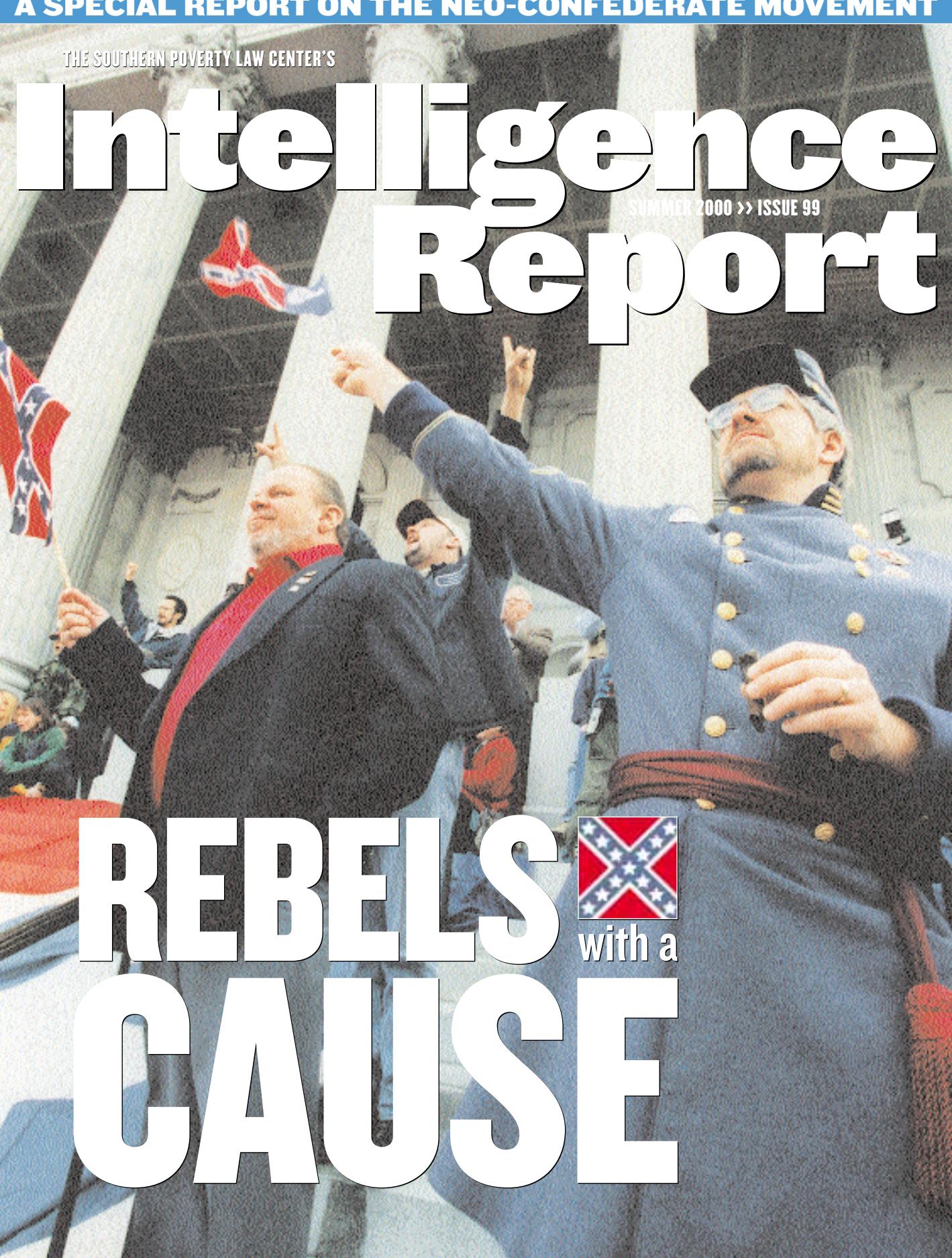


A SPECIAL REPORT ON THE NEO-CONFEDERATE MOVEMENT

THE SOUTHERN POVERTY LAW CENTER'S

Intelligence Report

SUMMER 2000 >> ISSUE 99



**REBELS
with a
CAUSE**



with a

Of Hate and Heritage



By Mark Potok, Editor

AS THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION OPENED in Philadelphia this summer, a small plane trailing a large banner circled the hall three times, drawing stares from many of those on the ground. As they looked up, bystanders could make out the colors of a 10-by-15-foot pennant — the stars and bars of the Confederate battle flag.

It was a symbolic moment, dramatizing the growing political presence of the burgeoning neo-Confederate movement. This is a movement that has grown every year since the mid-1990s, and one that more and more has taken on plainly white supremacist trappings and ideology. With a series of rallies to defend the Confederate flag, efforts to run a slate of candidates across the South and busy Internet sites, the movement is going strong.

The flying of the Confederate flag at the Republican convention was also a moment that underlined a political truism: White supremacists do not always come wearing Klan hoods, shaved heads or storm trooper outfits.

Sometimes, they boast business suits and Ph.D.s.

Indeed, as this "Rebels With a Cause" special issue of the *Intelligence Report* spells out, the neo-Confederate movement, largely dominated by academics, is rife with white supremacists and racist ideology. In the years since the formation of the League of the South in 1994, the movement has grown increasingly more radical. Where the League's leaders once emphasized the culture and history of the South, today they are publicly hostile to blacks and other minorities.

'What's Your Point?'

Certainly, not all of those who say they fight for "heritage, not hate" are closet racists. But a scene once dominated by Civil War battle reenactors and those who maintain Confederate monuments is turning increasingly ugly.

And that is not merely because they support the flag.

Michael Hill, president of the League of the South and probably the key ideologue of the movement, calls slavery "God-ordained," while other leaders in his group defend segregation as a policy that merely preserved the "integrity" of white Southerners as a group. In North Carolina, the League recently added a new "advisor" to its list of local officials — Steven Barry, a hard-line racist and official of the neo-Nazi National Alliance. The Council of Conservative Citizens (ccc), the other key group in the neo-Confederate movement, recently editorialized on its main web page about "greasy white yankee girls [who] make sure everyone notices their lust for black men." White supremacist lawyer Kirk Lyons

— a man who was married at the Idaho compound of the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations — has become a key player for the League and most of the other neo-Confederate groups. And these are only a few telling signs of a movement that almost admits its own racism.

"Let us not flinch when our enemies call us 'racists,'" Hill wrote on a private Internet posting recently. "Rather, just reply with, 'So, what's your point?'"

The evidence, described in detail in this issue, is clear. Both the League (named as a hate group for the first time in this issue) and the ccc (whose white supremacy was detailed in the Winter 1999 edition of the *Intelligence Report*) are plainly hate groups dominated by racism. And, sadly, these groups seem to be influencing more traditionally moderate groups like the Sons of Confederate Veterans.

Democracy and the Past

Supporting the neo-Confederate enterprise are historical revisionists, men such as Michael Hill who, like deniers of the Holocaust, are rewriting the history of the Civil War and the South. In their view — a view shared by virtually no serious historian — the Civil War had almost nothing to do with slavery.

The facts, of course, clearly belie that.

"American slavery was a human horror of staggering dimensions," is the way NAACP Board Chairman Julian Bond put it this July to his organization's convention — an event picketed by neo-Confederate groups. "It lasted 20 times longer than the Nazi Holocaust, killed 10 times as many people, and destroyed cultures on three continents. ... Two hundred and forty-six years of slavery were followed by 100 years of state-sanctioned discrimination, reinforced by public and private terror, ending only after a protracted struggle in 1965."

The danger is that the toxic views of Michael Hill and his co-religionists, increasingly public as the neo-Confederate movement grows, will come to be seen as just another interpretation of history. In reality, they are plainly false, and their propagation is merely the latest attack on American democracy.

"We hold it self evident that no class or color should be the exclusive rulers of this country," Frederick Douglass, 19th-century America's leading black intellectual, once said. "If there is such a ruling class, there must of course be a subject class, and when that condition is established, the government of the people, by the people, and for the people, will perish from the earth." ▲

CORRECTION The Spring 2000 edition of the *Intelligence Report* indicated that 9% of all hate crimes tallied by the FBI occurred on college campuses. In fact, that proportion of reported hate crimes occurred on campuses and in other school settings.



JENNIFER WARBURG

On the Cover The nation got its first real glimpse of a new social movement last January, at a rally held in Columbia, S.C., to defend the Confederate flag. This issue's special report, "Rebels With a Cause," describes a growing neo-Confederate movement that is rife with white supremacists and racist ideology. **Page 6**



JENNIFER WARBURG

A League of Their Own

The League of the South, a group with 9,000 members that has emerged at the forefront of the neo-Confederate movement, says it's not racist. But the evidence shows otherwise. **Page 13**



JENNIFER WARBURG

In the Lyons Den

Despite a lengthy history of extremism, Kirk Lyons, a white supremacist lawyer whose clients have been a "Who's Who" of the radical right, has become the lawyer for the neo-Confederate movement. **Page 18**



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTO

Remembering Reality

Like deniers of the Holocaust, neo-Confederates are mythologizing the history of the Jim Crow South. But a series of reopened murder cases recalls the bloody reality of American apartheid. **Page 40**

Intelligence Report

SUMMER 2000 >> ISSUE 99

Confederates in Black

In a bid to show it is not racist, the neo-Confederate movement produces a handful of black proponents with some unconventional ideas. **24**

The Neo-Confederates

A series of 14 group biographies describe the main organizational players in the neo-Confederate movement. **28**

White Lies

In an interview, a leading historian debunks a series of neo-Confederate myths about the antebellum South and the Civil War. **32**

Coloring Crime

A booklet purporting to show that whites have every reason to fear blacks is a propaganda piece based on faulty analysis. **37**

Clearing the Government

An independent counsel and a federal jury both find that the U.S. is not responsible for the deaths in Waco. **53**

Departments

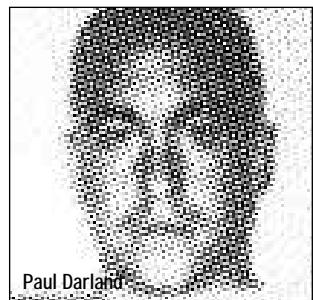
Intelligence Briefs	2
Hate Group Map	26
Legal Brief	49
For the Record	50

Militia Crimes

Taste for Topless Toppled Michigan Fugitive

For four years, one of Michigan's "Ten Most Wanted" eluded authorities seeking to apprehend him for the murder of a fellow militiaman. But in the end, Paul Darland's well-known taste in entertainment did him in. He faces extradition to Michigan after a stripper with whom he was comparing tattoos recognized him from an FBI poster that was placed in Fort Wayne, Ind., adult nightclubs.

Darland, a one-time bodyguard for militia figure Mark Koernke, had returned to his hometown of Fort Wayne, Indiana, after allegedly shooting Michael Gleason in the



Paul Darland

According to police, Stephenson and Darland began to suspect Gleason was spying on them for Koernke, with whom they'd recently had a falling-out. As a ruse, they allegedly enlisted Gleason's help in carving out a crude final resting-place for Koernke. Gleason met his end while digging what turned out to be his own grave.

Stephenson was sentenced in 1998 to a total of five to seven years after being convicted on charges of accessory after the fact to murder and felony firearms possession. Darland, 28, faces charges of murder, conspiracy to commit murder and firearms possession in

Michigan, along with a federal charge of unlawful flight to avoid prosecution.

Darland, who was living in Fort Wayne under an assumed name, has already been convicted in Indiana of false informing, a misdemeanor. He produced false identifications when police picked him up at the Fort Wayne nightclub and was arrested when they later recognized the sleight of hand.

The police apparently weren't the only ones Darland fooled. His wife and father-in-law, both government employees, said they were totally unaware of Darland's past and his true identity.

Klan Crimes

The Klan's Mr. Clean Gets Dirty

AP/WIDEWORLD PHOTO

As unit coordinator for the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan's Realm of Missouri, he worked hard to tidy up the group's reputation. But now, Michael A. Cuffley's own alleged dirty doings have caught up with him. The chief architect of the Klan's Adopt-A-Highway efforts in Missouri was returned to that state in June to

face charges of burglary and stealing by deceit.

After skipping his December 1999 court date, Cuffley, 42, made for Florida, ending up in the resort town of Fort Walton Beach. So he had to watch from afar as his Klan's Adopt-A-Highway signs went up, and subsequently were torn down — twice — by incensed

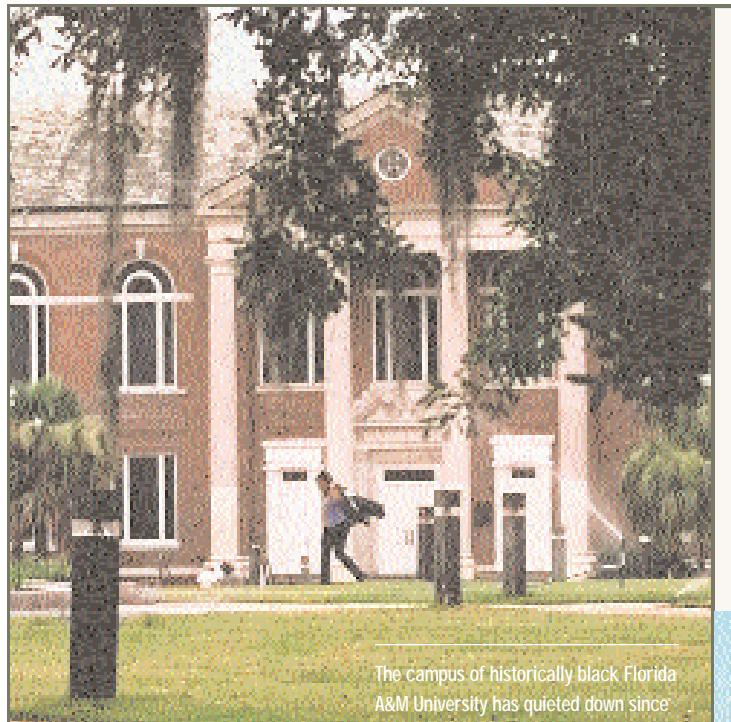
passersby. The Klan, which had sued to have the signs put up in the first place, threatened further litigation after the Missouri Transportation Department declared it wouldn't replace the signs again.

The highway cleanup program hasn't been Cuffley's only attempt at refining the Klan's image. In 1998, he tried to

First, Michael Cuffley's Klan Adopt-A-Highway sign was cut down by angry passersby. Now, the "clean-up Klansman" faces trouble from another quarter.

underwrite National Public Radio's "All Things Considered" for a St. Louis public radio station — with an eye toward recruiting from the program's more educated audience. A federal magistrate ruled that the university-run station could refuse his request.

Florida police discovered Cuffley after accompanying furniture store workers to retrieve rented furniture that he hadn't returned. Noticing Cuffley's KKK and Confederate flag tattoos, arresting officer Bill Royal conducted a record check. He found that Cuffley was wanted in St. Louis for burglarizing a house and for taking a homeowner's money without fulfilling a commitment to install windows.



AP/WIDEWORLD PHOTOS

The campus of historically black Florida A&M University has quieted down since last fall's pipe-bomb campaign.

Hate on Campus

University Bomber Convicted in Racist Attack

After two bombs exploded at historically black Florida A&M University last fall, some 300 terrified students withdrew from the school, according to school officials. Now, the man who caused the mass attrition faces the possibility of life in prison after being convicted June 26 in connection with the attacks.



Lawrence Michael Lombardi had constructed the bombs. And there was damning testimony from co-workers, who spoke of Lombardi's frequent use of the word "nigger," and his boasts that he was "going to kill me some" black people.

Lombardi, 42, stood stone-faced as the judge delivered the verdict. Jurors found the licensed embalmer guilty of causing the explosions, carrying and using the pipe bombs that caused the explosions, and violating federal hate crime law.

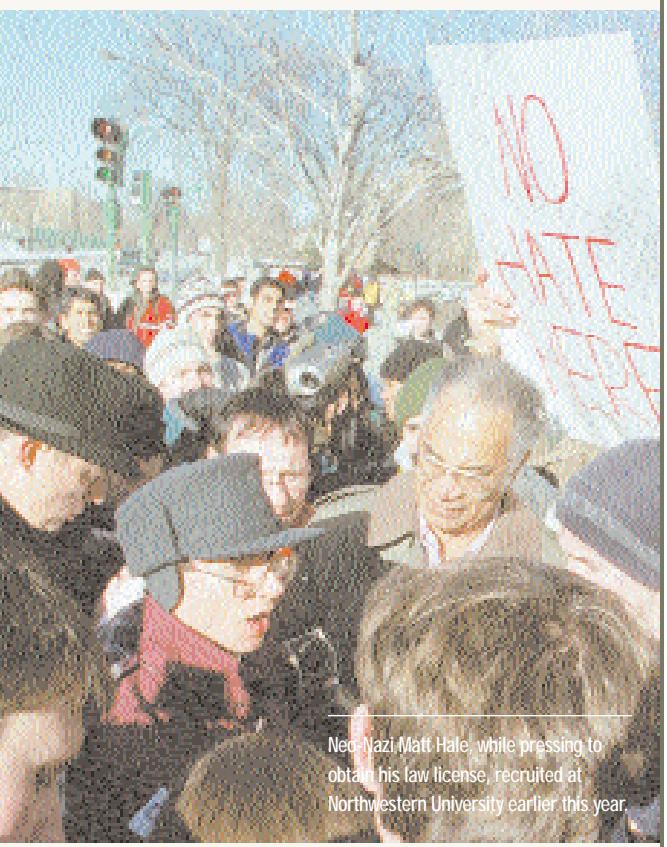
Following each of the bathroom blasts, which occurred on Aug. 31 and Sept. 22 and failed to injure anyone, a man later identified as Lawrence Michael Lombardi called into local station WXLT-TV and made threatening racist statements. Prosecutors later produced evi-

Hate and the Law

Neo-Nazi's 'Character' Sinks Law License

It's final: neo-Nazi World Church of the Creator leader Matthew Hale will not be allowed to practice law in Illinois, even though he has a law degree and passing marks on the state's bar exam. The United States Supreme Court, acting without comment on June 26, rejected Matthew Hale's appeal of the Illinois State Bar Association's decision not to grant him a law license.

Hale petitioned the high court after the Illinois State Supreme Court refused to hear his case in November. He has argued all along that his free speech rights were violated



Ned Nazi Matt Hale, while pressing to obtain his law license, recruited at Northwestern University earlier this year.

AP/WIDEWORLD PHOTO

when the Illinois Bar Association's Committee on Character and Fitness declared him "morally unfit" to practice law.

After the Bar Association's decision last year, Hale follower Ben Smith went on a murderous rampage that left two people dead and nine others wounded. When Hale said matter-of-factly that Smith's actions were a response to the decision, Bar officials felt they had further proof that he lacked the "moral character necessary to satisfy even minimal bar admission."

Patriots for Profit

Feds Probe Antigovernment Group in Pyramid Scam

As its name would indicate, Global Prosperity Group has promised people great wealth. The founders say they've raised \$300 million in the last four years. Yet many investors, far from enjoying any windfall, have ended up deep in debt.

"They suck you in and squeeze you dry," Marc Douglas of Escondido, Calif., who says he's lost thousands of dollars to the group, told a reporter.

Global Prosperity has used a mix of religious and antigovernment rhetoric — along with slick Internet recruiting tactics — to lure investors into a program that is actually a pyramid scheme, according to authorities in several states. Portraying the government as a power-hungry, foreign-controlled entity that interposes itself between the people and their God, the group encourages investors to trash their social security cards and drop

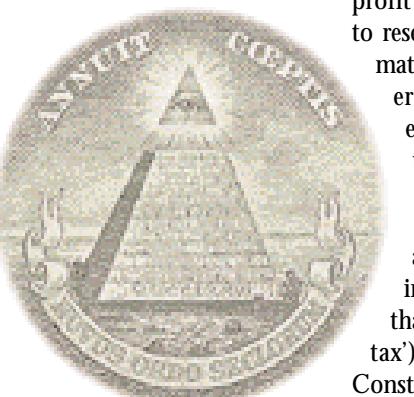
concerns about taxes, while concealing their assets abroad.

"You can be free from those tyrannical controls, the threats, intimidation, harassment, to lien, levy, and seize and sell property," Global co-founder Keith Anderson says in an introductory videotape that continued to be distributed even after Anderson left the group. "All those things," he says, "will be history."

Global's "expertise" isn't free. Those who are interested shell out \$1,250 for "G-1" introductory videos. Then, there are pricey seminars in sun-drenched locales like Cancun and Bermuda, with "G-4," the capstone course, costing participants \$37,500.

In all, an estimated 70,000 people have bought Global's starter videos, and thousands of them have attended the extraterritorial seminars.

According to authorities, Global is essentially teaching



Michigan, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota and Oregon, though in many cases the group has defied them. The Internal Revenue Service and Federal Trade Commission have launched investigations.

Similar scams have taken in hundreds of thousands of people around the world. Like Global, a number of groups have offered the old anti-tax line as a money-making proposition. Others, without soliciting money, have sought simply to sell the idea that Americans don't really have to pay their federal taxes.

On July 7, the We the People Foundation for Constitutional Education, which bills itself as a "not-for-profit corporation dedicated to research and education in

matters of taxation and governance," took out an expensive full-page advertisement in *USA Today*.

The group claims in the ad that "[m]ost citizens are not required to file an income tax return," and that "[t]he 16th ('income tax') Amendment to the Constitution is a fraud."

Terrorism

Once Again, *The Turner Diaries* Inspires Bloodshed

A man who took a page from America's leading neo-Nazi in waging a campaign of terror in Britain has been given six life sentences.

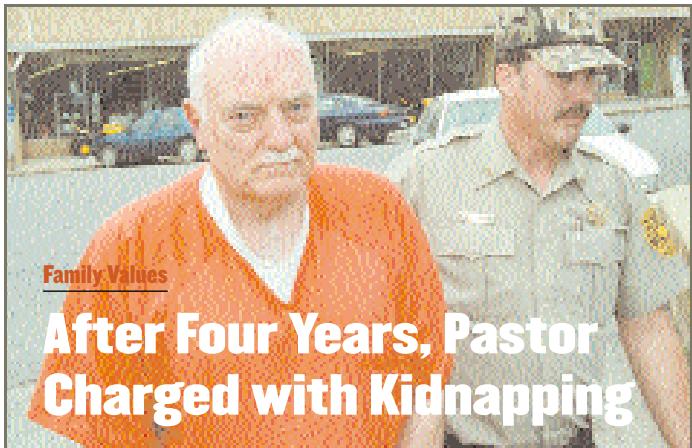
David Copeland, a 24-year-old engineer, received one life sentence each for his 1999 nail-bomb attacks in London's mostly black area of Brixton, the Bangladeshi community of Brick Lane and the gay quarter of Soho, and three more

for the murder of three persons who were relaxing at Soho's Admiral Pub when the final blast went off.

In addition to those killed, 139 people were wounded by the bombings — many losing eyes and limbs. Before being captured by police, Copeland had planned to plant one bomb each week targeting Asians and homosexuals.

accused American clinic bomber Eric Rudolph.

Copeland showed no remorse during the trial. It was his "destiny" to commit the crimes, he said, and he'd plant more bombs if he were released. The jury rejected Copeland's insanity defense, prompting London newspapers to declare that he was "bad, not mad."



AP/WIDEWORLD PHOTO

Family Values

After Four Years, Pastor Charged with Kidnapping

While keeping his grandchildren on his 400-acre farm in the Missouri Ozarks, Christian Identity pastor Gordon H. Winrod made sure to teach them the anti-Semitic beliefs that his father — the infamous "Jayhawk Nazi" — passed on to him. Now, though he can't be put on trial for indoctrinating the six children, Winrod does face charges that he orchestrated their kidnappings and hid them from their fathers for four years.

The children were allegedly taken from the homes of their fathers, brothers Tim and Joel Leppert, in 1994 and 1995, and brought to the Winrod farm. By day, they were homeschooled in a shed, away from prying eyes. By night, they played together on a lighted court. All the while, they were exposed to the anti-Semitic and antigovernment preaching of Winrod, whose Our Savior's Church was housed on the farm. Winrod, 73, is well-known in Ozark County for his mass mailings contending that "Jewdicials" cover up the Jewish ritual murders of whites.

"We don't plan on them getting us unless they either get shot or us in this [priest hole] and drag out the corps[es] or they might have to try to catch us trying to escape in the night with guns afire and knives a-waving," Winrod's homeschooled 16-year-old granddaughter wrote. "I hope they kill me trying to get these children."

Winrod's daughters, Sharon and Quinta, the mothers of the children, are already in prison in connection with the abductions. Winrod, his son Stephen, and his daughter

Waning Militias

Threats of 'Open Warfare' End in Militiaman's Arrest

In an apparent bid to jump-start his Western Illinois Militia, Dan Shoemaker was going to flout state law and tote a semi-automatic gun through the public squares of Galesburg and Monmouth, two small Illinois towns. He warned that police interference during his planned June 17 protest could lead to "open warfare" — in which case, he instructed followers, "Don't stop killing the enemy until they are all dead."

As he predicted, Shoemaker did end up in a violent confrontation with police who arrested him, emerging with a black eye and a gash over his forehead, and leaving Knox County Sheriff Jim Thompson with a separated shoulder and a deputy with a bruised knee. But it wasn't the type of showdown he'd anticipated.

Shoemaker was unarmed when the policemen arrived at the high school where he worked, two days prior to his planned protest, to serve up a warrant on felony charges of

weapons possession, aggravated intimidation and threatening a public official. Following the scuffle, charges of resisting arrest were added to the list.

"I will live free or die," Shoemaker had told those gathered at a rural farm for the June 10 annual public meeting of the Western Illinois Militia. The author of the *U.S. Militiaman's Handbook* — a movement classic — expressed frustration at the fact that he was the only founding member of the group still active,

citing police harassment as the reason.

The man he named as his successor in the event of his demise, Kenny Butler, said that if the government didn't heed Shoemaker's warnings, it could have another catastrophe like Ruby Ridge or Waco on its hands. "Can they really afford another massacre?" Butler asked the crowd.

Sheriff Thompson, also fearful of a bloody outcome, had met with Shoemaker in early June to try to dissuade him from staging his martial exhibition. It turns out that Thompson and Shoemaker are old friends, and even after their run-in, Thompson has remained sympathetic. He says he shares Shoemaker's belief that Constitutional rights need to be protected. "I don't perceive Dan as a kook," Thompson said. "Personally, I think Dan is a nice, honorable man."

On the day that Shoemaker was to demonstrate — as he sat in a Knox County jail with bond set at \$1.3 million and an arrest warrant with \$1 million bond awaiting him in nearby Warren County — members of the Western Illinois Militia marched in Galesburg. But they were unarmed.

Unlike their leader, these militiamen apparently weren't prepared to make the ultimate sacrifice. Whereas Shoemaker had said repeatedly that he was ready to die for the cause, his supporters chose to march on local hospital grounds — reasoning, as one said, that this was the best place to be in case they were shot.



JENNIFER WARBURG

A neo-Confederate movement, increasingly rife with white supremacists and racist ideology, is growing across America.

REBELS WITH A CAUSE



JENNIFER WARBURG



JENNIFER WARBURG
A dome of its Statehouse. ▲ It was a dramatic moment for neo-Confederates, a day when the nation got its first real glimpse of a new social movement, assembled *en masse* against the backdrop of

the world's largest Confederate flag, which had been unfurled on the Statehouse steps. The ralliers demanded that state officials refuse to bend to an NAACP boycott aimed at bringing the flag down. They denounced anyone who opposed the flag, including the NAACP, which one South Carolina state senator described in a speech as the "National Association of Retarded People." And they spoke angrily of the "political correctness" that they saw as the nemesis of a reborn and proud South, a South unashamed of its history and historical symbols.

By June, the battle was lost. In a compromise, the flag was removed from the Statehouse to a nearby spot on the Capitol grounds. But the neo-Confederate movement, whose ideologues had spearheaded the vigorous and sometimes ugly battle to keep the flag, does not seem to have suffered unduly. Indeed, in the short time since that loss, neo-Confederates seem only to have picked up steam, staging more flag rallies, running a political action committee to back flag supporters, and even, through a new party, running a slate of candidates across the South.

'Dropping Their Pretenses'

The movement is a large one. Its ideological core comes mainly from the League of the South (LOS), a group with 9,000 members that has been growing steadily since its formation in 1994 (see p. 13); and, to a lesser extent, the Council of Conservative Citizens (CCC), with about 15,000 members. But the influence of these two hard-line organizations is also making itself felt on thousands of people in relatively apolitical, longstanding groups like the Sons of Confederate Veterans

One brisk day last January, some 8,000 people gathered on the steps of the South Carolina Statehouse. Dressed in Confederate soldiers' gray, draped in the stars and bars of the Confederacy or simply wearing street clothes, they had come together to rally for the Confederate battle flag. Alone among the Southern states, South Carolina still flew the flag above the

(SCV) and the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC).

The bonds between many of these groups are strong ones. Most of the key ideologues in the movement are members of more than one group, typically LOS and CCC, but also many of the more "mainstream" neo-Confederate groups (see group biographies, p. 28). A few have links to militias and other antigovernment "Patriot" groups. But what may be most remarkable of all is the way that racism, a visceral dislike for black people, has come to characterize the movement.

"They're getting frustrated and just dropping their pretenses," says Ed Sebesta, a longtime researcher of the neo-Confederate movement. "They certainly want the revival of the principles of the Confederacy," adds Arizona State University historian Brooks Simpson (see also interview, p. 32), "and one of those principles would in fact be white supremacy, unquestioned and explicit. The racism that's woven into their comments is often quite astonishing."

So, too, is the success of their message. Somehow, support for racist theories, segregation and Southern secessionism —



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key elements behind the Civil War — has become the ugly core of a contemporary social movement.

Roots in Racism

The appearance of a modern neo-Confederate movement, of course, is not the first time in recent history that reactionary groups have arisen to defend the Southern cause. In the 1950s and 1960s, the racist White Citizens Councils arose to defend segregation and Jim Crow laws (see related story, p. 40). By the 1970s, the White Citizens Councils were disappearing, but were replaced by the CCC, a group that held similar racist views (see story on the CCC in the Winter 1999 edition of the *Intelligence Report*, No. 93). It was in this period that a contemporary version of the neo-Confederate movement — unabashedly political and beginning to show its naked racism — began to build.

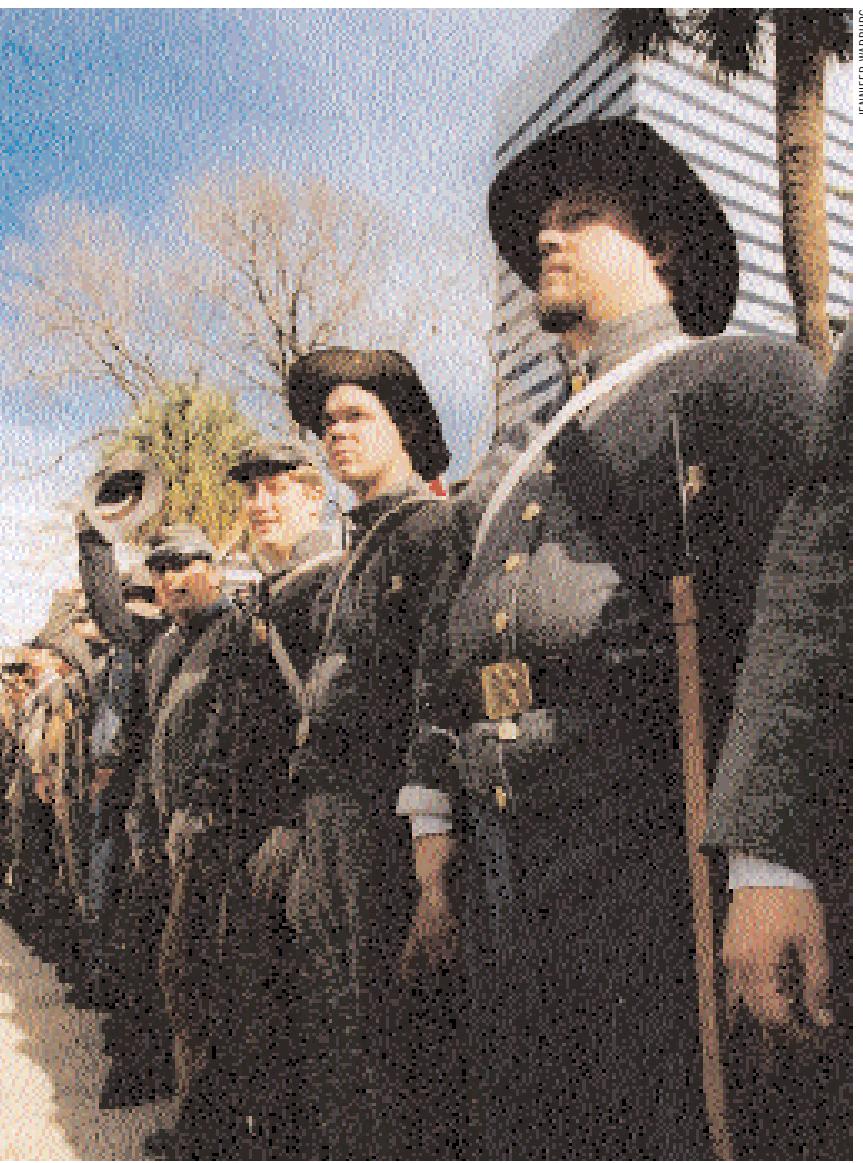
Scores of Civil War reenactors — who are among the least political of the neo-Confederates — joined thousands of other people at a pro-Confederate flag rally in South Carolina last January.

The CCC, in particular, led the attack on such things as school busing, non-white immigration and affirmative action.

But the contemporary neo-Confederate movement did not really take off until the League of the South was founded in 1994. Thanks largely to its veneer as a respectable, non-racist organization led mainly by academics, LOS grew very rapidly, counting 4,000 members by 1998 and more than twice that number now. The group mixes clearly racial themes — like its rendering of the South as "Anglo-Celtic" and little else — with anger at the multicultural "New World Order." LOS also opposes non-white immigration, busing and interracial marriage.

And unlike the CCC, the LOS imbued the Confederate flag with ultimate importance. "The campaign to eradicate our largely Anglo-Celtic Southern symbols is nothing more than an ill disguised attempt to destroy us as a distinct people," writes Michael Hill, who has been president of the LOS from the start. "A man is identified by the symbols of his history and culture, and the destruction of those symbols prefigures the destruction of the man himself."

Hill, who believes Americans should "tell the courts to go to hell, take back their Second Amendment right to arm themselves, and organize 'well regulated Militia[s]' state by state," also sees the Confederate flag as a symbol of defiance



JENNIFER WARBURG

against the federal government. One of his many warning calls in the midst of actions against the flag: "As our enemies succeed against the symbols that represent our identity as Southerners, they will surely then come for us in the flesh."

The Role of Nationalism

Southern partisans have been playing off much larger forces than simple resentment of black advances or attacks on the Confederate flag. Around the world, exclusionary ethnic nationalisms have been on the upsurge since the collapse of the Soviet Union in places like Austria, Britain, Germany, Italy, the former Yugoslavia and much of Eastern Europe. America is no exception.

These nationalist movements have grown, in large part, as a reaction to economic and political globalism — the "New World Order" that opponents fear is turning the world into a monolithic, multicultural and multiracial culture. More and more, nationalists are emphasizing their own particular racial history.

"There is a tremendous amount of consciousness in society about memory and heritage," says Amherst College history professor David Blight, who's written extensively about the Civil War and the American civil rights movement. "It has to do with localism, a push to maintain a distinct identity. For the South, it has to do with wanting to stay unique in a society that's being homogenized."

Neo-Confederates themselves speak of the inspiration they draw from such "devolutionist" movements. The break-up of the Soviet Union in the early 1990s first got LOS thinking seriously about secession. The separatist movements of the Quebecois in Canada and the northern Italians provided further proof that this was now a viable political stance. In fact, the League of the South's original name, the Southern League, was a takeoff on Italy's secessionist Northern League. (The name was changed because it already belonged to a baseball minor league.)

Like their international counterparts, those in the American neo-Confederate movement have political aims and have often used the political process.

The CCC was always a political group, including scores of Southern lawmakers as members and working to influence domestic policy. In Mississippi, for instance, the CCC wields considerable political power, often vetting candidates and making endorsements. The LOS, for its part, was initially more cultural in nature, emphasizing

have spouted racist rhetoric with increasing confidence. These two groups, in turn, have exerted a radical rightward tug on less political groups such as the Sons of Confederate Veterans and the United Daughters of the Confederacy — groups that over their histories have professed an exclusive devotion to heritage



H.K. Edgerton, a rare black neo-Confederate, marches alongside Civil War reenactors last January.

ing what were seen as assaults on Southern values. But with time, it, too, has become more political. In the summer of 1999, LOS members were the core of an exploratory committee that eventually turned into the Southern Party, which is now running a slate of candidates across the South. Although LOS has had some disagreements with the party over its degree of centralization, it remains close to it in terms of ideology. LOS also has been highly active in South Carolina, attacking politicians who don't support the Confederate flag via a political action committee whose motto is "No Votes for Turncoats" (see also p. 28).

'A Multicultural Mud Bath'

The racism in this movement is undeniable. Leading white supremacist activists like Kirk Lyons and David Duke have been warmly received. Politicized groups like the Council and the League

reportedly kicked out Ken Burns, who produced a highly regarded public television series on the Civil War, after he suggested Robert E. Lee was held responsible for more American deaths than the Japanese in World War II. Tellingly, the same group has failed to eject seasoned racists like Kirk Lyons and magazine editor Jared Taylor.

Shortly after the Burns decision, the LOS and SCV approved an "affiliation policy" linking the two groups in "non-political" matters. "Gauging from the actions of the latest SCV convention in early August [1998]," Hill wrote at the time, "the old guard there is on its way out, and the organization appears ready to work with us as a fellow pro-South group. This is good news long overdue."

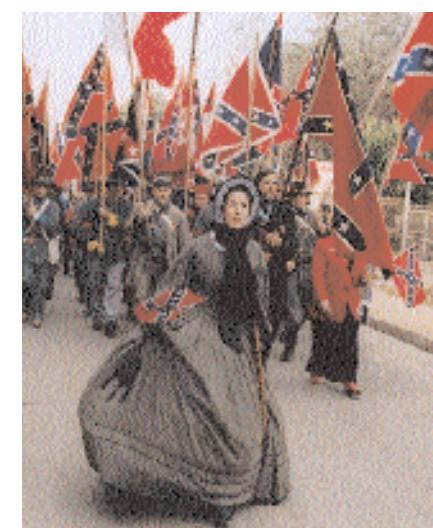
The spread of racist ideology in the neo-Confederate movement is also appar-

ent in the many cross-memberships that activists hold in different groups (see also stories, p. 13 and p. 28). Members including many leaders of the racist LOS and CCC, in particular, also belong to other organizations such as the SCV. With these cross-memberships, explicit racism has risen to the movement's surface in speeches, on postings on the Internet and in neo-Confederate publications.

Even the original radicals in this coalition have grown more hard line. In July, for instance, the Council of Conservative Citizens posted a remarkable editorial on its main web page that attacked the Spoleto music festival held annually in Charleston, S.C.

"Spoleto is a multicultural mud bath," the unsigned editorial reads, using language similar to that of the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations, "which attracts mostly queers

White supremacist lawyer Kirk Lyons (right) has bitterly attacked Pulitzer Prize-winning author Tony Horwitz for his depiction of Alberta Martin, 93, the last living Confederate widow. In his book *Confederates in the Attic*, Horwitz suggests Martin's husband was actually a deserter. Remarkably, 11 Southern public radio stations last year allowed Lyons a seven-minute rebuttal to Horwitz's book, which was being read aloud on the stations. The University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, made a similar accommodation. Horwitz stands by his allegations.



and the remembrance of their defeated forbears.

Indeed, the influence of the 24,000 members of the CCC and the LOS — the two clearly racist groups in the movement — is being felt among neo-Confederate groups, most notably the 27,000 members of the SCV. Several years ago, the SCV

and weidos [sic]. The streets teem with fag couples groping each other while greasy white yankee girls make sure everyone notices their lust for black men."

"The Confederate flag represents what South Carolina used to be," the editorial concludes. "Spoleto is what South Carolina is about to become."



The aspersions heaped on the NAACP by so many neo-Confederates also are telling. Long simmering racism has boiled over. The CCC regularly refers to the NAACP as "gangsters." And the NAACP's members are described as "SABLES, self-appointed black liberal eccentrics," by John Cripps, a gubernatorial candidate and LOS president in Mississippi. "In Webster's" Cripps says as he explains that the word "sable" is a pun, "it simply means the color black. But in the first *Webster's*, Noah Webster defined a sable as an 'animal of the weasel kind.'"

According to Blight, the Amherst professor, the increasing stridency of the neo-Confederate movement "has to do, in part, with the increasing power of blacks — black congressmen, black businessmen, the increasing visibility of blacks in general." Episodes like the NAACP's anti-flag campaign send many neo-Confederates into reactionary spasms, and old resentments are laid bare.

A Neo-Confederate Martyr

A case that brought these tensions to the surface was the infamous murder of Michael Westerman, a 19-year-old whom many neo-Confederates now call the "first [modern] Confederate martyr." In 1995, while Westerman was driving his Confederate flag-adorned truck through his hometown of Guthrie, Ky., several car-loads of black teenagers started following him. He was shot by one pursuer in a convenience store parking lot, apparently because of the flag he flew.

As described by Tony Horwitz in *Confederates in the Attic*, Westerman's funeral truly took on the air of a Confederate hero's memorial. A convoy of SCV, LOS, Heritage Preservation Association and unrobed Ku Klux Klan members made its way to Westerman's gravesite, where an SCV "commander" said Westerman had joined "the Confederate dead under the same honorable circumstances" as those who fell in battle. The playing of "Dixie" brought the service to a close.

Pride in the South

All concerned then retired to Guthrie's Jefferson Davis memorial, where the event took a political — and openly racist —

turn. An HPA official blamed the murder on the "NAACP, Queer Nation and others [who] have been fomenting hatred against the honorable culture of the South." Others who spoke included Jared Taylor, the white separatist editor of *American Renaissance* magazine who in 1999 was also a national board member of the white supremacist CCC. And for his part, Hill declared melodramatically: "It is open season on anyone who has the audacity to question the dictates of an all-powerful federal government or the illicit rights bestowed on a compliant and deadly underclass that now fulfills a role similar to that of Hitler's brown-shirted street thugs in the 1930s."

Increasingly, such extremist views have become characteristic of the contemporary neo-Confederate movement.

Many groups have taken the lead of LOS in seeing the South as being fundamentally "Anglo-Celtic" — disregarding contributions made by blacks, Native Americans, Jews and others to Southern culture. They largely follow Hill's view that "white Southerners should [not] give control over their civilisation and its institutions to another race, whether it be native blacks or Hispanic immigrants." These ideas are closely connected to others put forward by the likes of Jared Taylor, who posits "a relationship between IQ scores and racial differences in poverty rates, welfare rates, illegitimacy rates, and crime rates."

Many groups defend slavery, as well. "No apologies for slavery should be made," is the way that Hill puts it.

"Christians who owned slaves in the South were on firm scriptural ground," League members Steve Wilkins and Douglas Wilson add in their pamphlet, *Southern Slavery: As it Was*. Or, as LOS member and *Washington Times* national reporter Robert Stacy McCain says in an essay posted on the League's main site, slavery was "generally" characterized by "cordial and affectionate relations" between white and black Southerners.

sands of people with racist feelings who nonetheless seek the cover of groups that present themselves as mainstream. But it would be wrong to say that they speak for all Southern whites who show pride in their Southern heritage or interest in the history of the Confederacy.

Shelby Foote, famed historian of the Civil War, decries what he sees as a perversion of Southern heritage by some. "I treasure Confederate heritage greatly, but I don't like the yahoos who give it a bad name," Foote told the *Intelligence Report*. "I think they've succeeded in identifying Confederate heritage as dedicated to slavery. The re-enactors and real Confederate people," Foote insists, "don't want the return of slavery or anything resembling it."

Jim Riley, the white mayor of Charleston, agrees that most Southern whites are not racist. Riley led a march from Charleston to Columbia earlier this year to put pressure on lawmakers to take the flag down from the Statehouse and, he says, to demonstrate that most South Carolinians agreed with his stance.

"The opposition was predictable," Riley told the *Intelligence Report*. "I got letters and hate mail and things like that — which I expected. I got one death threat. But I got a lot more words of encouragement. Most people wanted that flag to come down. And the interesting thing is that on the march, two-thirds of those who participated were white and about a third were black — about the racial makeup of our state."

Riley is not alone in his sentiments.

"As a white Southerner for eight generations, my heritage is the Confederate past," says Yale history professor Glenda Gilmore. "My ancestors fought for the Confederacy and owned slaves. But I know that my heritage is based on hate, on the hatred that grew from owning other human beings and fighting one's countrymen for the right to own those human beings."

"There is an enormous amount to be proud of as a white Southerner. But slavery, fighting for the Confederacy, and maintaining white supremacy for 100 years after 1865 are not sources of pride for me. Instead, I'm proud of how much white Southerners have changed." ▲



After as many as 30,000 revelers descended on Biloxi, Miss., for last April's "Black Spring Break 2000," many locals, offended by incidents of public nudity and angered by two cases in which white women were partially stripped by drunken men, called for more police, better traffic control and improved planning. Others criticized police for losing control and for not making more arrests.

But J. Michael Hill went further. To the founder and president of the League of the South (LOS), the 6-year-old organization that has emerged at the forefront of the neo-Confederate movement, the incidents in Biloxi — along with similar attacks on white women in New York City's Central Park by black and Hispanic men — represented a call to arms. The assaults, he suggested, were not merely

The League of the South, a group at the nexus of the burgeoning neo-Confederate movement, says it's not racist, but the evidence shows otherwise

the handiwork of individuals. All minorities, in Hill's view, were responsible.

"It is time for us, as Southern whites, to look to our own well being and defense against these thugs," the one-time college professor wrote on AlaReb, an invitation-only, neo-Confederate discussion group on the Internet. "Moreover, it is time we demand that respectable members of the 'minority community' control their debased 'brothers and sisters.' If they refuse, then we can only believe that they secretly condone such behavior. Let us not flinch when our enemies call us 'racists'; rather, just reply with, 'So, what's your point?'"

Editor's Note: Based on evidence compiled during a lengthy investigation, the Southern Poverty Law Center is adding the League of the South to its list of hate groups. Future listings will include active League chapters.

Hill, of course, has never suggested that whites control the actions of their "debased brothers and sisters," whites who kill, maim and harass blacks and other minorities. He has offered no lectures about the white mobs that attacked blacks during the civil rights era — on the contrary, he has spoken of the era as a halcyon time in Southern history. He has never spoken out about the criminals who have randomly murdered black people over the last few years in the name of building a whiter America. And he was silent when a white mob in York, Neb., attacked the home of a white woman dating a black man in 1998. Instead, Hill has concentrated his fire on the minorities he is certain are destroying America.

Hill is no aberration in the LOS, a group that has grown to include 9,000 people

organized into 96 chapters in 20 states. Despite the group's claims that it will brook no racists, the League is rife with white supremacists and racist ideology. One key LOS figure and old Hill colleague, a man who is the former head of the LOS chapter in Tuscaloosa (Ala.) County where the League got its start, was even blunter than his leader in his own AlaReb posting about black-on-white crime.

"You see the day is coming when we will NEED a new type of Klan," G. David Cooksey wrote after the Central Park incidents in June. "Yes I said Klan!! If push comes to shove I'm for it! ... Time has come to stop this crap now!"

"Or would you all like to see your daughters raped???"

Academics Set the Tone

The League of the South, first known as the Southern League, was founded in 1994 by Hill and a group of 40 other people. At first, the LOS appeared to be con-

Thousands of demonstrators came to South Carolina to defend the Confederate flag this year.



JENNIFER WARBURG

cerned primarily with questions of Southern culture, threatening to push for secession, at least rhetorically, as a final resort if what were seen as the rights and dignity of the South were not respected. It keyed in on the notion that Southerners alone among U.S. population groups were commonly denigrated by the "politically correct" dominant culture, seen as emanating from the Yankee North.

And it pushed the idea of the South as fundamentally Christian, calling, in effect, for imposition of a theocracy — a government in which prayers and other religious observances would be common, and mandatory, in public life.

From the start, LOS has been dominated by academics. The current board of directors, for instance, includes four founding members with Ph.D.s. Hill and Grady McWhiney are both specialists in Celtic history; in fact, McWhiney's book *Cracker Culture*, which asserts that the South was populated by immigrants from Celtic areas of England and constitutes a culture and population distinct from that of the North, has become a neo-Confederate Bible. The

others are Clyde Wilson, editor of the John C. Calhoun papers at the University of South Carolina, Columbia, and Thomas Fleming, president of the archconservative Rockford Institute. Both men write prolifically on neo-Confederate themes.

Almost immediately, the League began to take off, growing in the first few years, Hill has said, "like kudzu." Within four years of its creation in 1994, LOS had recruited 4,000 members. By 2000, two years later, that number had more than doubled to approximately 9,000 members. LOS's academic veneer, coupled with its insistence that it was not racist despite its keen interest in matters like the Confederate battle flag, helped draw in thousands who might otherwise have stayed away. It didn't hurt that Hill was then a history professor at historically black Stillman College in Tuscaloosa. (He has since left that job.)

Taking the Fight to the 'Enemy'

But hints of its future radicalism — the raw anger LOS now openly directs at blacks and other minorities — were evident early

on. In 1995, Hill joined a crowd of angry whites, including some professional white supremacists, at the funeral of Michael Westerman, a white murdered by a black youth, ostensibly for flying the Confederate pennant on his pickup truck. Hill, according to the book *Confederates in the Attic*, declared it was "open season" on anyone who dared to question "the illicit rights bestowed on a compliant and deadly underclass that now fulfills a role similar to that of Hitler's brown-shirted street thugs of the 1930s."

He was referring to black people.

Since then, the tone of the League has grown consistently more hard line. Its ideologues now openly reject the notion of egalitarianism, opting instead for the idea that society is composed of a God-given hierarchy of groups that should not necessarily have the same rights and privileges as one another. Hill now publicly decries racial intermarriage under any circumstances. He says people other than white Christians would be allowed to live in his South, but only if they bow to "the cultural dominance of the Anglo-Celtic people and their institutions." Where the goal of secession was once largely rhetorical, it is now a seriously stated aim. And, in a June posting on AlaReb, Hill called slavery a "God-ordained" institution.

This radicalization is also reflected in an E-mail signed by Hill last April, right after the events in Biloxi. "WE MUST NOT WAIT AND REACT TO THE ENEMY," Hill wrote. "Let us be bold and take the fight to him. He (the NAACP, Chamber of Commerce, and most elected officials) is well funded and determined to wipe out any vestige of Confederate heritage and culture. . . .

"We must not compromise with evil."

Rallies, Campaigns and Schools

At the same time, perhaps surprisingly, LOS has steadily grown more powerful, to the point that it is now at the nexus of the neo-Confederate movement. Its ideas about the "Anglo-Celtic" nature of the South are now nearly universally accepted by pro-South groups, as are an array of other myths mainly propagated by LOS ideologues (see related interview, p. 32).

Hill and other LOS leaders have helped organize numerous Confederate flag rallies and similar events in the last two years, most notably taking a leadership role in a huge pro-flag rally in South Carolina last January. LOS also organized a large pro-flag rally in Montgomery, Ala., last March. Members of the Sons of Confederate



Michael Hill, president of the League of the South, has helped define the ideological core of the neo-Confederate movement.

Veterans (scv) and the Southern Legal Resource Center, whose "chief trial counsel" is white supremacist lawyer Kirk Lyons (see p. 18), joined Hill in Montgomery in signing a petition declaring "Southern Cultural Independence" from the rest of the nation.

The League also has been active in traditional politics. In 1996, it helped orchestrate a "Dump Beasley" campaign in South Carolina, where then-Gov. David Beasley,

a moderate Republican, supported removing the Confederate flag from atop the state Capitol dome. When Beasley lost, the LOS claimed victory with bumper stickers reading, "We Booted Beasley." It also attacked Jim Folsom Jr., Alabama's governor until 1995, for a similar reason. And now, the

South Carolina chapter of the League is running a "No Votes for Turncoats" political action committee that is raising money to support politicians seen as pro-Confederate flag.

Other LOS efforts are educational — or propagandistic, depending on your point of view. LOS ideologues publish widely, both in their own periodicals and in others associated with the neo-Confederates. And the League runs the Institute for the Study of Southern Culture and History, an organization headed by Donald Livingston that offers seminars "dedicated to combating the demonisation of the South." It is supported by members' dues and an LOS foundation.

A Reporter of Their Own

LOS has not done as well with the mainstream press. Enduring a number of editorial attacks by Southern newspapers, it has loudly complained of what it terms the "scalawag" press — Southern newspapers that, in its view, have sold out to "Yankee" ideologies. But the League has found a few staunch defenders in the major media, including syndicated columnist and LOS member Charley Reese.

And then there is Robert Stacy McCain. During the workday, McCain is a national reporter at *The Washington Times*. At other hours, he is an active League member — and a highly visible one, with several political essays featured on the LOS web site. This high-profile partisanship did not prevent McCain's editors from allowing him to write a story highly critical of the Southern Poverty Law Center last May, even though the Center had long criticized LOS. After hearing the Center's initial complaint over this apparent conflict of interest, *Washington Times* National Editor Ken Hanner did not return the Center's calls.

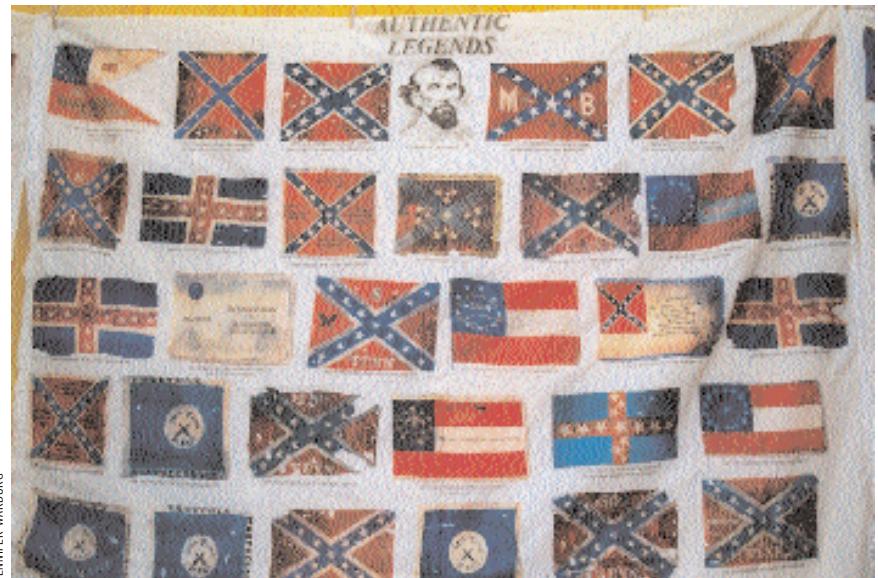
"[A]s a working journalist with over 10 years experience," McCain writes without irony in one of his LOS essays, an attack on the press for painting Confederate flag backers as racists, "I am well aware of how reporters can subtly frame their stories to suggest which side in any controversy is right."

'We Will Need a New Klan'

In retrospect, it is clear that LOS included hard-liners from the start. One LOS founding member who now sits on the

board of directors is Jack Kershaw, who is also a member of the white supremacist Council of Conservative Citizens (ccc). As described in an earlier issue of the *Intelligence Report* (Winter 1999, No. 93), the ccc is directly descended from the White Citizens Councils of the 1950s and 1960s, racist groups known as the "uptown

cles in the racist *American Renaissance* magazine. David Cooksey, the charter LOS member who suggested that "we will NEED a new type of Klan," has been a key ccc official in Alabama. And Joseph Stumph, another founding LOS member, was earlier on the executive committee of the Constitutionalist Networking Center,



A display in South Carolina depicted the many flags under which Civil War Confederates fought.

Klan" that fought against desegregation in the South. And indeed, Kershaw's lineage goes back to one of those councils, the Citizens Council of Tennessee, of which he was executive secretary. With the help of LOS, Kershaw recently erected in Nashville a huge statue of Confederate general Nathan Bedford Forrest — a man who was also the Ku Klux Klan's first imperial wizard, a fact the LOS studiously avoids mentioning.

"Somebody needs to say a good word for slavery," Kershaw said in 1998. "Where in the world are the Negroes better off today than in America?"

The list goes on. Michael Andrew Grissom, a charter LOS member and one of its principal ideologues, is a national adviser to the ccc. Michael Masters, who organized the original Virginia chapter of the LOS, is the former Virginia state leader for the ccc and has published arti-

supports the above belief. Why should we be afraid of telling the truth?"

The many cross-memberships of which these cases are but a sample reflect the key role that the LOS has taken in the neo-Confederate movement of late (see also story, p. 6). Just as Kirk Lyons' Southern Legal Resource Center in North Carolina has become the legal arm of the neo-Confederate movement, so has the LOS turned into the political engine providing the movement its energy. More and more, its politics are dominating formerly apolitical groups like the scv.

Taking Their Stand

And what, exactly, are those politics? While many LOS principals are far more honest in private venues like the AlaReb discussion group, the public statements of group leaders and key activists are also revealing. A few samples:

On white dominance: In his 1996 "President's Message," Hill said the South sought by the LOS is one "where the interests of the core population of Anglo-Celts is protected from the ravages of so-called multiculturalism and diversity." The "European majority," Hill adds, will accept "productive and sympathetic" people from other ethnic groups — but only "on its own terms." Elsewhere, Hill says his goal is "the revitalization of general European cultural hegemony." And an official LOS position paper on race puts it like this: "Today's white Christian Southerners are the blood descendants of the men and women who settled this country and gave us the blessings of freedom and prosperity. To give away this inheritance in the name of 'equality' or 'fairness' would be unconscionable."

On equality: The League is explicit in its attack on a fundamental tenet of American democracy — the notion that all men are created equal. The very idea, Hill and others say, is "Jacobin," referring to a particularly bloody faction during the French Revolution. Hill also suggests that citizens need not be given equal rights: "While the teachings of Holy Scripture speak of a civil society composed of superiors, equals and inferiors, each protected in their legal privileges, Jacobin social theory posits that no adult can be justly

denied any privilege due another, except perhaps as punishment for ... a crime." Sadly, Hill writes, most Christian Southerners have fallen prey to this "fatal heresy" of egalitarianism.

"[T]he evil genie of universal 'human rights,' once loosed from its bottle, can never be restrained," he writes, "because rights for women, racial and ethnic minorities, homosexuals, pedophiles, etc., can be manufactured easily."

On segregation: "The destruction of states rights in the South," Hill wrote in 1998, "was the first necessity leading to forced policies undermining the cultural dominance of the Anglo-Celtic people and its institutions. [Arch-segregationist Alabama Gov. George] Wallace rightly identified the enemy and fought it until the attempt on his life in 1972." William Cawthon, a key LOS ideologue and head of the Northeast Georgia LOS chapter, adds that segregation "is not evil or wrong," but simply a matter of racial "integrity."

On separation of church and state: An official LOS goal, stated in the "LOS 10 Points," is to "return the regulation of religion and morals to the jurisdiction of states and local communities." The LOS president says that ultimately, LOS seeks a government based on "Christian principles" — and certainly not a representative democracy based on the separation of church and state.

'Get Your Wish'

In a "Legal Notice to Anti-Southern Bigots" on its web page, the League of the South says that it has "an official anti-bigotry policy" and threatens legal action against any who suggest otherwise. But you'd hardly know that to listen to a key LOS member and several sympathizers discussing a Klan-sponsored "Southern American Pride and Heritage Flag Raising" rally in Decatur, Ala., that took place on May 28. Led by long-time Klan leader Ricky Draper, the rally turned violent when fights broke out between rally supporters and black passersby. In the end, one black was arrested and one flag supporter needed nine stitches.

Soren Dresch, an LOS member and owner of the Ruffin Flag Co. that spe-

cializes in Confederate symbols, was blunt enough. "Sounds like Decatur needs a response to the blacks who think the world is their oyster," he wrote on AlaReb. "I hope the next group ... is armed and ready to hit an afro between the eyes." Dresch refers to blacks in his postings as "savages," "beasts" and "animals."

A woman named Ellen, who is married to an LOS member and is herself a member of an scv auxiliary, the Order of the Confederate Rose, also chimed in on AlaReb. For her, too, the makeup of the Decatur rally was no problem.

'WE SHOULD IMMEDIATELY TAKE THE SIDE OF THE MEN IN DECATUR; WHETHER THEY ARE

appearances. Recently, the North Carolina chapter of the League added a new name to its web site's roster of local group officials. Named as official "advisor" to the chapter was Steven Barry — an open white supremacist and anti-Semite who is also the "military coordinator" of the neo-Nazi National Alliance and head of the secretive Special Forces Underground.

In Mississippi, meanwhile, LOS now has a gubernatorial candidate in the person of John Thomas Cripps, the League's

The world's largest Confederate flag, provided courtesy of the white supremacist Council of Conservative Citizens, is being used frequently at neo-Confederate rallies around the South.



JENNIFER WARBURG

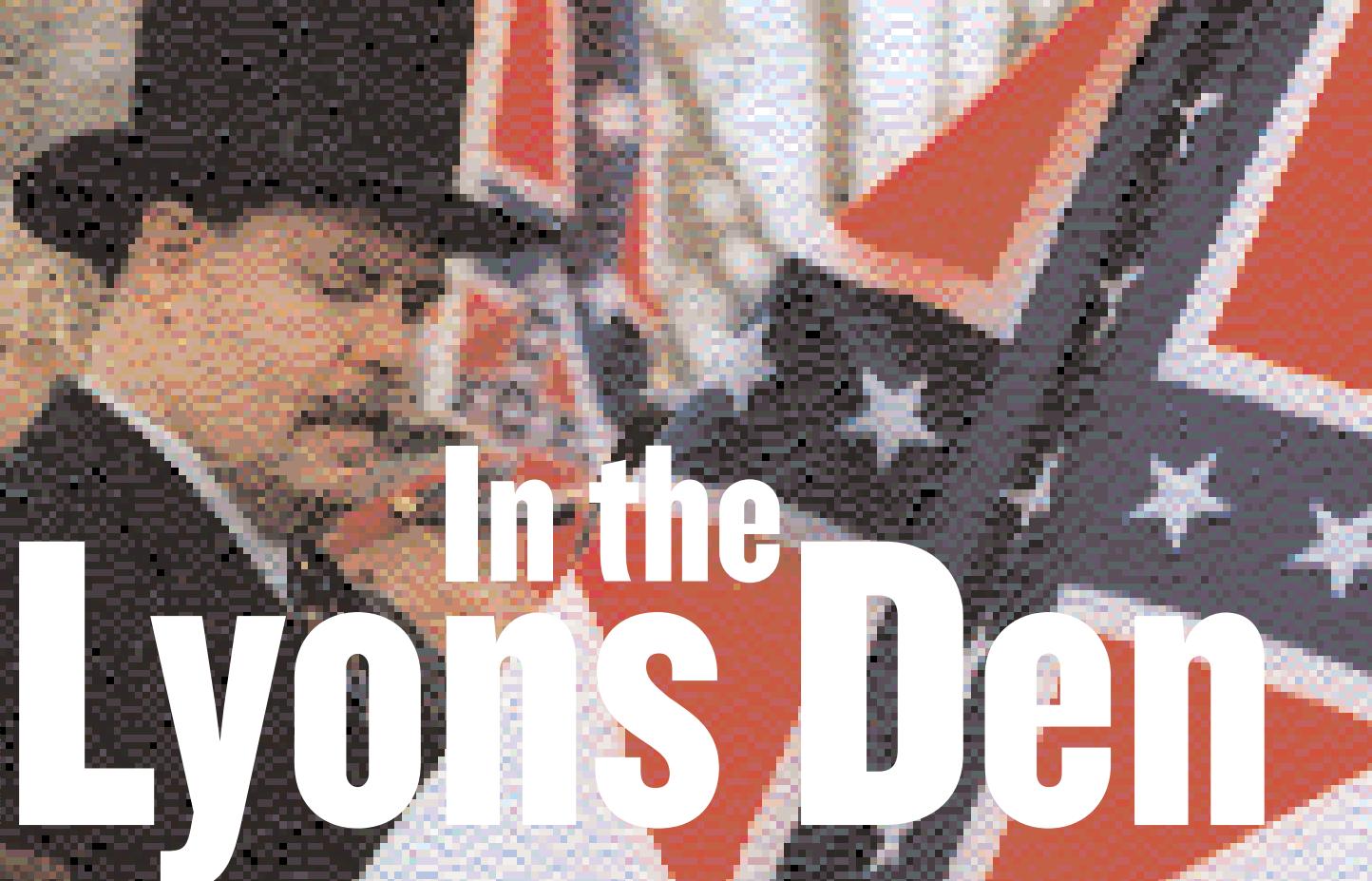
SCV OR IF THEY ARE MISSING THEIR FRONT TEETH AND DIP SKOAL AND SPIT ON THE SIDEWALK," Ellen wrote in a feverish posting. "THEY ARE OUR PEOPLE!!! ... We only play into the hands of the liberal whites (who despise us all) when we turn our backs on those considered 'trailer park trash'.... WHEN WILL WE FORM A 'COMMON BOND' WITH OUR KIND AND STOP DISTANCING OURSELVES FROM CERTAIN SEGMENTS OF OUR POPULATION."

Whether or not the League officially agrees with such sentiments, at least some LOS units are apparently unconcerned with

state chairman. And although Cripps is running for public office, he has not hesitated to publicly join the angry crowd when it comes to discussing the spring break incidents in Biloxi.

In a posting on the state LOS page, Cripps spoke of "the cultural barbarism of this group of animals." Then he went on to offer Biloxi Mayor A.J. Holloway some advice: "Sir, if flying the Confederate flag supposedly keeps certain tourists away and if these blacks are the tourists that the flag offends and if you really don't want them to return next year then here is your solution," Cripps wrote.

"FLY THE CONFEDERATE FLAG AND GET YOUR WISH!" ▲



JENNIFER WARBURG

In the Lyons Den

Across the South, a 43-year-old lawyer with a fondness for dressing up in black top hats and Scottish kilts is popping up as a key player in the burgeoning neo-Confederate movement. From Texas to Alabama to South Carolina, Kirk D. Lyons, "chief trial counsel" of the Southern Legal Resource Center (SLRC), has presented himself as the legal savior of the beleaguered South.

No matter that he has attended and spoken at a slew of white supremacist events around the nation. No matter that he has walked at the head of a Klan parade, lionized Adolf Hitler as "probably the most misunderstood man in German history," and reportedly proposed carving America up into racial mini-states. Even the fact that Lyons was married on the compound of Aryan Nations by the leader of that notorious neo-Nazi group hasn't had much of an effect.

The neo-Confederate movement has embraced him.

To Patrick J. Griffin, commander-in-chief of the Sons of Confederate Veterans

(scv), Lyons' white supremacist activities are "just ... part of his personal life." To Michael Andrew Grissom, a key charter member of the League of the South (los), national adviser to the Council of Conservative Citizens (ccc) and deputy chairman of the Oklahoma Heritage Commission, Lyons' politics also are no cause for concern: "What would worry me more is if he defended some communist, socialist terrorist." And to Mrs. William Wells, president of the relatively apolitical United Daughters of the Confederacy, sharing the podium with Lyons and other racists at neo-Confederate rallies is "a situation you cannot control." As SLRC Associate Director Neill Payne reports, "[W]e have received support from every major pro-Southern group."

Even as he insists that he and the SLRC have no racial agenda, Lyons' public statements and political activities betray his true sympathies. Since helping start up the SLRC, Lyons has been a featured speaker at meetings of the white supremacist ccc and the American Nationalist Union. Last

April, he spoke at a meeting of the American Friends of the British National Party (AFBNP), a racist group that supports the neofascist British National Party and whose previous meetings have featured former Klansmen Don Black and David Duke, among others. Lyons gave a "fine speech," the AFBNP's web site boasts, that focused on "how we as racial Nationalists should be making alliances when and wherever we can."

A Night Ride Sets the Course

The son of an Air Force officer who he says befriended people of all races, Lyons spent much of his youth in Texas. From early in his life, he had a conservative bent. Lyons remembers wearing short hair and a "Nixon for President" button while classmates were clad in hip-hugging bell bottoms and listening to rock 'n' roll music. Forced busing angered him.

Lyons seemed headed for a fairly ordinary career. He says he put himself through the University of Texas and then went on to law school at the University of Houston.

By his own account, he took five years to graduate and made mediocre grades. After passing the bar exam on his second try, Lyons took a job as a personal injury lawyer at a small Houston firm.

But one night in 1985, two men dressed in trench coats and fedoras showed up at his apartment and asked Lyons to take a ride. One of the men was Louis Beam, a former Klan leader who was "ambassador-at-large" for the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations, and a man Lyons had run into earlier, while in law school. At the time they first met, in the early 1980s, Beam had been leading violent protests against Vietnamese shrimpers on the Gulf Coast and running secret Klan paramilitary camps elsewhere in Texas.

As they drove, Beam told Lyons that he feared he was about to be indicted in an impending federal case against white supremacist leaders. Beam asked Lyons, the lawyer would say later, for help in getting bail should he be arrested.

Beam was finally arrested in 1987, along with 13 other notorious white supremacist

Lyons spoke that fall to the Aryan Nations World Congress, hosted by Aryan Nations leader Richard Butler, one of the men acquitted in Arkansas. There, he touted his vision of a non-profit foundation that would defend the kind of men that Lyons saw as "patriots" and "dissidents." The Patriot's Defense Foundation (PDF) would not take shape until late 1989, but Lyons started work immediately.

In October 1988, he took up the defense of James Wickstrom, the former "director of counterinsurgency" for the rabidly anti-Semitic Posse Comitatus and a man who spoke of hanging his enemies from "ALL the telephone poles." In the end, Wickstrom would be convicted of federal counterfeiting and weapons charges in connection with a plot to distribute counterfeit bills at Aryan Nations.

It was a busy period. In 1989, Lyons was the featured speaker at a "Rocky Mountain Family Bible Retreat" hosted in Colorado by Pete Peters, a leading ideologue of the racist and anti-Semitic Christian Identity religion. He marched

from armored cars and murdered a Jewish talk show host in Denver.

"I consider them prisoners of conscience," Lyons said of the imprisoned Order members in a 1990 interview with *The Dallas Morning News*. "I consider them the same kind of heroes that blacks consider Nelson Mandela."

Married to the Movement

Around the same time, Lyons was identified as a member of the National Alliance, the neo-Nazi group headed by William Pierce, who wrote the race war novel used by Timothy McVeigh as a blueprint for the Oklahoma City bombing. In a late 1989 issue of the members-only *National Alliance Bulletin*, Pierce wrote that "Houston member Kirk Lyons, an attorney ... has organized the Patriot's Defense Foundation as a start toward doing for our people what the Jews have done for enemies...." Pierce then suggested that members send PDF donations.

Romance, too, was in the air.

Despite his extremism, Kirk Lyons, a white supremacist lawyer whose clients have been a "Who's Who" of the radical right, is becoming the attorney for the neo-Confederate movement

leaders, on federal charges of sedition brought under a rarely used law dating to the 19th century. The government accused Beam and his co-defendants of conspiring to overthrow the federal government by force in order to set up an all-white nation in the Pacific Northwest. Beam was also accused of planning to bomb federal buildings, sabotage railroads and poison water supplies.

Defending 'Prisoners of Conscience'

It was then that Kirk Lyons made a life-changing decision. Quitting his personal injury practice, he went to Fort Smith, Ark., to defend Beam in what would become widely known as the "Fort Smith Sedition Trial." Ultimately, the government's case proved to be a weak one, and in 1988 Beam and all his co-defendants were acquitted. Suddenly, Lyons was a celebrity on the radical right.

at the head of a Tennessee parade of 400 Klansmen, neo-Nazi Skinheads and other hard-liners. On the legal front, Lyons assisted in the successful 1989 defense of Douglas Sheets, a former White Patriot Party member accused of murdering three men in a North Carolina gay bookstore. He helped defend Stephen Nelson, one of three Aryan Nations members convicted in 1990 of plotting to bomb a gay discotheque in Seattle. He "advised" Tom Metzger, the head of White Aryan Resistance, who was facing a civil lawsuit filed by the Southern Poverty Law Center in connection with the murder of an Ethiopian man by three Skinheads in Portland, Ore. (Metzger was later hit with a multimillion-dollar judgment.) And he researched a case on behalf of imprisoned members of The Order, a group that in the 1980s robbed more than \$4 million

In September 1990, a kilt-clad Lyons, only recently divorced, married the daughter of Charles Tate, at that time the second-in-command at Aryan Nations. The service was held in the Aryan Nations church, and, as Lyons requested, it was a Scottish affair complete with bagpipes and an exchange of the tartans of the Lyons and Tate clans. His new wife, Brenna Tate, had grown up on the Aryan Nations compound with her parents. Brenna's brother, David Tate, was an imprisoned member of The Order who was serving a life sentence in Missouri for the murder of a state trooper. Presiding over Lyons' wedding ceremony was none other than hatemeister Richard Butler.

And Lyons' best man? An old friend, Louis Beam.

In an unusual twist, the new couple were not alone. Married alongside them



in a double ceremony were Neill Payne — who, along with Dave Holloway, was on the PDF board of directors with Lyons — and Brenna Tate's sister. Henceforth, Payne and Lyons would not be mere colleagues. They were family.

Fighting for the 'CAUSE'

Lyons' political attitude seemed only to harden. In early 1990, when Nazi flags were hung on a Jewish-owned store in Houston on Hitler's birthday, Lyons told a reporter the incident seemed "a pretty harmless prank." In an interview a year later with *The Klansman*, he reassured white supremacists that he was not working for "zog" — short for "Zionist

Occupation Government." "Democracy is a farce and a failure," he told a German neo-Nazi publication in 1992. "It would be good if the Klan followed the advice of former Klansman Robert Miles: 'Become invisible. Hang the robes and hoods in the cupboard and become an underground organization. This would make the Klan stronger than ever before.' According to the *Black Mountain* (N.C.) *News*, Lyons invited neo-Nazi Skinheads to his home to commemorate Kristallnacht, a 1938 attack on German and Austrian Jews.

"He's like a Klan lawyer," is the way Texas Klan leader William Latham put it in a 1990 interview. "He understands our beliefs. He shares them."

A two-page spread in Aryan Nations' newsletter celebrated Kirk Lyons' 1990 wedding on the grounds of the neo-Nazi group's compound in Idaho.

In a 1992 speech to a gathering of the Populist Party, which had run David Duke for president four years earlier, Lyons summed up his views: "This is a global struggle that European people will not perish from the face of the earth, [and] if we are going to succeed in a worldwide movement, for that of white rights and a white future ... we must encourage professionalism."

In 1991, the PDF's name was changed to CAUSE, which stands for Canada, Australia, the United States, South Africa and Europe — the places where Lyons judged the rights of the white majority to be under attack. Not long after the name change, the entire operation was relocated to Black Mountain, N.C. Lyons would later tell a reporter that the move — in which he was accompanied by Payne and Holloway — was prompted by financial problems and urban crime.

CAUSE didn't mince words. In a 1993 ad in White Aryan Resistance's racist newsletter, CAUSE described itself as "America's only pro-White law firm." A 1995 CAUSE solicitation for donations in *Soldier of Fortune* magazine read, "Help stop [U.S. Atty. Gen. Janet] Reno and her Gun Grabbing Goons."

Charles and Betty Tate soon left the Aryan Nations' Idaho compound to join their daughter in North Carolina, where Betty Tate took a position as a clerical assistant with CAUSE. And another addition was made to the organization: Sam Dickson, a right-wing Georgia lawyer who had represented Duke and a number of Klansmen over the years, was added as a board director for CAUSE.

During this period, Lyons represented Fred Leuchter, an engineer who claimed the Nazis could not have gassed Jews to death in their concentration camps. (Leuchter was charged with practicing engineering without a license.) He spoke in Atlanta along with other well known white supremacists on a U.S. tour by John Tyndall, then head of the neofascist British National Party. He attended a meeting of the Institute for Historical Review, a notorious Holocaust denial outfit.

In 1992, CAUSE attempted to inject itself into the case of Randy Weaver, an Idaho white supremacist against whom a bench warrant was issued after he failed to appear in court to face weapons charges. In August, after lawmen surrounded Weaver's Ruby Ridge cabin, Lyons says CAUSE prepared to ask a judge to force federal agents to back off. But by the time CAUSE was ready to act, "we heard Randy had surrendered," Lyons told the racist *Stormfront* magazine in an interview.

The Disappointments Begin

Kirk Lyons had missed the boat. What was to become one of the key events of the decade on the radical right had slipped

away without him. Although Lyons says he briefly represented Weaver after the standoff ended, Weaver soon turned to another lawyer — and eventually won a \$3.1 million settlement from the federal government after suing over the FBI's shooting of his wife and son.

It was the first of several disappointments.

Lyons spoke at a key October 1992 gathering in Estes Park, Colo., hosted by Christian Identity minister Pete Peters, where the contours of the modern militia movement were laid out. At one point, Lyons referred to "we, as Christian Israelites," suggesting he was a believer in the racist Identity theology. At another, he proposed filing a class action lawsuit "on

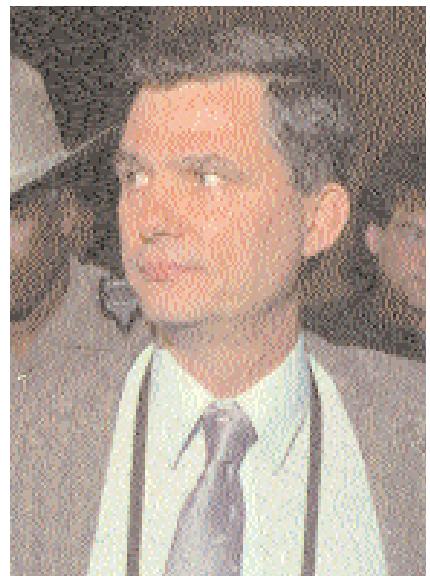
behalf of all Identity believers against this government to stop the persecution." But while Beam's speech at the gathering became legendary, Lyons' more mundane talk was quickly forgotten.

At around the same time, Lyons and several associates created a group called ENOUGH! to demonstrate against the opening of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C. In an interview with a Holocaust denial periodical, Lyons railed against "this monstrosity and taxpayer-funded obscenity."

Early the next year, the standoff between Branch Davidians and federal agents in Waco, Texas, began — another key event in the history of the radical right during the 1990s. Lyons and Holloway showed up in Waco a few days later.

Lyons played a small part in the saga that followed. He approached Houston attorney Dick DeGuerin — a famous defense attorney who had earlier represented a friend of Lyons' in a murder case — and got him to represent Davidian cult leader David Koresh. Lyons filed what he modestly described as "a historic, never before filed, [request for a] temporary restraining order," asking a judge to order federal agents back. It was dismissed. He held a sparsely attended press conference

Kirk Lyons played parts in the Montana Freeman standoff (above, far left), the siege in Waco (above, left), and the sedition trial of former Klan leader Louis Beam (below).



asking for independent negotiators and saying that without such help, federal standoffs typically end "in injury and death, mostly by fire." CAUSE would later try to make much of this apparent pre-science — the Waco standoff did, after all, end in a fire that left some 80 Davidians dead. But this, too, was soon forgotten.

"We knew what these dangerous, cultist maniacs in the government were going to do," Lyons would claim petulantly in a 1994 interview.

Bit Parts in Waco and Oklahoma

After the fire, CAUSE filed a lawsuit against the government on behalf of three Davidian survivors and the 76 Jamaican relatives of 23 dead Davidians. But this suit was ultimately consolidated into a larger case led by attorney Mike Caddell. On July

14 of this year, a jury rejected all of the Davidian claims.

Lyons also would become involved in the probe of the Oklahoma City bombing that left 168 people dead in 1995 — but only as the lawyer of a man who was apparently a bit player, Andi Strassmeir. A German national, Strassmeir had been befriended by Lyons and Holloway in 1988, when he first came to the United States. When he failed to obtain legal residency, Lyons sent him to Elohim City, an Oklahoma Identity compound through which some of the most infamous figures on the radical right have passed. The idea, a CAUSE periodical called *The Balance* said, was that Strassmeir might "meet eligible young ladies," marry, and so avoid what was otherwise seen as the inevitable denial of his residency request.

It later became known that Oklahoma bomber Timothy McVeigh had called Elohim City 12 days before his attack, reportedly asking for Strassmeir. Strassmeir would later say that he thought he had met McVeigh in 1993, trading a knife for some of McVeigh's old military fatigues and giving McVeigh a business card. That, apparently, was the limit of Strassmeir's involvement in Oklahoma. A man who may have been McVeigh also called CAUSE's office before the bombing, telling Holloway that those responsible for Waco needed to be "sent a message."

Perhaps the only notable success Lyons had in this period came in June 1996, when he was allowed by the FBI to mediate in the standoff between federal agents and the white supremacist Montana Freemen. Lyons eventually helped convince the Freemen to end their 81-day standoff without bloodshed. But there were no public accolades for Lyons, no photo opportunities, no press conferences to extol his role — a fact that angered the publicity-hungry principals of CAUSE.

By early 1997, CAUSE was attacking others on the radical right because of stories about the Oklahoma City bombing in the antigovernment "Patriot" press. Elohim City leader Robert Millar, who fueled the speculation that Strassmeir was involved in the attack, was "soft in the head." Willis Carto, whose anti-Semitic newspaper *The Spotlight* played up Strassmeir's supposed role, was "mentally unhinged." The paper itself, CAUSE proclaimed, had "sunk beneath the bottomless standards of the worst tabloids." Right-wing journalist J.D. Cash, along with McVeigh attorney Stephen Jones, were "opportunist." Overall, the "patriot" pseudo press" came in for a severe verbal drubbing.

Coming to the Confederacy

CAUSE was in trouble. It was alienating old friends, donations to support the Davidian lawsuit were dropping off, and the Patriot press continued to pursue the



Pretending their dinner napkins are Ku Klux Klansmen's hoods, NAACP President H.K. Edgerton, center, and Black Mountain white separatists Kirk Lyons and Neil Payne share a laugh during what they all described as a cordial lunch recently. The photo was taken by Will Gardner, a business associate of all three.

Roy Harris, a member of the local NAACP and an Asheville City School Board member, said he has no qualms with Edgerton clowning around with Lyons, who believes the only way to achieve peace between races is to establish separate colonies.

♦ See Edgerton on page B3

Although he vowed their children would never marry, Kirk Lyons enjoyed a luncheon with then-NAACP official H.K. Edgerton. The men clowned with napkins that were meant to simulate Klan hoods.

Kirk Lyons was both an organizer and a speaker at a huge pro-Confederate flag rally in South Carolina early this year.

Strassmeir story. Lyons was also bedeviled by mainstream press accounts that brought up his extremism. That's when he began whistling "Dixie" in earnest.

In 1996, Lyons, Payne and a third man incorporated SLRC. The address and phone number was the same as CAUSE's, and the staff was also basically the same — with the later addition of H.K. Edgerton (see story, p. 24), a black man, as board chairman. Its web site describes SLRC as "a non-profit legal foundation waging a counter-offensive to preserve Southern Heritage." It calls for a halt to the "Ethnic Cleansing of Dixie." But the focus, above all, is on the Confederate flag.

"The Southern Legal Resource Center is a nonprofit foundation that specializes in First Amendment issues for Southern heritage," Lyons told a reporter at the time. "The flag is a civil rights issue."

CAUSE continued as an empty shell, finally shutting down in 1998. Lyons, now styled as SLRC's "chief trial counsel," focused his energies instead on the neo-Confederate cause. It was not a new one for Lyons. For more than 20 years, he had been a member of Sons of Confederate Veterans (see group profiles, p. 28). He wears a button proclaiming his membership in the Military Order of the Stars and Bars, a group open only to the descendants of Confederate officers. He has long been an enthusiastic Confederate battle reenactor — in fact, CAUSE says it was through mutual reenacting acquaintances that Lyons first met Strassmeir. Around March 1998, according to an e-mail from Payne, Lyons joined the League of the South.

In the last few years, Lyons has defended the rights of students to wear t-shirts emblazoned with the Confederate battle flag; of teachers to display the flag in classrooms; of military personnel to join neo-Confederate organizations. He began to speak at pro-flag rallies around the country, including rallies in Columbia, S.C., this past January and in Montgomery, Ala., in March. In his many battles, he has



JENNIFER WARBURG

described defending the Confederate flag as a "civil rights" issue.

And in the process, Lyons has become the darling of the neo-Confederate world. Neo-Confederate web sites now commonly urge their followers to donate to the SLRC. In Columbia and Montgomery, Lyons shared the podium with members of the Sons of Confederate Veterans, the Council of Conservative Citizens, the League of the South, the Heritage Preservation Association and others. At the same time, apparently seeking to bolster the SLRC's image as a civil rights group, Lyons has taken on black clients in cases of alleged "malicious prosecution" and a housing dispute, and he has appeared on numerous occasions with Edgerton. Today, he protests angrily whenever he is portrayed as a racist.

Hate, and Heritage, Too

But the evidence is against him. Even as he sat with Edgerton eating lunch and discussing politics, Lyons said that the two men's children would never marry. Racial intermarriage, he told a reporter, is

"like taking rainbow ice cream and putting it in a blender. What you get is this gray mush not fit to eat."

It is certainly convenient for today's neo-Confederate organizations to believe that Kirk Lyons is no racist, merely a stalwart fighter for Southerners who have suffered at the hands of the politically correct. And it is equally convenient for Lyons to describe himself as a champion of the little man who is mistreated and despised by those in power. But the reality is substantially different.

And that speaks to the nature of the neo-Confederate movement. To date, Lyons has never been kicked out of a neo-Confederate group to which he belonged. Aside from minor spats in Georgia and Oklahoma, his role has prompted scarcely a whisper from those who say they

fight for "heritage, not hate." In fact, when all is said and done, it is not Lyons who is bringing neo-Confederates into his political camp. Rather, the increasingly radical neo-Confederates are coming to him. ▲

ASHEVILLE CITIZEN-TIMES

Saturday
March 28, 1998

NAACP's Edgerton defends meeting with white separatists

By Susan Dryman
STAFF WRITER

They appear to be on opposite ends of the political spectrum, but NAACP President H.K. Edgerton and Black Mountain white separatist Kirk Lyons say they found some common ground recently over a cordial lunch.

And Edgerton says he would do it again and has no regrets about meeting with Lyons, whose CAUSE Legal Defense Fund is considered by the Southern Poverty Law Center to be a nationwide fundraising arm for white supremacists.

"I break bread with the devil every day," Edgerton said Friday in a fiery defense of the luncheon. He added that he is more leery of "people who wear the 'invisible hoods' and proclaim to be our bankers and lawyers and leaders."

At the Blue Rooster brew pub in early February, the two ate lunch, joked together and mugged for a snapshot wearing dinner napkins on their heads *meant* to resemble hoods.

Roy Harris, a member of the local NAACP and an Asheville City School Board member, said he has no qualms with Edgerton clowning around with Lyons, who believes the only way to achieve peace between races is to establish separate colonies.

♦ See Edgerton on page B3

Confederates in Black

In denying charges of racism, the neo-Confederate movement produces a couple of black proponents — men with views like the notion that slavery was a 'learning' institution

H.K. Edgerton speaks wistfully of the "sense of family" that bound blacks and whites under slavery. There was great "love between the African who was here in the Southland and his master," he says. Despite its poor reviews, Edgerton concludes, slavery served as an "institution of learning" for blacks.

Edgerton sounds a lot like other apologists for slavery — many of whom, like him, pledge allegiance to the Confederate battle flag and the movement around it. But he stands out from this crowd in some significant ways.

For starters, he's black.

And Edgerton is also the former president of the Asheville, N.C., branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) — a group that fellow neo-Confederate Arthur Ravenal, a white South Carolina state senator, described this year as the

tune of "Dixie" — sometimes quite literally — he helps give the cause the appearance of legitimacy. It is a gloss that frequently racist neo-Confederate groups desperately need in order to maintain the idea that theirs is a movement that celebrates "heritage, not hate."

I Don't Want To Be Black'

Edgerton is almost unique, but not entirely so. The other prominent black figure on the Confederate flag rally circuit is a former militiaman who recently proclaimed: "I am hereby resigning myself from the black race."

J.J. Johnson, once a leading militia figure in Ohio, offers running commentary on the Confederate flag issue in his Internet publication, the *Sierra Times*. "I hope some black person is reading this right now and fuming," he writes in one editorial. "If you think the Confederate flag is insulting to you, you are being used, or as we say it in

nity to face that kind of terrorism," Edgerton said after that attack, expressing concern that his relatives might have been targeted because of his position at the NAACP.

But Edgerton still has good things to say about the Klansmen with whom he chatted at a recent flag rally in Stone Mountain, Ga. — the place where the Klan was reborn in the 1920s — although he didn't know then they were Klan members.

"They were willing to shake my hand," he explains.

Well, kind of. At the Stone Mountain event, Edgerton reportedly invited a white woman onto the stage after speaking and gave her a kiss. Not long after, that infamous kiss was being relived on AlaReb, an invitation-only Internet discussion group for neo-Confederates. "This is what happens when we choose to be inclusionists and integrationists," a woman named Dianne wrote. "If we ask Negroes to support our

"If every African-American would pick up the Confederate flag, I

"National Association of Retarded People."

Edgerton sees no contradictions here. In an interview with the *Intelligence Report*, he insisted that he's doing his part to "correct the lies" when he suggests that "it was better to be an African in the Southland as a slave than to be free in Africa." He's speaking as a "favored son of the South," he said, when he addresses Confederate flag rallies from North Carolina to Georgia to Texas.

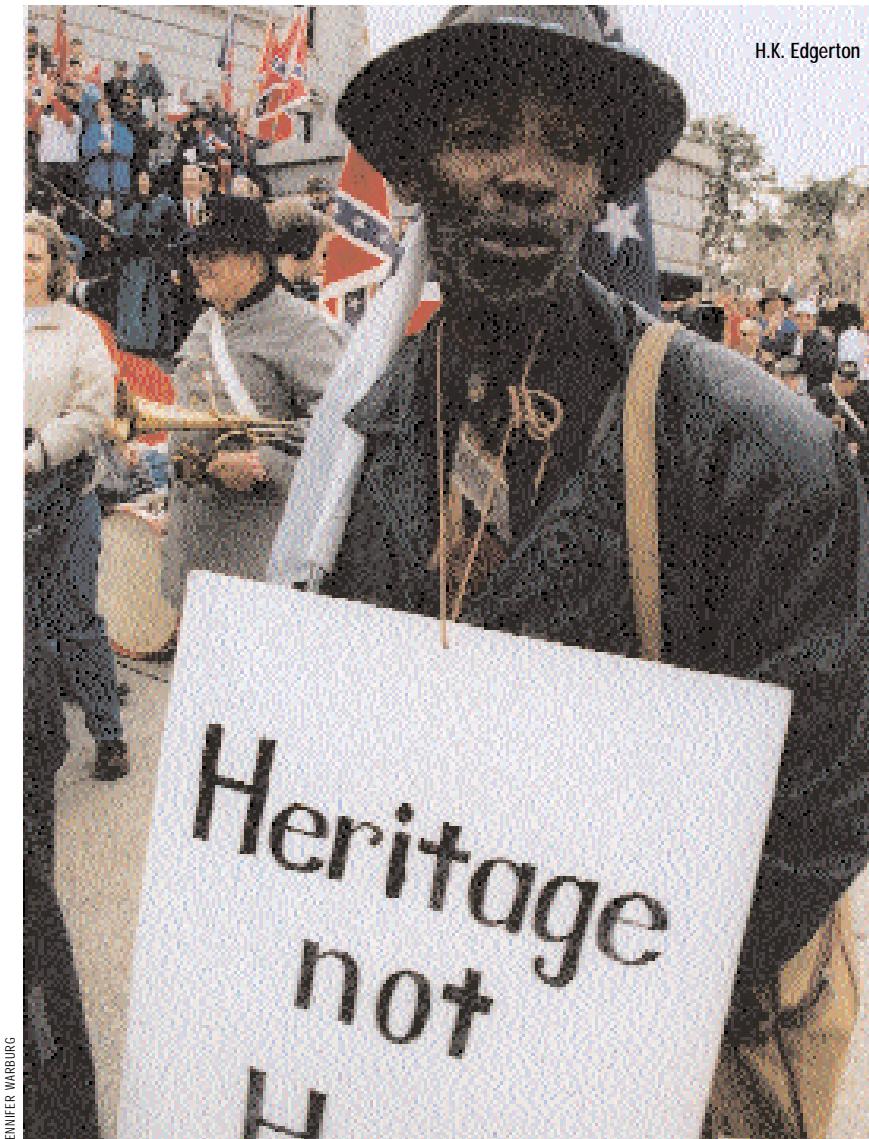
In a lily-white movement that most blacks find deeply offensive, Edgerton seems to feel quite at home. And as he dances to

the hood, you bein' played — for a fool." In "I Don't Want to be Black Anymore," Johnson's most controversial installment to date, he lambastes the NAACP tourism boycott of South Carolina — a measure that helped get the Confederate flag taken down from that state's Capitol building.

For his part, Edgerton manages to remain unfazed when white supremacists show their support at various flag rallies — despite an incident two years ago in which two Klansmen shot up his cousin's house. "It's highly offensive to me for any member of my family or any member of this commu-

cause they will expect certain perks, one of which may be the privilege of hugging and kissing the white females in attendance at these events."

A posting signed by David Cooksey, current member and former chairman of the Tuscaloosa County (Ala.) chapter of the purportedly nonracist League of the South (see p. 10), is blunter. "35 years ago, H.K. would not have even thought of such a disgraceful thing," the posting said in a response to Dianne, "for he would have known that the men would not put up with this violation of a Southern White



H.K. Edgerton

would say, 'Free at last, free at last, God almighty, I am free at last.'

female! He would have never been seen or heard from again."

Klowning as the Klan

Edgerton, meanwhile, sees himself as playing to both sides of the aisle. He considers himself "very much a part of the NAACP," the "same old Edgerton," despite politics that have caused his former colleagues to shun him.

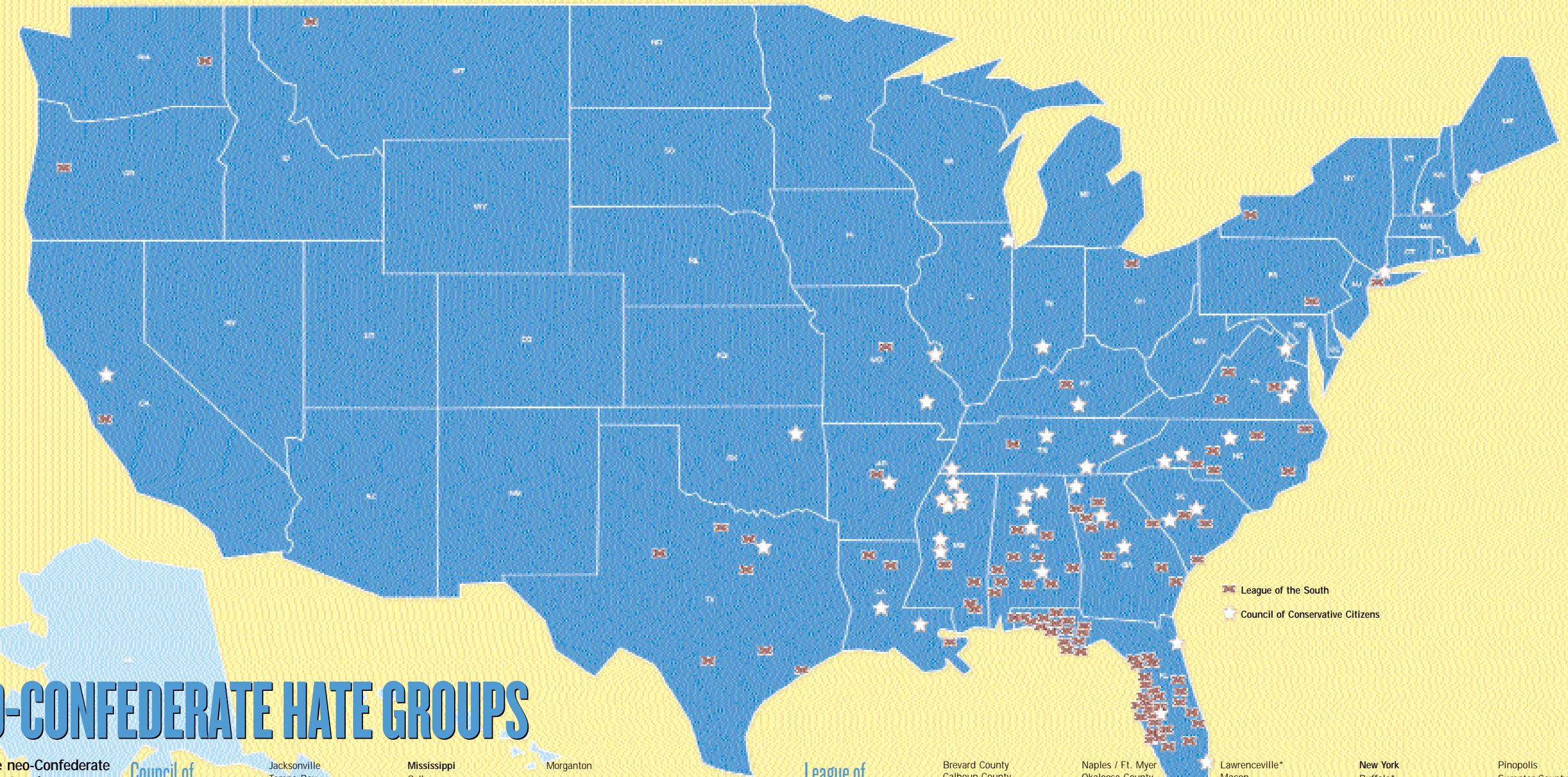
"His elevator doesn't go all the way to the top," Rev. Skip Alston, executive director of the North Carolina NAACP, told a reporter recently. "It doesn't even reach

the second floor. We don't recognize anything that he's doing."

Edgerton was suspended from the NAACP in 1998 for non-compliance with the organization's rules after his Asheville branch fell into debt. But even before that, Edgerton had met in a controversial luncheon with Kirk Lyons (see p. 18), a white supremacist lawyer who has taken to defending the neo-Confederate cause of late. At the luncheon, Edgerton, Lyons and Lyons associate Neill Payne clowned with napkins set atop their heads that were meant to look like Klan hoods. In that garb, the threesome

the rally to Martin Luther King Jr.'s "dream that someday the sons of slaves and sons of former slave owners could sit down at the table of brotherhood."

Edgerton often describes his activism as an extension of King's work and the ongoing fight for civil rights. Knowing that few blacks would view King's legacy, civil rights or Southern history as he does, Edgerton seems motivated all the more. "If every African-American would pick up the Confederate flag," he proclaims, "I would say, 'Free at last, free at last, God almighty, I am free at last.' " ▲



NEO-CONFEDERATE HATE GROUPS

The racist core of the neo-Confederate movement is found in two large groups: the League of the South (LOS), with 9,000 members organized into 96 chapters in 20 states; and the Council of Conservative Citizens (CCC), whose 15,000 members make up 44 chapters in 20 states. The CCC has been listed as a "hate group" by the Southern Poverty Law Center since early 1999. With this issue of the *Intelligence Report*, the Center is adding the LOS to the same listing. As the map shows, the groups' chapters are heavily concentrated in the Southern states.

Council of Conservative Citizens

Alabama	Birmingham	Jacksonville	Tampa Bay
Arkansas	Little Rock	Casey Creek	Dublin
California	Northern California	Louisiana State Chapter	New York
Florida	Boynton Beach	Baton Rouge	New York City
Illinois	Chicago	Missouri	St. Louis
Indiana	Bedford	Mississippi	Calhoun
Iowa		Holly Springs	Holly Springs
Kentucky	Casey Creek	Jackson	Jackson
Louisiana		Leflore County	Leflore County
Maine	Portland	Piney Woods	Piney Woods
Massachusetts		Vaiden	Vaiden
Michigan		Webster	Webster
Minnesota			
Mississippi			
Missouri			
Montana			
Nebraska			
Nevada			
New Hampshire			
New Jersey			
New Mexico			
New York			
North Carolina			
North Dakota			
Ohio			
Oklahoma			
Oregon			
Pennsylvania			
Pennsylvania			
Rhode Island			
South Carolina			
Tennessee			
Texas			
Utah			
Vermont			
Virginia			
Washington			
West Virginia			
Wisconsin			
Wyoming			

League of the South

Alabama	Auburn	Mississippi	Naples / Ft. Myers	New York	Pinopolis
Arkansas	Attalla	Calhoun	Okaloosa County	Buffalo*	Sumpter County
California	Birmingham	Calhoun	Charlotte County	Savannah	Tennessee
Florida	Cuba	Calhoun	Collier County	Silver Creek*	Franklin*
Georgia	Desoto County	Calhoun	Collier County	Statesboro	Texas
Illinois	Escambia County	Calhoun	Collier County	Charlotte*	Arlington
Indiana	Franklin County	Calhoun	Collier County	Durham	Austin
Iowa	Gadsden County	Calhoun	Collier County	Hertford	Conroe
Kansas	Gulf, Holmes County	Calhoun	Collier County	Kingston	Pasadena
Louisiana	Holmes County	Calhoun	Collier County	Salisbury	Watauga*
Maine	Hendry County	Calhoun	Collier County		
Massachusetts	Hernando County	Calhoun	Collier County		
Michigan	Hernando County	Calhoun	Collier County		
Minnesota	Hernando County	Calhoun	Collier County		
Mississippi	Hernando County	Calhoun	Collier County		
Missouri	Hernando County	Calhoun	Collier County		
Montana	Hernando County	Calhoun	Collier County		
Nebraska	Hernando County	Calhoun	Collier County		
Nevada	Hernando County	Calhoun	Collier County		
New Hampshire	Hernando County	Calhoun	Collier County		
New Jersey	Hernando County	Calhoun	Collier County		
New Mexico	Hernando County	Calhoun	Collier County		
New York	Hernando County	Calhoun	Collier County		
North Carolina	Hernando County	Calhoun	Collier County		
North Dakota	Hernando County	Calhoun	Collier County		
Ohio	Hernando County	Calhoun	Collier County		
Oklahoma	Hernando County	Calhoun	Collier County		
Oregon	Hernando County	Calhoun	Collier County		
Pennsylvania	Hernando County	Calhoun	Collier County		
Pennsylvania	Hernando County	Calhoun	Collier County		
Rhode Island	Hernando County	Calhoun	Collier County		
South Carolina	Hernando County	Calhoun	Collier County		
Tennessee	Hernando County	Calhoun	Collier County		
Texas	Hernando County	Calhoun	Collier County		
Utah	Hernando County	Calhoun	Collier County		
Vermont	Hernando County	Calhoun	Collier County		
Virginia	Hernando County	Calhoun	Collier County		
Washington	Hernando County	Calhoun	Collier County		
West Virginia	Hernando County	Calhoun	Collier County		
Wisconsin	Hernando County	Calhoun	Collier County		
Wyoming	Hernando County	Calhoun	Collier County		

* indicates state chapter

THE NEO-CONFEDERATES

The neo-Confederate movement includes a number of organizations that generally share the goals of preserving Confederate monuments, honoring the Confederate battle flag, and lauding what is judged to be "Southern" culture. Many have close ties to the white supremacist League of the South (LOS). As the battle over removing the Confederate battle flag from atop the South Carolina Capitol heated up this year, leaders of relatively mainstream groups like the Heritage Preservation Association, the Sons of Confederate Veterans and the United Daughters of the Confederacy shared the podium with the likes of the LOS and the Council of Conservative Citizens — despite the latter groups' clearly expressed racism. The political cross-pollination between these neo-Confederate organizations is also seen in the large number of cross-memberships among their leaders and activists.

American Renaissance

Oaktown, Va. · www.amren.com

Edited by white separatist Jared Taylor, *American Renaissance* is a magazine with a highfalutin tone that links IQ levels to racial groups and promotes eugenics, the "science" of improving the human race through selective breeding. Taylor, a board member of the racist Council of Conservative Citizens, has published widely on such topics, including two books: *Paved with Good Intentions: The Failure of Race Relations in Contemporary America* and *The Real American Dilemma: Race, Immigration and the Future of America*. His magazine promotes, among other things, the ideas that blacks have smaller brain capacity than whites and that they are inherently more violent than other races. The New Century Foundation, which publishes *American Renaissance*, also hosts biennial conferences on the same themes, which increasingly are being taken up by neo-Confederates as well as open white supremacists. The most recent conference was held in March in Reston, Va., and focused on non-white immigration. Attending were former Klansman David Duke; Steven Barry, the "military coordinator" of the neo-Nazi National Alliance; and Samuel Francis, an archconservative columnist fired from *The Washington Times* over a racially inflammatory column. Increasingly, *American Renaissance* is taking up issues dear to the hearts of neo-Confederates. In the July edition, for instance, Francis has a cover story about the Confederate battle flag called "The War on White Heritage." In it, Francis argues that the debate over the flag concerns issues of "national and racial heritage" and shows whites must work together to "face common enemies and common threats to their rights, interests, identity and heritage as whites."

Confederate Society of America

Warrensburg, Mo. · www.deovindice.org

Founded in 1992, the Confederate Society of America (CSA) claims to be the "FIRST southern nationalist organization, dedicated not only to preserving the Confederate heritage but to restoring the sovereignty of our [Southern] nation." The CSA's leaders are tied to the League of the South and, especially, to the white supremacist Council of Conservative Citizens (CCC). CSA President Craig Maus is a League member and former Virginia head of the CCC; Vice President Kenny Ashford was chairman of the CCC's Baton

Rouge, La., chapter in 1998; and CSA founder and advisory director Jim Bitzer was a member of the CCC's national advisory council in 1994. A principal plank of the CSA, which helped organize last January's pro-Confederate flag rally in Columbia, S.C., is opposition to paying reparations to the descendants of slaves. Slavery, the CSA says, "has absolutely no impact upon the current generation, other than that inflicted upon the minds of negroes and liberal whites by the General Government and the profiteers of racial division. In fact, these very same people are the modern enslavers."

Confederate States of America

Tallahassee, Fla. · www.afn.org/~mpress/CSA

The Confederate States of America (CSA), a group that hopes to recreate the government that lost the Civil War, is linked to both militia leaders and militia-derived ideology. The South, according to the CSA, is "an occupied nation just like those of the Soviet Union who [sic] are occupied by foreign forces." The CSA wants to repeal all Constitutional amendments beyond the first 10 — meaning the citizenship of blacks, the right of women to vote and the federal income tax, among other things, would be withdrawn. The CSA is led by long-time militia activists — both National Director of Operations (Interim) Rick Ainsworth and Secretary of Defense (Interim) Bill Cox were once leaders in the Southeastern States Alliance, a coalition of militia groups — and its rhetoric reflects that. Rejecting the "New World Order" (which it terms the "New World Order") and "federal tyranny," the CSA says it wants "to be the LEGAL (de jure) Government" and has vowed to create "forces to defend our citizens and sovereign states" to that end. "Battle Flags," the CSA says of the Confederate banner, "should be held in reserve until hostilities begin."

Council of Conservative Citizens

St. Louis, Mo. · www.cofcc.org

Proudly billing itself as "The True Voice of the American Right," the Council of Conservative Citizens (CCC) is the reincarnation of the White Citizens Councils that sprang up in the South of the 1950s and 1960s to oppose desegregation. The CCC, which counts some 40 state legislators and other officials in its ranks, is a white supremacist group that focuses on issues like support for the

Confederate battle flag and opposition to non-white immigration, school busing and affirmative action. The 15,000-member group's CEO, Gordon Baum, has supported former Klansman David Duke in his bid to be governor of Louisiana. The council's main publication, *Citizens Informer*, is now edited by columnist Sam Francis and Chris Temple, who earlier worked for an anti-Semitic publication called *The Jubilee*. The CCC shares many views with the League of the South — some of them detailed on a section of its web site devoted to the "Fight for the Confederacy" — but not the League's desire that the South should again secede. The problem with secession, according to the CCC, is that it could lead to black domination.

The Edgefield Journal

Edgefield, S.C. · www.dixienews.com

The "only true Southern nationalist newspaper" serves as a forum for the ideas of neo-Confederate groups such as the League of the South, many of whose members pen articles for the monthly publication. *The Edgefield Journal* was first published in 1999 by nonagenarian William Walton Mims and was edited by Virgil Huston, former head of the South Carolina chapter of the League of the South. Another former leader in the League's South Carolina branch, Lake E. High, helps edit the paper and writes many of its articles. Recent stories have defended Bob Jones University (which until this year had a ban on interracial dating) and John Rocker (a baseball player who derided minorities and others publicly). Another article concludes that "many slaves were willing to be slaves. ... It is fact that many slaves led fairly comfortable lives, probably many more in number than those that did not." Writing about the Confederate battle flag, neo-Confederate ideologue Thomas Fleming warned: "The attacks are increasing because the New World Order of George Bush, Sr., requires that all historic nations [like the South] be destroyed." He adds: "They will murder us if they can. They already have, at Waco."

Heritage Preservation Association

Atlanta, Ga. · www.hpa.org

The Heritage Preservation Association (HPA) is a nonprofit membership group whose purpose is to "fight political correctness and cultural bigotry against the South." To that end, the HPA

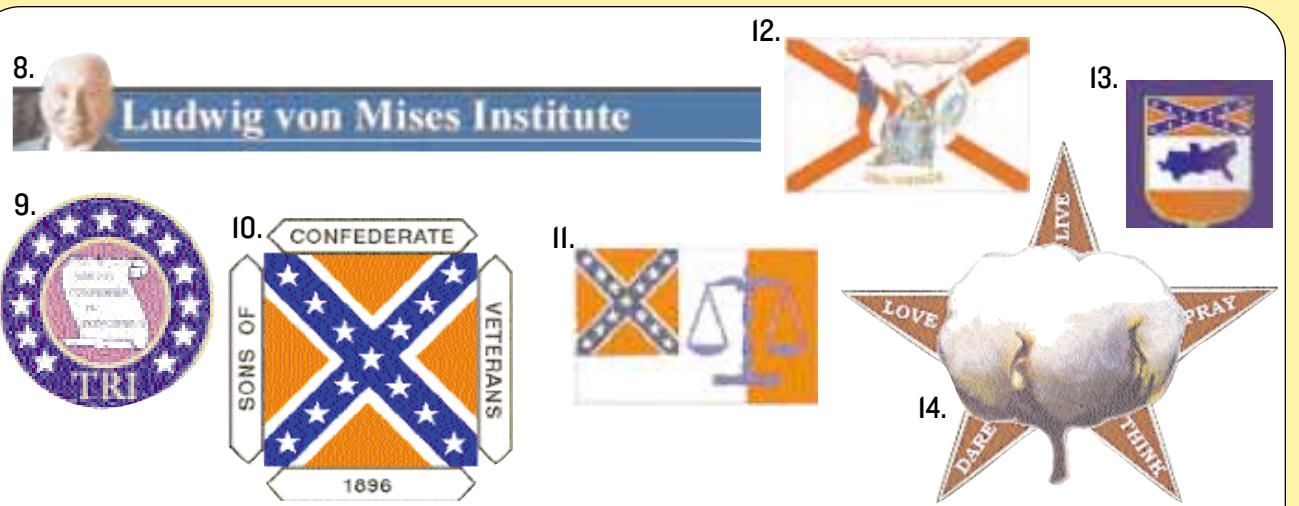
declared "Total War" last January on those who allegedly attack Southern heritage, focusing especially on the NAACP and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference because of those groups' opposition to the Confederate battle flag in South Carolina. Over the last three years, the HPA has worked closely with the white supremacist League of the South to stage pro-Confederate flag rallies and similar events, and in 1999 HPA President P. Charles Lunsford joined the League. The HPA also is linked to prominent politicians: former Georgia Gov. Zell Miller was a member, and the group has enjoyed close relationships with former Alabama governors Fob James and George Wallace. The HPA was also a primary lobbyist for the Confederate Heritage Month that was declared recently in Alabama. Asked if the HPA had ever felt it necessary to condemn or disassociate itself from hate groups, Lunsford demurred: "Well, we have never felt it necessary to make a statement against them, we just aren't for them. It would seem patronizing to come out and say things like that."

League of the South

Tuscaloosa, Ala. · www.dixienet.org

Founded in 1994 as the Southern League, the overarching mission of the League of the South (LOS) is to accomplish what the Civil War did not — Southern secession. Celtic history specialist and LOS President Michael Hill, a former professor, says he is working for "the revitalization of a general European cultural hegemony." He adds that "[t]he Southern League supports a return to a political and social system based on kith and kin rather than an impersonal state wedded to the idea of the universal rights of man. At its core is a European population." The LOS is essentially theocratic, calling for the imposition of Christian doctrine on the apparatus of the state. It is also clearly racist in its attitude toward black people, a group that Hill once termed "a deadly and compliant underclass." The LOS, with a membership of nearly 9,000 people organized into 96 chapters in 20 states, has worked with other racist groups like the Council of Conservative Citizens in promoting rallies to support the Confederate battle flag, among other things. The LOS is unusual in that it is dressed out with Ph.D.s and therefore has a veneer of legitimacy. Besides Hill, the LOS board includes three doctorate-holders: Rockford Institute leader Thomas Fleming, retired professor Grady McWhiney and professor Clyde Wilson.





Ludwig von Mises Institute

Auburn, Ala. · www.mises.org

8 Headed up by Llewelyn Rockwell Jr., the Ludwig von Mises Institute is devoted to a radical libertarian view of government and economics inspired by the Austrian economist Ludwig von Mises, whom the institute says "showed that government intervention is always destructive." Indeed, the institute aims to "undermine statism in all its forms," and its recent interest in neo-Confederate themes reflects that. Rockwell recently argued that the Civil War "transformed the American regime from a federalist system based on freedom to a centralized state that circumscribed liberty in the name of public order." Desegregation in the civil rights era, he says, resulted in the "involuntary servitude" of (presumably white) business owners. In the past, Rockwell has praised the electoral success of European neofascists like Joerg Haider in Austria and Christoph Blocher in Switzerland. Both Rockwell and Institute research director Jeffrey Tucker are listed on the racist League of the South's web page as founding members — and both men deny their membership. Tucker has written for League publications, and many League members have taught at the institute's seminars and given presentations at its conferences. At the recent Austrian Scholars Conference, the F.A. Hayek Memorial Lecture was delivered by Donald Livingston, director of the League's Summer Institute. In 1994, Thomas Fleming, a founding League member and the editor of *Chronicles* magazine, spoke on neo-Confederate ideas to an institute conference. Rockwell, who is also vice president of the Center for Libertarian Studies, runs his own daily news web site that often features articles by League members.

The Rockford Institute

Rockford, Ill. · www.chroniclesmagazine.org

9 The Rockford Institute, founded in 1976 by Thomas Fleming, is a far-right think tank that puts on conferences, hosts speakers and produces several publications. Its aim, it says, is "the defense of the fundamental institutions of our civilization" and "the

renewal of Christendom." The institute publishes *Chronicles: A Magazine of American Culture*, a periodical filled with articles penned by neo-Confederates. It is also closely linked to the racist League of the South. Fleming was a founding member of the League and is currently on the board. Clyde Wilson, another charter member of the League, has been a *Chronicles* contributing editor. An advertisement for the League in a 1994 issue of *Chronicles*, in fact, noted that "*Chronicles* is the only national magazine whose editors are all League members." And the magazine has run articles by League president Michael Hill arguing, among other things, that the civil rights movement hurt the South. For his part, Fleming, who is also an adjunct faculty member of the Ludwig von Mises Institute, spoke this year at major pro-Confederate flag rallies in Alabama and South Carolina. Ten years earlier, Fleming had this to say about arch-segregationist Alabama Gov. George Wallace: "In his defense of ordinary people and their communities, no matter how mean-spirited or cynical, Wallace was clearly on the right track."

Sons of Confederate Veterans

Columbia, Tenn. · www.scv.org

10 Since its founding in 1896, the Sons of Confederate Veterans (SCV) has restricted its membership to direct male descendants of Confederate veterans of the Civil War. The SCV has long claimed to be interested only in Civil War remembrance, and in fact passed an official resolution condemning hate groups in 1990. Still, it has also had, and still does have, a number of prominent members with white supremacist leanings. In 1996, Peter W. Orlebeke, the SCV's then-leader, said that slavery could be defended biblically, and wasn't really so bad: "[T]here have been times that I wish someone had said to me, 'I'll give you a job for the rest of your life.' " Today, although there are divisions within the SCV, its publications have clearly become more strident. The April issue of *Alabama Confederate*, for instance, included articles by key members of the League of the South, along with a condemnation of Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation as unconstitutional. Prominent SCV members include Michael Andrew

Grissom, author of *Southern by the Grace of God* and a member of two white supremacist groups, the League of the South and the Council of Conservative Citizens; Donald and Walter Kennedy, charter League members; Jared Taylor, editor of the racist *American Renaissance* magazine; and Kirk Lyons, a long-time white supremacist lawyer. Asked about Lyons, SCV Commander-in-Chief Patrick J. Griffin told the *Intelligence Report*: "If Kirk has become controversial outside of the SCV, I would just view that as part of his personal life." The League has lauded the apparent change in SCV attitudes, saying in 1998 that the SCV "old guard" was on its way out and "the organization appears to be ready to work with us as a fellow pro-South group."

for service to God, their state and their nation." SMI also "seeks to honor and support the best of Southern traditions."

The Southern Party

Houston, Texas · www.southernparty.org

13 The Southern Party is a political party that began, essentially, as a project of the League of the South. Fifteen League members formed the bulk of the Southern Party Exploratory Committee, and the League sponsored the party's first meeting. The party's current "rebelmaster" (webmaster) is George Kalas, who had served the League earlier in the same capacity. Recently, however, a dispute arose between the League and the new party over the degree of the party's centralization, leading League president Michael Hill to pull out of the party's first convention this summer. That convention was held in Charleston, S.C., to counter an NAACP boycott of the state over its continued flying of the Confederate battle flag over the state Capitol (it has since been removed). Speakers included former militia figure J.J.

Johnson and Donald Kennedy, co-author of *The South Was Right!* The Southern Party says the South is defined by its "historically European ... ethnic, linguistic and cultural core," and adds that this white "cultural majority represents the true fusion of blood kinship and an historic homeland that defines what the Southern nation is." It has state-level affiliates in Alabama, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia and West Virginia.

United Daughters of the Confederacy

Richmond, Va. · www.hqudc.org

14 Formed in 1894 from the remnants of local memorial associations affiliated with Confederate veterans camps, the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) is open only to women related to Confederate veterans of what the UDC still calls the "War Between the States." Although the UDC promotes an image of genteel Southern ladies concerned only with honoring their ancestors — and is, in fact, the least political of the neo-Confederate groups — its publications sometimes belie that benign appearance. In a 1989 article in *UDC Magazine*, for instance, Walter W. Lee argued that that "the enslaved African lived an idyllic existence in an unspoiled Disneyland, complete with self-mowing lawns. The inhabitants seemed to have had an existence that only just failed to reach that of Adam and Eve before the Fall." Other UDC articles praise an array of neo-Confederate ideologues such as Michael Andrew Grissom, author of *Southern by the Grace of God* (a book which portrays the original Klan favorably) and a member of two racist groups, the Council of Conservative Citizens and the League of the South. The UDC has also worked directly with these kinds of groups in erecting monuments and staging Confederate battle flag rallies. Most recently, the UDC's president, Mrs. William Wells, shared the podium with League president Michael Hill and white supremacist lawyer Kirk Lyons. ▲

White Lies

Brooks D. Simpson, a professor at Arizona State University, is a leading historian of 19th-century American political and military history whose work concentrates on the Civil War and Reconstruction era. The author or co-author of nine books, including studies of Abraham Lincoln, Ulysses S. Grant, William T. Sherman and Reconstruction policy and politics, Simpson serves as co-editor of the University of Nebraska's "Great Campaigns of the Civil War" series and the same institution's Civil War battlefield series. In recent years, he has followed the development of an increasingly shrill neo-Confederate movement and particularly the use of misleading or plainly false information by many of its ideologues.

The *Intelligence Report* interviewed Simpson about neo-Confederate myths of the Civil War period, including the notions that that the war had almost nothing to do with slavery; that Lincoln supported the "peculiar institution"; that many thousands of blacks fought voluntarily for the Confederacy; that Confederate general Robert E. Lee opposed human bondage; and that the South's population and culture are fundamentally "Anglo-Celtic."

INTELLIGENCE REPORT Let's talk about some of the unorthodox views of modern neo-Confederate ideologues. One of their key contentions is that the Civil War wasn't about slavery at all, that it was fundamentally a clash of two differing economic systems. Is there anything to that?

SIMPSON First of all, without slavery there's no Civil War in the first place, there's no irreconcilable conflict, so that's a *sine qua non*. Second, when people talk about conflicting economic systems, obviously the root of the conflict was that the South's economic system was based upon plantation slavery. So

one can't talk about different economic systems without once again coming back to the issue of slavery. That was fundamental to what the South was about.

There is a strange paradox here. These people deride what they call political correctness, and yet one of their first missions is to whitewash the Confederacy of any connection with slavery. They actually seem sensitive to any possibility that the Confederacy is linked with race, and want to absolve the Confederacy of any charges of racism at all. You can see that in the fight over the Confederate flag, where the neo-

Confederates say, "This is heritage, not hate. It has nothing to do with race at all." At the same time they're essentially defending white supremacy, they deny race has anything to do with it.

IR So you see these neo-Confederates, the leaders and thinkers of groups like the League of the South (LOS), as basically white supremacist?

SIMPSON They certainly want the revival of the principles of the Confederacy, and one those principles would in fact be white supremacy, unquestioned and explicit. The racism that's woven into their comments is often quite astonishing.



A leading Civil War historian debunks many of the myths of the old South being circulated by neo-Confederate ideologues

SIMPSON The states' rights argument is even more specious. White Southerners had no problem using the federal government's powers when it came to protecting and promoting the interests of slavery. They only invoked states' rights rhetoric in trying to restrict federal power against slavery. Divisions over the interpretation of the Constitution were directly related to the issue of slavery.

IR Is there anything to the Confederate interpretation of the Constitution, with regard to both states' rights and the supposed right of secession?

SIMPSON As soon as the Constitution was drafted and put into place, the very people who helped draft it began to disagree over its meaning. Both [Alexander] Hamilton and [James] Madison were on the drafting committee, and these two guys were at loggerheads for years over what exactly the document meant.

Certainly, there is nothing in the Constitution that in any way explicitly sanctifies secession. I call secession a constructed right. You have to interpret the Constitution in very specific ways to come up with that. In fact, you have to engage in the very sort of Constitutional activism that neo-Confederates would otherwise abhor

in interpreting the Constitution. It's not really much of an argument. It's flatly asserted and opinions to the contrary are simply dismissed.

IR Another key neo-Confederate argument is that the war was really about states' rights and Southern opposition to growing federal power.

The notion of the Constitution as a contract between states, which has to be the basis of the secessionist argument, falls apart because it only covers the initial 13 signers. After the original 13, the only thing that came close to an independent contracting agent was Texas, which was a republic before it became a state. But Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana and Mississippi were not states until they

joined the United States. They were territories. So how does this argument apply to states that joined the Union after ratification of the original document?

IR A popular neo-Confederate theme is that many thousands of blacks voluntarily fought for the Confederacy. What do you make of that?

SIMPSON From a light-hearted point of view, if there were all these black Confederate soldiers, given that we don't see them show up [in historical records] as prisoners or killed or wounded, they must have been the best troops the Confederacy ever had, because they were never killed, wounded or captured. So an entire army of black Confederates would have been invincible.

If black Confederates were already there, one is at a loss to understand why white Southerners debated so ferociously over the introduction of blacks in the Confederate army late in the war. Certainly, there were blacks who accompanied the Confederate armies — servants of officers, wagon drivers, cooks, teamsters and the like. But they weren't there, by and large, of their own volition. They were there because they were enslaved. In terms

A Confederate dollar bill from Georgia is replete with images of slavery — a stark contradiction of neo-Confederate arguments that the Civil War had nothing to do with the "peculiar institution."



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTO

of blacks actually in the ranks of the Confederate army, we're talking about a handful of people at most.

You see a very selective use of the historical record by certain academics who are pushing an agenda. So where there has been some evidence of an African-American taking a weapon up in a Civil War battle and firing away in self-defense, that is transformed into regiment after regiment of African-Americans ready to fight. There's a conscious effort among these people [neo-Confederates] to distort and exaggerate whatever they find in the historical record to serve their ends.

IR Another neo-Confederate argument regarding slavery is that relatively few Southerners actually owned slaves. The theory seems to be that the vast majority of Southern combatants must have been fighting for something else.

SIMPSON Many neo-Confederates argue that there was a rather small percentage of Southern whites who actually owned slaves.

Opposed to this were the residents of Virginia. The reason was self-serving. As of 1860, the second most important export of the commonwealth of Virginia was human flesh. Virginians wanted to make sure that if white Southerners were going to buy slaves, they were going to buy slaves that bore the phrase "made in Virginia."

Not only that, but you have to count the number of people who think they're going to own slaves in the future but don't at present. That is a major class issue in Southern society of the late 1850s, and a major debate — a debate which, by the way, the neo-Confederates love to underplay. By the late 1850s, the price of an average black male adult field hand is over \$1,000. And many slaveholding Southerners begin to realize that that means that many whites cannot afford to gain entry into the slaveholding system any more. A book published in 1857 by a white South Carolinian, a deep racist named Hinton R. Helper, argued that non-slaveholding Southern whites ought

to wake up to their economic exploitation by slaveholding whites. That's the kind of message that many slaveholding whites took to heart, and so they spoke about reopening the international slave trade with the idea that if you increase the supply, you lower the price.

The people most vociferously opposed to this were the residents of Virginia. The reason was self-serving. As of 1860, the second most important export of the commonwealth of Virginia was human flesh. Virginians wanted to make sure that if white Southerners were going to buy slaves, they were going to buy slaves that bore the phrase "made in Virginia."

IR What do you make of the neo-Confederate emphasis on northern racism?

SIMPSON Let's start by saying they have a point. Racism against African-Americans was a national problem, not a regional problem. The white South could never have gotten away with as much as it did in terms of white supremacy had there not been a large number of white Northerners who supported racist policies.

But now neo-Confederates say, "Well, you guys were racist, too, and in fact the real racism is in the North." And at the same time, they say, "There is no racism in the South." Well, you really can't have it both ways.

But again, the war is fought not over racial equality — at least among American whites — but over slavery, the political advantages that white Southerners had because of slavery. The war is about slavery and its political and economic impact on American society, not just Southern society. Southerners are very much aware when they support secession in 1860-61 that they are seceding to protect slavery and white supremacy — and that that is something that should interest not only slaveholders but also non-slaveholding whites.

The neo-Confederates construct an "other" of mainstream academic scholarship that supposedly says that the North fought to end slavery and that the South was uniquely racist. But you don't find a lot of mainstream scholars who embrace any of that. In fact, most mainstream academics embrace the idea that racism was an American problem, and that Union soldiers went to war in 1861 primarily to save the Union, not to destroy slavery. In other words, the historical stereotype that the neo-

Confederates war against basically doesn't exist.

IR An allied neo-Confederate argument is that Abraham Lincoln was a virulent racist, far worse than most Southerners.

SIMPSON Oddly enough, neo-Confederates make common cause with blacks such as Lerone Bennett, who, in a recent book that is rather selective, recites the old Lincoln-is-a-racist notion. There's no doubt Abraham Lincoln harbored racial prejudices, and there's also no doubt that he questioned them, sometimes publicly. After all, Lincoln was Southern-born, and had a lot of Southern influences in his early life.

What's important is not that Lincoln had racial prejudices, but that he struggled to overcome them, and that whatever his prejudices, he abhorred slavery. That's very clear. He struggled to find ways to end slavery within the bounds of the Constitution; it was the war that empowered Lincoln to act in ways he never could have acted otherwise, by allowing him to strike against slavery using presidential war powers.

Lincoln is often derided as being some sort of dictator-tyrant in the White House, but I think he actually toed the Constitutional line a lot more carefully than people give him credit for. He respected [the legality of] slavery in states which had not seceded, and worked in other ways to secure emancipation there.

In Delaware, he went so far as to draft a constitutional amendment for the state constitution to end slavery with compensation for slaveowners, although that fell apart. Lincoln also worked behind the scenes to help emancipation in Maryland, and in 1864 Maryland did abolish slavery on its own. So

Lincoln did work to help emancipation in the border [slave] states that stayed in the union.

IR The flip side of their take on Lincoln is that two key Confederate military leaders, Robert E. Lee and Nathan Bedford Forrest, were essentially nonracist. In the case of Forrest, neo-Confederates virtually never mention the fact that after the war, he became the first imperial wizard of the Ku Klux Klan. The Los, in fact, recently helped to erect a statue of Forrest, who is seen as a great hero.

SIMPSON The Lee myth — Lee being above slavery, Lee being in fact anti-slavery — is essential to the neo-Confederate argument that it's not about race, it's not about slavery. They've done a very good job of covering up Robert E. Lee's actual positions on this. Well, in 1864, black Union troops were involved in operations against Lee's army outside Richmond and Petersburg, and some of them are taken prisoner. Lee puts them to work on Confederate entrenchments that are in Union free-fire zones. When Grant gets wind of this, he threatens to put Confederate prisoners to work on Union entrenchments under Confederate fire unless Lee pulls out. So Grant was willing to embrace an eye-for-an-eye, tooth-for-a-tooth retaliation policy based upon Confederate treatment of black prisoners. For Grant, it was the color of the uniform, not the skin, that mattered.

In pre-War correspondence, Lee castigated the abolitionists for their political activity, and he never showed any qualms about the social order that he would later defend with arms. He also had a few slaves that he inherited as part of a will agreement, with provi-

"There is a strange paradox here. These people deride what they call political correctness, and yet one of their first missions is to whitewash the Confederacy of any connection with slavery."

sions to emancipate those slaves. But in fact, he dragged his heels in complying with the terms of that will. And he never gave a second thought to the fact that his beloved Arlington [Va.] mansion was run by slave labor.

IR And what about Forrest?

SIMPSON There is no doubt that neo-Confederates are particularly enamored of Nathan Bedford Forrest, and that Forrest was squarely in support of the "peculiar institution." He linked his defense of the Confederacy to an embrace of pro-slavery positions in ways Lee never quite did. These folks downplay Forrest's Klan ties — and his actions commanding the April 12, 1864, attack on Ft. Pillow in Tennessee, which was garrisoned by white and black troops. Forrest's soldiers ran amok and killed blacks attempting to surrender, essentially engaging in a massacre.

White Southerners are fond of blaming William T. Sherman for his troops' actions during the March to the Sea and March of the Carolinas. If you're going to hold Sherman responsible for the behavior of those troops, then you have to hold Forrest responsible for the atrocities committed by his men. I mean, the double standard there is striking. The same white Southerners who indict Sherman as a war criminal for what his men did in the destruction of property earnestly exculpate Forrest from any responsibility for the destruction of black human life — which is an interesting commentary on the white neo-Confederate value system: White property is more important than black lives.

IR A related argument is that Forrest's Klan was a justified response to the cruel Yankee repression of Southern whites during the Reconstruction period.

SIMPSON The Ku Klux Klan was just an organized form of political terrorism against black aspirations. The roots of the Klan are to be found before any action is taken by the federal government looking toward black equality in the South. The Klan is founded in December 1865, and there's no such thing as radical Republican Reconstruction at the time. In fact, the president of the United States

for the first four years of Reconstruction was a Southerner, a dyed-in-the-wool racist named Andrew Johnson. And white Southerners rejected even his lenient plan of Reconstruction, which didn't look at all for black suffrage. So it's simply a myth that the Klan emerged to protect Southern society from those venal



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTO

Robert E. Lee is lionized by neo-Confederates who claim he opposed slavery. But a Civil War historian says that Lee "claimed that while blacks and whites were together in the South, their best relationship would be that of master and slave."

radical Republicans. The cause and effect was exactly, 100% the opposite.

IR A key neo-Confederate ideologue, LOS leader Michael Hill, has made much of the idea that the South is fundamentally "Anglo-Celtic," both racially and culturally. He describes the American North as essentially English and the South as Scottish, or Celtic. Is there anything to Hill's claim? And why is this idea so central to modern neo-Confederates?

SIMPSON I have never quite understood this. There are key parts of the South which were not settled by Anglo-Celts or anyone who saw themselves that way. This isn't a very sustained, sophisticated study whatsoever of ethnic origins as such. Rather, it's a superficial cultural explanation of those origins and, by

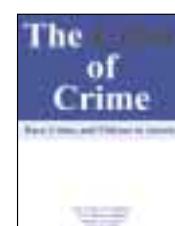
and large, a false one. It doesn't have any meaning in terms of biology, and not an awful lot in terms of culture. It certainly wasn't the sort of thing that distinguished white Northerners from white Southerners.

Again, I am at a loss to figure out what truly is the origin of this idea. There's nothing terribly distinguished about being Anglo-Celtic. But I think that this concept reflects the notion of a sort of ethnic purity, a unified ethnic group which has claims to a separatist nationalism based on ethnic homogeneity.

The assumption, of course, is that "Southerners" equals "white Southerners." But the truth is that Southern culture is fundamentally defined by the interaction of different racial groups, primarily blacks and whites, and, to a lesser extent, Native Americans. You would have to exclude major portions of the South to come up with an Anglo-Celtic definition of Southern nationhood — New Orleans, for example, with its Creole influences; or Texas, which has a significant Hispanic strain in its culture; or Charleston [S.C.], which again has a clear mix of influences from the Caribbean. And this explanation of Southern nationalism doesn't account for the large pockets of white Southern unionists in East Tennessee, western North Carolina and northern Alabama.

Coloring Crime

A booklet that claims to prove that whites are overwhelmingly victimized by blacks — a hot item among neo-Confederates — is based on poor research and faulty analysis



Around the nation, white supremacists and their fellow travelers are brandishing copies of a 1999 booklet that purports to show that whites have every reason to be terrified of blacks. For people from former Klansman David Duke to an array of neo-Confederates, *The Color of Crime: Race, Crime and Violence in America* has become a kind of Bible that shows them that they were right all along.

Sponsored by the New Century Foundation, an organ of white separatist author Jared Taylor, *The Color of Crime* is being circulated in hard copy and via the web site of Taylor's magazine *American Renaissance*. This dubious report, in slightly modified form, also has appeared in the *Journal of Social, Political and Economic Studies*, a periodical that is home to the writings of many "intellectuals" whose views about race are similar to Taylor's. In this latter publication, Taylor's co-author is Gladys Whitney, a Florida professor who recently wrote a positively glowing introduction to Duke's racist and anti-Semitic autobiography.

Based on a cursory examination of 1994 data about interracial crimes between whites and blacks — less than a sixth of all crimes committed that year — Taylor comes to a series of what he describes as "startling conclusions" about black criminality. Blacks, he claims, are vastly more likely to attack whites than vice versa and, in fact, are far more prone to criminality in general. The reason,

Taylor suggests amidst a blizzard of misleading statistics, is their blackness — something about black genes, or perhaps black culture, that endows African-Americans with a natural proclivity to criminality.

Mistaking Poverty for Race

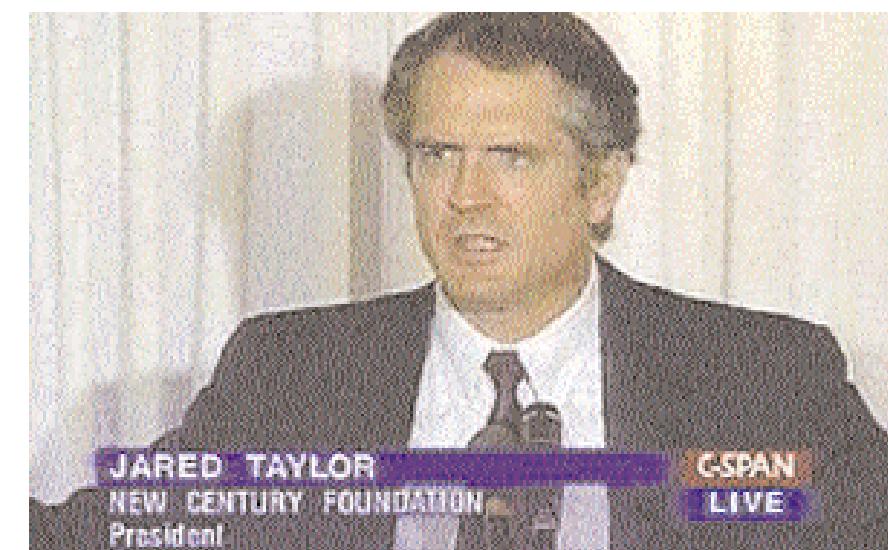
But Taylor is plainly, demonstrably wrong. Taylor uses an incredibly simplistic analytical method that flatly ignores the fundamental conclusion of decades of serious criminology: Crime is intimately related to poverty. In fact, when multivariate statistical methods such as regression analysis are used, study after study has shown that race has little, if any, predictive power. This basic fact is so well understood among scholars of criminal justice that the preface to Minnesota's official crime data reports carries this caveat: "Racial and ethnic data must be treated with caution. . . .

Existing research on crime has generally shown that racial or ethnic identity is not predictive of criminal behavior with data which has been controlled for social and economic factors."

When more sophisticated methodology is employed, socioeconomic factors including poverty, education, social status and urban residence account far better for criminal behavior than race. Above all, income counts.

It is precisely because being black in America is closely correlated with being poor, suffering from high unemployment and having low levels of education that the black community has relatively high crime rates. In 1994, the same year that Taylor's

Despite his exceedingly controversial views about race, Jared Taylor has had little trouble in getting national publicity in some quarters.



JARED TAYLOR
NEW CENTURY FOUNDATION
President

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data comes from, the poverty rate among blacks was three times that of whites. In addition, nearly 40% of black children grew up in poverty. So while it is true, for instance, that blacks rob whites far more than vice versa, that is hardly a surprise — whites, after all, own nearly 10 times the wealth that blacks do on average. They also own far more businesses. Thus, it is only natural that any rational robber would select whites over blacks as victims.

It would truly have been a "startling conclusion" if the facts had shown that whites attacked blacks more than the other way around. That poor people are more prone to criminality at the expense of the wealthy is utterly unsurprising.

Selection Bias and Reality

Taylor's decision to simply ignore these well-documented criminological findings is not his report's only flaw. Another major error — a cardinal sin in the science of statistics — is "selection bias." Although Taylor wants crime patterns to be explained by the mere presence of black people, only a contorted analysis based on a small subset of crime data is able to produce such "evidence."

Selection bias may best be understood by example. Say a researcher wants to identify the leading causes of death, then decides to answer that question by examining data on drowning deaths — even though drowning accounts for only a small percentage of

all deaths. By looking only at drowning, the researcher might conclude that children are at very high risk of this type of death and that swimming in pools is the highest-risk activity one could engage in. Ignored in this analysis would be the impact of disease and traffic incidents, for instance, which rank far higher as causes of death in the general population than drowning. Similarly, by concentrating only on interracial crime, Jared Taylor paints a severely distorted picture of crime and victimization patterns in the United States today.

What Taylor actually does is consider only a subset of data on crime — statistics on interracial crimes between blacks and whites from the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS). For crimes of violence — the crimes Taylor focuses on — that data covers just 16% of the crimes committed in 1994. The result is a skewed view of the impact of race on crime that suggests that whites ought to be terrified of blacks who, in Taylor's view, present a serious threat to society.

Missing the Forest for the Trees

But this analysis completely overlooks the larger — and far more scientifically defensible — pattern in the data: Most crime is intraracial (black-on-black and white-on-white), not interracial. In fact, the NCVS data show that 73% of white violent crime victims were attacked by whites, and 80% of black victims were targeted by

blacks. This pattern is even clearer in the category of murder. According to a 1997 government report, 94% of black murder victims, as well as 85% of white murder victims, were slain by members of their own race. Thus, the larger reality, that danger comes mainly from one's own race, is utterly ignored by Taylor, who for reasons of his own is interested only in interracial crime.

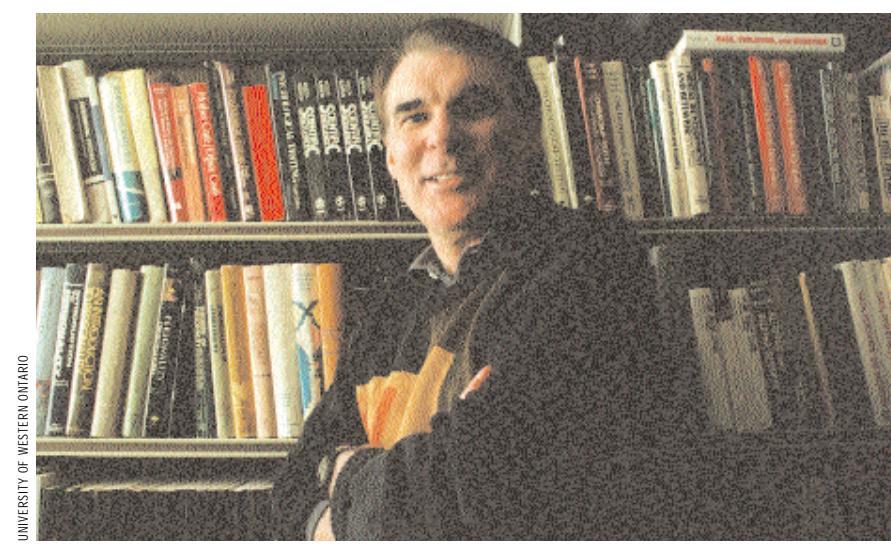
So while it is true that blacks victimize whites in interracial violent crime more than vice versa, that is, for the reasons described above, no surprise. As the authors of a recent book, *The Color of Justice: Race, Ethnicity and Crime in America*, point out: "Some researchers have challenged the assertion that crime is predominantly intraracial, pointing to the fact that a white person has a greater likelihood of being victimized by an African American offender than an African American has of being victimized by a white offender. Although this is true, it does not logically challenge the assertion that crime is predominantly an intraracial event. Remember the NCVS reveals that the typical offender is white."

Throughout the report, Taylor makes similar errors in analysis. Another instructive example is his treatment of interracial hate crime.

Misinterpreting Hate Crimes

Taylor looks to statistics on hate crime to make the point that blacks are far more likely to attack whites for racial reasons

Although Jared Taylor asserts that being black is a major factor in criminality, most criminologists agree with a Minnesota state report on hate crime: "Racial and ethnic data must be treated with caution. ... Existing research on crime has generally shown that racial or ethnic identity is not predictive of criminal behavior with data which has been controlled for social and economic factors."



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than the other way around — even though, as Taylor himself acknowledges, hate crime statistics are widely known to be seriously flawed because of reporting errors. Through a combination of strange methodology and mathematical miscalculation, he ends up overstating his case.

First, Taylor excludes hate crimes based on religion, sexual orientation and disability. Then, using the remaining motivation categories of race and ethnicity, he says that 63% of these crimes were committed by whites, less than their 72% proportion of the population would suggest; and 19% were the work of blacks, even though blacks account for only 12% of Americans. Thus, Taylor concludes, blacks are more likely to commit hate crimes while whites are less so.

These numbers are deceptive. If one looks at all hate crimes and all ethnic groups, the data show that whites are responsible for 75% of all hate crimes — higher than their proportion in the population — while the black rate remains at 19%. Corrected for population, these numbers mean that blacks are 1.37 times more likely to commit hate crimes than all other races combined — a far cry from the 1.99 rate that Taylor advances. Whites, too, commit more hate crimes than all other races combined, but only slightly more so. This type of exaggeration is typical of the poor methodology Taylor employs in his analysis.

Taylor also asserts that "millions of ordinary interracial crimes" should really be considered hate crimes — an insupportable conclusion. Hate crimes are not simply crimes committed between persons of different races. They are crimes that are *motivated* by the race, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation or other group characteristic of the victim. A black man's robbery of a store owned by a white businessman is not a hate crime unless the offender, motivated by animus toward whites, chose the store simply *because* the owner was white.

Racial Profiling Defended

Ultimately, Taylor's article concludes blacks are so much more likely to commit crimes than whites — "blacks are as much more violent than whites as men are more violent than women" — that police officers are justified in stopping them more often as they drive. It's just good police work, Taylor argues, to check up on members of such a crime-prone race. Of course, using this logic, police should routinely stop men under the age of 35; those whose license plates indicate they come from high-crime states; and anyone in a downtown area.

Quite apart from the glaring Constitutional violations involved in such a practice, Taylor is simply wrong about the usefulness of racial profiling. A study of profiling released by the nonpartisan U.S. General Accounting Office earlier this year shows that stopping individuals based on race, gender or state of origin does not increase the likelihood of discovering contraband or illegal activities. That is because most members of minority communities —

A colleague of Jared Taylor, Canadian professor J. Philippe Rushton, recently appeared with Taylor to promote the idea that black criminality is associated with smaller brain size than other races.

just like most young people, most whites, most males and most people overall — are law-abiding citizens.

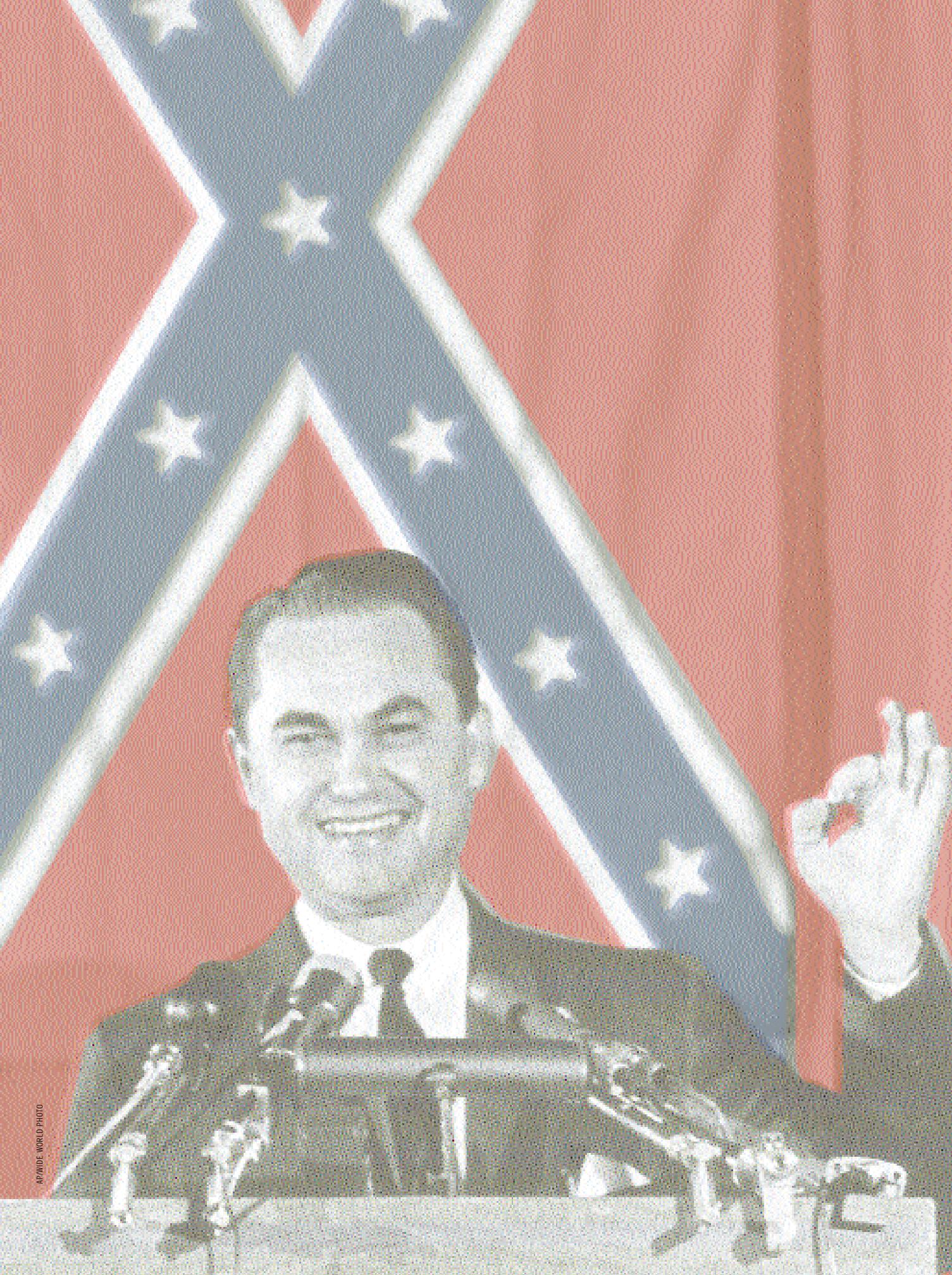
This fact has been accepted by major law enforcement agencies around the country. The National Association of Police Organizations, for instance, opposes the practice. So does the International Association of Police Chiefs.

Failing the Test

In the end, it is simply poor analysis to claim that one factor is responsible for a phenomenon as complex as crime. Researchers have been exploring the causes of crime for decades, and there is wide agreement that there is no answer as monolithic as that which Taylor offers: race, and specifically the black race.

Although it is essential to respond to the arguments advanced in *The Color of Crime*, it is equally important to remember the politics of the man who produced it. Taylor is the editor of *American Renaissance*, a magazine that focuses on dubious theories about the relationship between race, 10, sexuality and crime. He recently appeared at the National Press Club with three other "researchers" to hawk the idea that crime is highest among blacks worldwide, and that that is correlated to their allegedly smaller brains. (These ideas are roundly dismissed by mainstream researchers.) One of Taylor's co-presenters was J. Philippe Rushton, a college professor who has posited an inverse relationship between brain and penis size.

Clearly, Jared Taylor's goal is to offer an "academic" justification for the pre-existing belief that African-Americans are a menace to society and a serious threat to white America. His booklet is simply the latest effort of racial ideologues to demonstrate black America's hatred for whites and to encourage whites to "take back the country" as a matter of survival. Although there are many inaccuracies in Taylor's analysis, those already detailed should give a sense of the quality of his research. As social science, *The Color of Crime* fails the test. ▲



Remembering Reality



AP/WIDEWORLD/PHOTO

As neo-Confederates mythologize the 'nobility' of the Jim Crow South, a series of recently reopened murder cases recall the bloody nature of American apartheid

To hear the ideologues of the neo-Confederate movement tell it, the Deep South of the 1950s and 1960s was a marvelous place indeed. Little wonder, then, that it so fiercely resisted giving voting rights to blacks, desegregating the schools and dismantling Jim Crow laws. The "good people" of the South, writes William Cawthon, a founding member of the League of the South (LOS), wished merely to preserve "the high standards that their society had thus far achieved."

Alabama Gov. George Wallace, Cawthon enthuses, "in his first inaugural in 1963 spoke the noble words: 'Let us rise to the call of the freedom-loving blood that is in us and send our answer to the tyranny that clanks

AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS



its chains upon the South. In the name of the greatest people that ever trod this earth, I draw the line in the dust and toss the gauntlet before the feet of tyranny....'"

What Cawthon doesn't quote tells it all.

The very next words Wallace spoke, a world-famous phrase that does not find its way into Cawthon's rosy portrait, were

these: "... and I say, 'Segregation now, segregation tomorrow, segregation forever.'" As LOS President Michael Hill put it with a little more bluntness in his own writings, Wallace "stood foursquare against the Yankee-imposed ideology of egalitarianism," a lonely but noble stalwart who put himself "between us and absorption into the pagan global village."

Hill, Cawthon and a host of other neo-Confederates engaged in rewriting the history of the South omit more than just a phrase or two. Virtually unmentioned in their writings, their speeches and their other political activities are the realities of the era that saw the struggle for civil rights — the violent,

civil rights era in the South — a reexamination that since 1989 has included new probes of a total of 18 killings in Alabama, Florida, Louisiana and Mississippi. The trend reflects the appearance of a new generation of Southern prosecutors, a new willingness on the part of white jurors to convict, the recent-



White terrorists firebombed a bus carrying Freedom Riders into Alabama in 1961, as Martin Luther King Jr. spoke out across the South against segregation.

ly wakened consciences of long-silent witnesses. It underscores the notion that justice, even if long delayed, should never be denied. But it also serves as a hair-raising reminder of what the South was really like in the days that Hill and his ilk remember so fondly.

"There is a sort of 'Happy Days' version of Southern history that is being presented," says Brooks Simpson, an Arizona State University Civil War historian (see also interview, p. 32). "Clearly, these were not happy days in any way."

Boys were mutilated for looking the wrong way at white women. Black men were forced to jump off bridges, firebombed for trying to register voters, shot dead as a lure to attract civil rights leaders — with the thought that then they, too, could be slain. White preachers, students, reporters and even a house-

The new prosecutions represent "a lot of little Nurembergs," says David Halberstam, a leading historian of the civil rights movement. "This handful of cases were sort of legalized murders because no jury was ever going to convict anybody. The facts were known, but there was an inability to get a conviction."

Despite the nostalgia of the Michael Hills of the world, the South has changed — convictions are clearly now possible. And, say many less one-sided lovers of the South, they are just as clearly needed. "It's not just digging up old dirt," says David Sansing, professor emeritus of history at the University of Mississippi. "It's finishing that unfinished business."



"I don't know if it's good for our image. But I think it's good for our soul."

Murder, Lies and Official Complicity

With that in mind, the *Intelligence Report* set out to detail some of the cases that have been or are being reinvestigated. These stories — fleshed out with a series of interviews and other reporting across the South — are presented as an antidote to the toxic historical revisionism of the modern neo-Confederate movement.

Of the 40 killings listed on the National Civil Rights Memorial in Montgomery, Ala., only two resulted in first-degree murder convictions in the 1960s — the killings of Vernon Dahmer in 1966 and Martin Luther King Jr. in 1968. Families of five other victims obtained some justice with federal conspiracy convictions, but in those cases murder indictments were never brought.

Gov. George Wallace famously stood in the doorway of the University of Alabama to defend segregation, much like that still practiced in Atlanta buses in 1956.



wife were murdered for trying to help spread voting rights to blacks. And tens of thousands of others were terrorized into silence, browbeaten by the Klan and its uptown allies in a bid to maintain the "high standards" of Southern culture to which Cawthon, Hill and many of their neo-Confederate friends would like to return.

Now, with the reopening of so many cases — so far, there have been a dozen arrests, six convictions, one acquittal and one mistrial — the spotlight is once again on the "high standards" of the "good people" of the civil rights era South. To more than one expert, there is a comparison to be made to Nazi war crimes.

The numbers remained unchanged until the 1970s, when Alabama Atty. Gen. Bill Baxley decided such crimes of the past shouldn't go unpunished.

Baxley pursued the 1963 bombing of the 16th Street Baptist Church — the infamous Sunday attack that left four little black girls dead and horrified the world. He prosecuted white supremacist J.B. Stoner for the unrelated 1958 bombing of a Birmingham church. And he tried to resurrect the 1957 case against the killers of Willie Edwards Jr., who was forced to jump off an Alabama River bridge in Montgomery after being mistaken for another black man who was supposedly seeing a white woman.

Baxley experienced partial success. Stoner went to prison. A judge in the Edwards case tossed out the indictments against the accused. In 1977, a jury convicted Robert "Dynamite Bob" Chambliss in the killings of the four lit-

Almost thirty years after ordering the murder of voting rights activist Vernon Dahmer (right), former Mississippi Klan boss Sam Bowers (below) was convicted of murder in the firebombing of the Dahmer family's home (bottom) in Hattiesburg.



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

tle girls. Chambliss would die while serving a prison sentence eight years later.

Baxley left office before he could pursue other suspects in the church bombing. His successors never bothered to follow his lead.

Once again, the unsolved cases languished.

Then a small event inspired a single prosecutor. In 1989, *The Clarion-Ledger* of Jackson, Miss., printed leaked documents from a now-defunct segregationist spy agency known as the Mississippi Sovereignty Commission, which was then headed by the governor. Those documents showed that at the same time the state was prosecuting Byron De La Beckwith for the June 12, 1963, murder of NAACP leader Medgar Evers, the state-funded Sovereignty



Commission was secretly assisting Beckwith's defense, seeking to acquit him.

Revelation of the state's secret assistance to Beckwith in his April 1964 trial prompted widow Myrlie Evers-Williams to seek justice. Then-prosecutor Bobby DeLaughter of Jackson, Miss., listened and began to explore whether Beckwith could be reprocused. New witnesses came forward, and before 1990 ended, Beckwith was indicted for Evers' murder. Four years later, a jury convicted him in the same courtroom where he had been tried 30 years earlier.

'Doing Something About Dahmer'

DeLaughter's victory inspired more, including one that would come to the family of Vernon Dahmer (pronounced DAY-mer), who died on Jan. 10, 1966, defending his family in Hattiesburg, Miss., from a nighttime firebombing by the Klan. Dahmer had made the mistake of trying to register blacks to vote.

In the 1960s, juries did convict four Klansmen in the case, but the man identified in testimony as ordering Dahmer's death — Mississippi White Knights Imperial Wizard Sam Bowers — walked free when a jury deadlocked 11-1 in favor of his guilt. FBI documents now confirm the longstanding suspicion that the Klan

Byron de la Beckwith (right) was convicted of the 1963 murder of civil rights leader Medgar Evers (below) after it was revealed that Mississippi state officials secretly aided him in his first trial.



had tampered with that jury, enabling Bowers to go unpunished.

In 1991, Dahmer's widow, Ellie Dahmer, and other family members met with local district attorney Glenn White. Although White reopened the case, his interest soon waned and the case did not go forward. Enter a new district attorney, who in 1996 promised



the family he would pursue the case if possible.

Still, things looked hopeless until the next spring, when a new witness came forward. A gambling addict, Bob Stringer spoke to authorities as part of his struggle to come to terms with his addiction and to own up to his past.

Part of that past included working as an errand boy for Bowers. Stringer said that a few days before Dahmer was killed, he overheard Bowers speaking to Klansmen about "doing something about that Dahmer nigger down south." In May 1998, Bowers was arrested along with his longtime fellow Klan leader, Deavours Nix, and a man identified as going on the fatal raid, Charles Noble. On Aug. 21, 1998, a jury convicted Bowers of the killing of Dahmer, and he was sentenced to life in prison. Nix died before going on trial. In 1999, Noble received a mistrial, and prosecutors still haven't decided whether to retry him.

Midnight, Murder and Marriage

The prosecutions of Beckwith and Bowers gave other families hope — including the family of Rainey Pool, a man from Midnight, Miss. Pool never had any role in the civil rights movement, but that did not stop a white mob from beating the one-armed sharecropper unconscious for daring to come near an all-white bar on April 12, 1970. Two mob members threw Pool into the Sunflower River, where he drowned. The case went untried for 18 years.



Three white men were convicted last year of the murder of Rainey Pool, pictured here in a family photo held by widow Bettie Pool.

In 1998, district attorney James Powell of Durant, Miss., reopened the case at the request of Pool's family. Within months, authorities had charged five men, and in 1999, one of those men, Dennis Newton, went on trial.

But Newton was acquitted for lack of evidence, and Powell changed his approach before the next trial. This time, he made a plea agreement with one of the members of the mob — Joe Oliver Watson, who pleaded guilty to manslaughter in Pool's murder and was given a four-year sentence in exchange for his cooperation in the case. Watson went on to testify against three fellow mob members, Hal Crumm and his half-brothers, James "Doc" Caston and Charles Caston.

The prosecution was also aided by a surprise witness, Candy Bradshaw, who once lived with Doc Caston's son. Bradshaw told jurors that as they dined on armadillo steaks with Doc Caston at the family's mobile home one Saturday in 1986, Caston told the couple they should get an AIDS test.

"I got mouthy," Bradshaw testified. "I told him he was the one who needed the AIDS test." With that, Bradshaw told the jury, an enraged Caston replied, "Bitch, I've killed one nigger man. I won't hesitate to kill again."

All three defendants were convicted of manslaughter and each was sentenced to 20 years in prison. In the wake of their convictions came another revelation about how prosecution of the Pool case was derailed in 1970. At the time, a woman named Margaret Berry told authorities that Crumm had confessed the murder.

"He sat on the bed and was real nervous," Berry told police in 1970. "I asked



him if they had found that Negro. He said, 'Hell, no, they ain't going to find him.' He said he killed that Negro and threw him in the river. I laughed at him because I thought he was kidding, but he told me that he was not kidding."

Despite such an implicating statement, Margaret Berry never testified against Hal Crumm. The reason? Crumm married her. Like many other states, Mississippi bars the testimony of current and former spouses against their mates.

The Klan Baits a Trap

Days after Pool's killers went to prison in November 1999, an investigation would begin again into another long-forgotten



killing in Mississippi, the June 10, 1966, murder of Ben Chester White. Like Pool, the 67-year-old farmhand had no connection to the civil rights movement. But the color of his skin apparently was all that mattered on June 10, 1966, when a group of Klansmen decided they wanted to kill Martin Luther King Jr. by luring him to Natchez to fight race hate.

White, the Klansmen decided, would be the bait.

According to authorities, Ernest Avants, James Jones and Claude Fuller asked for White to help them find a dog. The trio allegedly took White out to a secluded area, where Fuller opened fire and Avants then joined in.

The state did take the lead in prosecuting this case. But Jones expressed remorse at his trial, and his jury couldn't reach a unanimous verdict. Fuller was never tried. Avants' lawyer argued his client shot White after he was dead — meaning he couldn't be held responsible for murder — and Avants was acquitted of the murder charge, precluding further state prosecution. Further action against Avants, the lone suspect who is still alive, was considered hopeless.

But what no one knew was that the killing took place on federal property in a national forest. After ABC News' "20/20" reported this fact — meaning federal charges for violating White's civil rights could be brought — federal authorities

authorities just months before his 1967 Mississippi murder trial — a confession prosecutors didn't bother to use.

'The Prosecutors Walked Away'

Two months after reopening White's killing in late 1999, the FBI learned from *The Clarion-Ledger* that White's killing wasn't the only civil rights era slaying in which federal officials might have jurisdiction. Agents then reopened the 1964 killings of Henry Hezekiah Dee and Charles Eddie Moore, who, like Ben Chester White, were apparently killed in the Homochitto National Forest. The two, both 19-year-old former college students, were beaten by Klansmen near Meadville,



Three men were originally convicted in the 1964 murders of civil rights workers James Chaney, Andrew Goodman and Michael Schwerner (above, left to right), whose empty car was found in a swamp. Now, the case has been reopened and Edgar "Preacher" Killen (left) has emerged as a suspect.

Miss., and thrown into a river. Mississippi never prosecuted the case.

Nearly 1,000 pages of FBI documents detail the widespread fear in Meadville at the time — and the fact that the FBI had collected enough evidence for the case to be presented to a Mississippi grand jury. But it never was.

On June 7, FBI agents arrested Avants in connection with the murder.

In the wake of the federal reopening of the case, there were new revelations regarding how Mississippi authorities handled the case originally. FBI documents obtained by *The Clarion-Ledger* indicate then-Adams County Sheriff Odell Adams, who led the investigation of White's murder, was a Klansman. (In an interview, Adams denied he was in the Klan, but admitted attending some Klan meetings.) Other documents showed Avants confessed to



The 1963 16th Street Baptist Church bombing, which killed (from left) Denise McNair, Carole Robertson, Addie Mae Collins and Cynthia Wesley, sparked outrage around America and the world.

bodies by dropping them in the Mississippi River. You didn't even give them a decent burial. We know you did it. You know you did. The Lord above knows you did it."

"Yes," Seale was quoted as replying, "but I'm not going to admit it. You are going to have to prove it." For his part, Edwards admitted beating Dee and Moore, but claimed they were alive when he left, FBI documents say.

"The Mississippi Highway Patrol did their jobs, and the FBI investigators did their jobs," said former FBI agent Jim Ingram of Jackson, who originally investigated the case. "The prosecutors walked right away from it."

At around the same time as the White case was reopened, one of the least anticipated investigations — the police department in Jackson, Miss., reexamining the May 12, 1967, killing of Ben Brown, who was shot in the back — also got rolling. What is so striking about that investigation is that two suspects in the case are former members of the very same Jackson police department.

Eliminating the Queen Bee

Also last year, Mississippi Atty. Gen. Mike Moore reopened the notorious June 21, 1964, killings of three civil rights workers — Michael Schwerner, Andrew Goodman and James Chaney — after *The Clarion-Ledger* revealed the contents of a sealed interview. Imperial Wizard Sam Bowers had given the interview to a state archivist with the promise that it would remain secret until after his death.

In that interview, Bowers talked about the 1967 federal conspiracy trial in which he and six others were convicted, eight were acquitted and three received mistrials. None of the men were ever tried for murder. "I was quite delighted to be convicted and have the main instigator of the entire affair walk out of the courtroom a free man," Bowers said. "Everybody — including the trial judge and the prosecutors and everybody else — knows that that happened."

Bowers didn't name the man who walked away, but in their confessions two participants name Edgar Ray Killen, known as "Preacher" Killen, and say he gave orders to Klansmen that night that included where to bury the bodies.

Killen denies any role in the killings.

But in an interview, he called Schwerner and Goodman "communists." And their killers? "I'm not going to say they were wrong."

One of the new witnesses is the same Bob Stringer who testified in Bowers' 1998 murder trial. In an interview, Stringer said he was at a meeting where Bowers gave the orders to kill Schwerner, known by the

Klan as "Goatee" because of his beard. "Goatee is like the queen bee in the beehive," Stringer says Bowers told Killen. "You eliminate the queen bee and all the workers go away."

'The Absolute Last Straw'

Perhaps the most heinous crime of the era came on Sept. 15, 1963, when Klan plotters blew up the 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, killing Denise McNair, 11, and Addie Mae Collins, Cynthia Wesley and Carole Robertson, all 14. The attack — in a city nicknamed "Bombingham" thanks to the frequency of Klan dynamite bombings — inspired outrage around the world and united the civil rights movement. "It galvanized the nation because it showed the extent to which the white resistance would go to stop the movement — even to murdering children," says NAACP chairman Julian Bond. "Even though there had been other murders before, I think this was just the last straw, the absolute last straw."

In 1993, 16 years after Bob Chambliss was convicted in the case, the FBI began to reinvestigate the attack. Five years later, saying there was new evidence, officials presented the case to a federal grand jury in Birmingham.

Finally, on May 16 of this year, an Alabama grand jury indicted former Klansmen Thomas Blanton Jr., 61, of Birmingham, and Bobby Frank Cherry, 70, of Mabank, Texas, the only survivors among the four suspects the FBI had initially identified in the 1960s. A date for their trial has not yet been set.

New witnesses have come forward, including the ex-wife of Cherry, Willadean Brogdon, who told grand jurors she heard Cherry discuss the bombing. "Bob told me he didn't put the bomb together," she said. "He said, 'I lit it.'" In talks with her brother, Brogdon testified, "Bob would talk, and he'd get to crying and say he never intended to kill those girls. He said the only good thing about killing these girls was that they couldn't grow up to have more niggers."

Cherry's response is curt. "That's a lie," he says.

In an interview, Cherry told *The Clarion-Ledger* that on Sept. 14, 1963 — the

night the bomb was planted — he was at the Modern Sign Co. in Birmingham, a few blocks from the church. "I know I left up there about a quarter 'til 10 because I was heading home to watch wrestling," he said. And to back up his story, Cherry showed a reporter an affidavit from a friend, Flora Thomas, who swore Cherry "was at home at 10 o'clock Saturday night because he never missed wrestling on tv."

The problem with that alibi?

There was no wrestling on tv. Records show no wrestling appeared on television on Sept. 14, 1963. Instead, it was "Route 66" and "Films of the Fifties." "There was no damn 'Films of the Fifties' on," Cherry said after being told of the discrepancy.

Truth and Memory

These cases were not merely the criminal acts of a handful of psychopaths, examples of extreme violence wrought by the deranged. They were, in a very real sense, expressions of organized white supremacy — part and parcel of a terrorist apparatus meant to maintain the American South's apartheid. They were to a large extent inspired and justified by such men as George Wallace, people who helped unleash the passions of the mob across the South. Ultimately, they were an all but inevitable product of a system that denies rights to a whole class of citizens.

But that's not the way neo-Confederates see it. Like deniers of the



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTO

Police attacked civil rights marchers near the Edmund Pettus Bridge in Selma, Ala., in 1965.

"Son of a bitch, something's wrong. Wrestling was on."

Shortly after the bombing, the FBI gave Cherry a lie detector test that concluded he showed "evidence of deception" when asked if he was present when the bombing was planned and showed reaction to the question, "Did you bomb the 16th Street Baptist Church?" But Cherry says the FBI examiner bumped the needle so it would appear that Cherry was lying. "It might have been a gas leak," Cherry said of the bombing.

"They had a nigger janitor. He died right after that."

Holocaust, these white men are determined to see the old South through a lens of their very own making — a lens that grotesquely distorts truth and memory.

"Segregation," the League of the South's William Cawthon writes in an article typical of neo-Confederate revisionism, "is not evil or wrong. It is simply a policy to promote the integrity of a group. That there were some injustices in the segregation as practiced in the South I do not deny. ... [But] the segregated society of the South was far, far more moral than is modern American society." ▲

Attacking the 14th Amendment

Like other extremists, neo-Confederates are questioning the Constitutional amendment that gave blacks citizenship — but the courts have consistently rejected their arguments

Born from the ashes of the Civil War, the Fourteenth Amendment expanded notions of citizenship to include African-Americans by providing that "[a]ll persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside." This Amendment has been part of the United States Constitution since its ratification in 1868. And since then, Confederate sympathizers and other right-wing groups have refused to accept the Amendment's legitimacy.

Calling the Fourteenth Amendment the most "nefarious consequence of the Reconstruction," the neo-Confederate League of the South attacks the validity of the Amendment on the ground that its ratification was fraudulent. The League claims that the Southern states were coerced into accepting the Amendment, and that without this coercion, there would not have been enough states to ratify the Amendment. Therefore, the argument goes, the passage of the Amendment was illegitimate.

The neo-Confederates raise an interesting point. The process of ratifying the Fourteenth Amendment did involve strong-arm tactics. Southern states were granted re-entry into the Union only on the condition that they ratify the Amendment. But none of this is surprising. After all, America had just fought the bloodiest war in her history over the issue of slavery, and extending citizenship to newly freed slaves was a vital component of Reconstruction.

The United States Supreme Court long ago said that courts were not to enter the political arena to second-guess the process by which amendments were ratified. "[T]he question of the efficacy of ratifications by state legislatures ... should be regarded as a polit-

ical question pertaining to the political departments, with the ultimate authority in the Congress in the exercise of its control over the promulgation of the adoption of the amendment." *Coleman v. Miller*, 307 U.S. 433, 450 (1939). "The nonjusticiability of a political question is primarily a function of the separation of powers," a cornerstone of our entire system of government. *Baker v. Carr*, 369 U.S. 186, 210 (1962).

The neo-Confederate view that the Fourteenth Amendment is illegitimate is shared by other ideologues in the world of

Part of N.J. Hate Law Struck

New Jersey's hate-crime statute made it too easy to enhance a defendant's sentence, according to a recent decision by the United States Supreme Court. See *Apprendi v. New Jersey* (also discussed in *Intelligence Report*, Winter 2000, No. 97).

Forty-two states have hate crime laws. Usually, the allegation that hate motivated a crime is an issue that must be proved beyond a reasonable doubt and decided by a jury when it deliberates over the defendant's guilt. But in two states, New Jersey and North Carolina, it was a factor that had to be considered only by a judge during the sentencing phase of the case. To make matters worse for a defendant, prosecutors in New Jersey and North Carolina only had to show hate as a motivating factor by a preponderance of the evidence, rather than beyond a reasonable doubt, to obtain an enhanced sentence.

In rejecting a portion of New Jersey's hate-crime law, the Court ruled that

right-wing extremism. In its inaugural publication in 1985, the Christian Knights of the Ku Klux Klan — soon to be known as the "marchingest" Klan in the nation — wrote in an article decrying school desegregation that "[t]he Fourteenth Amendment was never legally ratified but pronounced 'law' by the 'Radical Reconstruction' Congress in July 1868." More recently, the same theme has been popularized by the antigovernment — and fundamentally white supremacist — "Freemen."

According to the Freemen, the "original" or "organic" Constitution was written for and gave inalienable rights to white men, whom they call "organic sovereigns." The illegitimate Fourteenth Amendment, the Freemen argued, created "Fourteenth Amendment citizens," consisting of African-Americans, who do not have inalienable rights but only the limited statutory civil rights that Congress granted them. The "Fourteenth Amendment citizens" are subject to federal law because

continued on page 52

"[o]ther than the fact of a prior conviction, any fact that increases the penalty for a crime beyond the prescribed statutory maximum must be submitted to a jury, and proved beyond a reasonable doubt."

The Court's *Apprendi* decision could "invalidat[e] significant sentencing reform accomplished at the federal and state levels over the past three decades," as explained in Justice Sandra Day O'Connor's dissenting opinion. Numerous other criminal laws operate like New Jersey's and North Carolina's hate-crime statutes. For example, the quantity of drugs is often a sentencing factor to be determined by a judge under the preponderance of the evidence standard after a defendant has been convicted by a jury of possessing some drugs.

The *Apprendi* decision not only could affect the validity of these sentencing schemes. As Justice O'Connor warns, it could also "unleash a flood of petitions by convicted defendants seeking to invalidate their sentences in whole or in part."

for the Record

Incidents of hate crimes and hate group activities listed in *For The Record* are drawn primarily from media sources and initial police reports, not all of which have been verified by the Intelligence Project. This listing carries incidents from the second quarter of 2000 (listings of earlier incidents 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.

ALABAMA

Auburn · April 6, 2000

Literature from the neo-Nazi National Alliance was posted around the campus of Auburn University.

Birmingham · May 17, 2000

Thomas Blanton Jr. and Bobby Frank Cherry were charged with the 1963 firebombing of a black church. The explosion killed four black girls.

Fort Payne · June 10, 2000

About 120 Klan members from five states rallied.

Graysville · April 3, 2000

George M. Jacks, 20, and Kenneth Reid, 22, were charged with burning a cross on the mailbox of a black family. Jacks was later sentenced to 10 months in prison and two years of supervised release and given a \$3,000 fine. Reid was sentenced to a year in prison and three years of supervised release.

Leighton · June 3, 2000

Swastikas and the letters "KKK" were spray-painted at a local high school.

Mobile · June 21, 2000

Literature from the American Nazi Party, White Aryan Resistance and the Alabama White Knights was distributed throughout a neighborhood.

Montgomery · April 15, 2000

A National Alliance sticker was left on a shopping cart at a business.

ARIZONA

Mesa · April 2, 2000

Matt Kessler was charged with simple assault for allegedly attacking a black man.

PHOENIX · March 29, 2000

Swastikas and racist graffiti were scrawled on a wall outside a Jewish center.

CALIFORNIA

Bakersfield · April 3, 2000

Three white males allegedly attacked a student because they believed the student was gay.

Camarillo · June 2, 2000

A note threatening to kill all blacks was found in a bathroom at a local high school.

Carmel Valley · May 22, 2000

Swastikas and anti-Semitic graffiti were spray-painted on buildings.

Escondido · March 29, 2000

Jason Williams, 21, was charged with arson for allegedly using an aerosol can and a cigarette lighter to burn his black neighbor while yelling racial slurs.

Los Angeles · April 21, 2000

Christopher Davidson was sentenced to six months in jail for shooting out the rear window of a woman's car that had gay pride stickers on it.

Los Angeles · May 12, 2000

Jose Bautista, 27, a security guard at a local high school, was charged with allegedly painting racist graffiti at two schools and faking an attack on himself in April.

Palm Springs · June 6, 2000

Sixteen high school students were suspended for allegedly scrawling racial slurs at their school.

Sacramento · April 5, 2000

Kenneth Nemetz, 22, was sentenced to 18 years in prison for murdering a man because the man was black.

San Bernardino · March 27, 2000

Anthony Conrad, 31, a member of the white supremacist gang the Nazi Low Riders, was sentenced to seven years in prison for his June attack on a black woman.

San Francisco · April 12, 2000

Edgar Mora, 27, was sentenced to three years for involuntary manslaughter and two years for a hate crime penalty enhancement in connection with the March 1998 murder of a gay man.

Durham · May 15, 2000

Literature from the International Keystone Knights of the Ku Klux Klan was left at several residences.

San Jose · May 1, 2000

Victor Podbreger was sentenced to eight years in prison for his role in a hate crime assault in 1999.

San Ramon · April 20, 2000

Adam Andrew Davis, Adam Thomas Brown and Steven Patrick McGuire, all 18, allegedly attacked a black youth.

Santa Rosa · March 29, 2000

Two black men, Terrance McCray, 19, and Ledel Lawrence, 21, were convicted of murder in the racially motivated beating death of a white man.

Santa Rosa · April 12, 2000

About 35 swastikas were spray-painted on walls, in classrooms and in the gymnasium of a high school.

Santa Rosa · April 15, 2000

A 14-year-old and a 15-year-old were charged with allegedly drawing swastikas and writing threatening messages on the walls of schools and city buildings.

Seal Beach · May 8, 2000

Literature from the neo-Nazi World Church of the Creator was distributed throughout the city.

CONNECTICUT

Coventry · April 9, 2000

Robert Gouin, 17, was charged with breach of peace, second-degree harassment and ridicule on account of race as a result of a January web site posting that contained a racial slur and was directed at a black male.

Durham · May 15, 2000

Literature from the International Keystone Knights of the Ku Klux Klan was left at several residences.

FLORIDA

Indiantown · April 5, 2000

Five white teens, allegedly motivated by bias, were charged with robbing and attacking two Guatemalan men.

Jacksonville · May 26, 2000

Two black men, Terrance McCray, 19, and Ledel Lawrence, 21, were convicted of murder in the racially motivated beating death of a white man.

GEORGIA

Sandy Springs · May 3, 2000

A swastika, the words "Kill Jews" and other ethnic slurs were spray-painted on a car.

IDAHO

Boise · June 4, 2000

Literature from the neo-Nazi National Alliance was distributed to residences.

Coeur d'Alene · April 13, 2000

Edward Jesse Warfield, former security chief for the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations, was sentenced to five years in prison for firing an assault rifle at a vehicle occupied by a woman and her son. Aryan Nations member John Yeager, 21, pleaded guilty to a felony crime for his part in chasing and shooting at the pair, who

were driving past the group's compound. Yeager was sentenced in May to five years in prison.

Idaho Falls · May 22, 2000

Mark E. Johnston, 22, was charged with felony malicious harassment for allegedly threatening to kill a man because the man was Hispanic.

ILLINOIS

Bloomington · May 8, 2000

Racist fliers were placed under the doors of two black professors at Illinois State University.

Browning · May 2000

Shawn W. Gouran, 18, and Gene I. Westlake, 37, were charged with criminal damage to property for allegedly vandalizing a residence where a Hispanic family had planned to move.

Chicago · April 4, 2000

A black teenager at Columbia College allegedly attacked a white man.

Highland Park · April 26, 2000

Literature from the neo-Nazi group the New Order was mailed to an anti-racism project.

Mattoon · April 22, 2000

About a dozen member of the neo-Nazi World Church of the Creator rallied.

INDIANA

Kokomo · May 10, 2000

James G. Golvin, 28, a member of the American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, was convicted of conspiring to violate the civil rights of Hispanics, use of fire to commit a felony and firearms violations for burning a cross in the yard of an Hispanic family in 1997.

Bowie · April 10, 2000

Robert Trainer, 20, was sentenced to 35 months in prison for his role in a cross burning at a local high school in 1997.

Muncie · June 8, 2000

Brian W. Worden, 21, was sentenced to 20 years in prison for attacking a man with a tire iron because Worden believed the man was gay.

IOWA

Cedar Rapids · April 2, 2000

Jason Allen, 20, was charged with allegedly attacking another man because he believed the man was gay.

KENTUCKY

Barbourville · April 1, 2000

Seventeen members of the American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan rallied.

ILLINOIS

Bloomington · May 20, 2000

Racist fliers were placed under the doors of two black professors at Illinois State University.

Kentucky

Louisville · May 20, 2000

Jason Goode, 21, and Derek Bernardi, 23, were charged with two counts of attempted murder for allegedly shooting at two black men while shouting racial slurs.

Louisville

May 20, 2000

About 19 members of the American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan held a rally.

Frankfort · May 2, 2000

The tires of a gay couple's cars were slashed and anti-gay slurs were spray-painted on the sides of the vehicles.

LOUISIANA

Lafayette · May 6, 2000

About 20 members of the American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan rallied.

MARYLAND

Annapolis · March 24, 2000

A black school superintendent received a death threat laced with racial slurs.

MISSISSIPPI

Bogue Chitto · June 7, 2000

Ernest Avants, 69, was charged with murder in the 1966 killing of a black man.

MISSOURI

Edwardsville · April 5, 2000

Four windows and the windshield of a car belonging to a black woman were smashed and a racial slur was spray-painted on the hood.

Bowie · June 1, 2000

Robert Trainer, 20, was sentenced to 35 months in prison for his role in a cross burning at a local high school in 1997.

Fenton · June 16, 2000

Scott Edward Schroeder, 21, was sentenced to 15 months in jail and two years of probation for attacking three black teens in April.

NEW YORK

Auburndale · March 26, 2000

Two white youths wielding bottles allegedly attacked two Hispanic men.

St. Louis · June 8, 2000

Former Knights of the Ku Klux Klan leader Michael Cuffley, 43, was

charged with second-degree burglary and felony stealing.

MONTANA

Billings · March 25, 2000

Three white youths allegedly drove around a theater shouting racial epithets at black performers.

BILLINGS · June 5, 2000

Rudy Stanko, 53, a member of the World Church of the Creator, was charged with allegedly handcuffing a woman and holding her hostage.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Keene · April 19, 2000

Jonathan Shapiro, 19, was sentenced to three years of probation for carving anti-gay epithets into a student's back in 1999.

NEW JERSEY

Bound Brook · March 23, 2000

A black student and a white student received a threatening note containing racial slurs and swastikas.

Bulls Head · April 2, 2000

Racist graffiti was spray-painted on a black woman's garage.

East Setauket · May 16, 2000

Gillian Lance, 51, was charged with harassment for allegedly sending derogatory cards and letters to a man she believed to be gay.

NORTH CAROLINA**Asheville · June 8, 2000**

Jacob W. Stull, 22, was sentenced to 4 1/2 years in prison for shooting into a black family's residence.

Huntersville · May 11, 2000

The words "Go Home Niggers" were spray-painted on a black family's residence.

OHIO**Painesville Township · May 1, 2000**

A cross was burned on a black man's lawn.

Painesville Township · May 19, 2000

A cross with a black Barbie doll tied to it was found on a black woman's lawn.

Solon · May 17, 2000

Eric J. Greene, 19, was charged with ethnic intimidation for allegedly spray-painting swastikas on a black man's vehicle.

Toledo · June 2000

Three youths were charged with ethnic intimidation for allegedly spray-painting swastikas on a synagogue.

Wooster · May 12, 2000

James R. Malone and Chad G. Trent, both 22, were charged with allegedly burning a cross at an apartment complex in March.

OKLAHOMA**Choctaw · April 3, 2000**

Swastikas and the word "Go" were spray-painted on a Jewish couple's residence.

OREGON**Ashland · April 6, 2000**

Michael Susee was charged with intimidation and assault for allegedly attacking three gay men while yelling anti-gay remarks.

PENNSYLVANIA**Carroll Township · May 5, 2000**

Shawn Myers, 20 and Brian Ort, 19, were charged with ethnic intimidation, institutional vandalism, criminal mischief and criminal conspiracy for allegedly spray-painting a swastika and racist graffiti on a restaurant and a high school.

Ephrata · June 1, 2000

Fliers from the American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan were distributed throughout the area.

Langhorne · May 15, 2000

Stickers from the neo-Nazi National Alliance were placed on an anti-hate poster at a train station.

Meadville · May 13, 2000

About 20 members of the American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan rallied.

Philadelphia · May 27, 2000

A local synagogue was burned. The fire allegedly started when a pile of prayer books was set afire.

SOUTH CAROLINA**Sumter · April 5, 2000**

Bryan A. Carraway, 18, and a 15-year-old were charged with attempted arson and burning of personal property for allegedly throwing a fire bomb through the window of a predominantly black church and breaking the windows of the local NAACP office.

TENNESSEE**Athens · May 8, 2000**

A cross was burned on the lawn of a black couple.

TEXAS**Houston · April 20, 2000**

Fliers from the neo-Nazi National Alliance were found in a parking lot at Jones College.

Vidor · April 22, 2000

About 15 members of the American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan held a rally.

VIRGINIA**Suffolk · May 14, 2000**

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

WASHINGTON**Kelso · April 19, 2000**

A black student found a noose attached to his car while parked at a high school.

Lynwood · May 7, 2000

Literature from the neo-Nazi World Church of the Creator was distributed throughout a neighborhood.

Mercer Island · May 4, 2000

A replica of a Nazi flag, 30 feet high and 60 feet across, was painted on a wall near a park.

Thurston County · April 27, 2000

Residents received letters containing white supremacist materials.

WISCONSIN**Plover · May 1, 2000**

Fliers from the Imperial Klans of America were distributed throughout the city. ▲

Attacking the 14th Amendment

continued from page 49

their very citizenship emanates from the rights granted by the federal government, whereas the "organic sovereigns" are not subject to federal law.

Not surprisingly, the courts have not been impressed by such legal gymnastics. Where plaintiffs have claimed they do not have to pay federal taxes as organic sovereigns, the "argument has been consistently and thoroughly rejected by every branch of the government for decades. Indeed, advancement of such utterly meritless arguments is now the basis for serious sanctions imposed on civil litigants who raise them." *United States v. Studley*, 783 F.2d 934 (9th Cir. 1986).

The fact that the United States Supreme Court has soundly rejected attacks on the

Fourteenth Amendment for more than a century adds to the Amendment's legitimacy. See *Leser v. Garnett*, 258 U.S. 130 (1922). Courts adhere to the concept of *stare decisis*, a doctrine designed to create a secure and certain legal system by requiring courts to "abide by, or adhere to, decided cases." *Black's Law Dictionary* (6th ed.).

If this doctrine means anything, it means that, after more than a century of Supreme Court acceptance, the validity of the Fourteenth Amendment and its ratification process is no longer subject to challenge.

The Fourteenth Amendment was championed by a victorious government as the result of the Civil War. Questioning the Amendment at this late date is tantamount to fighting the war all over again. Having lost on the battlefield, it is no surprise that those who question the Amendment's legitimacy have lost in the courts. ▲

Clearing the Government

AP/WIDEWORLD PHOTO

An independent counsel and a federal jury both find that the U.S. is not responsible for the deaths in Waco

For seven years, conspiracy mongers on the left and right have angrily denounced the government's role in Waco, accusing it of starting the shootout that began a 51-day standoff with religious cultists, setting the fire that ended it and then using snipers to murder any who attempted to flee the holocaust. An entire industry of conspiracy materials has grown up around the 1993 standoff, and the antigovernment "Patriot" movement grew to prominence partly by describing the conflict as emblematic of the government's murderous treatment of dissenters.

Perhaps they should have waited.

This summer, two major blows hit the Waco conspiracists. On July 15, a five-person advisory panel to a federal judge ruled that the government was not responsible for the gun battle that began the standoff with the Branch Davidians or the fire that ended it. A week later, former Republican senator John Danforth — appointed by U.S. Atty. Gen. Janet Reno as special counsel in an independent probe that lasted 10 months — concluded officials had committed no "bad acts."

"This is not a close call," Danforth said as he announced the findings of his \$12 million probe. "These dark questions are answered with total certainty." Evidence in favor of the government in the trial was often dramatic.

The twin findings fly in the face of the suspicions of virtually every antigovernment conspiracy theorist. In particular,

they upended the theories put forth in two major "documentaries" by Michael McNulty, who did more than any other player to sell the idea that the government fired on fleeing Davidians.

Danforth's findings were the most comprehensive. His report concludes with "100% certainty" that officials did not fire on Davidians when the siege ended on April 19, 1993; that they did not cause the fire that engulfed the Waco compound after government tanks began inserting tear gas; that the danger of being shot by Davidians justified the decision not to have firefighting equipment there that day; and that the firing of pyrotechnic devices at an outlying building in the Davidian compound was unrelated to the fire that began hours later.

The federal jury, whose nonbinding opinion is expected to inform a final decision that has yet to be written by the judge in the case, acted in a \$675 million wrongful death suit brought by surviving Davidians and relatives of the dead. Its findings were similar to those of the Danforth investigation, but did not address the question of government agents allegedly shooting Davidians on April 19.

Although the federal jury's findings are nonbinding, most expect the judge to follow its recommendations. "It's over," Davidian lawyer Michael Caddell said. "The vast majority of the American people will take this as the final word." ▲

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



NINA WINTER

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. Nearly 300,000 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.



MICHAEL LLOYD

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 more than 200 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.



The Intelligence Report

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