenship than others — as well as law enforcement's new restraint when dealing with radicals in a standoff situation. In the end, no one is hurt and Schweitzer and other activists are sentenced to prison for up to 22 years. The Freemen financial scams are typical of others that become a hallmark of the 1990s antigovernment movement.

had plotted to blow up at least five government and law enforcement buildings in the Phoenix area. In the end, one member is acquitted, another is convicted and the 10 others plead guilty to various charges, drawing prison sentences of up to nine years.

JULY 29 >> Washington State Militia leader John Pitner and seven others are arrested in connection with a plot to build pipe bombs for a confrontation with the federal government. Pitner and four others are convicted on weapons charges, but conspiracy charges against the

eight end in a mistrial. The case reflects the continuing strength of the Patriot movement, which peaks with 858 groups active this year, according to a count by the Southern Poverty Law Center. In the next few years, the number of militia-type groups will fall sharply.

OCT 8 >> Three self-described Phineas Priests — zealots who feel they've been called directly by God to undertake violent attacks — are charged in connection with two bank robberies and bombings at the banks, a Spokane, Wash., newspaper and a Planned Parenthood office there. Charles Barbee, Robert Berry and Jay Merrell are eventually sentenced to life prison terms; a fourth group member will draw a 55-year term. The \$108,000 they stole is never recovered, and authorities fear it has been funneled into the radical underground.

OCT 11 >> Seven members of the Mountaineer Militia are arrested in a plot to blow up the FBI's national fingerprint records center in West Virginia, where more than 1,000 people work. Leader Floyd "Ray" Looker — who believed the facility was actually the intelligence center for the New World Order — will later be sentenced to 18 years in prison. Eventually, two other

defendants are sentenced on explosives charges and a third draws a year in prison for providing blueprints of the FBI facility to Looker, who sold them to an informant.

OCT 27 >> Dressed as the Charles Manson family and adorned with swastikas, a dozen Skinheads return to a pre-Halloween party in Norfolk, Mass., and stab to death a young man who had earlier helped oust them. The attack, for which John Tague will be sentenced to life without parole, marks a resurgence of neo-Nazi Skinheads, who had largely gone underground after a law enforcement crackdown earlier in the decade. "It's come back again," says an intelligence officer in California, where the problem is especially acute.

NOV 13 >> Richard Machado becomes the first person in the nation charged with committing a hate crime over the Internet after he allegedly sends a threatening, racist E-mail message to 62 mostly Asian students at the University of California-Irvine. Although his first case ends in a mistrial, he will be convicted in a federal court in 1998. In the coming years, the tempo of hate mail sent electronically over the Internet will pick up dramatically. >>



Militia leader Floyd Looker obtained plans of an FBI facility from a volunteer firefighter.

1997

Religion, Rock and the Net Fuel the Rage

FEB 15 >> White supremacist brothers Chevie and Cheyne Kehoe engage in a dramatic shootout with police in Wilmington, Ohio, that is captured on police video and broadcast around the nation.

Although both men escape uninjured, Cheyne will surrender in June to authorities and turn in his brother, who is hiding out in Utah. In a 1999 federal conspiracy trial, Chevie and follower Daniel Lee will be sentenced to life and death, respectively, for a 1993-97 terrorist spree meant to help create a whites-only nation. Among their five victims are an entire Arkansas family, including an 8-year-old girl — a grisly

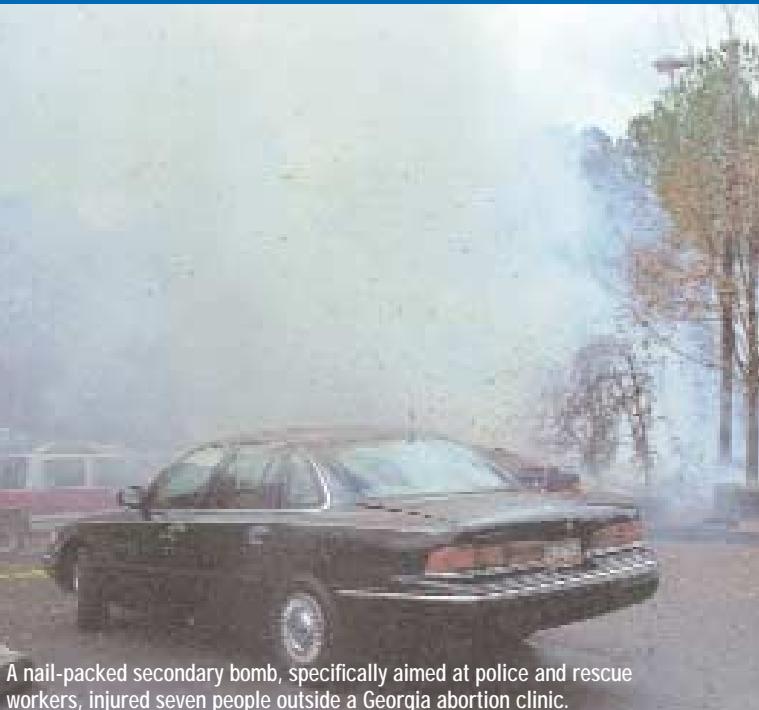
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torture-murder that starkly illustrates the increasing ruthlessness of revolutionary racists.

MARCH 26 >> Militia activist Brendon Blasz is arrested in Kalamazoo, Mich., and charged with manufacturing explosives to bomb a federal building in Battle Creek, an IRS building in Portage, a Kalamazoo television station and federal armories. After agreeing to cooperate with prosecutors, Blasz is sentenced to three years in federal prison.

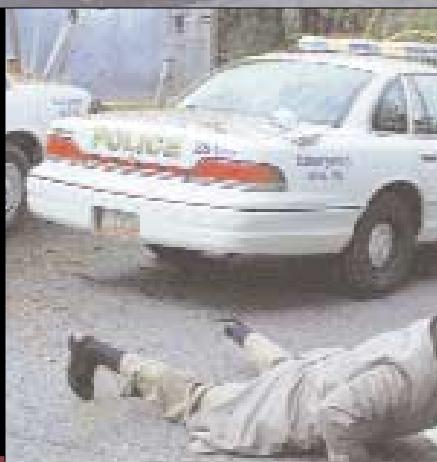
APRIL 9 >> Authorities in Michigan and Canada simultaneously raid the Detroit offices of white power music label Resistance Records and the Windsor home of Resistance co-founder George Burdi. Although the raids produce only relatively minor tax and illegal propaganda cases, they spark a precipitous decline for Resistance. America's premier racist label will come back to life in late 1999 when it is acquired by William Pierce.

APRIL 22 >> Three Ku Klux Klan members are arrested in a plot to blow up a natural gas plant near Fort



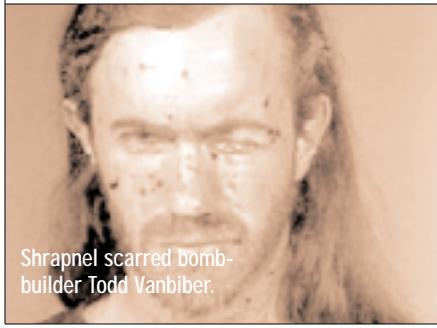
A nail-packed secondary bomb, specifically aimed at police and rescue workers, injured seven people outside a Georgia abortion clinic.

JAN 16 >> Two anti-personnel bombs explode outside an abortion clinic in Sandy Springs, Ga., a suburb of Atlanta. Seven people are injured. Letters signed by the "Army of God" claim responsibility for this attack and another, a month later, at an Atlanta lesbian bar. North Carolinian Eric Rudolph eventually will be charged in both attacks.



Worth, Texas. The three, along with a fourth arrested later, expected to kill hundreds of people, including children at a nearby elementary school, as a diversion for a simultaneous armored car robbery. A chilling FBI videotape captures a Klanswoman saying of the children who would die: "I hate to be that way, but if it has to be . . ." All four will plead guilty to conspiracy charges and be sentenced to terms of up to 20 years.

the National Alliance and also of the shadowy League of the Silent Soldier, after he accidentally sets off pipe bombs that he was build-



Shrapnel scarred bomb-builder Todd Vanbiber.

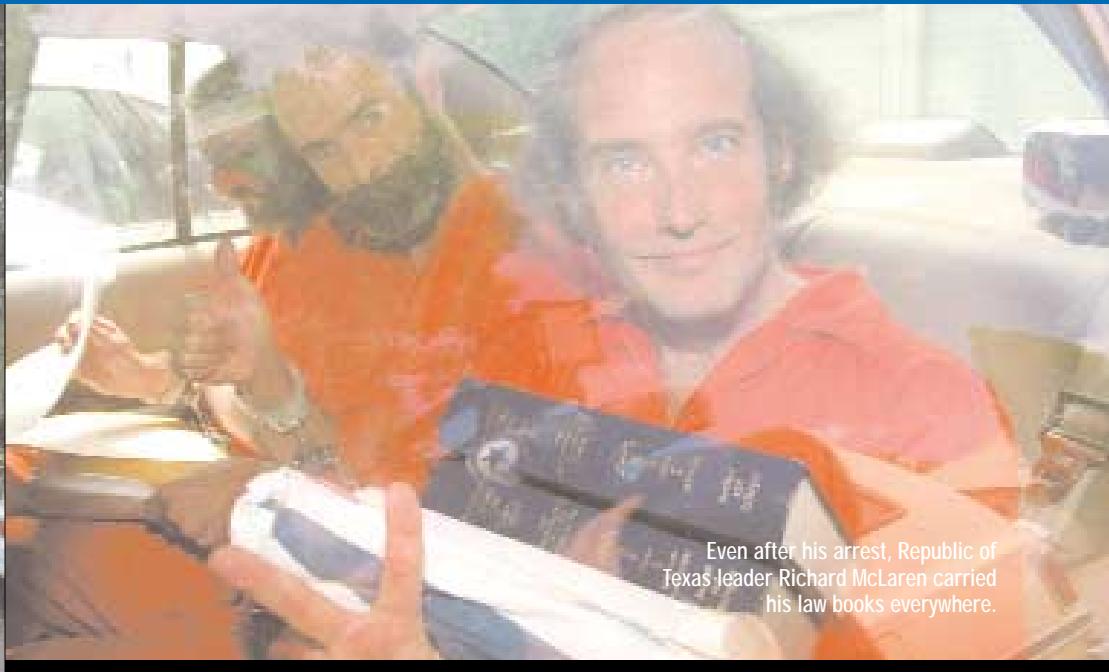


Chevie Kehoe (foreground) and Daniel Lee planned an "Aryan Peoples Republic."



ing. After Vanbiber is sentenced to more than six years for firearms violations, confederates who are also Alliance members testify that the Vanbiber gang had robbed three banks and then donated at least \$2,000 to Alliance boss William Pierce.

JUNE >> The U.S. Supreme Court invalidates portions of the Communications Decency Act that sought to regulate "indecent" materials on the Internet. The decision means the Internet will enjoy



Even after his arrest, Republic of Texas leader Richard McLaren carried his law books everywhere.

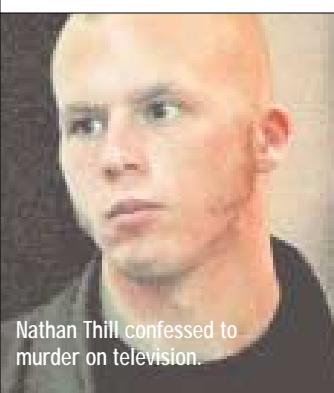
MAY 3 >> A week-long standoff between Texas police and antigovernment "common-law" separatists ends with the surrender of Republic of Texas leader Richard McLaren and four followers. A day later, another Republic member is killed in a gun battle with police, while one more eludes authorities for four months before being captured near Houston. The standoff began after members of the group kidnapped a neighbor couple, injuring the man, and highlights the violence associated with common law — as well as law enforcement's increased awareness of this violence. By spring 1998, an *Intelligence Report* survey will find that 19 states have acted over three years (1995-98) to pass new laws or strengthen existing ones, and another eight states are then considering legislation, to deal with the rapid spread of common-law activity.

the court's strongest free speech protections, ensuring that general hate propaganda — as opposed to specific criminal threats — will not be curbed by the courts.

JUNE 2 >> Timothy McVeigh is convicted of conspiracy and murder in the Oklahoma City bombing and will be sentenced to death. Later this year, co-conspirator Terry Nichols will also be tried, receiving a sentence of life in prison. Michael Fortier, who helped case the bomb target, ultimately draws a 12-year sentence after cooperating with the authorities. His wife Lori, who had listened to McVeigh plot the attack in her kitchen, will go free.

NOV 2 >> A wave of Skinhead violence hits Denver as Matthaus

Jaehnig guns down police officer Bruce Vander Jagt before committing suicide. In the days that follow, a dead pig is dumped at a police substation; another officer is ambushed; and Skinheads Nathan Thill and Jeremiah Barnum murder Oumar Dia, a West African immigrant they encounter at a bus stop.



Nathan Thill confessed to murder on television.

A few days later, Thill tells a local television station that he killed Dia because he was "wearing the enemy's uniform" — a reference to the victim's black skin.

DECEMBER >> Nearly 100 New York City employees — including some corrections officials — are arrested for tax evasion, and another 40 are disciplined, after allegedly using common-law "untaxing" kits to evade taxes. The case underscores how far antigovernment common-law ideology has spread — even to New York, the kind of cosmopolitan metropolis where such improbable scams are typically seen as taking in only the naive, and even to government officials, who presumably should know better. >>

1998

In Jasper, a Hate Crime Shocks the Nation

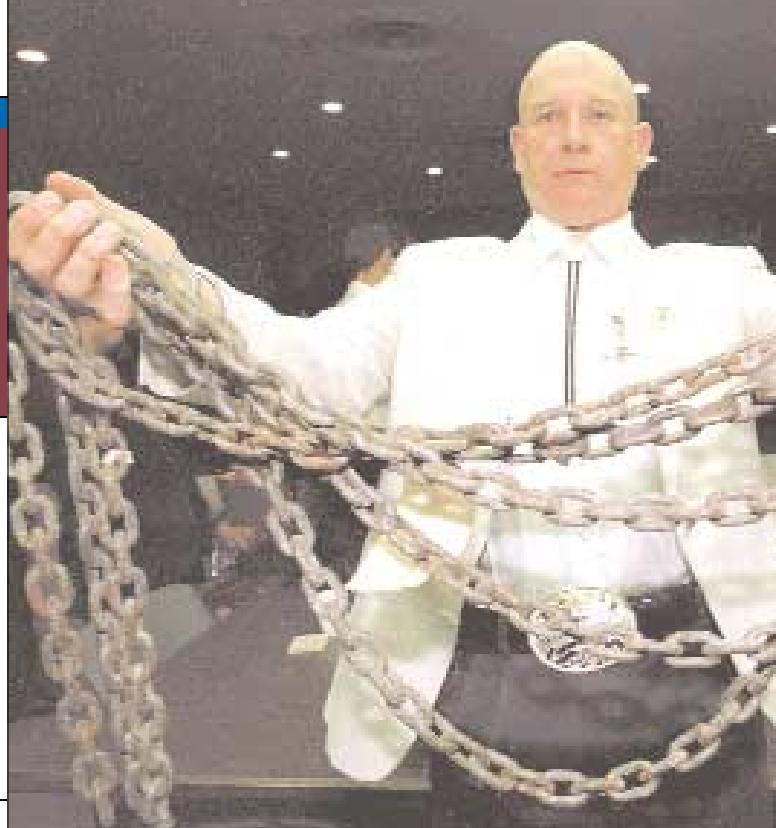
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MID-JANUARY >> The American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, a group that has exploded in size since its 1995 formation, draws national publicity when counter-demonstrators riot in Memphis, Tenn. The American Knights, which specializes in provoking confrontations and reaping the benefits of the resulting publicity, is led mainly by criminals, including national leader Jeff Berry, who has history of arrests for violence and has been convicted for, among other things, the home improvement rip-off of an elderly Indiana neighbor. This group leads a resurgence of the Klan, which has been declining for some 20 years.

JAN 29 >> An off-duty police officer is killed and a nurse is critically injured when a nail-packed bomb explodes outside a Birmingham, Ala., abortion clinic. A witness spots a man running from the scene and removing a wig, and gets his license number — a tag that leads authorities to Eric Robert Rudolph in North Carolina. Eventually, Rudolph will be charged

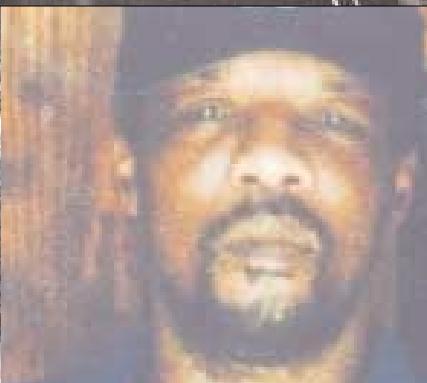
with this bombing and others at the Atlanta Olympics, another abortion clinic and a lesbian bar. The Southern Poverty Law Center reports that Rudolph is an adherent of the racist Christian Identity religion and a follower of the late Identity leader Nord Davis Jr. Rudolph typifies the "lone wolf" attacker who is growing more common in the late 1990s. Despite a massive search, Rudolph will remain free — or dead — at the end of the decade.

FEB 23 >> Three men with links to a Klan group are arrested near East St. Louis, Ill., in connection with an alleged plot to bomb state capitol buildings, strike at post offices and communications systems, poison the water supplies of major cities, blow up the Southern Poverty Law Center and assassinate Center co-founder Morris Dees and a federal judge. Eventually, six members of The New Order — named after a terrorist group of the 1980s — are convicted or plead guilty to weapons or conspiracy charges. The case reflects the continuing acceleration of the pace and severity of radical right violence.



A Texas prosecutor held up the chain used by John William King (foreground), Lawrence Russell Brewer and Shawn Berry (not pictured) to drag to death James Byrd Jr. (right).





JUNE 7 >> In a hate crime that grabs the attention of the world, a black man in Jasper, Texas, is chained by his ankles to the back of a pickup truck and dragged for several miles before his head is torn from his body. Eventually convicted in the murder of James Byrd Jr. are three white supremacists, two of them hardened by stints in prison and planning to form a hate group of their own. Two are eventually sentenced to death and the third to life in prison. Amid much soul-searching, race relations in Jasper clearly improve.

MARCH 18 >> Three members of the North American Militia in Michigan are arrested on firearms charges after conspiring to kill federal agents and to bomb federal buildings, a Kalamazoo television station and an interstate highway exchange. Leader Ken Carter, a self-described member of the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations, told an undercover agent that the group planned three to four days of chaos aimed at provoking a national insurrection against the government. In 1999, the men are sentenced to terms of up to 55 years.

MAY >> Matthew Hale, who in 1995 resuscitated Ben Klassen's moribund Church of the Creator as the World Church of the Creator, graduates from Southern Illinois University School of Law. After passing the state bar exam later in the year, the neo-Nazi Hale is denied a law license by officials who find that his "character and fitness" are deficient. In the next two years, Hale will lose all his state appeals of the decision, leaving only the federal courts as an appeal venue. But he does reap a publicity bonanza.

MAY 29 >> Three antigovernment extremists, after stealing a water truck for reasons that are unclear, allegedly murder a police officer near Cortez, Colo. Officials describe the heavily armed men as survivalists who had readied desert bunkers for "the end of the world." Six days after making their getaway into the high desert, one of them wounds another officer before killing himself. The remains of a second suspect will be found in Utah in October 1999, while the third man, Jason McVean, will remain missing.

JULY 24 >> In the largest judgment against a hate group to date,

the Christian Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, state leader Horace King and other Klansmen are ordered to pay a total of \$37.8 million for the burning of a black South Carolina church in a case brought by the Southern Poverty Law Center. Macedonia Baptist Church was one of many black churches burned in 1995 during an apparent rash of arsons. The verdict marks the demise of the Christian Knights, a group that long was known as the "marchingest Klan."



Matthew Shepard

OCT 6 >> Matthew Shepard, a gay University of Wyoming student, is left to die after being brutally beaten and strung up on a lonely fence outside Laramie. Like the Jasper case, the killing draws enormous publicity. It also sparks renewed efforts to make Montana the 42nd state with a hate crime law — efforts that will ultimately fail. The case highlights rising reports of hate crimes around college campuses, a trend that will accelerate through the end of the decade. Shepard's two killers, homophobic youths from the tough side of town, are spared the death penalty after Shepard's parents ask that they be given life instead.

OCT 23 >> Firing through a kitchen window, a sniper murders abortion provider Dr. Barnett Slepian in front of his wife and children near Buffalo, N.Y. Within

weeks, federal officials announce that they are hunting longtime anti-abortion activist James "Atomic Dog" Kopp, who some investigators believe may have fled to Mexico. Kopp — who earlier had been lauded by his nickname by the anonymous authors of the violently worded "Army of God" anti-abortion manual — will remain at large at the end of the decade.

DECEMBER >> Former Klansman David Duke publishes his 736-page autobiography *My Awakening*. The book is remarkable for its unrepentant racism and anti-Semitism — and for the foreword contributed by Glayde Whitney, a tenured Florida State University professor who calls it an "academically excellent work" that has the potential to "change the very course of history." Whitney's unblushing remarks highlight an evident upsurge in academic racism that is also apparent in the renewed popularity of race-based IQ studies and eugenics.

DEC 18 >> In the aftermath of a report released today by the Southern Poverty Law Center, controversy erupts over the allegedly "mainstream," 15,000-member Council of Conservative Citizens (CCC) and its ties to U.S. Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott. The report describes the CCC, whose members include many southern politicians, as a racist group that is directly descended from the White Citizens Councils of the 1950s and 1960s.

DEC 30 >> A county grand jury orchestrated by conspiracy-minded former Oklahoma State Rep. Charles Key and another man finds that there is no evidence of a larger conspiracy in the Oklahoma City bombing. Key immediately denounces the findings. >>

1999

Shooting Their Way into the New Millennium

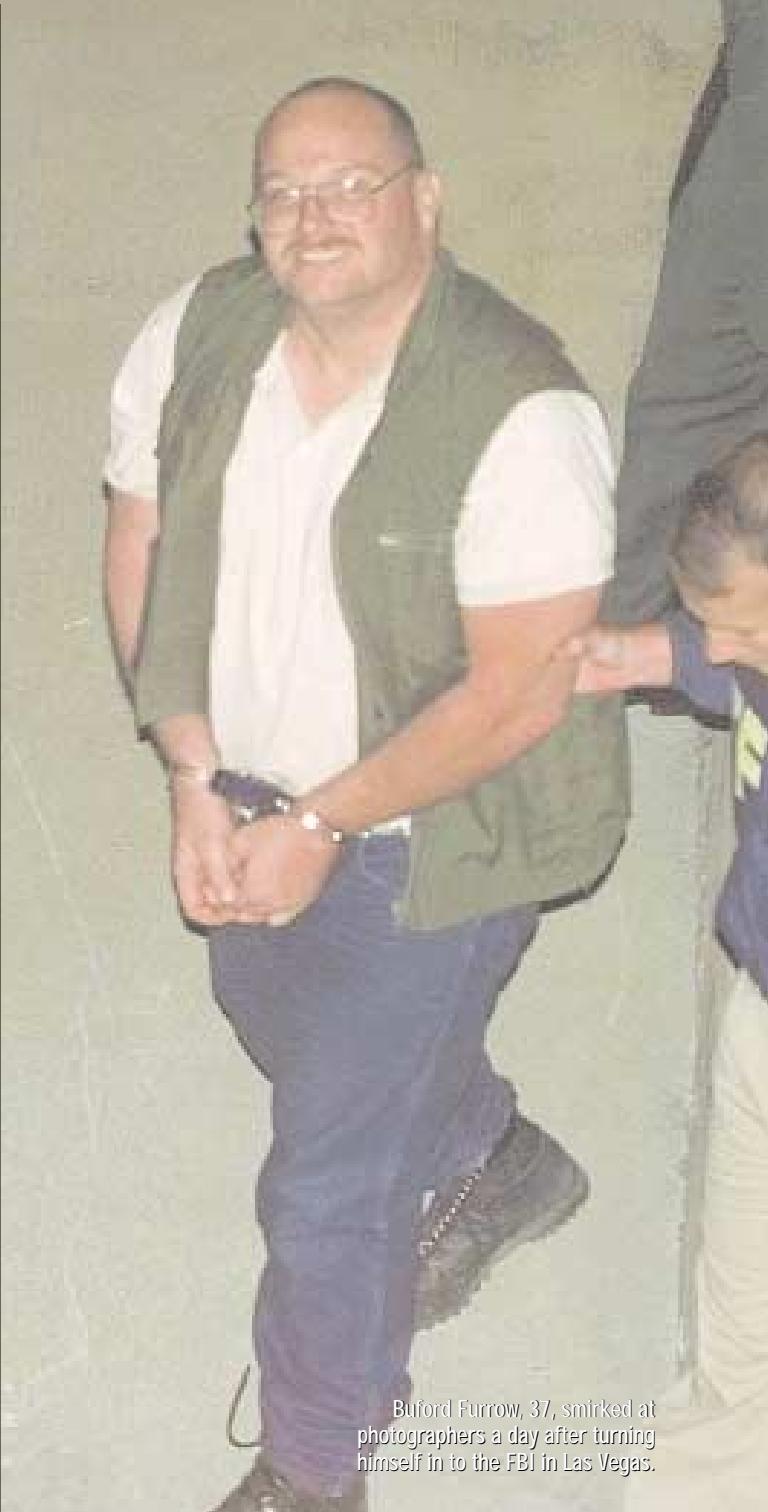
FEBRUARY >> Planned Parenthood and several physicians win a \$107 million judgment in a civil suit against 14 of the nation's hardest-line anti-abortion activists and groups. A key allegation in the suit was that a Web site listing personal information about 225 doctors and others constituted a direct threat. The so-called Christian Gallery site did not specifically advocate killing doctors, but was linked to others advocating "justifiable homicide."

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FEB 19 >> Billy Jack Gaither, a gay man, is beaten to death in Alabama and his body burned atop a pyre of rubber tires by two acquaintances. An earlier study by the Southern Poverty Law Center found that homosexuals are far more likely to suffer violent, bias-motivated attacks than any other group, a conclusion backed by other studies. Eventually, two men are sentenced to life in prison in the Gaither slaying.

MARCH 23 >> Gary "Gerhard" Lauck leaves Germany after serving four years in prison there for breaking German laws against Nazi propagandizing. For years, Lauck was a key distributor and smuggler of such materials into Germany and 29 other countries. Lauck returns to Lincoln, Neb., but will be charged in November with lying on a gun permit application by claiming he has not been convicted of a crime punishable by a year in prison.

APRIL 26 >> William Pierce, America's leading neo-Nazi and head of the National Alliance, incorporates Resistance Records



Buford Furrow, 37, smirked at photographers a day after turning himself in to the FBI in Las Vegas.

AUG 10 >> Former neo-Nazi Aryan Nations official Buford Furrow Jr. storms into a Jewish community center near Los Angeles and allegedly wounds three children, one of them critically, and two adults. Hours later, he allegedly murders a Filipino-American postal worker he happens upon. After surrendering to the FBI, Furrow reportedly tells agents, "I'm the one who killed the kids." Furrow, who had been discharged from a psychiatric hospital earlier in the year, is charged with a series of crimes that could bring him the death penalty.

I'm the one who killed the kids. — BUFORD FURROW

alleged statement made as he surrendered to the FBI

LLC with right-wing Republican operative Todd Blodgett, who brokered Pierce's acquisition of the racist music label. Within months, after spending nearly \$250,000, Pierce has complete control of Resistance and puts out his first edition of *Resistance* magazine. Pierce also acquires Nordland, a Swedish racist label. In a December radio broadcast, he will exult: "The young people who listen to resistance music will be the vanguard of our army of liberation. Woe to those who try to stand in their way!"



Matthew Williams (background) and his brother Tyler faced charges in the murder of two gay men.

JUNE 18 >> Three synagogues in the Sacramento, Calif., area are set afire, badly damaging one of them. Two brothers — Benjamin Matthew Williams and James Tyler Williams — are expected to be charged in the crimes, along with the attempted torching of a building housing an abortion clinic, early in the year 2000. Two weeks after the arsons, the bullet-riddled bodies of two gay men, Gary Matson and Winfield Mowder, will be found in their home near Redding, Calif. Within days, the Matthews brothers are arrested trying to use Matson's

credit cards. Matthew Williams, who uses his middle name, will tell newspaper reporters that he — but not his brother — carried out the murders. Matthew Williams is linked to the anti-Semitic Christian Identity religion by letters and other documents. "The Bible," he writes, "is a code which reveals itself to me as Yahweh sees fit."

AUG 7 >> U.S. marshals, acting on a judge's orders, seize the Tampa, Fla., headquarters of Greater Ministries International Church to prevent destruction of evidence. The seizure comes five months after a federal grand jury indicted seven officials of the antigovernment church on charges of money laundering and fraud, saying the church — which had promised to double the money of donors within 17 months — was actually a huge pyramid scam. The alleged \$400 million-plus rip-off exemplifies the burgeoning number of "Patriot-for-profit" scams that prey upon antigovernment fervor to separate victims from their money.



SEPT 22 >> The second bomb in a month goes off in a men's room at historically black Florida A&M University, and is followed by a call to a TV station from someone



Neo-Nazi Matt Hale basked in media attention after a follower went on a murderous rampage in the Midwest.

JULY 2 >> On the day after neo-Nazi World Church of the Creator leader Matt Hale loses an appeal of the denial of his law license, longtime Hale confederate Benjamin Smith goes on a shooting rampage in Illinois and Indiana, killing two people and wounding nine others. Smith commits suicide when police close in on him on the third day of his spree. Although Hale claims only a distant relationship with Smith, it turns out that earlier in 1999 Hale had honored Smith with his top award — "Creator of the Year." Hale also boasts of up to 30,000 followers, but the Southern Poverty Law Center reports that it has documentary evidence showing that the group, despite immense publicity, has fewer than 150 members.

saying, "We need to get rid of some of them niggers." Lawrence Michael Lombardi, described by a former boss as "a survivalist type," will be arrested and charged within weeks.

DEC 4 >> Two militia members are arrested in Sacramento after allegedly planning to blow up two huge propane tanks — containing 24 million gallons of gas — in a bid to kick off a race war at the turn of the millennium. One of the two San Joaquin County Militia members, Kevin Ray Patterson, had reportedly participated in what officials suspect was an aborted 1998 attempt to break members of the Montana Freemen out of a Billings jail.

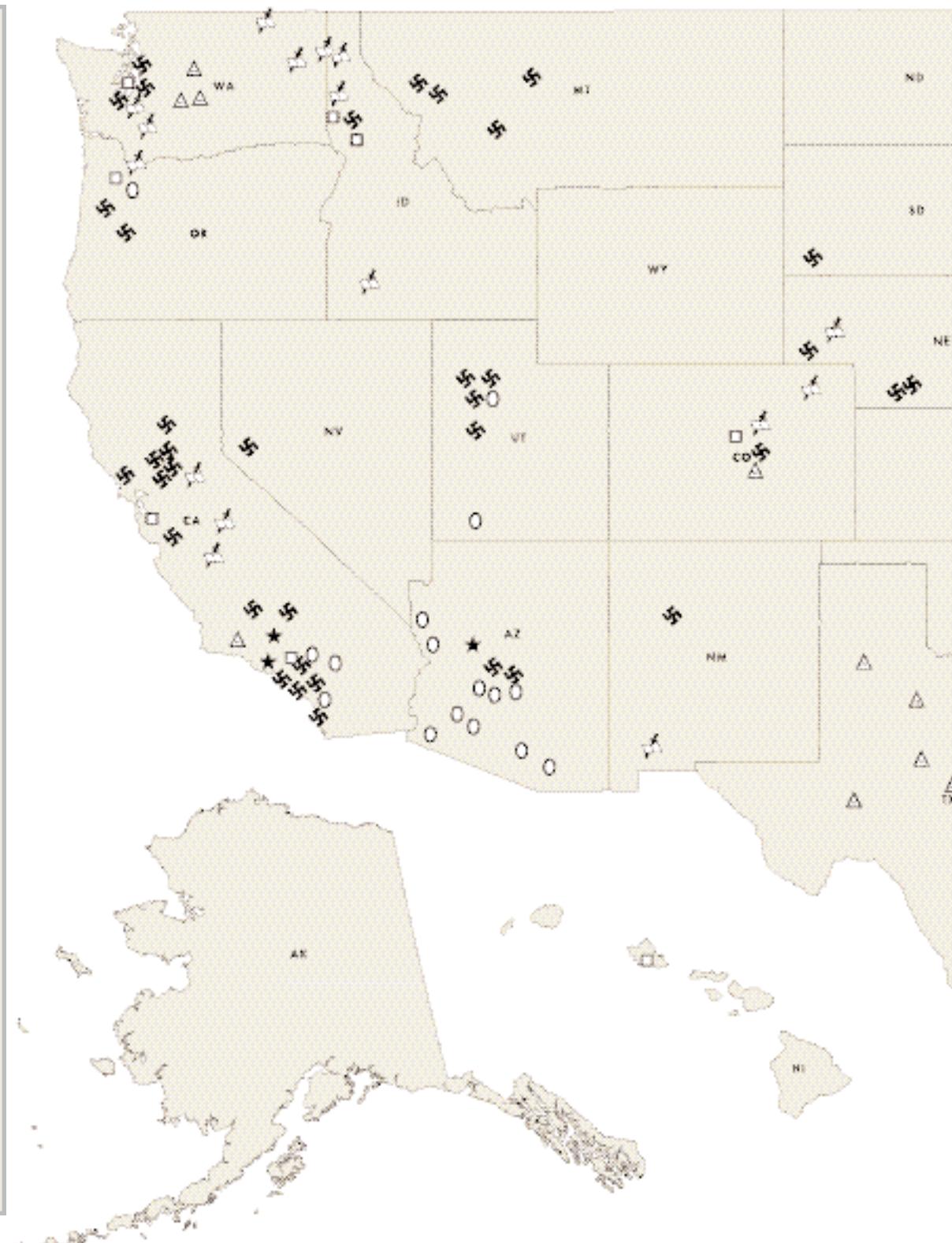
DEC 8 >> Don Beauregard, former leader of the Southeastern States Alliance militia umbrella

group, is arrested in Florida for allegedly plotting to rob armories of explosives in order to blow up power lines and other facilities. Officials say that during their two-year probe, an informant heard Beauregard discuss blowing up a nuclear power plant.

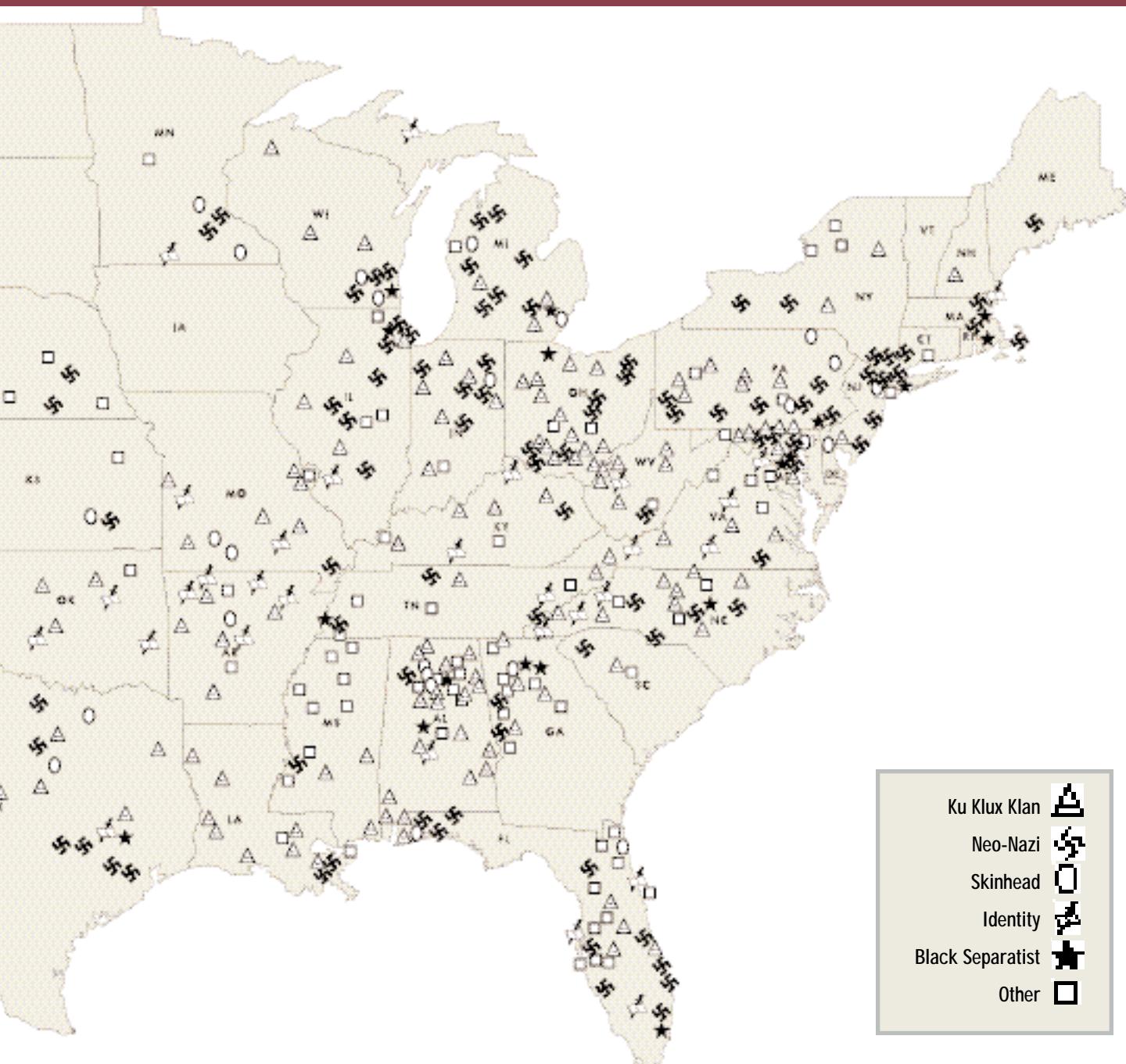
DEC 31 >> Despite the threats of some radicals to start a race war with the millennial date change — and the fears of many more that the "New World Order" will impose martial law at the stroke of midnight — nothing of the kind occurs. But, in a development reflecting a consolidation of many of the nation's most radical groups, the neo-Nazi National Alliance reports that it has grown some 50%, which translates to some 1,500 members. >>

Active Hate Groups

Alabama	33
Arizona	13
Arkansas	13
California	25
Colorado	5
Connecticut	2
Delaware	1
Dist. of Columbia	1
Florida	30
Georgia	16
Hawaii	1
Idaho	7
Illinois	16
Indiana	13
Kansas	3
Kentucky	9
Louisiana	12
Maine	1
Maryland	13
Massachusetts	6
Michigan	15
Minnesota	6
Mississippi	12
Missouri	12
Montana	4
Nebraska	9
Nevada	1
New Hampshire	1
New Jersey	5
New Mexico	2
New York	13
North Carolina	20
Ohio	24
Oklahoma	7
Oregon	5
Pennsylvania	19
South Carolina	3
South Dakota	1
Tennessee	10
Texas	19
Utah	6
Virginia	13
Washington	11
West Virginia	10
Wisconsin	9
<hr/>	
Ku Klux Klan	138
Neo-Nazi	130
Racist Skinhead	40
Identity	46
Black Separatist	21
Other	82
Total	457



Groups in the U.S. in 1999



Ku Klux Klan



Neo-Nazi



Skinhead



Identity



Black Separatist



Other



Active Hate Groups in the U.S. in 1999

This list of 457 active hate groups (map, pp. 30-31) is based on information gathered by the Intelligence Project from hate groups' publications, citizens' reports, law enforcement agencies, field sources and news reports. Only organizations known to be active in 1999, whether that activity included marches, rallies, speeches, meetings, leafleting, publishing literature or criminal acts, were counted in the listing. Entities that appear to exist only in cyberspace are not included because they are likely to be individual Web publishers who like to portray themselves as powerful, organized groups. This listing contains all known chapters of hate organizations. If the group has a known headquarters, it appears first in the listing of the group's chapters.

Groups are categorized as Ku Klux Klan, Neo-Nazi, Racist Skinhead, Christian Identity, Black Separatist and Other. Because Skinheads are migratory and often not affiliated with groups, this listing understates their numbers. Christian Identity describes a religion that is fundamentally racist and anti-Semitic. Black Separatist groups are organizations whose ideologies include tenets of racially based hatred. The Other category includes groups and publishing houses endorsing a hodgepodge of hate doctrines.

Ku Klux Klan	138
Neo-Nazi	130
Racist Skinhead	40
Identity	46
Black Separatist	21
Other	82
Total	457



Acworth, GA • Gainesville, GA •
Farmington, IL • Goshen, IN • Lucedale,
MS • Denton, NC • Elkin, NC • Millsprings,
NC • Londonderry, NH • Miller Place, NY •
Newburgh, NY • Cambridge, OH • Old
Washington, OH • Rural Ridge, PA •
Arlington, TX • Big Sandy, TX • Ross, TX
Christian Knights of
the Ku Klux Klan
Mount Holly, NC

ku klux Klan • 138

Alabama White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Satsuma, AL • Birmingham, AL •
Clanton, AL • Dothan, AL • Frisco City,
AL • Midland City, AL • Moody, AL •
Phenix City, AL • Semmes, AL • Shelby,
AL • Summerville, AL • Valley, AL •
Wetumpka, AL

Alabama's White Pride
Jasper, AL

America's Invisible Empire Knights of
the Ku Klux Klan

Hartselle, AL • Lanett, AL • Midland City,
AL • Alexandria, LA • Lafayette, LA •
Millville, NJ

American Knights of
the Ku Klux Klan

Butler, IN • Centerville, AR • Emmet, AR •
Johnstown, PA • Parkin, AR • Enoree, SC

Confederate Knights of
the Ku Klux Klan

Henderson, NC • Lexington, KY •
Madison, NC

Ghost Riders of the Ku Klux Klan

Lake Helen, FL

Imperial Empire Knights of
the Ku Klux Klan

Indianapolis, IN

Imperial Klans of America

Powderly, KY • Carpentersville, IL •
Prospects Heights, IL • Dayton, KY •
Paducah, KY • Redford, MI • Mapaville,
MO • St. Louis, MO • Sumrall, MS •
Walkertown, NC • Amelia, OH • Brentwood,
TN • Adams, WI • Sparta, WI

International Keystone Knights of
the Ku Klux Klan

Invincible Empire Knights of the Ku Klux Klan	New Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
Piney Flats, TN • Hancock, MD	Sanford, FL
Laurel, MD • Mayo, MD • Rocky Ridge, MD • Thurmont, MD • Woodsboro, MD •	New Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
Quincy, PA • Bristol, VA • Berkeley Springs, WV • Falling Waters, WV	Tacoma, WA
Invisible Empire, Indiana	New Order Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
Knox, IN	Overland, MO • Arkansas • Oklahoma • Texas • Virginia Beach, VA
Invisible Empire, Pennsylvania	North Georgia White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
Punxsutawney, PA	Rossville, GA
Kalifornia Knights of the Ku Klux Klan	Northwest Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
Newport Beach, CA	Tacoma, WA • Seattle, WA
Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (Arkansas faction)	Rangers of the Cross Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
Harrison, AR	Watkins, CO
Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (Missouri faction)	Rebel Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
Humansville, MO • Rosman, NC	Martinsville, VA
Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (Pennsylvania faction)	Southern Cross Militant Knights
Reading, PA	Valley Head, AL
Knights of the White Kamellia	Southern Mississippi Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
Vidor, TX • Point Clear, AL • Alamonte Springs, FL • Social Circle, GA • Duson, LA • Pine Prairie, LA • St. Amant, LA • Caledonia, MI • Lamberville, MI • Leslie, MO • Bellbrook, OH • Bellfontaine, OH • Dayton, OH • Kenton, OH • Kettering, OH • Zanesfield, OH • Stillwater, OK • Austin, TX • Jasper, TX • Chesterfield, VA • Grafton, WV	Petal, MS
Liberty Knights	United Confederate Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
Boonville, IN • Litchfield, IL • Belle Chasse, LA • Shreveport, LA	Cleveland, TX • Sulphur Springs, TX
Missouri Federation of Klans, Inc.	White Camelia Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
St. Louis, MO	White Christian Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
Mystic Knights of the Ku Klux Klan	White Klux Klan
Dayton, OH	Houston, PA
National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan	White Shield Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
South Bend, IN • Mercer, WI	Parkersburg, WV • Athens County, OH • Belpre, OH • Marietta, OH • Meigs County, OH • Elizabeth, WV • Vienna, WV • Williamstown, WV

AP/WIDEWORLD PHOTO



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 <p style="writing-mode: vertical-rl; transform: rotate(180deg);">AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTO</p>	Raton, FL • Orlando, FL • Tampa, FL • Chicago, IL • Indianapolis, IN • Cape Cod, MA • Baltimore, MD • Hagerstown, MD • Midland, MI • Charlotte, NC • Elon College, NC • Raleigh, NC • Siler City, NC • Kimball, NE • Superior, NE • Hewitt, NJ • Peekskill, NY • Columbus, OH • Cincinnati, OH • North Royalton, OH • Parma, OH • Fairless Hills, PA • Philadelphia, PA • Pittsburgh, PA • American Nationalist Party • Portage, MI • American Nazi Party • Eastpointe, MI • Aryan Nations • Hayden Lake, ID • Escondido, CA • Wichita, KS • West Wego, LA • Lewiston, ME • St. Paul, MN • Polson, MT • Maggie Valley, NC • Red Willow County, NE • New Vienna, OH • Woodlawn, TN • Huffman, TX • Rapid City, SD • Salt Lake City, UT • Aryan Nations Youth Action Corps • San Jose, CA • Dallastown, PA • Central New York White Pride • Syracuse, NY • Christian Defense League • Arabi, LA • Euro-American Alliance • Milwaukee, WI • European American Educational Association • Eastpointe, MI • German American Nationalist PAC • Pensacola, FL • Knights of Freedom • Spartanburg, SC • Alabama • Bakersfield, CA • Cape Coral, FL • Columbus, GA • Crown Point, IN • Huntington, IN • Walpole, MA • Portage, MI • Wyandotte, MI • Great Falls, MT • Eatontown, NJ • Ocean City, NJ • New York, NY • McKinney, TX • National Alliance • Hillsboro, WV • Alleghany, CA • Sacramento, CA • Denver, CO • Boca	Bloomington, IN • Farmers, KY • Peabody, MA • Finksburg, MD • Towson, MD • Westland, MI • Clarkston, MO • Raymond, MS • Missoula, MT • Superior, MT • Rio Rancho, NM • Carson City, NV • New York, NY • Cincinnati, OH • Altoona, PA • Pittsburgh, PA • Austin, TX • Lynwood, WA • Seattle, WA • Tacoma, WA • Milwaukee, WI • New Berlin, WI • Salt Lake City, UT • Jarratt, VA	Northern Hammer Skins St. Paul, MN Oi Boys Kenosha, WI Tri-State Terror Stroudsburg, PA Two Tone Skinheads/United Front Sierra Vista, AZ
	neo-nazi • 130	Philadelphia, PA • Pittsburgh, PA • American Nationalist Party • National Socialist German Workers Party • Lincoln, NE • National Socialist Irish Workers Party • Bethlehem, PA • Nationalist Socialist Movement • Minneapolis, MN • Red Willow County, NE • Ithaca, NY • Columbus, OH • National Socialist White Peoples Party • Michigan • Arizona Hammer Skins • Phoenix, AZ • Nationalist Socialist Vanguard • The Dalles, OR • Nazi Party USA • Memphis, TN • Reichsfolk • Auburn, IN • Volksfront • Eugene, OR • White Aryan Resistance • Fallbrook, CA • World Church of the Creator • East Peoria, IL • Cabot, AR • Florence, AZ • Mesa, AZ • Carmichael, CA • Citrus Heights, CA • Manhattan Beach, CA • Napa, CA • Sacramento, CA • San Diego, CA • Seal Beach, CA • Sierra Madre, CA • Hawleyville, CT • Chipley, FL • Davie, FL • Defuniak Springs, FL • Ormond Beach, FL • West Palm Beach, FL • Carrollton, GA • Bourdonnais, IL • Chicago, IL • Ina, IL • Springfield, IL • Wilmette, IL	 <p style="writing-mode: vertical-rl; transform: rotate(180deg);">AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTO</p>
	racist skinheads • 40	Arizona Hammerheads • Salt Lake City, UT • Aryan National Front • Birmingham, AL • Fourth Reich Skins • Bullhead City, AZ • Lake Havasu City, AZ • Mesa, AZ • Phoenix, AZ • Tucson, AZ • Hammerskin Nation • Gardendale, AL • Mt. Olive, AL • Mesa, AZ • Tempe, AZ • Tucson, AZ • Riverside, CA • San Diego, CA • Hemet, CA • Wilmington, DE • Jacksonville, FL • Seminole, FL • Hiram, GA • Fort Wayne, IN • Wichita, KS • Abingdon, MD • Rochester, MI • Apple Valley, MN • Branson, MO • Springfield, MO • Harrison, NJ • Clackamas, OR • Earlville, PA • Hanover, PA • Dallas, TX • Killeen, TX • Washington County, UT • Hartland, WI	identity • 46 11th Hour Remnant Messenger • Sandpoint, ID • 91st Brigade • Andrews, NC • America's Promise Ministries • Sandpoint, ID • Artisan Publishers • Muskogee, OK • Christian Bible Ministries • Christiansburg, VA • Christian Crusade for Truth • Deming, NM • Christian House Ministries • Largo, FL • Christian Israel Church • Wayne, WV • Christian Israel Covenant Church • Colville, WA • Christian Research • Eureka Springs, AR • Christian Separatist Church • Society • Kodak, TN • Church of Christ in Israel • Munising, MI • Church of God
	11th Hour Remnant Messenger	Salt Lake City, UT	
	91st Brigade	Angry Aryans	
	America's Promise Ministries	Michigan	
	Artisan Publishers	Arizona Hammerheads	
	Christian Bible Ministries	Salt Lake City, UT	
	Christian Crusade for Truth	Aryan National Front	
	Christian House Ministries	Birmingham, AL	
	Christian Israel Church	Fourth Reich Skins	
	Christian Israel Covenant Church	Bullhead City, AZ • Lake Havasu City, AZ	
	Christian Research	Branson, MO • Springfield, MO	
	Christian Separatist Church	Earlville, PA • Hanover, PA • Dallas, TX	
	Society	Hartland, WI	
	Church of Christ in Israel		
	Church of God		



Anadarko, OK	Scottsbluff, NE	Philadelphia, PA • Memphis, TN •	Marietta, GA
Church of Israel	New Beginning	Houston, TX • Milwaukee, WI	Heritage Lost Ministries
Schell City, MO	Waynesville, NC		Hilliard, OH
Church of Jesus Christ	New Covenant Bible Church		MSR Productions
Bergman, AR	Eatonville, WA		Wheat Ridge, CO
Crusade for Christ	Old Order Israelite Brethren		National Association for the Advancement of White People
Little Rock, AR	Mountain View, AR		Callahan, FL • Danville, AL • Redwood City, CA • West Haven, CT • Lakeland, FL
Destiny Publishers	Remnant of Israel		• Tampa, FL • Columbus, GA • Conyers, GA • Hogansville, GA • Honolulu, HI •
Merrimac, MA	Opportunity, WA		Coeur d'Alene, ID • Fulton, KY • Marrero, LA • Dearborn Heights, MI • Olive Branch, MS • Amherst, NY • Brooklyn, NY
Elohim City	Revelation Books		• East Springfield, OH • Allison Park, PA • Thorndale, PA • Humboldt, TN • Hanover, VA • Seattle, WA
Muldrow, OK	Staunton, Va		NAWWP Florida Chapter, Inc.
Faith Baptist Church and Ministry	Scriptures for America Ministries	other • 82	Jacksonville, FL
Houston, MO	LaPorte, CO	14 Word Press	Nationalist Movement
Fellowship of God's Covenant People	Shepherd's Chapel	St. Maries, ID	Learned, MS • Beaver Crossing, NE • Falls City, NE • York, NE
Burlington, KY	Sebring, FL	Ærnfolk/Eagles Reaches	Panzerfaust Records
Gabriel's Enterprises	Stone Kingdom Ministries	Dunedin, FL	Harrison, AR
Albert Lea, MN	Upper Room Identity Fellowship	America First Party	Newport, MN
God's Remnant Church	Roy, WA	Palm Beach, FL	Aryan Book Center
Boring, OR	Virginia Christian Israelites	American Friends of the British	Racial Nationalist Party of America
Gospel Broadcasting Association	Round Hill, VA	National Party	Lockport, NY
Houston, TX	Virginia Publishing Company	Falls Church, VA	Resistance Records
Gospel Foundation	Lynchburg, VA	American Front	Hillsboro, WV
Coarsegold, Ca		Harrison, AR	Sigdrifa South
Gospel Ministries		Aryan Graphics	Council of Conservative Citizens
Boise, ID		Decatur, IL	St. Louis, MO • Birmingham, AL • Huntsville, AL • Jasper, AL • Montgomery, AL • Tanner, AL • Little Rock, AR • Boynton
Gospel of Christ Kingdom Church		Aryan International Movement	Edgewater, MD
Hayden Lake, ID		Los Angeles, CA	Tampa Freedom Center
Identity Christian Fellowship		Council of Conservative Citizens	St. Louis, MO • Birmingham, AL • Huntsville, AL • Jasper, AL • Montgomery, AL • Tanner, AL • Little Rock, AR • Boynton
Collinsville, IL		House of David	Edgewater, MD
Jubilee		Beach, FL • Jacksonville, FL • Tampa Bay, FL • Dalton, GA • Norcross, GA • Chicago, IL • Bedford, IN • Casey Creek, KY • Baton Rouge, LA • Calhoun County, MS • Carroll County, MS • Holly Springs, MS • Jackson, MS • Leflore County, MS • Webster County, MS • Clemmons, NC • Morganton, NC • New York • Tulsa, OK • West Columbia, SC	Thule Publications
Midpines, CA		Nation of Islam	Portland, OR
Keys to Kingdom Church		Chicago, IL • Birmingham, AL • Montgomery, AL • Phoenix, AZ • Los Angeles, CA • Washington, DC • Atlanta, GA • Miami, FL • Boston, MA • Baltimore, MD • Detroit, MI •	Truth At Last
St. Augustine, FL		Chicago, IL • Birmingham, AL • Montgomery, AL • Phoenix, AZ • Los Angeles, CA • Washington, DC • Atlanta, GA • Miami, FL • Boston, MA • Baltimore, MD • Detroit, MI •	Westboro Baptist Church
Kingdom Identity Ministries	black separatist • 21	• Knoxville, TN • Memphis, TN • Nashville, TN • Falls Church, VA • Mechanicsville, VA	Topeka, KS
Harrison, AR		Crusade Against Corruption	White Sounds
Land of Peace			Greensboro, NC ▲
Prattville, AL			
Lord's Work			
Austin, KY			
Melchizedek Vigilance			
Denver, CO			
Ministry of Christ Church			
Mariposa, CA			
Mission to Israel	Durham, NC • Toledo, OH •		



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Hate Groups on the Internet

This list of 305 hate sites on the World Wide Web includes pages linked to Klan, neo-Nazi, racist Skinhead, Christian Identity, black separatist and other hate groups. Pages were current in early 2000, but sites tend to move from server to server or shut down without notice so they may be hard to locate. Groups marked with an asterisk are organizations that actively promote hate beyond the mere publishing of Internet material (see also hate group listing, p. 32). Locations where sites are based are listed when known.

ku klux klan • 93

Alabama White Knights of the Ku Klux

Klan*

www.whitepower88.com/kkk

www.gulfotel.com/~kimheads

Semmes, AL

www.scott.net/~akc

www.kukluxklan.net

Clanton, AL

Alabama's White Pride*

www.yoderanium.com/webhome/AWP88/

usr.sonet.net/usr/awk

www.yoderanium.com/webhome/whitepride

pages.whowhere.com/politics/alabamas.whitepride

Jasper, AL

America's Invisible Empire Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*

www.airnet.net/niterider

www.bardstown.com/~equalzr

Hartselle, AL

members.delphi.com/uk33wizard

Pennsylvania

American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*

www.americanknights.com

www.yoderanium.com/webhome/AmericanKnights

www.yoderanium.com/webhome/AKKKK

Butler, IN

realmofsc.itgo.com

South Carolina

www.yoderanium.com/webhome/

AKKKKRealmOfGa

Georgia

www.yoderanium.com/webhome/RealmOfTX/

akkkk.htm

Texas

www.yoderanium.com/webhome/

RealmOfSC

Columbia, SC

members.delphi.com/knighthawk4

Georgia

Ask the Klokard

www.servtech.com/~grugyn/ccc-11.htm

Bayou Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Jasper, AL

America's Invisible Empire Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*

www.kkk.net/

Powderly, KY

www.homestead.com/ikanc/ikanc.html

North Carolina

www.homestead.com/ikawa/ikawa.html

Michigan

www.homestead.com/kkcsa/

klukluxklanca.html

Pennsylvania

www.maqs.net/~wknight

Adams, WI

www.homestead.com/ikaga/ikaga.html

Georgia

International Keystone Knights of the Ku Klux Klan *	www.angelfire.com/pa/keystones/youth.html	Bellbrook, OH
Johnstown, PA	www.yoderanium.com/webhome/ARODE	.html
Enoree, SC	members.delphi.com/beavis311	Alamonte Springs, FL
Tennessee	members.delphi.com/ayak	Leslie, MO
Auburn, IN	www.1-2-free.com/mypage/news/realmofva	Louisiana
Invisible Empire Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*	www.mindspring.com/~kec74/KKK.html	Chesterfield, VA
Louisville, KY	www.yoderanium.com/webhome/j_krone	Austin, TX
#KKK- Via DALnet Chat Network	wpw.com/irc/dalnet/KKK	www.kamellia.com/michigan.htm
Kalifornia Knights of the KKK*	www.angelfire.com/ll/CyberCrud	Caledonia, MI
Knights of the Ku Klux Klan	members.delphi.com/misssrifok/	Liberty Knights*
Knights of the Ku Klux Klan	www.k-k-k.com	angelfire.com/in/LibertyKnightsAssoc
(Arkansas faction)*	www.yoderanium.com/webhome/	Newport Beach, CA
Knights of the Ku Klux Klan	www.kukluxklan.org	Boonville, IN
(Missouri faction)*	www.harrisonar.com	Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
Bayou Knights of the Ku Klux Klan	home.cdsnet.net/~wotan/ncmain.htm	Mississippi Shotgun Club
Duson, NC	www.angelfire.com/ll/CyberCrud	Goshen, IN
Imperial Klans of America*	members.delphi.com/kleagle	National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*
Sealston, VA	members.delphi.com/bkkkb	South Bend, IN
Merritt Island, FL	www.yoderanium.com/webhome/	www.neters.com/web/wwf2.shtml
wpw.com/knights	www.angelfire.com/ll/CyberCrud	New Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*
Humansville, MO	home.cdsnet.net/~wotan	Imperial Klans of America*
Klan*	members.delphi.com/aryanunity	Sealston, VA
Grants Pass, OR	www.angelfire.com/ll/CyberCrud	New Knights Realm of Florida*
Knights of the White Kamellia*	www.yoderanium.com/webhome/	www.angelfire.com/ll/CyberCrud
www.kamellia.com	members.delphi.com/realmofga	New Order Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
Vidor, TX	members.theglobe.com/realmofga	Klan*
Atlanta, GA	members.theglobe.com/realmofga	Site2.htm
members.theglobe.com/realmofga	members.theglobe.com/realmofga	Overland, MO
members.theglobe.com/realmofga	members.theglobe.com/realmofga	homepages.go.com/~joseph324/NOK.html
members.theglobe.com/realmofga	members.theglobe.com/realmofga	Arkansas

members.wbs.net/homepages/n/e/w/neworder knights2000.html	Madison, NC members.delphi.com/ikludd	Christian Defense League* home.inreach.com/dov/cdl.htm	www.yoderanium.com/webhome/88kids National Socialists of America-Youth
www.neworderknights.com/neworder2.htm	Oklahoma	Arabi, LA	Division
Oklahoma	United White Klan	Elric88/National_Socialist_Page	mypage.goplay.com/nsayouth
www.neworderknights.com/nokkkmain.htm	expage.com/page/unitedwhiteklans	homepages.infoseek.com/~elric88	Nazi Party USA*
Ohio	White Camelia Knights of the Ku Klux	For Volk and Fatherland	home.earthlink.net/~wbhall
www.neworderknights.com/kkk2010main.htm	Klan*	www.yoderanium.com/webhome/AryanGoddess88	Memphis, TN
www.neworderknights.com/mainNOKVA.htm	www.posses-comitatus.org/WCKKKK/default.htm	Hail the Order Bruder Schweigen	Nazi White Power
Virginia Beach, VA	www.wckkkk.com	www.14words.com/theorder	www.angelfire.com/sk/naziwhitepower
www.neworderknights.com/mainTxKlanSite.htm	Cleveland, TX	Klassen.net	New Order
Texas	www.2.1starnet.com/wckkkk	www.klassen.net	www.yoderanium.com/webhome/Rick88
North Georgia White Knights*	Sulphur Springs, TX	Knights of Freedom*	Rahowa88
www.theklan.com	users.nwol.net/~mccray	homepages.infoseek.com/~icekof	www.rahowa88.com
Rossville, GA	Midland, TX	members.delphi.com/kofyouth	Revisionist Productions
members.surfsouth.com/~ngwk	White Shield Knights of the Ku Klux	members.delphi.com/kofdeepsouth	www.eskimo.com/~ralphj
Hogansville, GA	Klan*	www.kof.net	S S Enterprises
Northwest Knights of the Ku Klux	sites.netscape.net/rfspg/whiteshieldknightskkk	Walpole, MA	www.ssenterprises.com
Klan*	members.delphi.com/rwl1	members.delphi.com/alastleader	SknHdGrl 1488's Homepage
www.concentric.net/~Nwk	Parkersburg, WV	Alabama	www.yoderanium.com/webhome/SknHdGrl1488
www.cris.com/~nwk	Wizard's Ku Klux Klan Page	www.netcolony.com/members/flyouth	Slashers
www.kkk.com	www.iac.net/~wizard	Florida	www.yoderanium.com/webhome/slashers/
Tacoma, WA		www.yoderanium.com/webhome/kofmich	index.html
www.concentric.net/~nwk/intro.htm	neo-nazi • 63	Michigan	SNOwht's Site
Coeur d' Alene, ID	A tribute to my personal hero and role	Library, The	members.delphi.com/snowht88
Order of the Ku Klux Klan	model, Adolf Hitler	www.ourhero.com	Unofficial Rahowa Page
www.kkklan.com/Vendor	www.yoderanium.com/webhome/Mercman88	National Alliance*	www.whitepride.com/rahowa
Realm of Ohio Keystone Knights of the KKK	American Nazi Party*	www.natall.com	White Aryan Resistance*
members.delphi.com/kkkfortpayne	www.americannaziparty.com	www.natvan.com	www.resist.com
pages.hotbot.com/rel/ayak/index.html	Eastpointe, MI	Hillsboro, WV	Fallbrook, CA
Southern Cross Militant Knights*	Aryan Militia	National Socialist German Workers	Whiterace.com
Valley Head, AL	www.aryan-militia.com	Party*	www.whiterace.com
Southern Maryland Knights of the Confederacy	Aryan Nations*	www.nidlink.com/~nsdap	WhiteStorm88
www.yoderanium.com/webhome/Colonel_Cyclops	www.christian-aryannations.com	Lincoln, NE	www.users.uswest.net/~mkwest88
Southern Thunder	www.yoderanium.com/webhome/anjax	National Socialist Movement*	Will's National Socialism Page
www.yoderanium.com/webhome/summer	Jacksonville, FL	www.nsm88.com	www.yoderanium.com/webhome/willns
The Klansman's page!	www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/Parliament/1930	Columbus, OH	www.wcotc.com/teens
members.tripod.com/~THEKLANSMAN	Lewiston, ME	National Socialist White People's	flashback.net/~wcotc
United Confederate Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*	Blitzcast.com	Party*	www.creator.org
members.delphi.com/iwuckkk	www.blitzcast.com/	www.io.com/~jack88	www.wcotc.com/kids
www0.delphi.com/uckkk	Blitzkrieg	home.att.net/~heimdal	www.wcotc.com/rahowa
Merritt Island, FL	yoderanium.com/webhome/Rojo	home.earthlink.net/~centurion88	clubs.yahoo.com/clubs/wcotcandwhitepride
ncknights.freeservers.com	Bootgirl88's Page	Salt Lake City, UT	www.racialpride.com
	www.ozemail.com.au/~bootgirl88	National Socialist White Power for kids	East Peoria, IL

www.wcotc.com/wcotcwf	Tri-State Terror*	Kingdom Identity Ministries*	www.no.org/boston/default.htm
www.whitepride.com/wfrontier/index1.html	www2.cybernex.net/~odin/tst1.htm	www.kingidentity.com	Boston, MA
www.yoderanium.com/webhome/khc88/index1.html	Strudsburg, PA	Harrison, AR	www.no.org/durham/default.htm
Sacramento, CA	Voice of Lakeside-Big Bry	Lord's Work, Inc.*	Durham, NC
www.wcotc.com	www.yoderanium.com/webhome/BigBry88	www.freespeech.org/thelordswork	
Ormond Beach, FL	Wolfpack Services	Austin, KY	other • 100
www.wcotc.com/ohio/main.html	www.skrewdriver.com	Melchizedek Vigilance*	14 Word Press*
Cincinnati, OH		www.melvig.org/mel/MELVIG.HTM	www.nidlink.com/~fourteenwords
www.wcotc.com/michigan	identity • 24	Denver, CO	St. Maries, ID
Westland, MI	11th Hour Remnant Messenger*	Mission to Israel*	88/14 White Pride World Wide
www.wcotc.com/sisterhood	www.televr.com/~vb11thhr	www.missiontoisrael.org	www.yoderanium.com/webhome/HITLER88
Federal Way, WA	Sandpoint, ID	Scottsbluff, NE	Ærnfolk/Eagle Reaches*
www.wcotc.com/sl	America's Promise Ministries*	Proclaim Liberty*	members.tripod.com/~aernfolk/index-2.html
Salt Lake City, UT	www.amprom.org	www.angelfire.com/he/ProclaimLiberty	Dunedin, FL
	Sandpoint, ID	Adrian, MI	AIDS Cures Fags
racist skinhead • 17	Carl Klang	Right of Israel Online	www.yoderanium.com/webhome/aidscuresfags
Action	www.klang.com/	home.arkansasusa.com/dlackey	American Civil Rights Review
www.yoderanium.com/webhome/Action/main.html	Christian Research*	Sanctuary Christian Resource Center	webusers.anet-stl.com/~civil/index.html
Aryan Women Pride	www.sharpwebpage.com/CR	www.zekes.com/~happy/srcr	American Front*
www.whitefuture.com/aryandolly.html	Eureka Springs, AR	Scriptures for America*	www.americanfront.com
Better Than Auschwitz	Christian Separatist Church Society*	www.identity.org	Harrison, AR
www.yoderanium.com/webhome/deathdlr	www.christianseparatist.org	LaPorte, CO	American Renaissance
Cruelty	Kodak, TN	Tom Blair's Home Page	www.amren.com
www.yoderanium.com/webhome/maeve88	Christianity? Or "Churchianity"!?	www.enter.net/~blair	AntiSHARP's Web Site
Death 2 Zog	www.ipa.net/~clibrary	Virginia Publishing Company*	www.yoderanium.com/webhome/AntiSHARP
www.death2zog.com	God's Order Affirmed in Love (G.O.A.L.)	members.xoom.com/vapublishing	Aryan Anthems-White Power MP3
Hammerskin Nation*	www.melvig.org	Lynchburg, VA	Music Valhalla
www.hammerskins.com	Gospel Broadcasting Association*	Weisman Publications	www.snj.quik.com/sickboy
home.att.net/~wpsh8814/tat2.html	www.broadcast.org	www.seek-info.com	Aryan Graphics*
Harrison, NJ	Houston, TX		www.aryangraphics.com Vendor
Oi! Boys*	Gospel Ministries*	black separatist • 8	Decatur, IL
www.execpc.com/~odinthor	www.melvig.org/gmo.html	Blacks and Jews Newspage	Aryan International Movement*
Kenosha, WI	Boise, ID	www.blacksandjews.com	www.yoderanium.com/webhome/Aryan/index.html
Plunder and Pillage	Jewish Ritual Murder	House of David*	www.yoderanium.com/webhome/Aryan/
www.unitedskins.com	www.melvig.org/jrm/jrm_toc.html	www.hodc.com	Los Angeles, CA
SiegHeil88's Homepage	Jim Wickstrom's Posse Comitatus*	New York, NY	Aryan Republic
www.concentric.net/%7eseigheil	(Church of Christ In Israel)	Nation of Islam*	www.yoderanium.com/webhome/AryanRepublic
Skinhead Pride	www.posse-comitatus.org	www.no.org/main.html	Aryan Women
www.skinheadpride.com	Munising, MI	www.no.org/Chicago, IL	women.wppw.com
Skinheads on the Internet	Jubilee Newspaper*	www.no.org/losangeles/default.htm	Asatrú Alliance
www-personal.lsu.edu/~lashout/skns.html	www.jubilee-newspaper.com	Los Angeles, CA	www.vitrex.net/~eagle
Skinhead XX	Midpines, CA	www.no.org/miami/default.htm	Bosch88
www.yoderanium.com/webhome/SkinheadXX	Keys to the Kingdom Church*	Miami, FL	www.yoderanium.com/webhome/Bosch88
Skrewdr1ver's Home Page	www.geocities.com/Athens/3370	www.no.org/atlanta/default.htm	Brataurus1's Personal White Pride
members.aol.com/skrewdr1vr	St. Augustine, FL	Atlanta, GA	www.yoderanium.com/webhome/Brataurus1

Christian Gallery	Library of Yggdrasil	Our Legacy of Truth	www.stormfront.org/truth_at_last
www.christiangallery.com	www.ddc.net/ygg/index.htm	www4.stormfront.org/posterity	Marietta, GA
Commissar88's White Pride Site	Louis Beam	Panzerfaust Records*	United Strike
www.yoderanium.com/webhome/Commissar88	www.yosemite.net/beam	www.panzerfaust.com	www.unitedstrike.com
Council of Conservative Citizens*	www.louisbeam.com	Newport, MN	Voice of White America
www.cofcc.org	Martin Luther King Jr. — A Historical Examination	Politics and Terrorism	members.aol.com/tsaukki/whiteamr.htm
members.aol.com/bango53/politics2/		www.flinet.com/~politics	Wake Up or Die
St. Louis, MO	www.martinlutherking.org	Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion	www.wakeupordie.com
www.homestead.com/conservative10/montgomery.html	www.mlking.org	www.ptialaska.net/~swampy/illuminati/zion.html	WAR88's MIRC Script Page
Montgomery, AL	Mentor's White Pride	Race Crisis and Separatism in America	www.yoderanium.com/webhome/DrMuller2
www.GeorgiaCCC.org	www.msrproductions.com	pw1.netcom.com/~owensva/separatist.html	Westboro Baptist Church*
Norcross, GA	Wheat Ridge, CO	Racial Compact	www.godhatesamerica.com
members.aol.com/sccofcc/page/org.htm	NAAWP Florida Chapter, Inc.*	www.racialcompact.com	www.godhatesfags.com
South Carolina	www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/Senate/8086	Resistance Records*	Topeka, KS
	www.naawpflch.org	www.resistance.com	Western Imperative Network
Falls Church, VA	Jacksonville, FL	Hillsboro, WV	www.usaor.net/users/1pm
David Duke Online Report	National NAACP*	Rights for Whites	White Dawn
www.duke.org	www.naawp.org	members.wbs.net/homepages/t/h/e/theusaman	White Future
Euro-American Students Union	www.naawp.com	Sigdrifa South*	www.whitefuture.com
esu.simplenet.com	Tampa, FL	www.sigdrifa.com	White Internet Radio Extreme (WIRE)
First Amendment Exercise Machine	www.mindspring.com/~ghogan	Jacksonville, FL	www.hailvictory.com
www.faem.com	www.mindspring.com/~naawp	SodakAryan White Power Page	White Nationalist News Agency
Hater Place	Hogansville, GA	mail.dailypost.com/~mcbrrien	nna.stormfront.org
www.yoderanium.com/webhome/Haterboy/	www.freeusa.net	Southern Resistance-South Texas	White Paper
Menue.html	Honolulu, HI	White Pride	www.intrstar.net/~wpaper/index.htm
Heritage Lost Ministries*	www.connectu.net/ginn	www.yoderanium.com/webhome/anglocelt	White Power Hate Rock Webring
www.heritagelost.org	North Carolina	SS Regalia*	www.yoderanium.com/webhome/Bosch2
Hilliard, OH	Nationalist Movement*	ss.regalia.bhcom1.com	White Power Links World Wide
Holocaust 2000	www.nationalist.org	Edgewater, MD	www.angelfire.com/ak/BSV1/linkage.html
www.yoderanium.com/webhome/Holocaust2000	Learned, MS	Stormfront	White Power World Wide
I Love White Folks	Nationalist Observer	www.stormfront.org	www.wppw.com
members.wbs.net/homepages/t/h/e/theusaman/world.html	www.whiteracist.com	Stormfront for Kids	White Pride Network
www.ilovewhitefolks.com	axcurtis.stormfront.org	kids.stormfront.org	www.whitepride.net
Jerry's Aryan Battle Page	Nationalists and Skinheads	Suppressed Books	White Pride USA
pw1.netcom.com/~jna	1Seite.htm	www.suppressedbooks.com	w3.one.net/~wiking
Jew Facts	Night-Shade	Symbolic Metal and Stone	Whitesingles.com
www.jewfacts.com	wpw.com/nightshade	194.213.74.4/htbin/cgiwrap/annihilat/web_store.cgi	ws.stormfront.org
Jew Grinder 88's Homepage	Occidental Pan-Aryan Crusader	Tampa Freedom Center*	www.whitesingles.com
www.yoderanium.com/webhome/jew_Grinder_88	www.crusader.net	www.ijj.net/TampaFreedomCentre	Whitesonly.net
Jew Watch	Occupied America	Tampa, FL	www.whitesonly.net
www.jewwatch.com	ourworld.compuserve.com/homepages/america	Thule Publications*	Yoderanium
Jigaboo.Com	Ostara Webserver	Portland, OR	www.yoderanium.com
www.jigaboo.com	www.ostara.org	Truth at Last*	total number of hate sites • 305

'Neither Left

The spreading battle against the forces of economic globalism is s

A grainy, high-contrast photograph showing a person from the side, wearing a dark hooded jacket and a gas mask with a filter canister. They are spraying a bright orange-yellow stream of tear gas or smoke towards the right. In the background, another person wearing a gas mask is partially visible. The scene is set outdoors, likely during a protest.

It Nor Right'

shaping the extremism of the new millennium

As the streets of Seattle exploded into 1960s-style violence last November, stunned Americans were told that "anarchists" and other left-wingers were leading a huge riot aimed at protesting capitalist globalism. Black-masked youths vandalized corporate property, squatters put up "Rent is Theft" signs and hundreds of protesters engaged in pitched street battles with rubber bullet-firing police as they contested the growing power of the pro-free trade World Trade Organization (WTO).

And these reports were true — but only to a point.

Right alongside the "progressive" groups that demonstrated in Seattle — mostly peaceful defenders of labor, the environment, animal rights and similar causes — were the hard-edged soldiers of neofascism. They carried signs decrying "The New World

Order Agenda," bitterly denounced "Jewish media plus big capital" and, in at least one case, fought it out with black youths amidst the tear gas. The "Battle in Seattle" brought erstwhile antagonists together to face a common enemy in the streets.

What was behind this truly remarkable mix? How was it that members of the far

"left" and "right" found themselves facing down police together? In the answers to these questions may lie the shape of future American extremism.

"The New American Patriot will be neither left nor right, just a freeman fighting for liberty," white supremacist ideologue Louis Beam wrote in the aftermath

of Seattle. “New alliances will form between those who have in the past thought of themselves as ‘right-wingers,’ conservatives and patriots, with those who have thought of themselves as ‘left-wingers,’ progressives, or just ‘liberal.’”

“The new politics of America is liberty from the nwo [“New World Order”] Police State and nothing more,” Beam wrote. Whatever their political sympathies, the violent Seattle protesters were bravely fighting the “Police State goons” who were there “to protect the slimy corporate interest of ‘free trade’ at the expense of free people.”

The common enemy was, in a word, globalism.

‘A Precursor to the Future’

More and more, people on both ends of the traditional political spectrum — particularly those who are young — are finding that their world views overlap. They are opposed to what are seen as the homogenizing forces of globalism. They despise capitalism, with its tendency to concentrate wealth and to make people and economies more and more alike — turning the planet into what is seen as a bland and materialistic McWorld. They pine for nations of peasant-like folk tied closely to the land and to their neighbors. They fight for a pristine environment, a land unsullied by corporate agriculture and urbanization. They detest man-

centered philosophies, seeing animals as no less important than humans. They reject rationalism in favor of a kind of mystical spirituality. Above all, these mainly young people — in some ways, the descendants of the “back-to-the-land” hippies of the 1960s — favor decentralization.

One neofascist group in Britain — which is experiencing a similar left/right convergence — puts it like this: “The [National Revolutionary Faction] is committed to fighting globalisation whenever and wherever it raises its ugly head. . . . There will definitely be a convergence between groups presently considered to be opposed to one another. . . . [W]e are witnessing the gradual emergence of two dis-

Neofascism, European Style

The new shape of modern fascism, increasingly popular in the United States, has its roots in Europe

When Americans think of organized hatred, they inevitably conjure up the “invisible empire” of the Ku Klux Klan, the group that in a variety of different forms has terrorized U.S. minorities for some 135 years. But, in fact, white supremacists in America owe a major debt to racist European groups and ideas.

Today, that debt may be clearest in the development of the so-called “Third Position” — a political strain that began in Europe and rejects both communism and capitalism. It is also evident in the growing number of European groups like the International Third Position (ITP) that have ties to like-minded U.S. counterparts. Since the 1989 formation of the ITP — a British group created by a break-away faction of the English neofascist National Front party and Italian fascists — Third Position concepts have increasingly gained a following on the international hard right.

The ideology is important. “Politically,” says Gerry Gable, co-editor of the British antifascist magazine *Searchlight*, “the ITP is the most sophisticated group operating on the far right in Britain and a number of other places in Europe. And I’ve had sight of inside material and it contains a lot of addresses in the U.S.A.”

Two key players in the formation of the ITP — Italian Roberto Fiore, convicted in absentia of terrorist association, and Briton Nick Griffin — have helped spread these ideas widely in Europe. Although he claims to have abandoned the ITP years ago, Griffin, the new leader of the neofascist British National Party (BNP), has introduced Third Position ideas into his party’s platform. Earlier, Griffin had disseminated similar ideas by writing anonymously for “green” and leftist publications. In Italy, Fiore helped to build a new far-right party, Forza Nuova, even as he lived in British exile. The party recently polled

nearly 100,000 votes in European Parliamentary elections.

‘Socialism’ with a Twist

The ideas of the Third Position go back to, among others, brothers Otto and Gregor Strasser. The Strassers were important early Nazi leaders who appealed to working-class Germans by advancing a pro-labor “socialism” in highly nationalistic and racist terms. Both men had left the Nazi Party by the early 1930s, and Gregor, who earlier led the Nazi Party’s left wing, was murdered on Hitler’s orders in 1934. Despite the brothers’ early leadership roles, Hitler rejected their pro-labor program in favor of an alliance with Germany’s industrial leaders.

Third Positionists also see their intellectual forebears as fascists like Spaniard José Antonio Primo de Rivera, Italian Benito Mussolini, American Francis Parker Yockey and Romanian Corneliu

tinct phenomena: the centralists and the decentralists. The time is approaching when activists from all anti-Capitalist groupings will be forced to decide which side" they are on.

Just listen to Matt Hale, the leader of the neo-Nazi World Church of the Creator, who was in Seattle: "[T]he riots ... can be considered the first riots in recent memory by white people. ... What happened in Seattle is a precursor for the future, when white people in droves protest the actions of World Jewry ... by taking to the streets and throwing a monkey wrench into the gears of the enemy's machine. ...

"It is from the likes of the white people who protested the WTO and who, in

some cases, went to jail for illegal actions, that the World Church of the Creator must look for our converts — not the stale right wing which has failed miserably to put even one dent in the armor of the Jewish monster," Hale said. "[W]e should concentrate on these zealots, not the meet, eat and retreat crowd of the right wing."

American Front and the Third Position

That the right and left share certain ideas is not an entirely new phenomenon. Since the 1980s, neo-Nazi Tom Metzger, leader of the California-based White Aryan Resistance, has rejected the left-right dichotomy and concentrated on labor issues he believes will draw in working-class

whites. Concerns about ecology and animal rights also have been long shared by progressives and many neofascists. But in the aftermath of Seattle, it is clear that this left/right convergence on many issues is growing. Today, this phenomenon is most evident in the development of the so-called "Third Position" — neither capitalism nor communism, as its backers say, but a third way.

Already, these ideas have had a real impact on the American racist rock scene. They have influenced many of the U.S. "racialist" elements of neo-pagan religions like Odinism and Asatrú. They are important to many members of the American-based Hammerskin Nation, the largest



AP/WIDEWORLD PHOTO

Soccer fans supporting Forza Nuova (New Force), a new far-right party in Italy, protested NATO strikes in Yugoslavia in early 1999. Mocking the American movie "Saving Private Ryan," their banner said, "Kill Private Ryan, Forza Nuova."

Codreanu. But at the same time, reflecting the Third Position's adoption of traditionally "left" ideas and tactics, these same people applaud "leftists" like Che Guevara, Mao Tse-tung and American writer Jack London.

Despite this kind of flirtation with the left, virtually all Third Positionists identify their prime enemy as the "multiculturalist" Jew. In more muted terms, many also despise blacks and immigrants. "Europe is falling apart," says one RTP Web site. "In the inner cities, a whole generation of our [white] youth are being influ-

enced into talking, walking and acting like blacks. Something has to be done now."

Aside from their views on race, most European and American Third Positionists today advocate a redistribution of wealth; family-owned business and workers' cooperatives (many backers support "distributism," an economic system devised by a British neofascist that aims to encourage widespread property ownership); abolishing interest and nationalizing banks; outlawing of the use of animals for scientific testing; respect for the environment;

and political power devolved to the lowest level possible.

These ideas have awakened the interest of many Americans. James Porazzo, leader of the Third Positionist American Front (see p. 40), recently described his initial reaction to the ideology: "I was most attracted," Porazzo said in an interview posted on the Internet, "by the Front's totally revolutionary nature: The fusion of right and left views, which created something quite ABOVE and BEYOND either one. There was nothing like it in the so-called movement."

THE NEW EXTREMISM

Right-wing antigovernment conspiracy theorists were among those who protested in Seattle.

neo-Nazi Skinhead coalition in the world. But they are most explicit in the Harrison, Ark.-based group American Front (AF).

Started around 1990, the neo-Nazi AF was long based in Portland, Ore., headed by a Skinhead named Bob Heick, and composed mainly of other Skinheads, many of whom had records of violence. But when it was taken over in the last couple of years by its current leader, James Porazzo, the group's mailing address was moved to Arkansas. At the same time, AF began to adopt explicitly Third Position ideas, using as its slogan, "National Freedom, Social Justice, Racial Identity."

What Porazzo says he is working for is "social revolution in a racialist context." "We propose a workable, realistic alternative, and that is Separatism!" he says. "White autonomy, Black autonomy, Brown autonomy and death to the current twisted system. ... The only other obvious route would be an eventual winner take all race war: I don't think anyone with any sense would want that. ... [Let me make it clear that American Front would rather fight the REAL ENEMY — the system."

For Porazzo, that system is "the dictatorship of the dollar." Behind this tyranny, behind the capitalist and globalist forces Porazzo sees sweeping the world, lie "the Zionists and the Race that spawned them ... a filthy, evil people the world would be better without." Charging interest, he adds, "is a filthy Jewish practice."

Fighting Globalism with Cmdr. Doolittle

AF is not the only explicitly Third Positionist U.S. organization. The American Coalition of Third Positionists, a group based in Rockville, Md., publishes a newsletter called *Neither Left Nor Right*. American Skinhead publications like *Thule*, *Fenris Wolf* and *Hammerskin Press* have carried ads in recent months touting Third Position ideology. And in Canada, affiliates of the Liaison Committee for Revolutionary Nationalism — a Europe-based Third Position coalition that counts the AF as



a member — are located in Saskatoon and Hearst, Ontario.

Third Position ideas have also made themselves felt in such places as the American Nationalist Union (ANU), a group that opposes "Third World" immigration and calls for "voluntary racial separation." The January issue of ANU's *Nationalist Times* attacks other right-wing groups for not recognizing the contribution made by leftists in Seattle and being too focused on race and taxes. Seattle, it says, was "the first large-scale display of grassroots anti-globalist dissent in America in years."

Feeding into this anti-globalist vision shared by many on the left and right are very real economic dislocations. Martin Lee, author of *The Beast Reawakens*, a book on the rebirth of European fascism, says such pressures are important: "As eco-

nomic globalization has accelerated, producing definite losers and winners, so too has the momentum of neofascist and right-wing extremist organizations."

The radical right has added other ideas into the mix. More and more, its ideologues applaud the actions of terrorist groups like the Animal Liberation Front and sometimes violent "deep ecologists" like those in Earth First! and the Earth Liberation Front, which claimed the \$12 million arson of a Vail, Colo., ski resort in 1998. They support the "national liberation" struggles of countries with terrorist histories like Iraq and Libya. They cheer black groups like the Nation of Islam.

This embrace of non-white battles against the "New World Order" is particularly remarkable. Most Third Positionists spring from a neofascist and anti-Semitic background. Yet, calling themselves



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTO

Although most protesters in Seattle were peaceful, some — on both left and right — engaged in street battles with police and other violence.

traditional “leftists” into bizarre coalitions with right-wing extremists — a fusion known as the “green-brown” alliance.

It is a fusion with a long history.

Since its beginnings in 19th-century Europe, ecological thought has been associated with the racist right, with key early thinkers calling for Teutonic racial purity and a “survival of the fittest” attitude to famines and similar disasters in the undeveloped world. Many war-time Nazi officials were distinctly ecologically minded. Forty years later in America, Tom Metzger’s neo-Nazi *WAR* tabloid was declaring, “Ecology is for Aryans, too.” Also in the 1980s, American Ben Klassen, founder of the neo-Nazi Church of the Creator, said in his book *Salubrious Living* that whites should “avail ourselves of a clean, wholesome environment; fresh, unpolluted air; clean water; and the beneficial therapy from the direct rays of the sun.”

At around the same time, several heroes of the counterculture of the 1960s became



“national revolutionaries,” they say they must support anti-capitalist, anti-communist struggles everywhere.

“Europe is our home,” one British Third Positionist group leader wrote recently. “[B]ut … the struggle is one. So if we end up in the jungles of Paraguay fighting alongside the National Revolutionary Parrots League of Commander Doolittle, it would mean that we would have to say:

‘OK, it is a little warmer here. The people are a little more dusky than back home. But the struggle continues.’ Why? Because the New World Order is seeking to establish itself everywhere.”

Ecology for Aryans

It isn’t only the specter of globalism that attracts those on the “left.” Concerns about the environment have also brought

THE NEW EXTREMISM

AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTO



embroiled in debates after making alleged-ly racist remarks. Edward Abbey, author of the “deep ecology” classic *The Monkey Wrench Gang*, bemoaned the immigration into the United States of “culturally-morally-genetically impoverished people.” David Foreman, the founder of Earth First!, was forced out after describing an ongoing Ethiopian famine as “nature’s method of population control.”

Then, in 1998, the Sierra Club was nearly destroyed by an internal debate over immigration. Members were asked to vote on a resolution declaring both legal and illegal immigration to be an environmental ill. After a public and embarrassing debate, the measure was defeated — but only after 40% of those polled backed it.

Today, the radical right’s use of “green” issues is growing. In a December editorial, for instance, Tom Metzger says that in the past environmentalists and racists “damned” one another. “Not so in the 21st Century,” Metzger said in his *WAR* tabloid. “The best interests of the Environment will meld into the best interests of Race. The health of the Race and the health of the Environment will be one.”

As the German Nazis said: “Blood and Soil.”

“Ecology is warped for mystical-nationalist ends by a whole series of neofascist

groups and parties,” Janet Biehl, a specialist on “eco-fascism,” wrote recently. “Their programmatic literature often combines ecology and nationalism in ways that are designed to appeal to people who do not consider themselves fascists....” American Front, for instance, describes itself as “whole-heartedly a Green movement.”

‘Wake Up and Smell the Tear Gas’

Another fertile area for Third Position growth is among the followers of pre-Christian polytheistic theologies, notably the racist elements of Odinism and Asatru.

Racist adherents of these nature-based belief systems — mainly young Skinheads — long for a return to the genetically based tribe, or folk. They mythologize the misty past of white northern Europeans as a romantic tableau of boar-slaying warriors, dewy-eyed Aryan maidens and pristine Alpine scenery — precisely the kind of vision of nature-loving, fiercely independent peoples held up by most Third Positionists.

In Seattle, the left and right did not exactly march arm in arm. Militia members decrying international conspiracies were largely ignored. Members of the neo-Nazi National Alliance who were there reported back about “the most utterly disgusting street punks and campus Jews” they had met — and battled — in the streets.

Radical rightists increasingly are applauding eco-terrorist attacks like this \$12 million arson of a mountaintop Colorado ski facility. The Earth Liberation Front claimed credit for the 1998 fire.

Still, it seems clear that the hard right will draw increasingly from the ranks of its former enemies. “The radical Left has much more potential to produce true Revolutionaries than the Right,” the AF’s Porazzo says. “We’re seeing more Leftists coming to the Revolution and American Front than I ever dreamed possible. These comrades have, generally, been able to grasp [our] ideas much, much quicker than the ex-Rightists....”

Or, in the concluding words of Louis Beam’s angry essay: “A new dawn is breaking upon the American political scene. The old words of divide and conquer will come to mean less and less to thinking people. There will be no meaningful differences between those who want freedom. But rather, just ‘Americans’ who want to be free and are fighting the Police State to gain that freedom. Wake up and smell the tear gas, freedom is calling its sons and daughters.” ▲



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTO

THIRD POSITION ON THE WEB

A burgeoning number of sites devoted to "Third Position" ideology — a mix of "left" and "right" ideas with strong neofascist overtones — have sprung up on the World Wide Web in recent years. The list below is divided into two groups. The first group includes those sites listed on the resist@nce Web ring — all of them affiliated with the European Liberation Front and its ally, the Liason Committee for Revolutionary Nationalism. Many of those behind this first group of sites are adherents of Odinism, a neo-Pagan religion popular among Skinheads. The second group of sites are affiliated with a key British group, the International Third Position (ITP). The first group is highly critical of the second because it opposes the ITP's right-wing Catholicism.

The American Front

www.americanfront.com

Laced with articles from prominent fascists and Arab terrorists and leaders including Osama bin Laden and Col. Muammar Al Qadhafi, this site belongs to the American Front, the largest Third Position group in the United States. Featuring prominently on the site are interviews with James Porazzo, leader of the American Front.

Beyond Left and Right

www.thirdposition.com/blrindex.html
Entering this site, visitors are greeted with the slogan, "The Revolution, Like the Wind, Can Never Be Stopped." Run out of Saskatoon, Canada, the site offers movie reviews, book reviews, interviews and "national revolutionary" merchandise. It also includes a visceral attack on the National Alliance, a neo-Nazi group that the site says uses "overly slick, savvy and spin-doctoresque techniques" to recruit.

Black Front

www.thirdposition.com/blackfront
The ideas of Otto and Gregor Strasser, brothers who pushed a more "socialist" version of Hitler's National Socialism, are prominently featured here. (Black Front was the name of a group started by Otto Strasser after Hitler ordered his brother's murder.) In addition to articles by British Third Positionists, it carries the full texts of Sun Tzu's *Art of War*, Qadhafi's *Green Book*, and Jack London's *Iron Heel*.

Insurrection Online

www.thirdposition.com/afinsurgent
"Freedom! Justice! Identity! National Revolution!" is the mantra of this site,

which carries articles by American Front members and others on "national revolution." It also includes a withering attack on Don Black's Stormfront hate site. Stormfront had earlier written, "As if the Communism wasn't enough, in 3P many of the leaders are also Satanist. Third Position and American Front is Communist crap."

National Bolshevik

www.NationalBolshevik.com/index2.html

National Bolsheviks, or "national revolutionaries," are anti-capitalist insurrectionists with a strong fascist and anti-Semitic overlay. This site opens with a photo of Che Guevara and then leads into such articles as "Zionist Oppression." It also carries biographies of Third Position heroes and the "solidarity2" E-mail list.

National Revolution

<http://members.xoom.com/natrev/codreanu.html>

National Revolution's slogan is the same as that of the American Front: "National Freedom, Social Justice, Racial Identity." This site offers articles on the Romanian Iron Guard and others penned by fascists such as Julius Evola and Yukio Mishima.

National Revolutionary Faction

www.NationalBolshevik.com/nrf/nrfindex.html

With the goals of a "monoracial Europe" and the destruction of the "economic imperialism of Zionism," this extensive site is the work of Briton Troy Southgate, who broke away from the International Third Position group. It contains a

gamt of articles on revolutionary skills and methods, as well as the manifesto of the European Liberation Front, a coalition of Third Position groups.

Spartacus Press

www.NationalBolshevik.com/spartacusdirectory.html

Spartacus Press is dedicated to "the idea of extreme-left/far-right convergence — a process ... once called the 'courage to live in antithesis.'" Opening with the words "Hail Serbia, Fuck NATO," it has articles on revolutionary movements throughout the world, ecology and an eclectic array of other top-

ics. Its hope, it says, is to "encourage anti-System coalitions that transcend ideological and religious boundaries."

The Voice of Revolution On-line Journal

www.thirdposition.com/vorindex.html

Devoted to "National Freedom and Social Justice," this site is run from Saskatoon, Canada, and carries articles — including "how-to" manuals for revolutionists — salient quotes, essays and poetry. Art is especially highlighted as key to developing the "New Man." One recent article exhorted readers to undertake "direct action."

The following English-language sites are affiliated with the International Third Position, a British neofascist group. They differ from other Third Position sites in that they are fervently Catholic, albeit from a far-right perspective.

American Coalition of Third Positionists

<http://3rd.org>

This is the site of the official American branch of the International Third Position, based in Rockville, Md. It sells pins and *The Third Position Handbook*, in which "ideology, structure, and strategies for political action" are discussed. The group also sells a newsletter through the site called *Neither Left Nor Right*.

Final Conflict

<http://dspace.dial.pipex.com/ final-conflict>

Final Conflict describes itself as the "premier Nationalist fanzine!" The site sells Third Position books, Celtic cross pendants, anti-abortion mate-

rials, videotapes, stickers, and even a T-shirt adorned with the words "FASCIST AND PROUD." It also carries an attack on the "criminality" of the British antifascist magazine *Searchlight*.

International Third Position

<http://dspace.dial.pipex.com/ third-position>

This is the main site for the International Third Position (ITP), headed by Roberto Fiore and Derek Holland. Along with extensive links to other ITP-linked groups, the site carries information on the neofascist communes that ITP runs in Spain and France. It describes its politics as driven by a "spiritually motivated worldview."

Internet Hate and the Law



Earlier this year, the Southern Poverty Law Center was asked to prepare a paper on hate speech on the Internet for the United Nations High Commission on Human Rights. Intelligence Report Editor Mark Potok traveled to Geneva, Switzerland, for the Feb. 16-18 conference and presented the paper, which focused on potential legal remedies to the problem. Here are excerpts from his remarks:

We are here today to discuss the role of the Internet in promoting intolerance and to examine potential legal remedies to address the problem. In the past few years, the Center has been intensively monitoring the Internet and the increasingly important role it plays in recruitment and propagandizing for hate groups. We have seen how this technology has been adopted wholesale by such groups, and the remarkable and unprecedented access this has afforded these groups to teenagers and other potential recruits, both in the United States and in Europe. . . .

Although American extremists dabbled with crude computer bulletin boards during the late 1980s and early 1990s — mainly as a means of internal communication — it was not until March 1995 that the first World Wide Web hate site went up. The site was known as Stormfront. It was run by former Klansman Don Black, who had earlier served time in federal prison for plotting to invade a small Caribbean island. Black correctly foresaw that the Internet would allow hate groups to directly reach millions of people for the first time, and indeed, a veritable explosion of hate sites followed. By early this year, the annual count of hate sites conducted by the

Southern Poverty Law Center — including only U.S.-based sites with explicitly hateful material — had reached 305.

Targeting Youth

The leading reason for this growth is obvious. A few years ago, a Klansman needed to put out substantial effort and money to produce and distribute a shoddy pamphlet that might reach a few hundred people. Today, with a \$500 computer and negligible other costs, that same Klansman can put up a slickly produced Web site with a potential audience in the millions.

In the 1980s, American groups like the White Aryan Resistance tried to recruit racist Skinheads as the “shock troops” of the movement. The result was a number of deaths and a larger number of people hurt — but no real advancement of white supremacy as a political movement. Today, the aging cadre of white supremacist leaders recognize this lack of progress and are concentrating instead on a different kind of youthful recruit: the bright, college-bound teenager who is seen as a potential leader and movement-builder of tomorrow. The Net gives racists unprecedented access to precisely these teens, who live in their parents’ homes and have computers in their bedrooms.

These children are largely middle- and upper-middle-class youths who wouldn’t be caught dead at a Klan rally — or whose parents would make sure they weren’t. The Net, with its promise of privacy, lowers any social inhibitions they might have had about consorting openly with racists and other haters. Where these teens would likely have met social disapproval if they expressed anti-Semitic or racist ideas at home or in school, they are able to proclaim such ideas over the Internet in a welcoming environment. Unlike older forms of debating ideas — in public forums or classrooms or even over the family dinner table — talk on the Internet is often limited to those who already agree with one another. There is no real exchange of ideas on www.whitepower.com. . . .

For Americans, the first and most important legal question raised by the appearance of hate and pornographic material on the Internet was how the First Amendment would be applied to cyberspeech. U.S. courts have long distinguished between print and broadcast media. The former is the freer medium, with no prior censorship allowed and broad freedoms to print anything short of criminal threats or materials within the narrow legal definition of “obscenity.” (Of course, other laws, such as those surrounding libel and fraud, also are applicable.) But in the case of broadcast media, the courts have traditionally found that the public has an interest in regulating the air waves, largely because of the limited number of broadcast frequencies available and the “invasive” nature of radio and TV (a viewer or listener could easily stumble across unexpected material). Thus, for example, it is permissible to restrict pornographic films on television to late night hours, even if the films do not meet the definition of “obscenity.”

How would the Internet be seen? In June 1997, the U.S. Supreme Court voted 7-2 to invalidate portions of the Communications Decency Act (CDA), a law that punished the Internet transmission of “indecent” materials (the material did not have to rise to the level of “obscenity”) in a manner that would allow minors to see it. The court rejected the government’s arguments that the Net should

be as highly regulated as broadcast media, instead seeing it as a "vast democratic for[um]" that more closely resembled print media. It found that the Internet was not "invasive" — users rarely encounter objectionable content "by accident," and such content is normally preceded by warnings. In short, the Internet received the court's strongest free speech protections.

Because Internet speech is entitled to broad protection under U.S. law, it is clear that general political propaganda on the Internet will not be curbed by American courts. Under American case law, it is perfectly permissible to denigrate racial minorities or even to advocate the violent overthrow of the government some time in the indefinite future or in general terms. Only when advocacy amounts to "incitement to imminent lawless action" can it be punished. And the definition of incitement is extremely narrow. Under American law, it is perfectly legal to advocate the political idea that "all police should be killed." On the other hand, it probably would amount to criminal incitement to tell an excited individual to "go kill that police officer over there."

Limits of Free Speech

But while general advocacy is protected, there are limits to certain other forms of speech. In the last few years, we have seen an increasing number of legal cases dealing with threats made over the Internet and related material. The outcome of these cases has made it clear that the protection offered to Internet speech under the First Amendment has its limits.

On Sept. 20, 1996, a former student at the University of California at Irvine sent an e-mail message to 62 Asian students. It said, in part, "I personally will make it my life career to kill everyone of you personally. OK? That's how determined I am," and was signed, "Asian Hater." The case brought against Richard Machado, then 19, was the first U.S. prosecution of an e-mail threat. ... Although the first case resulted in a mistrial, Machado was eventually convicted of two misdemeanor counts and sentenced to a year in prison. Legal analysts said later that the case showed that threats made on the Internet

were no different than those made by telephone or mail. ...

In any event, the Machado case was followed by others — a disproportionate number of which seemed to occur on or around college campuses. Just months after winning the Machado conviction in 1998, the federal government prosecuted the sender of anti-Hispanic e-mail death threats to 67 students and employees of California State University in Los Angeles, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and other institutions. Eventually, Kingman Quon, an Asian-American student, was convicted of sending the e-mail, which said, in part, "I hate your race. I want you all to die. ... I'm going to come down and kill your wetback, affirmative action ass." Quon was sentenced to serve two years in federal prison.

Last year, a federal court in Oregon ruled on an Internet lawsuit that may signal the beginning of an expansive view of what constitutes a "threat" over the Internet. The suit was filed by Planned Parenthood, an abortion rights group, and several physicians who provide abortions. It targeted 12 hard-line abortion opponents for helping to create printed "Wanted" posters featuring abortion doctors and an Internet site called "The Nuremberg Files." The site, amid graphics of dripping blood, carried a list of some 225 abortion providers and, in many cases, their home addresses, phone numbers, automobile descriptions and license numbers, and other personal details clearly helpful to anyone who wanted to kill them. When an abortion doctor was killed — seven have been murdered in the United States since 1993 — a line was drawn through his name. Those wounded had their names listed in gray. While the site and posters did not specifically advocate murder, the site was linked to a letter from a convicted doctor-killer describing the joy he felt when murdering his victim. The theory of the lawsuit was that publicizing the names of doctors violated a federal law meant to protect the public's access to abortion facilities. The defense called it free speech.

'True Threats' and New Laws

In hearing the case, the federal judge said that jurors should consider the "alleged threats ... in light of their entire factual

context, including the surrounding events and the reaction of their listeners." Whether or not the alleged threats were "true threats" would then be determined by the "objective, speaker-based test." That is, the jury would need to decide if a "reasonable" person would foresee that the targets of the "threats" would interpret them as a serious expression of intent to do harm.

The jury thought so. On February 2, 1999, it awarded the plaintiffs a \$107.9 million judgment — whopping, even by American standards. The judge who presided over the case, Robert E. Jones, said that the "wanted" posters and Web site were "blatant and illegal communication of true threats to kill." In addition to roundly endorsing the jury verdict, he ordered defendants to stop publishing "Wanted" posters and contributing information to the Nuremberg Files Web site. Some think the ruling may be overturned on appeal. ...

Legislative bodies as well as the courts have tried to tackle the problems posed by hate speech on the Internet. In the last year, U.S. senators have attempted — unsuccessfully so far — to force public libraries to use Internet filtering software capable of screening out hate and pornography sites on computers used by children; to require Internet service providers (ISPs) to offer such software to their customers free or at cost; and to make it a crime to "teach or demonstrate" how to make explosives and other destructive devices. The state of Arizona, on the other hand, did pass a law in 1999 that mandates that public schools and libraries use filtering software. The institutions will be required to either put software on their computers or buy Internet access from an ISP that provides software.

This completes a survey of the major legal issues currently surrounding the Internet and hate sites and propaganda in America. Although the U.S. Supreme Court has said that the Internet is more like the print media than the broadcast media for First Amendment purposes, the contours of the law are by no means settled. As the Internet becomes more and more pervasive, more cases like the Planned Parenthood case in Oregon ... will test the boundaries of the law, and more legislative initiatives can be expected. ▲

Y2K FEARS

Apocalypse

Despite the fears of extremists, the dawn of the new millennium came and went without martial law — or much of anything else



Later

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — Somewhere, a 23-pound terrier named Adolf is chomping his way through a mountain of Purina Dog Chow.

"That's my Y2K dog food," a muscular, close-cropped young man in a supermarket line explained in the waning days of December as he hoisted a huge bag of the product onto the checkout counter. At home, he added ominously, he had a couple of M-16s, ammo and other supplies for the hard times he expected with the millennial date change. Adolf was "ferocious" and trained to attack police if need be. It was time, he advised, to prepare for the "worst case scenario."

But it all came to naught.

Despite much-publicized fears of computer collapses caused by the Y2K bug, despite the radical right's expectation that martial law would be imposed at the stroke of midnight on Dec. 31, New Year's Day arrived without bringing disaster.

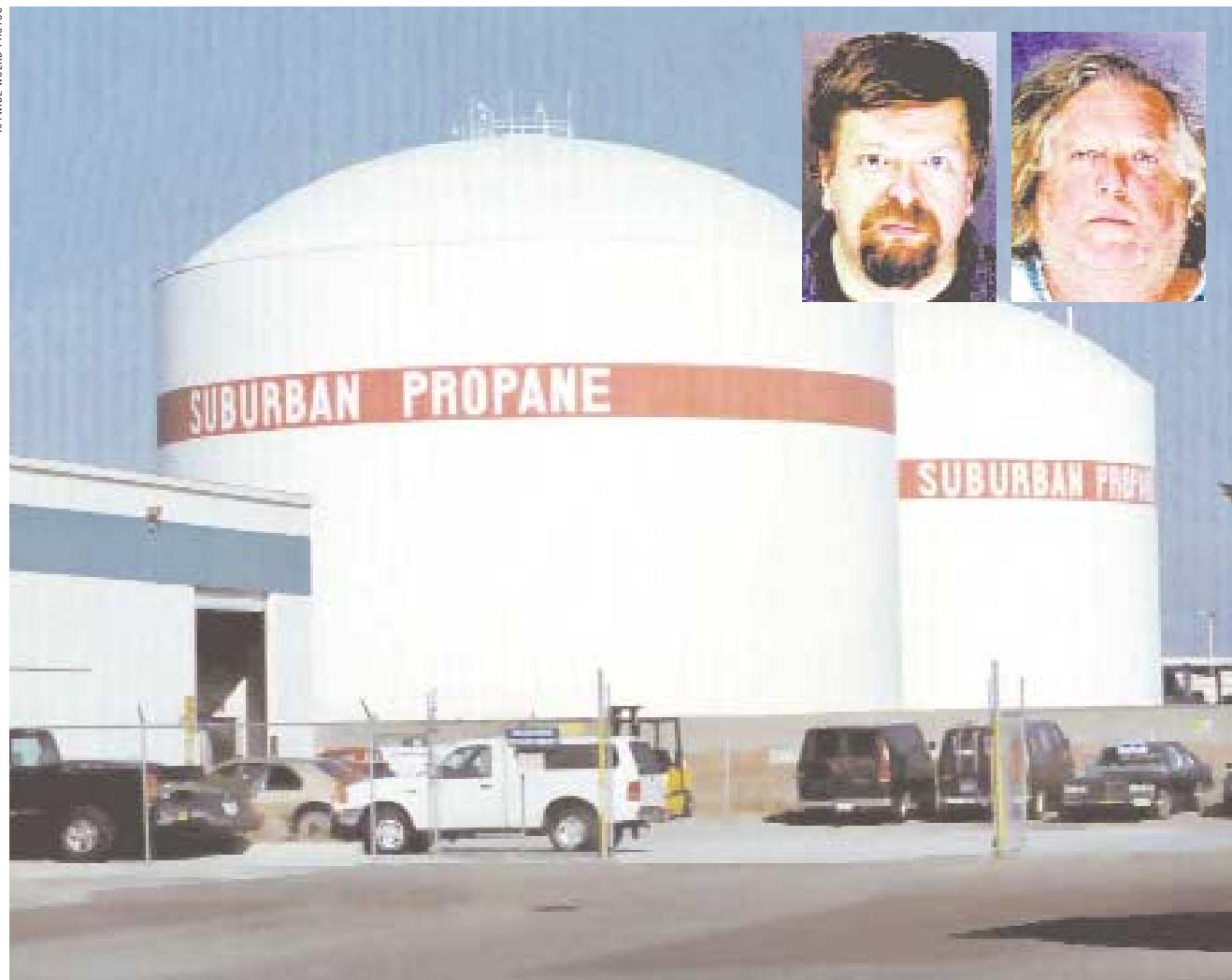
It wasn't for lack of expectation. Some extremists — especially adherents of the anti-Semitic and millennially oriented Christian Identity religion — believed the date change would bring the Biblical end times. Many more thought that the "New World Order" would use a societal breakdown caused by the Y2K computer bug as an excuse to undertake mass arrests of American patriots.

'Just Stay in the Foxhole'

Two measures may have helped prevent violence.

In November, the FBI released its Project Megiddo report, an evaluation of the potential for terrorist violence around the millennium date change. Although the report was initially intended for law enforcement

AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTO
Vikki Crosby is one of thousands of Americans who stockpiled supplies in anticipation of social collapse brought on by the Y2K computer bug.



agencies alone, it was made public after a few days. Ironically, that release probably had the effect of frightening many radical groups, who feared it was a softening-up measure to prepare the American public for the mass arrests of dissidents.

Secondly, as year's end approached, authorities arrested several purported plotters in California, Florida and Texas. While many details of those cases remain unclear, they may have stymied New Year's Eve bombing plots.

In the end, only two major incidents were reported on New Year's Eve. Unknown perpetrators toppled an 80-foot electrical tower in Bend, Ore., in what the FBI initially termed "malicious mischief." Others bombed an electrical transformer in upstate New York. Neither attack caused major disruptions.

Twenty-eight days before year's end, officials arrested two men — Kevin Patterson (left) and Charles Kiles — in an alleged plot to blow up these huge tanks in order to kick start a revolution.

Mainly, extremists cowered in their bunkers.

"Just stay in the foxhole and keep your head down," was the way that "Bullish" put it in a Dec. 10 e-mail. "[W]e are in a box," former militia leader J.J. Johnson wrote around the same time, after the release of the Megiddo report. "We have been cornered. We have been ambushed." Six days later, Johnson e-mailed an alert to "all units," with news of arrests and law enforcement infiltration of various groups. Among other things, he warned them to avoid illegal weapons violations. "There are to be NO 'offensive' operations or criminal actions planned," he added.

Still, in Arizona, California, Florida, Indiana and Texas, December was a busy month for some law enforcement agencies.

Starting the Revolution

On Dec. 3, near Sacramento, Calif., authorities uncovered an alleged plot to blow up two 12-million-gallon propane tanks, a television tower and an electrical substation. FBI agents said that Kevin Patterson, 42, and Charles Kiles, 49, hoped to provoke an insurrection against the government. Illegal weapons and explosives, along with manuals with titles like *Disruptive Terror* and *Deadly Brew: Advanced Improvised Explosives*, were found in the men's homes.

Kiles had been convicted in 1992 of weapons violations, and once reportedly led a now-defunct militia group. Patterson was reportedly involved with the extremist Republic of Texas and other Texas antigovernment groups. Court documents also describe Patterson as an illegal methamphetamine "cook," and say that the alleged plot was put off when one of the men decided to wait to "see what happened in California at the end of the millennium." *The Reno (Nev.) Gazette-Journal* reported that the two men had attended the Reno Gun Show in November and may have been planning an attack on a Reno clinic where abortions are performed.

Five days after the California arrests, authorities charged Donald Beauregard — the former leader of a militia coalition called the Southeastern States Alliance — with plotting to steal explosives from National Guard armories. According to the federal indictment, Beauregard was conspiring to blow up power lines to St. Petersburg, Fla., and Atlanta; intended to kill a militia member he suspected of being an informant; and helped train other extremists how to manufacture explosives.

At around the same time, officials in Muncie, Ind., say they were contacted by FBI agents who warned them the "Delaware County Army of God" was threatening to kill local judges and law enforcement officials by the end of the year.

'Partying on the Titanic'

Explosives seemed high on many people's Christmas lists:

- On Dec. 13, more than 750 pounds of fuel-soaked ammonium nitrate, 250 pounds of dynamite, 6,000 feet of detonation cord and about 20 blasting caps disappeared from a remote mining camp near Flagstaff, Ariz.. No arrests were made.
- Around Dec. 24, 200 pounds of dynamite, gunpowder and the military explosive C-4 were stolen from a police bomb squad bunker outside Fresno, Calif. But sheriff's deputies recovered the missing explosives within days, and said their sus-

Supplies like these were bought by the gross in the run-up to the millennial date change.

pects were teenagers with no apparent links to antigovernment groups.

- On Dec. 27, Texas police found 50 pounds of ammonium nitrate, a coil of detonation fuse, a dozen guns, a plastic explosives manual and a copy of *The Turner Diaries* — a race war fantasy novel written by neo-Nazi William Pierce — in the apartment of an American Airlines aircraft mechanic. Officials said that despite the white supremacist literature they found, they had no evidence directly linking Jere Wayne Haney, 42, to extremist groups.

- On Dec. 30, sheriff's deputies in Sacramento County, Calif., arrested Gary Drake, 29, and Brian Hogan, 28, for allegedly making 13 pipe bombs. Both were linked to a small white supremacist gang, but no evidence of a Y2K-related plot was found.

So what now? Experts say that even though the date change has passed, extremist groups will almost inevitably become fixated on a new date or dates. This reaction is part of what Robert Jay Lifton, an expert in apocalypticism, calls the "intolerance of cognitive dissonance" — the

refusal of those with apocalyptic expectations to admit that they were wrong.

"When an apocalyptic event fails to occur, people are stunned and struggle to interpret that failure. If they're following the Book of Revelation ... they say, well, the mathematical calculation was wrong. It will occur in a year or 10 years," Lifton says. "The millennial turn doesn't begin or end at a single moment."

For instance, leaders of Aryan Nations, a neo-Nazi group that follows Identity theology, have been saying for some time that the millennium begins in 2001. Others, many of whom have made fortunes selling survival goods, also are extending the date.

"This writer has sources within the defense establishment," survivalist Don McAlvaney confides in his January newsletter, "who believe the government is presently conducting a massive disinformation campaign and lying regarding Y2K on a scale unprecedented in U.S. history." Should anyone miss McAlvaney's point, they need only refer to the headline over his article: "Still Partying on the Titanic." ▲



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTO

‘Paying the Price’



After four years as a player on the radical right, a Washington, D.C., consultant says he wants to come clean

Todd Blodgett, 39, began working in Republican campaigns while still in his early teens, and eventually landed jobs in the Reagan White House press office, the Bush-Quayle election committee and several state GOP campaigns. In 1995, Blodgett says he was approached by Willis Carto, a long-time anti-Semite and stalwart of America's extreme right, and went to work for him as a marketing consultant. In the next four years, he would meet and work with other extremists including the notorious William Pierce, leader of the neo-Nazi National Alliance. After his role as a broker for Pierce was revealed in the *Intelligence Report*, Blodgett says his world began to collapse. In short order, he approached the magazine hoping, he said, to redeem himself publicly. While he did not disclose all details of his business dealings, Blodgett did offer some revealing glimpses of his former world.

INTELLIGENCE REPORT Let's start out by discussing your motivations in approaching the *Intelligence Report*. When we wrote about you in the fall of 1999, we discussed your role in helping William Pierce land control of Resistance Records, America's premier racist rock label. You've also been associated with other key radical figures in the recent past. Why are you talking to us now? And what were your reasons for your past associations?

BLODGETT Truthfully, the answer is I was very opportunistically inclined. It was business — strictly business — and now I'm paying the price for it, and I'm not happy about it. I was stiffed by Willis Carto to the tune of about \$78,000, and I'm angry. My wife and my parents are not happy about the

Washington Post [which ran an article recapitulating the earlier *Intelligence Report* story], and I want to get past that.

I'm not a hateful person, and I'm not a Holocaust denier [like Carto, who founded Liberty Lobby and other anti-Semitic organizations]. I've been threatened with beheading, and had the office next to mine torn up by a Skinhead — the same Skinhead I ended up paying off with \$2,000 in the company of armed guards. I didn't want to come home some night and find my house burning down.

If someone who has the views of Willis Carto or William Pierce came to me now and offered me ten times as much as I made before, I would not take it. I still have some good clients, and I'm working with them. I want to redeem myself in the eyes of my friends and my clients.

IR Let's talk about how you got to Washington from Iowa [where Blodgett's father, Republican Gary B. Blodgett, is currently serving his fourth term as assistant majority leader], the state you grew up in.

BLODETT I got into politics when I was 14 or 15 years old. I volunteered for the 1976 Reagan campaign, and I also volunteered while I was in college for the '80 Reagan campaign. After I graduated in 1983, I went to work for the re-election campaign of Sen. Roger Jepsen, who lost in the fall of 1984. At that point, I lobbied the soon-to-be former senator and Neil Reagan, the president's brother, whom I'd met earlier. About a week after the election, I had a job in the press office of the Reagan White House.

I worked there until the fall of 1986, when I was offered a job at a marketing firm that more than doubled my salary. I wanted to get more involved in business and marketing. That was also the year I met Willis, at some society reception. He put me down for a subscription to *The Spotlight* [Carto's conspiracy-minded tabloid], and from time to time he would call me for lunch, maybe three times in the '80s and probably



"I mean, Willis [Carto] will not change. It's like, find a problem, sit in an editorial board meeting and find some way to blame Israel for it."

twice in the early '90s. Anyway, I worked at the marketing firm until early 1988.

That year, I joined the Bush campaign, where I worked as a domestic policy analyst, specializing in what we called "wedge" issues — gun control, welfare abuse, capital punishment, crime — the types of issues conducive to getting working-class whites to either not vote, or vote Republican. I went on to work for the Republican National Committee, where I was assigned to two campaigns in Texas.

IR So how did you start to enter the world of the radical right?

BLODETT Republicans lost a lot of seats in 1990 and were kind of on the defensive and I just decided I was tired of pol-

itics. So I employed my skills as a salesman and advertising writer with a California entrepreneur who was and is the owner of *Slick Times*, a kind of Clinton lampoon. In January 1995, I decided to start my own consulting company. In the meantime, Willis Carto had been contacting me to come work for him. I named a price I thought he'd never meet — \$3,500 a month — and sure enough, he agreed. He also gave me an assistant.

IR What was your role with Carto?

BLODETT It became obvious *The Spotlight* was in real trouble — advertising revenue was flat, circulation was down, the readership was aging. They didn't know how to promote it. My job was to try to bring the publication back to life. *The Spotlight* became the exclusive client of my agency; at the same time, I also was a liaison to other populist and racist publications. Why did I do it? Very simple. The more people who take *The Spotlight*, the more I charge for ads and the more ads I sell, the more commissions I make.

Willis was also having me meet with high-dollar donors. On just one weekend, I brought back \$60,000 in donations, and there were many others. I would get 20% of the donations I brought in. But one of the main ways he brought in money was pledges from members of the Board of Policy of Liberty Lobby [the board is a high-dollar "advisory" group for *The Spotlight*]. There are now 13,500 people on that board, and I would say they generate, all told, a couple of million dollars a year — I'd say between \$1.6 million and the low twos. He also gets money from estates when people die and from trusts, that sort of thing.

IR Who were *The Spotlight's* readers?

BLODETT Archie Bunker in a nursing home. I mean, John Wayne subscribed to *The Spotlight*. FDR's son-in-law was the chairman of the Board of Policy for many years; Eddie Albert, who was in "Green Acres," was on the Board of Policy, too. There are a lot of people who buy *Spotlight* [which often carries ads

and stories about unconventional medicines and the like] for non-political reasons: These are the people who think they need to know that General Motors is building a car that runs on Aunt Jemima syrup, that sort of thing. You've got people that are health-food nuts, too. So not everyone that takes the newspaper is going to be politically in sync with it. But most of them probably are.

IR What was the editorial process like at *The Spotlight*?

BLODGETT *The Spotlight's* editorial direction serves its readership well, but it also precludes it from being able to expand that readership. I mean, Willis will not change. It's like, find a problem, sit in an editorial meeting and find some way to blame Israel for it. The latest issue I saw was blaming Israel for downing John F. Kennedy Jr.'s plane.

Once in a while, they're right, like when they said Jonathan Pollard, the spy, was working for Israel. But as my father might say, even a blind hog will find an occasional acorn. Even when they're right, they probably don't have any basis. They just make the assumption and present it as fact. And it seems like they always go to some trailer park and talk to some heavyset lady in a beehive hairdo who was in the middle of working on her Hamburger Helper casserole when all of a sudden this UFO showed up.

Still, there are some very decent people who read *The Spotlight*. They might be narrow-minded, but they're not bad people. They're patriotic, they're often veterans — basically Norman Rockwell kind of people. I think Carto has conned a lot of these people. They just aren't aware of all that he stands for.

IR How did Carto treat you personally?

BLODGETT Willis and Elisabeth Carto never had any children. And Willis took a liking to me and treated me very well — at least until late September 1998, when we had a very acrimonious dispute that resulted in my getting all my stuff out of the office [at the Liberty Lobby building in Washington, D.C.] in a matter of hours.



"There are certain people out there that when somebody speaks up for what they advocate, they give you money. [Willis] Carto realized the value of espousing a lost cause."

Willis always had people there that were just a bunch of yes-men, or yes-ladies, people who probably could not get a decent job any place else. If you're loyal to Willis and you know about the life and times of Josef Mengele [the Auschwitz extermination camp doctor known as "the angel of death"], you've got a job. I wasn't like that. He once said to me, "You're the brightest guy here, and you're the only one who really has the connections we can use. Once I'm

finished with all my legal stuff [Carto has been embroiled for years in a legal and financial battle with former employees], I could have you kind of run the show." But my goal in life was never to be the next Willis Carto.

IR Carto's been described as something of a dinosaur in the movement. But you've said he was able to raise a great deal of money. Can you give us an example?

BLODGETT There was a bash in Ohio in October of 1997. We only mailed to people on our lists within a 60-mile radius of the zip codes in Canton, and there were still people who came from 200 miles away.

I've done advance work for congressional candidates, senatorial candidates, incumbent senators and congressmen, even presidential candidates, and I have never seen an event without any secondary mailings or telephone follow-ups where we were able to get that kind of return. We thought we'd have about 100 people; there were maybe 300. They came to hear Willis speak, shake his hand, get a photo. They gave him a standing ovation. And we got a check for \$20,000 and a lot of cash.

IR Do you have a sense of how and why Carto got into the radical right?

BLODGETT He told me that he was never racially conscious at all — "except," and this is a quote, "for the normal stuff, like hating niggers" — until he worked for Procter & Gamble as a bill collector in California in the early '50s. And he said Jewish people were even better than the blacks at avoiding having to pay. I think a lot of his attitudes were formed in the days of the White Citizens Councils, after the 1954 Supreme Court decision [outlawing "separate but equal" public schools].

Some former chairman of a council formed a committee to raise money to send the blacks back to Africa. That's when Willis first realized the [monetary] value of basically harping on an issue even though there's no political saliency, even though you're not going to get anywhere politically. He goes out there and says, "I want money to get rid of these people," and there are certain

people out there that when somebody speaks up for what they advocate, they give you money. Carto realized the value of espousing a lost cause: there's money in it.

I asked him one time, "Do you really think you're going to succeed at what you're trying to do?" And he said no. He said, "It's the only thing I can do. I have no hobbies except my garden. I don't have any children." He knows there's no way he's ever going to be influential like he once was. He also once said, "Todd, the problem we have is that everybody on our side is stupid." That's what he said.

IR What was your dispute with Carto about?

BLODGETT I'd rather not get into the specifics. Essentially, he owes me a lot of money. But my lawyer would prefer I just talk in general terms about this.

IR Okay. Let's briefly revisit your role in the Resistance Records deal.

BLODGETT In 1996, [Resistance co-founder] George Burdi sent Carto a fax requesting a loan of around \$100,000, and Carto asked me to meet with him in Canada. But Burdi couldn't get over the border, so that deal never came off. Later, in the spring of 1997, Carto asked me to go up to Detroit [where Resistance was then headquartered] and meet with them. A week after I came back, I heard there had been a raid [on Resistance offices for failure to pay state sales taxes].

That's all that happened until the spring of '98, when Jason Snow [another co-founder who now controlled the company] contacted me wanting to know if I would talk to Willis about buying the company. We did talk, and I met later with Jason to hammer out the details. We agreed that Carto would take it over. He would buy 60 [out of 100] shares at \$1,000 a share — 30 right then through Carto's Foundation for Economic Liberty [FEL], and a warrant for another 30 to be bought by the end of '98. Plus, Jason would get a job on *The Spotlight* payroll for \$30,000 a year.

Jason was going to sell another 25 shares to another of Willis' entities, but it was that point that Carto filed for



"I think [William] Pierce will take Resistance [Records] to another level. With some good bands and some favorable press, this could be a multimillion-dollar-per-year operation."

bankruptcy. So I ended up buying those 25. Then, after my break with Willis, a Skinhead named Eric Fairburn who had threatened Carto — the same one who left a message on my answering machine threatening to behead me — was given nine of Carto's shares. He owed me some money, and he ended up signing those over to me. Carto, mean-

while, had decided he wasn't going to honor the warrant to buy 30 more shares, so those shares went back to Jason Snow. So by November 1998, I owned 34 shares, FEL owned 21, and Jason had 45. Then, last May, I was approached by some emissaries of Dr. Pierce.

IR So how did Pierce get Resistance?

BLODGETT Pierce [a longtime Carto enemy] would not buy Carto's [FEL's] shares direct. He told Jason Snow to buy those, and then he bought all 66 shares Jason had at about \$1,800 apiece. He bought mine for substantially less. I had about \$25,000 invested, and I got about half that. That's how it was done.

In all, if you count all the money Pierce put into Resistance and *Resistance* magazine, he probably spent close to \$250,000 of his own money.

IR What do you think the future for Resistance is now?

BLODGETT Put it like this. You can burn CDs for pennies apiece, and sell 'em for 20 bucks. And unlike Carto, Pierce's people are dedicated and they understand that there are things that can be done that will make the company more valuable.

I think Pierce will take Resistance to another level. With some good bands and some favorable press, this could be a multimillion-dollar-per-year operation. Eventually, it could be a multi-million-dollar in terms of net profit, as opposed to gross sales. If you count all the people who bought CDs, [Resistance jacket] patches and all, they have a mailing list of maybe 25,000 people to work with.

IR Do you have any final thoughts about all this?

BLODGETT These people, the Liberty Lobby types, and frankly a lot of the violent Skinhead types, do nothing to help the conservative movement. I am not repudiating conservatism. But I am also not, and never have been, one to advocate or condone violence. When I went to Carto, I had no idea what he was all about. Today, I am sorry I ever got wrapped up in this kind of environment. ▲

Hate-Crime Laws Face Challenges

Efforts to broaden the reach of hate-crime legislation stalled in 1999 as lawmakers in most states and at the federal level balked at extending protection to those victimized on the basis of their sexual orientation, gender, or disability. In the same year, the U.S. Supreme Court agreed to hear two cases that may erode the reach of existing hate-crime legislation.

Today, 40 states have hate-crime statutes. The statutes typically cover race, religion, or ethnicity, but many do not apply to crimes based on sexual orientation, gender, or disability. Of the 40 laws, only 22 address hate crimes based on sexual orientation; just 18 include gender; and only 22 address disability.

Despite the brutal anti-gay murders of Matthew Shepard and Billy Jack Gaither, all the 1999 attempts to include sexual orientation in state hate-crime bills failed save one. While 26 states considered hate-crime bills that would have added sexual orientation as a protected category, Missouri was the only state to adopt it. Notably, both Wyoming and Alabama — the states where the murders of Shepard and Gaither occurred — failed to pass hate-crime bills including sexual orientation.

Politics and the Law

In a political climate that is probably typical of many states, the North Carolina legislature considered and rejected the Matthew Shepard Memorial Act, a bill that would have extended the North Carolina hate-crime law to cover sexual orientation. According to M.K. Cullen of Equality North Carolina, even state Democrats did not want to support the Act "because they feared it could be used against them. Their support for the Act could cause them to lose the next election, and that could affect their ability to influence the redistricting to be done after the 2000 census."

Bills including gender also fared poorly. Of the 18 states to consider hate-crime measures that included gender, only two states — California and Missouri — passed



Former Virginia Tech student Christy Brzonkala claimed her rapists violated the Violence Against Women Act.

bills into law. According to Jackie Payne of the now Legal Defense and Education Fund, gender is a sticking point because "people fear that cases will flood the courts."

Hate-crime legislation covering disability also failed to achieve much success. Disability does not evoke the antagonistic response that sexual orientation and gender do, and many view crimes against the disabled as "crimes of opportunity" that do not warrant special hate-crime legislation, according to disabilities advocates. Of the 19 states to consider hate-crime bills that included disability, only two states — again, California and Missouri — enacted legislation.

Those close to the political scene in California credited that state's passage of an expanded hate-crime penalty enhancement law to the fact that a sympathetic Democratic governor, Gray Davis, had replaced Republican Pete Wilson, who had threatened to veto the bill.

Missouri State Sen. William Clay, sponsor of Missouri's broad hate-crime legislation, said he was "committed to getting the bill passed and made that clear." He saw lobbying efforts, as well as the support of the governor, as key factors in the bill's passage. "The gay and lesbian community, as well as advocates for the rights of women and the disabled, made a hard

case for the bill and were vital to its success," Clay said.

Attempts to expand hate-crime legislation also were defeated at the federal level. To the disappointment of many advocates, Congress considered but failed to pass the Hate Crime Prevention Act of 1999 (HCPA), a law that would have added sexual orientation, gender, and disability to existing federal hate-crime law. Sen. Trent Lott's press secretary stated that "every crime is a hate crime" and Congress should not legislate that "someone's murder or abuse is more important than someone else's" — a rationale that, taken to its natural conclusion, would eliminate the need for almost every hate-crime law already on the books.

Two Key Cases

The two hate-crime cases that were accepted by the Supreme Court in 1999 are *Brzonkala v. Morrison*, 169 F.3d 820 (4th Cir.), cert. granted, 120 S. Ct. 11 (1999), and *Apprendi v. New Jersey*, 731 A.2d 485, cert. granted, 120 S. Ct. 525 (1999). In *Brzonkala*, a federal statute, the Violence Against Women Act, came under attack in Virginia. Passed in 1994, the Act creates a private right of action for victims of gender-motivated violence. The plaintiff claimed that the defendants violated the Act when they allegedly gang-raped her. Citing recent Supreme Court cases that have restricted Congress' authority to legislate in areas traditionally left to the states, the Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit eventually ruled that Congress did not have the authority to pass the Act under either the Commerce Clause or Section 5 of the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution.

The Supreme Court heard arguments in *Brzonkala* in January and is expected to render a decision by June. Whether the Fourth Circuit's decision is upheld or overturned, the case surely will affect future congressional efforts to implement federal hate-crime legislation.

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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 fourth quarter of 1999 (a listing for the entire year may be found on the Southern Poverty Law Center's web site, www.splcenter.org) . Because hate crimes often are not reported, this listing understates the true level of bias incidents.

ARKANSAS

Russellville • Oct. 2, 1999

Neo-Nazi National Alliance literature was inserted into newspaper boxes.

CALIFORNIA

Alpine • Oct. 6, 1999

Stickers bearing swastikas and the addresses of Aryan Nations and White Aryan Resistance were left at several businesses.

Brentwood • Nov. 7, 1999

A cross was chemically burned into the lawn of a black family.

Castro • Sept. 22, 1999

A swastika was spray-painted on the sidewalk in front of the Jerusalem Shoppe.

Lancaster • Nov. 4, 1999

Randall Rojas, 24, was found guilty of first-degree murder in the 1995 racially motivated beating death of a black man.

Lodi • Sept. 22, 1999

Swastikas were spray-painted over a mural at a Mexican grocery store.

Merced • Sept. 2, 1999

Jeffrey A. Rogers, 23, was charged with assault for allegedly knocking an elderly black man to the ground and making racist comments.

Pomona • Sept. 27, 1999

Brian Dubrin, 23, was charged with allegedly making terrorist threats against a black man.

Redondo Beach • Sept. 17, 1999

Two Latino men, John Mailander, 34, and Michael Nunez, 18, were charged with suspicion of making terrorist threats, committing a hate

crime and assault with a deadly weapon.

San Jose • Sept. 23, 1999

Victor Q. Podbreger, 19, was charged with arson, possession of a destructive device and hate crime enhancements for allegedly firebombing a Roman Catholic judge's home in August.

San Luis Obispo • Oct. 8, 1999

Dustin Ashford, 20, was sentenced to one year in prison for attacking a black man.

Santa Cruz • Sept. 14, 1999

Jamie Tyner, Justis Earle and William Mehlenbacher, all 18, and a 17-year-old girl were charged with assault for allegedly attacking two Latinos and yelling racial epithets.

Santa Rosa • Sept. 20, 1999

Four youths allegedly fired shots from a pellet gun toward a woman whose car had diversity and rainbow stickers on it. The youths also allegedly yelled derogatory comments regarding the woman's sexual orientation.

Stockton • Nov. 7, 1999

A swastika and other graffiti were spray-painted at a Roman Catholic church and on religious statues.

Ukiah • Sept. 29, 1999

A 17-year-old was charged with allegedly attacking a black teenager while shouting racial slurs in two separate incidents.

Van Nuys • Sept. 13, 1999

Nazi Low Rider member Shaun Broderick, 19, was convicted of manufacturing and possession of methamphetamine for sale.

Visalia • Sept. 16, 1999

Michael McGee, 23, was sentenced to 32 months in prison for shouting racial slurs at a black man.

COLORADO

Colorado Springs • Oct. 1, 1999

Neo-Nazi National Alliance literature was tacked to telephone poles and inserted into newspapers.

Denver • Oct. 17, 1999

A swastika was spray-painted at a synagogue.

Ft. Collins • Oct. 15, 1999

Hate messages were chalked across the student plaza at Colorado State University.

CONNECTICUT

Milford • Nov. 5, 1999

Wilford Chaisson, 42, and his wife, Michelle, 41, were charged with allegedly shouting racial slurs and threatening a black family.

New Britain • Sept. 22, 1999

Jeff Cyr, 18, and Greg DeLuzio and Scott Larocque, both 19, were charged with allegedly telling a black student they would drag him behind a truck the same way a black man was killed in Texas in 1998.

Norwalk • Oct. 4, 1999

Racist graffiti was written at a day care center.

Redding • Sept. 29, 1999

Glenn Morefield Jr., 31, was charged with allegedly burning a cross in a yard.

Stamford • Sept. 27, 1999

Medical waste marked with anti-Semitic messages was left at two synagogues.

Wallingford • Oct. 11, 1999

Racial slurs were spray-painted on the walls of a Habitat for Humanity building.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Washington • Oct. 4, 1999

David P. Nugent, 31, and Michael J. Burns, 27, were indicted on charges relating to verbal assaults on several black people after the two men allegedly shouted racial epithets and threats as they drove by a crowded intersection in July.

FLORIDA

Boca Raton • Sept. 20, 1999

One hundred lockers at a high school were spray-painted with hate graffiti.

Fort Lauderdale • Oct. 4, 1999

Jody Lee Mathis, 28, a local leader of the neo-Nazi World Church of the Creator, pleaded guilty to federal charges that he sold a stolen shotgun.

Jacksonville • Oct. 11, 1999

Shawn Troy Hicks, 19, was charged with allegedly burning a cross after an argument with a group of black people.

Miami • Sept. 17, 1999

Lloyd Shank, 73, was charged with sending an anonymous publication exposing persons to hatred, contempt or prejudicial ridicule. He allegedly sent unsigned, anti-Semitic letters to county commissioners.

Orange City • Nov. 17, 1999

A group of white men allegedly shouted racial slurs and attacked a black couple.

Tallahassee • Oct. 29, 1999

Lawrence M. Lombardi, 41, pleaded not guilty to charges that he carried an explosive device and placed two bombs

on the campus of Florida A&M, a historically black college

West Pasco • Sept. 21, 1999

Jessica Albieri, 24, was charged with allegedly sending threatening letters to a Jewish community center.

GEORGIA**Atlanta • Nov. 2, 1999**

Swastikas and anti-Semitic messages were spray-painted on a synagogue.

IDAHO**Sandpoint • Oct. 18, 1999**

Anti-Semitic Christian Identity literature was mailed to about 5,000 residents.

ILLINOIS**Charleston • Sept. 28, 1999**

William J. Riley, 27, was charged with a hate crime for allegedly yelling racial epithets at a woman and kicking her in the neck.

Decatur • Oct. 7, 1999

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

Decatur • Nov. 15, 1999

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

Decatur • Nov. 21, 1999

Ten members of the World Church of the Creator rallied at a park.

Evanston • Oct. 17, 1999

World Church of the Creator literature was distributed on the campus of Northwestern University.

Farmington • Oct. 15, 1999

Members of the American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan distributed literature throughout the city.

Highland Park • Nov. 2, 1999

A judge ruled that an anti-littering law does not violate the free speech rights of Justin Frogge, 18, and Christine Weiss, 20, who are accused of distributing World Church of the Creator literature.

La Grange • Aug. 3, 1999

World Church of the Creator literature was distributed throughout the city.

Palatine • Oct. 8, 1999

William G. Gustafson, 35, pleaded guilty to yelling slurs at his Hispanic neighbor and threatening to kill her. Gustafson was placed on 30 months of probation.

Wonder Lake • Nov. 9, 1999

Jonathan Kriske, 19, Kyle Brockett, 17, David Moran, 18, and a 15-year-old were charged with allegedly burning a cross at the home of an interracial couple.

INDIANA**Elkhart • Nov. 17, 1999**

Jason E. Powell, 19, and Alex Witmer, 18, were charged with the murder of a 19-year-old black man. Witmer allegedly told authorities he was a member of the white supremacist prison gang the Aryan Brotherhood.

IOWA**Cedar Rapids • Oct. 31, 1999**

Neo-Nazi World Church of the Creator literature was distributed.

Iowa City • Sept. 10, 1999

National Alliance literature was mailed to the student government president of the University of Iowa.

Webster City • Sept. 10, 1999

Melvin L. Hanus Jr., 36, was charged with suspicion of making terrorist threats, committing a hate crime and assault with a deadly weapon.

West Branch • Nov. 5, 1999

A 16-year-old was charged with allegedly burning a cross into the lawn of an interracial couple.

KANSAS**Andover • Oct. 8, 1999**

Racial slurs were spray-painted on the window of a 17-year-old black student's car.

Wichita • Sept. 1, 1999

Three men were sentenced for hate crime convictions resulting from a 1994 attack on a black man in a bar. John Edwards, 28, was sentenced to 18 months in federal prison without parole, followed by three years of supervised release. Kevin Phillips, 25, was placed on three years of probation and six months of home detention and fined \$5,000 and John Klein, 31, was placed on two years of probation.

KENTUCKY**Pikeville • Nov. 8, 1999**

Tommy Hall Jr. and Randy Handshoe, both 25; Brandon Bartley, 20; and Johnny R. Mullins, 24, pleaded guilty to burning a cross in the yard of a black woman.

MAINE**Biddeford • Oct. 31, 1999**

Racist graffiti was sprayed on the fence of a black mayoral candidate.

MARYLAND**Bowie • Oct. 14, 1999**

Brian Swetnam, 22, was indicted by a federal grand jury for allegedly burning two crosses outside a high school in 1997.

Reliance • Oct. 28, 1999

The letters "KKK" were spray-painted on the doors of a black church.

MASSACHUSETTS**Boston • Oct. 21, 1999**

Michael Day and Sean Beatty, both 19, pleaded guilty to assault and battery, civil rights violations and destruction of property in a 1997 attack on their Hispanic neighbors.

Brookline • Nov. 2, 1999

Anti-gay and anti-Semitic slurs were etched into a sidewalk.

Swampscott • Oct. 6, 1999

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

MISSISSIPPI**Philadelphia • Sept. 18, 1999**

Eight members of the American Knights of the KKK held a rally.

MONTANA**Superior • Sept. 4, 1999**

Seven members of the neo-Nazi World Church of the Creator held a rally.

NEBRASKA**Omaha • Oct. 28, 1999**

A racial epithet and a swastika were spray-painted on a white family's house.

NEW JERSEY**Bridgewater • October 1999**

A 16-year-old high school student was charged with allegedly sending anti-Semitic and racist e-mails to more than 100 classmates.

Mount Holly • Sept. 28, 1999

Jeffrey Harvey and Jason Gancarz, both 22, and Daniel J. Sentak, 23, pleaded guilty to carving a swastika in a cornfield and harassing residents because they were black, Asian-Indian or handicapped.

Parsippany • Oct. 5, 1999

Christopher M. Rosende, 22, Keith Wierzbicki, 18, and Michael Lorenzo, 21, were charged with shouting slurs at an interracial couple and then chasing them in their car.

South Plainfield • Oct. 4, 1999

Racist symbols and phrases were spray-painted at a school administration building.

NEW YORK**Albany • Nov. 9, 1999**

A black janitor was charged with harassment after he allegedly admitted leaving hate notes signed by the Ku Klux Klan on the doors of two lawmakers.

Centereach • Sept. 21, 1999

Joseph Leocata, Bobbie Jo White and Raechal Dunham, all 26; Nicholas

FOR THE RECORD

Leocata, 21; and Steven Manganello, 21, were indicted for assault for allegedly attacking a black man and his two white friends at a bar.

Centereach • Nov. 1, 1999
Anti-black and anti-Semitic graffiti was scrawled on the walls of an elementary school classroom.

Greenburgh • Oct. 28, 1999
Two swastikas and other racist graffiti were spray-painted on a bulldozer parked in front of a black man's home.

New City • Sept. 4, 1999
Posters condemning Judaism were posted at a synagogue.

New York • Oct. 24, 1999
The American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan rallied.

Oakland Gardens • Sept. 16, 1999
Three swastikas were drawn in the area.

Whitestone • Nov. 14, 1999
A swastika was drawn on a wall of a community ambulance service.

NORTH CAROLINA
High Point • Sept. 23, 1999
Terry Rich, 31, was given five years of probation and ordered to perform 100 hours of community service for burning a cross on his black neighbor's lawn following a dispute in April.

Lincolnton • Sept. 28, 1999
Matthew Ezekial Stager, 27, was charged with allegedly spray-painting white supremacist messages on the walls of a high school.

OHIO
Anderson Township • Nov. 8, 1999
Neo-Nazi National Alliance and World Church of the Creator literature was left on the driveways of several homes.

Barberton • Oct. 7, 1999
A racial epithet was spray-painted on a black resident's town house.

Columbus • Sept. 11, 1999
About 40 members of the New Order Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, led by Grand Dragon L. C. Winfrey, rallied.

Parma • Oct. 1, 1999
Two boys, ages 15 and 18, admitted to delinquency by reason of ethnic intimidation, arson and aggravated menacing for burning a cross on a black family's lawn in 1998.

Piqua • Sept. 25, 1999
Members of the Knights of the White Kamellia passed out literature in front of City Hall.

OREGON
Corvallis • Nov. 5, 1999
Roderick Kennedy, 38, was charged with aggravated murder for allegedly beating a Hispanic man to death.

PENNSYLVANIA
Amity Township • Oct. 1, 1999
Neo-Nazi National Alliance literature was distributed in a neighborhood.

Center City • Nov. 5, 1999
John Thomas, 60, was charged with killing a gay man in October.

Fountain Hill • Oct. 21, 1999
Literature from the National Socialist Movement and the American Nazi

Party was left on the doorsteps of several residences.

Middletown • Oct. 5, 1999
Literature from the Allegiance to Progression of White America was tacked to telephone poles.

New Homestead • Oct. 11, 1999
A ball field was spray-painted with racist graffiti.

Philadelphia • Nov. 9, 1999
Joe Larose, 35, was convicted of three counts of ethnic intimidation, simple assault and possession of instrument of a crime for slipping a noose around a black co-worker's neck.

West Chester • Oct. 23, 1999
Racist graffiti was scrawled on a community center.

TENNESSEE
Jackson • Nov. 5, 1999
A cross was burned in a black man's yard.

TEXAS
Bryan • Sept. 23, 1999
Lawrence R. Brewer, 32, was sentenced to death by lethal injection for the 1998 dragging death of a black man on a rural road in Jasper.

VIRGINIA

Charlottesville • Sept. 27, 1999
Anti-Semitic graffiti was scrawled at a high school.

Leesburg • Nov. 18, 1999
Erin Whitcomb, 20, and Leroy Fryer, 22, were charged with allegedly painting swastikas on an area church. Whitcomb was also charged with conspiracy to deface a second church.

Virginia Beach • Oct. 6, 1999
A 16-year-old was sentenced to 60 days in a detention home for juveniles for his role in a July cross burning. A 15-year-old also pleaded guilty to the cross burning and conspiracy. Edgar R. Barfield, 24, has also been charged.

WASHINGTON

Port Angeles • Oct. 6, 1999
Three swastikas were spray-painted at the site of an upcoming anti-hate rally.

Puyallup • Oct. 16, 1999
Neo-Nazi World Church of the Creator literature was distributed citywide.

WISCONSIN

Waukesha • Nov. 11, 1999
Christopher J. Wallace, 18, was charged with allegedly assaulting a Korean-American teen and taunting him with racial slurs. ▲

Hate Laws Challenged

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New Jersey's hate-crime statute is challenged in *Apprendi*. The statute permits a judge to give an enhanced penalty if the prosecutor proves by a preponderance of the evidence that the defendant's act was motivated by the victim's race, color, gender, handicap, religion, sexual orientation or ethnicity. *N.J.S.A. S2C:44-3(e)*. The defendant, a white male, allegedly shot at the plaintiff's house, the only African American household in the neighborhood.

The defendant claimed that the victim's race played no role in his conduct, but the

judge decided otherwise. The defendant challenged the judge's decision by arguing that the motive in committing a crime should be considered by a jury rather than by a judge. He also argued that the evidence proving motive should have to satisfy the stricter reasonable doubt standard rather than the preponderance of the evidence standard currently in use. The New Jersey Supreme Court held the statute constitutional.

The Supreme Court is expected to decide *Apprendi* this year. The decision is likely to impact the structure of future hate-crime legislation. ▲

Denying the Holocaust

After suing a writer for calling him a 'Holocaust denier,' British historian David Irving finds himself on the defensive

David Irving says he tells it like it is.

The Holocaust — the genocide of some 6 million European Jews by the Nazis in World War II — is “a propaganda hoax by the British.” The notion that Auschwitz was a death camp fitted with gas chambers is “baloney, a legend,” he says. “I’m going to form an association,” Irving allegedly told a Canadian crowd in 1991, “of Auschwitz Survivors, Survivors of the Holocaust and Other Liars — or the ASSHOLS.”

But don’t call David Irving a Holocaust denier. American writer Deborah Lipstadt did, in her 1994 book *Denying the Holocaust: The Growing Assault on Truth and Memory*, and now Irving is suing her for libel in the London High Court.

The preferred term is “historical revisionist.”

In a case that is being watched around the world, Irving’s suit against Lipstadt and her publisher, Penguin Books, represents an important attempt to legitimize a version of history that virtually no serious historian agrees with. Essentially,

Lipstadt is being sued for calling the British historian, who is 62, a “Holocaust denier” and a “Hitler partisan” who falsifies history. The way Irving tells it, he is fighting for free speech and historical accuracy in the face of political correctness.

But very few others see him that way.

Irving has been banned from Australia, Austria, Canada, Germany, Italy, New Zealand and South Africa because of his views, which he has made known in 20 books and in speeches, often hosted by neofascists, around the world. He faces extradition by a German court for “inciting racial hatred.” Mainstream politicians and academics in both Europe and the United States have denounced him.

In the courtroom, Irving has found himself on the defensive as well. One key moment came in early February, when Lipstadt’s attorney, Richard Rampton, produced a poem that Irving had written in his personal diary in 1994. The ditty, Rampton said, was sung by Irving to his then 9-month-old daughter:



In London, David Irving is suing American scholar Deborah Lipstadt.

*I am a Baby Aryan,
Not Jewish or Sectarian.
I have no plans to marry an
Ape or Rastafarian.*

“Racist, Mr. Irving?” Rampton demanded in the heated exchange that followed the reading of Irving’s poem. “Anti-Semitic, Mr. Irving?”

“I don’t think so,” Irving replied.

Rampton: “Teaching your little child this kind of poison?”

Irving: “Do you think a 9-month-old can understand?”

“This poor little child is being taught a racist ditty by her perverted, racist father,” Rampton concluded. Retorted Irving: “I am not a racist.”

Those hearing the case, expected to last into March, have heard other damning evidence against Irving. Witnesses described how Irving had been hosted by both European and American neo-Nazi groups, including the National Alliance

and Liberty Lobby, America’s leading anti-Semitic organization. Others described speeches Irving has given in which he allegedly made racist and anti-Semitic remarks.

Irving, who dresses like a shabby professor, has not helped himself much outside court either. During a break, he told a Reuters reporter that Auschwitz facilities were fakes erected by Polish communists, and described the death camp as a “Disneyland for tourists.” In front of the reporter, he “explode[d] into expletives and rage” when a Gypsy child asked him for money.

And Irving denied being a racist, recounting how he had hired several non-white women — including a Barbadian, a Sri Lankan, a Punjabi and a Pakistani — as part of his “domestic staff.” They were all, he explained, “very attractive girls with very nice breasts.” ▲

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



Teaching Tolerance

Teaching Tolerance is an education program dedicated to helping teachers across the nation foster respect and understanding among their students.

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

The project's teaching kits *America's Civil Rights Movement* and *The Shadow of Hate* chronicle the history of intolerance in America and the struggle to overcome prejudice. A third kit, *Starting Small*, is aimed at helping early childhood educators teach tolerance. More than 200,000 kits have been distributed free of charge to schools and community organizations.

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



Law Center Litigation

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

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

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



Intelligence Project

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

The Center created Klanwatch in 1981 in response to a resurgence of Ku Klux Klan activity. Today, it tracks the activities of hundreds of racist and neo-Nazi groups, many of which are increasingly recruiting from a new generation. In 1994, after uncovering links between white supremacist organizations and the emerging antigovernment "Patriot" movement, the Center established the Militia Task Force. It currently monitors about 400 militia and other anti-government groups.

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



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